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A

Complete Hiſtory

OF

ENGLAND:

WITH THE

LIVES

OF ALL THE

KINGS and QUEENS

THEREOF;

From the Earlieſt Account of Time, to the Death of His late Majeſty King *WILLIAM* III.

CONTAINING

A Faithful RELATION of all AFFAIRS of STATE ECCLESIASTICAL and CIVIL.

With the EFFIGIES of all the KINGS and QUEENS from the Originals, Engraven by the beſt Maſters.

35262

VOL. III.

CONTAINING

I. The Hiſtory and Life of King CHARLES I.
II. ——— Of King CHARLES II.
III. ——— Of King JAMES II.
IV. ——— Of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY.
V. ——— Of King WILLIAM III.

All new Writ by a Learned and Impartial Hand.

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The Second Edition, Corrected, with the Addition of large *NOTES*, and a New INDEX, referring both to the *Book* and *Notes*.

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Printed for *R. Bonwicke, Tim. Goodwin, John Walthoe, J. Wotton, Sam. Manſhip, R. Wilkin, Benj. Tooke, R. Smith,* and *T. Ward.* 1719.

E. Lutterell delin
M. Vander Gucht Sculp
HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE
KING CHARLES THE I.st

THE LIFE AND REIGN OF King Charles the Firſt.

MANY Writers have divided the *Reign* of a *Prince* from his *Life*, and ſo have given the *Actions* without the *Man*; the Political Occurrences without the Genius, that gave a Riſe and a Turn to them. It ſhall be the preſent Deſign, to write the Life as well as the Reign of this unfortunate Prince, and give all the true Characters of his Perſon along with a Relation of all the Affairs of his Government: To which purpoſe, it will be proper to give ſome Account of his Birth, Childhood, Youth, and Education; to view him from his Cradle to his Crown.

Born *Nov.* 19. 1600. *Charles*, a younger Son of *James* VI, King of *Scotland*, and of *Anne* his Wife Daughter of the King of *Denmark*, was born at *Dunfermling* on *November* 19. 1600, ſo weak an Infant, that upon apprehenſion of his ſhort Life, they haſtned on his Baptiſm, without a more decent Delay, and thoſe ſuitable Ceremonies that would have otherwiſe attended his Admiſſion into the Church: Born and Baptiz'd in ſomewhat of Surprize and Confuſion; as it were *beginning* the World in a kind of Preſage how he was to *end* it.

Titles conferred on him, 1601. In the ſecond Year of his Age, 1601, he was created Duke of *Albany*, Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Earl of *Roſs*, and Baron of *Ardmanock*, Titles much greater than the Revenues to ſupport them: A ſecond Son of the Royal Blood in *Scotland* muſt have been, as in leſs Noble Families, a ſort of Dependent on the elder Brother.

His Succeſſion foretold in 1603. In 1603, there was ſuch an Augury made of his future Greatneſs, as deſerves to be here related. When his Royal Father King *James* was preparing for his Remove to the Throne of *England*, a certain old Laird of the *Highlands* came to take his ſolemn Leave of the Court, and was for that purpoſe admitted into the Bed-chamber, where he found himſelf in the Preſence of his Majeſty, the Queen, and Royal Children. He addreſs'd himſelf to the King with a long deal of ſage Advice and affectionate Wiſhes. He then, overlooking Prince *Henry*, applied himſelf directly to Duke *Charles*, and kiſs'd his Hand with ſo much Ardency and Devoutneſs, as if he meant to pay ſome extraordinary Honours to him. The King, to correct his ſuppoſed Miſtake, ſeem'd to take him off, and to direct him toward his elder Son, who, as Heir of the Crown, had a Title to his firſt and greateſt Reſpect and Obſervance. But the antient Laird would not be guided, nor diverted from his earneſt Applications to the little Duke; and ſaid, *He was not miſtaken; he knew to whom he addreſs'd himſelf: This Child whom he now ſaw in the Nurſe's Arms, ſhould be greater than his elder Brother, and ſhould convey his Father's Name and Titles to ſucceeding Generations.* An Hiſtorian obſerves, that "This then was conceived to be Dotage; but the Event gave it the Credit of a Prophecy, and confirmed that Opinion, that ſome long-experienced Souls in the World, before their diſlodging, arrive to the height of Prophetick Spirits." It is commonly ſaid, there be more of theſe Inſtances of *Foreſight* or Second-ſight, and moſt extraordinary Preſages, in *Scotland* than in any other Country. One Example of the like nature, in foretelling the Fortune of Infants, is credibly given in the Life of Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, born in *Scotland* in the Year 1565. "When he was no ſooner brought into the World, but this remarkable Paſſage did accompany his Birth: For among the reſt that were preſent (not ordinary Goſſippers, but Women of good note) there was one among them, who in a ſober tho' in a prophetick Fit, taking the Child in her Arms, called aloud to the reſt in theſe or the like terms; *You may all very well rejoyce at the Birth of this Child, for he will become* Perinchief.

" *the Prop and Pillar of this Church, and the main and* " *chief Inſtrument in the defending of it.*"

Committed to the Governance of the Lady *Cary.*

To return to our young Duke *Charles:* When the King had given Orders for his Journey toward *England*; He appointed the Queen to follow him about twenty Days after, and in the mean time left his Commands, that the Prince ſhould remain at *Striveling*, the Princeſs *Elizabeth* with *Alexander* Earl of *Linlithgow*, and our Duke of *Albany* with the Lord *Fyvie*, Preſident of the Seſſion. Soon after he was committed to the Care and Governance of the Lady *Cary*, as a Reſpect and Reward to her Husband Sir *Robert Cary*, who had been ſent from the *Engliſh* Council with the firſt News of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death.

Brought into *England*, and made Knight of the *Bath* and Duke of *York*, in 1604.

In the next Year 1604, he fell into ſome Indiſpoſition, and was hardly fit for change of Air till toward *October*; when, by eaſie Stages, he was brought to the *Engliſh* Court at *Windſor:* and there, to give him the more Princely Figure, he was created *Knight of the Bath* on *January* the 5th, and the Day after was inveſted with the Title of Duke of *York*, to naturalize him in *Engliſh* Honours.

Committed to the Tuition of Mr. *Murray* in 1606.

In 1606, it ſeem'd to be now time to take him from his Governeſs; and from the treating him as a Child, to put him into a Manly way of Education. He was now therefore committed to the Tuition of Mr. *Thomas Murray*, a *Scot*, a Man of Learning and Prudence, tho' a Favourer of Presbytery; which yet he could never inſtill into his Pupil, who paid him all juſt Reſpect, made him afterwards his Secretary, and beſtow'd on him the Provoſtſhip of *Eaton* in 1621, where at 59 Years of Age he was buried in *April* 1623, and left behind him many valuable Papers, which after a long Darkneſs were lately brought to Light, and are now in the Hands of a moſt Reverend Prelate of this Church. (*a*)

A forward Scholar.

Under this Tutor he was diligent and ſtudious; and the more ſo, becauſe ſome Imperfections of his Body diſpos'd him to the better Improvements of his Mind: for he was a weakly Boy, with his Legs growing crooked, that made his Gate ſlow and ungraceful: this made him leſs inclin'd to Sports and Exerciſes of Activity, and ſo more at leiſure for his Book and his Pen. A Writer of his Life tells us, " His Proficiency in Letters was ſo eminent, that " Prince *Henry* taking notice of it, to put a Jeſt " upon him, one day put the Cap of Archbiſhop " *Abbot* (who was then with the Prince, the Duke, " and other of the Nobility, waiting in the Privy " Chamber for the King's coming out) on his Bro- " ther's Head; adding, *That if he continued a good* " *Boy, and follow'd his Book, he would make him one* " *day Archbiſhop of Canterbury.* Which the Child " took in ſuch Diſdain, that he threw the Cap upon " the Ground, and trampled it under his Feet with " ſo much Eagerneſs, that he could hardly be re- " ſtrained." Among thoſe People now, who delight to draw Predictions from every Humour, or little Frolick of a Child, ſome would make this Action to be a Preſage of the Ruin of Epiſcopacy under his Adminiſtration: Others would have it not ominous to the Order, but to the Perſon of the Archbiſhop, who fell under his Diſpleaſure, and the Conſequence of it, a long Suſpenſion from his Office. But wiſer Folks were content to take it only for a Sign of Bigneſs of Spirit, and a Humour that did not love Jeſting or Levity. The ſame Writer, Dr. *Perinchief*, obſerves, " That his Childhood was blemiſhed with a " ſuppoſed Obſtinacy; for the Weakneſs of his Bo- " dy inclining him to Retirements, and the Imper- " fections of his Speech rendring Diſcourſe tedious " and unpleaſant, he was ſuſpected to be ſome- " what perverſe: But more Age and Strength fit- " ting him for Manlike Exerciſes, and the publick " Hopes inviting him from his Privacies, he deli- " vered the World of ſuch Fears."

Made Knight of the Garter in 1611.

In 1611 he was made *Knight of the Garter*, being now advanc'd into a more hopeful Youth, and labouring under little Imperfection, except that of ſome natural Impediment in his Speech, which made him heſitate and a little ſtammer, and made Converſation leſs agreeable to him. An *Hiſtorian* ſays, *L'eſtrange.* that " though this vocal Impediment accompanied " him till the fatal Stroke, yet was it to wiſe Men " an Index of his Wiſdom: therefore Obloquy never " play'd the Fool ſo much, as in imputing Folly " to him; ſince there was never, or very rarely, " known, a Fool that ſtammered."

Duke of *Cornwal* on the Death of his Elder Brother.

A new Proſpect open'd to him upon the Death of Prince *Henry*, who had made himſelf Gracious and Popular, and therefore left his ſucceeding Brother under a leſs Advantage of the People's Eſteem and Favour. He died on *November* 6, 1612. His Brother *Charles* was immediately honour'd with the Dukedom of *Cornwall*, and the Regalities of it; and attended his Funeral as chief Mourner, *December* 7. On the 14th of *February* following, he performed the Office of Brideman to the Princeſs *Elizabeth* his Siſter, who on that Day was married to *Frederick* V, Prince Elector *Palatine*; a Match which tho' unfortunate in the firſt Conſequences of it, yet extremely happy in laying in a Foundation for a Proteſtant Line of Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*.

Prince of *Wales* in 1616.

In 1616, being now of a manly Age and Inclination, he was upon *Novemb.* 3, created Prince of *Wales*, Earl of *Cheſter* and *Flint*, the Revenues thereof being aſſigned to maintain a Court for him as apparent Heir of the Crown. He had now worn off the Love of Retirement, and a ſedentary Life, and had outgrown many of the firſt Infirmities of Conſtitution. So that he had now Strength and Genius to apply himſelf to Action, and (as Tradition and Writers agree) " He grew ſo perfect in Vaulting, Riding " the great Horſe, Running at the Ring, Shooting " in Croſs-bows, Muskets, and ſometimes in great " Pieces of Ordnance, that if Principality had been " to be the Reward of Excellency in thoſe Arts, he " would have had a Title to the Crown this way " alſo; being thought the beſt Markſman, and moſt " graceful Manager of the great Horſe, in the three " Kingdoms."

The Prince choſe rather to divert himſelf in theſe Martial Exerciſes, than to be at the Head of any Political Meaſures. He enjoy'd his Privacies in the very Court, and left the Miniſtry of State-Affairs entirely to his Father and his Favourite Council. Some thought he did this to avoid the Jealouſies of the old King, who had conceiv'd ſome ill Reſentments of the Popularity of Prince *Henry*, and would be the more kind and eaſie to Prince *Charles*, if he ſaw leſs reaſon to ſuſpect his Ambition and forward Humour. Others would more enviouſly aſcribe it to a Narrowneſs of Mind, and an Incapacity of Greatneſs. But thoſe had moſt Charity and Truth in their Conjectures, who ſuppos'd it the Effect of Modeſty and filial Duty that reſtrain'd him from being officious in meddling with thoſe Matters, which were not yet come to be his immediate Concern.

Chief Mourner at the Queen's Funeral in 1618.

The Queen his Mother died on *March* 2, 1618. Upon this Loſs, he is ſaid to have diſcovered a great Evenneſs of Spirit, bewailing it only with a juſt meaſure of Grief, without any affected Sorrows: A true inward Concern, that Nature and Gratitude rais'd in him; for ſhe was obſerv'd to be moſt tender and affectionate to this Son above all her other Children. Under theſe Impreſſions of a deep unfeigned Sorrow, he choſe to be chief Mourner at her Funeral, when her Corps was carried from *Denmark-Houſe* to the Chappel of *Henry* VII, at *Weſtminſter*, and there interr'd with great and due Solemnity.

The King put in mind of his better Education.

The Death of the Queen was, not long after, followed with a ſharp Sickneſs of the King. On

(*a*) Dr. *Thomas Tenniſon*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

which

which occaſion, we are told that many of the King's Friends were apprehenſive of his Death, and began to lament the Proſpect of thoſe Dangers that might enſue upon it: In particular, Dr. *Andrews*, then Biſhop of *Ely*, as a Confeſſor to His Majeſty, took an opportunity of expreſſing to him "the ſad Condi-"tion of the Church, if God ſhould at that Time "determine his Royal Life; the Prince having been "only converſant with *Scotchmen*, who made up "the greateſt part of his Family, and were ill-affe-"cted to the Government and Worſhip of the Church "of *England*." Of this the King is ſaid to have become ſo very ſenſible, that he made a ſolemn Vow, *If God ſhould pleaſe to reſtore his Health, he would ſo inſtruct the Prince in the Controverſies of Religion, as ſhould ſecure his Affections to the preſent Eſtabliſhment.* Which he did with ſo much Succeſs, that when he was giving Inſtructions to the Chaplains that were to wait upon the Prince into *Spain*, he charged them to decline, as far as poſſible, all Diſputations in the Points of Religion: "But, ſays he, if any emergent Diſ-"putes ſhould happen, my Son is able to moderate "in them:" At which the Divines could not contain their Smiles: The King taking notice of their ſeeming to queſtion his Judgment of the Prince's Abilities, added, with ſome Vehemence, *CHARLES ſhall manage a Point in Controverſie with the beſt-ſtudied Divine of you all.* And indeed, this was a Talent in him, that did afterward appear in a moſt eminent Degree; though many believed, that the Want of this Accompliſhment would have been more happy; and that he would have been better able to *Protect* the Church, if he had not pleaſed himſelf with contending and *diſputing* for it.

In Feats of Chivalry 1620. In the twentieth Year of his Age, on *March* 24, 1620, which was the Anniverſary of King *James's* coming to the Crown of *England*, he performed a Juſting at *Whitehall*, together with ſeveral of the *Nobility*; wherein he *is ſaid* to have acquitted himſelf with a ſingular Air and Spirit of Bravery and Honour. Some believed, that the Reputation he thus gain'd in Martial Exploits, would drive him too much upon the Love of Arms, unleſs he ſhould have foreign Campaigns ſufficient to divert the Heroick Humour.

Goes into *Spain* in 1623. In 1623, the Prince was ſent into *Spain* to make his Addreſſes to the *Infanta*, and thereby to procure the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* to his Brother-in-law, the Prince Elector. The Hiſtory of this Affair has been at large delivered in the preceeding Reign: And therefore it need here only be obſerved, that after an in-effectual negotiating Love and Intereſt in *Spain*, he arrived at *Portſmouth* on the 5th of *October* with his whole Retinue, and went next Day to the King at *Royſton*; and ſoon after making his Entrance into *London*, he was received by the People with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy: and publick Thanks were given in all Churches throughout *England* and *Scotland* for his ſafe Return (*a*). The Subjects were the better pleas'd, that he came home without his Errand; for, in general, they had no good Opinion of a *Spaniſh* Match. And the King was ſatisfied with the Diſappointment, becauſe he found the *Spaniſh* Councils averſe to his main Deſign, which was Reſtoring the *Palatinate*; and therefore he ſoon ſent Orders to diſſolve the Treaty of Marriage, ſpeaking it in publick, *That he would never marry his Son with a Portion of his only Siſter's Tears.*

Attends upon the King in his laſt Agonies. The King falling into an Ague and Fever, was very apprehenſive of approaching Death, and deſiring on *Thurſday*, *March* 24, to have the Sacrament adminiſtred to him, he received it with great Devotion, profeſſing to the Prince his Son, who ſtood by him, that *He had received a ſingular Comfort thereby, and therefore wiſhed that he and all his Friends would partake of that Comfort whenever they came to lie under a like proſpect of Death.* The King departed this Life on *Sunday*, *March* 27, 1625 (*b*).

The Privy Council immediately met, and drew up the Form of a Proclamation to proclaim the new King; which was publiſhed at *Theobalds* (where the King died) that Evening, and the next Day at *Weſtminſter* and *London*, with uſual Ceremonies, and very hearty Acclamations (*c*). In the Evening of this *Monday*, *March* 28, the King came to the Palace of St. *James*: On the Day following, all the Privy Counſellors of the late King were ſworn into his preſent Majeſty's Council; by whoſe Advice, a Commiſſion was granted to authorize the Great Seal, Privy Seal, and Signet, till new ones could be prepared: And other Commiſſions were iſſued out for continuing the Powers of the Judges, Juſtices of Peace, Sheriffs, and all other Civil Officers, whoſe Truſt did by Law determine with the King. It is beſt to give the Orders of the Council as they were formally paſt. Succeeds his Father in 1625. 1625.

I. Ordered, "That a Commiſſion be granted to "authorize the Great Seal, Privy Seal, and Signet, "till new ones be prepared. Orders of Council.

II. "That Commiſſions be iſſued out with all con-"venient ſpeed for the Authorizing of all Judges, "Juſtices of the Peace, Sheriffs, and other the "Officers of Civil Government.

III. "That Proclamation be made to authenticate "Proceedings of Juſtice, and Preſervation of the "Peace.

IV. "That all Powers of the reſpective Embaſſies be "continued, and Notice given to foreign States "and Potentates; and the like Proclamations "and Commiſſions be ordered in *Scotland* and "*Ireland*, &c.

V. "That a Parliament be ſummoned according to "his Majeſty's Pleaſure; and the Solemnization "of his late Majeſty's Funeral, and his own Co-"ronation, be likewiſe then repreſented."

The Council, when they roſe, immediately attended the King at St. *James's*, where the Lord Keeper, in the Name of the reſt, gave Thanks to His Majeſty for putting a Confidence in them, who had before ſerved his Royal Father; and then preſented the ſaid Orders or Reſolves for his Majeſty's Approbation: Who did accordingly approve them, and commanded the Execution of them by ſeveral Proclamations. "By another particular Proclamati-"on of the ſame Date, the King ſignified his Affli-"ction for his Father's Death; and that he, being "his only Son and undoubted Heir, is inveſted "and eſtabliſhed in the Crown Imperial of this "Realm, and all other his Majeſty's Realms, Do-"minions, and Countries, with all the Royalties, "Pre-eminencies, Stiles, Names, Titles, and Dig-"nities to the ſame belonging. And he declared, "That as he for his Part ſhall, by God's Grace, "ſhew himſelf a moſt benign and gracious Sove-"reign Lord to all his good Subjects in all their "lawful Suits and Cauſes; ſo he miſtruſteth not, "but that they on their Parts, will ſhew themſelves

(*a*) See the Letters of Archbiſhop *Uſher*. Fol. p. 302. Mr. *Samuel Ward's* Thankſgiving Sermon for the Prince's ſafe Return, 8vo. 1624. Dr. *Featley's* Romiſh Fiſher caught. *Ep. Ded.* 1624. 4to.

(*b*) See *Great-Britain's* Solomon or Sermon of Biſhop *Williams* at the Funeral of King *James*. 4to. 1625. ——Dr. *John Hacket*, Chaplain to K. *James*, had long intended to write his Life, and to that Purpoſe, the Lord Keeper *Williams* gave him Mr. *Cambden's* MSS. Notes of that King's Reign, till his own Death, 1623; and his dear Friend Mr. *John de St. Amand*, communicated to him many choice Letters, and Secrets of State, of his own Collection; who in like manner deſigned the ſame Thing, &c. See Dr. *Plume's* Life of Biſhop *Hacket*.

(*c*) See a Form of Prayer with Thankſgiving, to be uſed of all the King's Majeſty's loving Subjects, every Year, the 27th Day of *March*, being the Day of his Highneſs's Entry into this Kingdom. Set forth by Authority, 4to.

1625. "unto him their natural Liege Lord, moſt loving, "faithful, and obedient Subjects."

Funeral of K. James.

The Council at the ſame time moved the King, that his Father's Funeral might be ſolemnized, and his own Nuptials in *France* confirmed, before the Sitting of the Parliament: To both which the King agreed. Accordingly, on the 23d of *April*, the Body of King *James* was conducted by the Nobility and great Officers of State, from *Theobalds* to *Denmark-houſe* in the *Strand*, from whence it was carried with a very pompous Solemnity, on *May* 17, to the Abbey-Church at *Weſtminſter*; the Herſe was followed by the King himſelf as chief Mourner, ſupported by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, with his Train carried up by twelve Peers of the Realm. After an elegant Sermon, preached by *John* Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Corps was interred in *Henry* VII's Chapel, built for the Dormitory of our *Engliſh* Princes.

Forces rais'd for Recovery of the Palatinate.

The King thought himſelf in Honour obliged to be early in his Preparations for a War toward the Recovery of the Palatinate. To purſue this good Deſign (which might have been more happily reſerved for the Counſels of the Parliament) general Muſters were made in ſeveral Counties, and twelve thouſand Men were rais'd, of which, eight thouſand were to rendezvouz at *Plymouth:* Coat and Conduct Money were ordered to be paid by the Country, and they to be re-imburſed at the King's Exchequer. And becauſe Complaint was made of theſe Forces being diſorderly in their March, a Proclamation was firſt iſſued for their good and quiet Behaviour: and ſoon after a Commiſſion was granted, to execute a ſtrict Diſcipline by Martial Law. Theſe Methods gave occaſion to ſome Debates among the Judges, and to ſome Diſcontents among the Common People.

Concluſion of the Match with France.

The King's next and chiefeſt Care, was to conclude his own Match with *Henrietta Maria* a Daughter of *France.* The Articles of Marriage had been ſigned by K. *James* on the 11th of *May*, and by the *French* King on the 14th of *Auguſt* following; and in *March* the ſaid Articles were ſigned at *Paris* by the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors, the Earls of *Carliſle* and *Holland.* So that after a needleſs Diſpenſation from *Rome*, nothing now remained but the Ceremony of Eſpouſals; for which the King ſent over his Procuratorial Letters for the Duke of *Chevreux* to act in his Name: and on *May* 11, the Solemnity was performed by Cardinal *Richlieu*, upon a Theatre erected for that Purpoſe before the Altar in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* in *Paris*, the Lady being given by her two Brothers, the King, and Monſieur (*a*). The D. of *Buckingham* was ſent over to conduct Her Majeſty into *England:* He came to *Paris May* 24, from whence he attended the Queen on *June* 2, towards *Amiens*, and forward to *Bulloign*, where the Royal Navy lying ready for Her, ſhe embarked *June* 12. and was brought ſafe, though a little ſick, to *Dover*. Where the King met her in the Morning *June* 13, and taking Coach the ſame Day for *Canterbury*, the Marriage was that Night conſummated. On *June* 16, their Majeſties entred *London*, where great Preparations had been made to receive them; but moſt of the Shew and Appearance was omitted, becauſe the Plague was now encreaſed in the City and Suburbs. The Queen ſettled with her Family in *Denmark*, or *Somerſet-Houſe*, which had been fitted up for her Reception, with a Chapel for Popiſh Service, according to the Articles of Marriage; and a Convent for Capuchin Friers. (*b*)

1625. *Great Plague.*

Some People reflecting on the latter end of King *Charles*'s Reign, have look'd on it as a very inauſpicious Omen, that it began thus with a raging Peſtilence. As if this firſt Calamity did portend all the other publick Evils which followed after: But Cauſes and Events are known only to the wiſe God. The Reign of King *James* began with a like ſpreading Contagion, which was not then a Prognoſtick of ſucceeding Miſeries; for Peace and Plenty were the peculiar Bleſſing of all his Reign. An Hiſtorian makes it farther remarkable, "That theſe two "Plagues, that of the Father, this of the Son, were "Natives both of one Pariſh, *White Chapel*, yea un-"der the ſame Roof, and iſſued forth on the ſame "Day of the Month: Such Correſpondence was "there in their Entrance, *&c.*" It is leſs to be admired that the Plague ſhould often begin in that Part of the Suburbs where the Butchers have their Shambles ſo cloſe and unclean: And it was more common for the Plague to reign in *London*, when the Streets and Lanes were ſo very narrow, and the Houſes for the moſt part ſo very ſordid, that Air and Sweetneſs were the only Strangers. Whereas ſince the Rebuilding of the City, the Streets are open, the Paſſages clear, the Windows large, the Cottages of the Poor are removed farther into the Fields, and many other Obſtructions of breathing are taken away: So as ſince the Fire, the Plague has never broke out in this populous City. God long avert the Judgment! *L'eſtrange.*

Conjectures on the Match with France.

Others have thought, that this Reign began with a greater Judgment in the King's Marriage with *Popery* and *France:* Two Evils with which the Intereſt of this Church and Nation could bear no Alliance. The young King indeed was in this excuſable, that he did not meerly follow his own Inclinations, but ſubmitted to the Judgment of his Father and the Parliament, who had jointly concerted this Match, and had carried it ſo far, as not to leave Room for an honourable Retreat. But however, conſidering the Malignity of Popiſh Religion, the Imperiouſneſs of *French* Government, the Influence of a ſtately Queen upon an affectionate Huſband, and the Share ſhe muſt have in the Education of her Children; it was even then eaſie to foreſee, that this unequal Match might prove very fatal to our *Engliſh* Prince and People, and lay-in a Vengeance to future Generations. (*c*)

The firſt Parliament June 18.

On *June* 18th, according to Summons, the Parliament began at *Weſtminſter*; where the Lords being habited in their Robes, and the Commons attending, his Majeſty, ſeated in his Royal Throne, ſpoke thus:

King's Speech.

"I Thank God, that the Buſineſs to be treated on "at this Time is of ſuch a Nature, that it needs "no Eloquence to ſet it forth; for, I am neither "able to do it, neither doth it ſtand with my Na-"ture to ſpend much Time in Words. It is no new "Buſineſs, being already happily begun by my Fa-"ther of bleſſed Memory who is with God, there-"fore it needeth no Narrative: I hope to God, you "will go on to maintain it as freely as you adviſed "my Father to it. It is true, he may ſeem to ſome "to have been ſlack to begin ſo juſt and ſo glorious "a Work; but it was his Wiſdom that made him "loth to begin a Work until he might find a Means "to maintain it. But after that he ſaw, how much "he was abuſed in the Confidence he had with other "States, and was confirmed by your Advice to run "the Courſe we are in, with your Engagement to "maintain it; I need not preſs to prove how wil-

(*a*) See a Relation of the glorious Triumphs and Order of the Ceremonies, obſerved in the Marriage of the High and Mighty *Charles*, King of *England*, and the Lady *Henrietta Maria*, Siſter to the preſent King of *France*, on *May* 8. 1625. Printed in 1625. 4to.

(*b*) See another *true Relation* of the Treaty, and Ratification of Marriage, with the Articles in Number xxv. Printed in 1641. 4to.

(*c*) See the King's Warrant to the Lord Keeper to ſuſpend the Execution of the Laws againſt the *Roman Catholicks.* dat. 1. *May* 1625. Life of Arch-Biſhop *Williams.* Fol. P. 11. p. 6. ——A ſpecial Pardon to twenty *Roman* Prieſts of all Offences contrary to the Laws of this Kingdom. dat. 10 *May* 1625. *Ruſhworth.* 1. p. 173.——A Catalogue of the Vicars General and Arch-Deacons in *England*, conſtituted by the moſt Reverend *Richard*, Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, by his Letters dat. 1. *June* 1625. publiſh'd in the *Pope*'s Brief, or *Rome*'s Iniquity. 4to. 1643.

"lingly,

1625. "lingly he took your Advice: for, the Preparations "that are made are better able to declare it, than "I to ſpeak it. The Aſſiſtance of thoſe in *Germany*, "the Fleet that is ready for Action, with the reſt "of the Preparations, which I have only followed "my Father in, do ſufficiently prove that he en- "tred into this Action.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,

"I hope you do remember, that you were pleaſed "to employ me to adviſe my Father to break off "thoſe two Treaties that were on foot: ſo that I "cannot ſay, that I came hither a free unengaged "Man. It's true, I came into this Buſineſs wil- "lingly and freely, like a young Man, and conſe- "quently raſhly; but it was by your Intereſt, your "Engagement: So that though it were done like a "young Man, yet I cannot repent me of it; and I "think none can blame me for it, knowing the "Love and Fidelity you have borne to your King, "having my ſelf likewiſe ſome little Experience of "your Affections. I pray you remember, that this "being my firſt Action, and begun by your Advice "and Intreaty, what a great Diſhonour it were to "you and me, if this Action ſo begun ſhould fail "for that Aſſiſtance you are able to give me. Yet "knowing the Conſtancy of your Love both to me "and this Buſineſs, I needed not to have ſaid this, "but only to ſhew what Care and Senſe I have of "your Honours and mine own. I muſt intreat you "likewiſe to conſider of the Times we are in, how "that I muſt adventure your Lives (which I ſhould "be loth to do) ſhould I continue you here long; "and you muſt venture the Buſineſs, if you be ſlow "in your Reſolutions: Wherefore I hope you will "take ſuch grave Counſel, as you will expedite what "you have in hand to do; which will do me and "your ſelves an infinite deal of Honour; you in "ſhewing your Love to me, and me that I may per- "fect that Work which my Father hath ſo happily "begun.

"Laſt of all, Becauſe ſome malicious Men may, "and, as I hear, have given out, that I am not ſo "true a Keeper and Maintainer of the true Religion "that I profeſs; I aſſure you, that I may with S. *Paul* "ſay, that I have been trained up at *Gamaliel*'s "Feet; and although I ſhall never be ſo arrogant "as to aſſume unto my ſelf the reſt, I ſhall ſo far "ſhew the End of it, that all the World may ſee, "that none hath been, nor ever ſhall be, more de- "ſirous to maintain the Religion I profeſs, than I "ſhall be.

"Now becauſe I am unfit for much ſpeaking, I "mean to bring up the Faſhion of my Predeceſſors, "to have my Lord Keeper ſpeak for me in moſt "things: therefore I have commanded him to ſpeak "ſomething to you at this time; which is more for "Formality, than any great Matter he hath to ſay "unto you.

Then the Lord Keeper declared,

Lord Keeper's Speech.

"That the King's main Reaſon of calling the Par- "liament, beſides the beholding of his Subject's "Faces, was to mind them of the great Engage- "ments for the Recovery of the Palatinate, impoſed "on his Majeſty by the late King his Father, and "by themſelves who brake off the two Treaties with "*Spain*; alſo to let them underſtand, that the ſuc- "ceeding Treaties and Alliances, the Armies ſent "into the *Low Countries*, the Repairing of the Forts, "and the Fortifying of *Ireland*, do all meet in one "Centre, *the Palatinate*; and, that the Subſidies "granted the laſt Parliament are herein already "ſpent, whereof the Accompt is ready, together "with as much more of the King's own Revenue.

1625. His Lordſhip farther recommended three Cir- cumſtances.

"Firſt, the *Time*. All *Europe* being at this Day "at the Pool of *Betheſda*, the firſt ſtirring of the "Waters muſt be laid hold on; wherefore his Ma- "jeſty deſires them to beſtow this Meeting on him, "or rather on their Actions, and the next ſhall be "theirs, as ſoon and as long as they pleaſe, for do- "meſtick Buſineſs. Secondly, *Supply*. If Subſidies "be thought too long and backward, his Majeſty "deſires to hear, and not to propound the way. "Thirdly, the *Iſſue of Action*; which being the firſt, "doth highly concern his Majeſty's Honour and Re- "putation, for which he relies upon their Loves "with the greateſt Confidence that ever King had "in his Subjects; witneſs his Royal Poſie, *Amor "Civium Regis Munimentum*: And he doubts not, "but as ſoon as he ſhall be known in *Europe* to be "their King, ſo ſoon ſhall they be known to be a "Loving and Loyal Nation to him."

Opening of this Parlia- ment did promiſe Joy and Satisfacti- on.

There were many Reaſons to diſpoſe the Hearts of the People to be fill'd with Content and Joy at this Opening of the Parliament. 1. The very Call of it ſo immediately after the King's Acceſſion to the Throne, was grateful to the People of *England*, who always think themſelves moſt ſafe under a Sitting Parlia- ment. 2. His Speech to the Lords and Commons was more cloſe and pertinent, as well as more ten- der and affectionate than the like Applications of his Royal Father, who had uſed himſelf to Ha- rangues, rather than to the natural Propriety of Thoughts and Words. 3. He wiſely reſolv'd the War into the Advice of the laſt Parliament, and made himſelf their Agent and Inſtrument only in perſuading his Father to break off the Treaties. 4. He remov'd the Jealouſies which had been unhap- pily rais'd of his Inclinations to Popery, upon ac- count of his Treaty with *Spain*, and his Match with *France*; Popular Jealouſies, which indeed he could never perfectly remove, though he gave this ſolemn Aſſurance, and liv'd and died a Proof of it. 5. He ask'd for Supplies upon the right Bottom of letting the Subjects know, that the Money granted in laſt Parliament was already ſpent in the Uſes aſſign'd for it; and that the Account of thoſe Expences was ready to be laid before them. In a word, Here were All the wiſe and juſt Meaſures that a new Prince could take to render himſelf Acceptable to his Peo- ple, and Conſiderable to all the World. The more Wonder and Pity, that this happy Beginning of a Reign ſhould proceed unfortunately, and conclude moſt miſerably.

Speaker choſen and pre- ſented.

June 21, the Commons preſented Sir *Tho. Crew*, Kt. and Serjeant at Law for their Speaker, and his Ma- jeſty approv'd the Choice; which was thought the more agreeable, becauſe he had been Speaker in the laſt Parliament of King *James*, and was the better acquainted with Affairs now depending. The Houſe began with various Debates: Some inſiſted, "That "the Grievances mentioned, but not redreſſed, in "laſt Parliament, ſhould be now conſider'd: Others "call'd for an immediate Account of the laſt Subſi- "ſidies granted for Recovery of the *Palatinate*: O- "thers for putting the Laws in Execution againſt "Prieſts and Jeſuits, and ſuch Papiſts as reſorted "to the Houſes and Chapels of foreign Ambaſſa- "dors: Others declaim'd againſt the Dangers of "*Arminianiſm*, and the ſpreading of thoſe Tenets "by ſome late Writers, eſpecially Mr. *Montague*. (a) On the other hand, it was dutifully urg'd by the King's Friends in that Houſe, "That they had rea- "ſon to thank his Majeſty for calling a Parliament "upon his firſt coming to the Crown, as the ſureſt

Debates in the Houſe of Com- mons.

(a) See the Proceedings in the Houſe of Com. againſt *Ri- chard Mountague*, Clerk, for his *Appeal to Cæſar*, &c. in Ruſhworth. 1. p. 177.

"way

1625.

" way to keep up a right Underſtanding between him and his People: That ſince he began to reign, the Grievances were none, or ſo few and inconſiderable, that they were not yet worth a Complaint; That they could not but remember, how his Majeſty, when Prince, had been very inſtrumental in ſolliciting the Cauſe of Parliament and People with his Royal Father, and had yet done nothing but in purſuance of the Meaſures taken in that former Reign; that therefore it would be the Wiſdom of this Houſe to ſweeten all things between the King and his People, and to expreſs their Duty by an effectual Supply, and therewith to offer nothing but a humble Petition for the Honour and Safety of Religion."

A publick Faſt.

The Plague encreaſing, the Commons mov'd the Lords to join in a Petition to the King for a publick Faſt, whereunto their Lordſhips readily concurr'd; and the King as freely conſenting, a Proclamation was iſſued forth for a *Day of Faſting and Humiliation* thro'out the Kingdom; (*a*) and the King commanded the Archbiſhop, and ſix other Biſhops, to draw up a *Form of Prayer* to implore the Divine Mercy to ſtop the raging Peſtilence, and to avert the Famine that ſeem'd to be now threatned by the extraordinary wet Weather; and to beg God's Bleſſing upon the Fleet now ready to put to Sea. This Faſt was ſolemnly kept by both Houſes of Parliament on *Saturday* Jul. 2. and throughout all *England* on *Wedneſday* July 20.

Grant of two *Subſidies.*

After ſome Diſguſt between the King and the Commons, in relation to Mr. *Montague*, they unanimouſly preſented two Subſidies; which being confirm'd by the Lords, were offer'd to his Majeſty, with the uſual Deſire of his gracious Acceptance. The Lord *Conway*, Secretary of State, ſignified to the Lords and Commons together, That his Majeſty did kindly accept the Bill for two Subſidies, but, that the Neceſſities of our preſent Affairs were ſo urgent, as to require their farther Advice and Aſſiſtance; and ſo opened the Grounds and Reaſons of the War, and the Expences requiſite for a Support of it. Then the Lord Keeper deliver'd a ſhort Meſſage from the King to both Houſes, That as to the Petition of the Lords and Commons touching Religion, his Majeſty was pleaſed at firſt to give them a gracious Aſſurance, and had now ſent them a fuller Anſwer, to give them Satisfaction in every Particular.

Other *Bills* depending.

The Houſes were preparing ſeveral Acts; as, "againſt Giving and Taking of Bribes for Places of Judicature; To reſtrain the arbitrary Preſſing of Soldiers; To grant the Tonnage and Poundage for one Year only;" and ſome other Bills in Agitation: But, by reaſon of the great Increaſe of the Plague, (*b*) the two Houſes moved his Majeſty for a ſhort Receſs; and accordingly on *Monday* July 11. they adjourn'd to *Oxford*, to re-aſſemble there on the firſt day of *Auguſt*.

Adjourn'd to *Oxford* *Aug.* 1.

The fatal Policy in aſſiſting the *French* King.

In the time of this Receſs, there happen'd an Action at Sea that made the King ſuffer very much in the Affections of his People, and in the Eſteem of foreign Proteſtants. King *James*, in his laſt Treaty with *France*, had promiſ'd the lending of ſome Ships to the *French* King upon reaſonable Conditions, ſuppoſing them to be employed only againſt the King of *Spain*, or his Allies, in *Italy*. To perform this Engagement, Captain *John Pennington* was ſent in the *Vantguard*, a principal Man of War, with ſeven Merchant Ships of great Burden and Strength, to ride upon the Coaſts of *France* for the Service of that King; who, inſtead of employing them againſt a common Enemy, had now reſolv'd to make another uſe of them againſt his own Proteſtant Subjects, to block up the Harbour of *Rochel*, and ſo reduce the Town to his abſolute Subjection. Captain *Pennington* was ſenſible of this ill Deſign, and therefore ſent back a Memorial to the Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord High Admiral, to decline the Service, and to bring home the Ships in Safety and Honour (*c*); but he ſoon received Letters from the Duke, and a Warrant from Secretary *Conway*, in the King's Name, to command him to deliver up the Ships to the hands of ſuch *French-men* as his Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould appoint, but not to deſert his own Charge over them. Theſe Orders were deliver'd to him by the hands of the *French* Ambaſſadour, together with a Letter from the *French* King, requiring him to receive aboard a certain Number of *French* Soldiers, and his Admiral the Duke of *Montmorance*, and ſo to join againſt the *Rochellers*. *Pennington* very bravely refuſed; upon which a Diſpute ariſing, the *French* Ambaſſadour's Secretary came two ſeveral times to the Captain's Ship, to Proteſt againſt him as a Rebel to his King and Country: But at the making of the laſt Proteſt, enforced with Challenges and Threats, the Soldiers and Mariners grew into ſuch a Fury and Tumult, that they got up their Anchors and ſet Sail for *England*, ſaying, like true *Engliſh* Sea-men, that *they would rather be hang'd at home, than be Slaves to the* French, *and fight againſt the Proteſtant Religion.* When they came to anchor in the *Downs*, Captain *Pennington* ſent an Expreſs to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to inform him of what had happen'd; and to aſſure him, that All his Men would ſooner be hang'd than return again into *France* (*d*). But the King, upon importunity of the Queen, ſent an expreſs and ſtrict Order to *Pennington*, to put his former Inſtructions, without delay, in execution; to reſign his Ship called the *Vantguard*, with all her Furniture, into the hands of the Marquis *D'effiat*; and, to require the ſeven Merchant Ships to put themſelves into the Service of the *French* King, under the utmoſt Penalty. Upon this *Pennington* ſail'd back to *Diep*, and put the *Vantguard* into the abſolute Power of the *French* King, and delivered up the other Ships for the ſame purpoſe; who were weighing Anchor, and making away, but upon a Shot from *Pennington* they came in again; only Sir *Ferdinando George* ſtoutly brought off his Ship called the *Neptune*. The Companies in the reſt unanimouſly declar'd againſt ſerving the *French*, and quitted their Ships all but one Man; and *Pennington* himſelf came away for *England*. This Expedition was fatal to the King's Intereſt, brought on a Jealouſie of the new Queen, and rais'd a general Odium againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*.

1625.

Againſt his *Proteſtant* Subjects.

Bravery of the *Engliſh* Seamen.

Parliament at *Oxford*.

On *Monday* Aug. 1. the Parliament re-aſſembled at *Oxford*, and on *Thurſday* Aug. 4. the Lords and Commons were commanded to attend his Majeſty in the ſpacious Hall of *Chriſt-Church*, where the King made this Speech to them.

My

(*a*) See, By the King, a Proclamation for a Publick General and Solemn Faſt to be obſerved throughout *England* on *Wedneſday*, 20 *July*. Given at *Whitehall*, 3. *July*. 1625. 1. Reign.

A Sermon Preach'd in *Weſtminſter* before his Majeſty, the Lords, and others of the upper Houſe of Parliament, at the opening of the Faſt, by *Arthur*, Lord Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*. Biſhop *Lake*'s Sermons. p. 200.

(*b*) See Mr *Ward*'s News from *Ipſwich*. 4to. 1636. wherein he ſays, the Number of thoſe who died in the 58 Pariſhes infected, were 838. in the firſt Week of the Faſt, &c.

Within this Year of Peſtilence, 1625. there died fifty four Preachers of *London*, and the Arch-deacon. See *Stripe*'s Life of Biſhop *Aylmer*. 8vo. p. 184.

(*c*) See the Letter of Capt. *John Pennington*, from aboard the *Vantguard*, in the *Downs*, 27th of *July*, 1625. to the Duke of *Buck*. in the *Cabala*. Fol. p. 350.

(*d*) When the Convocation was prorogued at St. *Pauls*, *July* 12. to meet at *Oxford*, *Auguſt* 2. 1625. There was a Noble Deſign againſt the Frauds and Corruptions of Popery, recommended to the Church and Clergy of *England*, by Dr. *Thomas James* of *Oxford*, approved by the Subſcription of the Vice-Chancellor, and Heads of Houſes; conſiſting of Ten Heads of Advice for Learning and Religion. I. That the Latin Father's Works, the Books of Councils, and the Body of the Canon Law, may be diligently reviewed and compared with the beſt Manuſcripts; and the Collections, and needful Obſervations thence-from ariſing, printed; together with the Pieces and Fragments of the Father's Works, if any ſhall be found. II. That the Latin Tranſlation of the Greek Fathers may be collated by able and fit Perſons, by reaſon of divers

Chri-

1625.

My Lords, and you of the Commons,

King's Speech.

"WE all remember, that from your Deſires "and Advice my Father, now with God, "brake off thoſe two Treaties with *Spain*, that were "then in hand. Well you then foreſaw, that as "well for regaining my diſpoſſeſs'd Brother's Inhe-"ritance, as Home Defence, a War was likely to "ſucceed: And that as your Counſels had led my "Father into it, ſo your Aſſiſtance in a Parliamen-"tary way to purſue it, ſhould not be wanting. "That Aid you gave him by Advice was for Suc-"cour of his Allies, the Guarding of *Ireland*; and "the Home-part, Supply of Munition, preparing "and ſetting forth of his Navy. A Council you "thought of and appointed for the War, and Trea-"ſurers for iſſuing of the Monies: And to begin "this Work of your Advice, you gave three Subſi-"dies and as many Fifteens, which with ſpeed were "levied, and by Direction of that Council of War "(in which the Preparation of this Navy was not "the leaſt) diſburſed.

"It pleaſed God at the Entrance of this Prepara-"tion (by your Advice begun) to call my Father "to his Mercy, whereby I enter'd as well to the "Care of your Deſign as his Crown. I did not then "as Princes do of Cuſtom and Formality, re-aſſemble "you, but that by your farther Advice and Aid I "might be able to proceed in that which by your "Counſels my Father was engaged in. Your Love "to me, and Forwardneſs to further thoſe Affairs, "you expreſſed by a Grant of two Subſidies yet un-"gathered; although I muſt aſſure you by my ſelf "and others, upon Credit taken up, and aforehand "diſburſed, and far ſhort as yet to ſet forth that "Navy now preparing; as I have lately the Eſti-"mate of thoſe of Care, and who are ſtill employed "about it, whoſe Particular of all Expences about "this Preparation ſhall be given you, when you "pleaſe to take an Account of it."

The preſent Poſture of Affairs declared by the Secretaries of State.

His Majeſty having ended his Speech, comman-ded his Secretaries, the Lord *Conway* and Sir *John Cook*, more particularly to declare the preſent State of Affairs; which they did, with reference to *Germany*, *France*, the *Low Countries*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Italy*: and then returning to our Condition at home; a Fleet ready to put to Sea, and an Army lying at *Plymouth*; and ſo preſſing for proportion-able Aid.

And the King's Debts by the Lord Treaſurer.

Then the Lord Treaſurer added, "That the late "King, when he died, was indebted to the City of "*London* one hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds, "beſides Intereſt; indebted for *Denmark* and the "*Palatinate* one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds; "indebted for his Wardrobe, forty thouſand Pounds. "Theſe Debts lie upon his preſent Majeſty, who "is indebted to *London* ſeventy thouſand Pounds, "that he has laid out; for his Navy twenty thou-"ſand Pounds, and twenty thouſand Pounds for "Count *Mansfield*; for Mourning and Funeral Ex-"pences for his Father, forty two thouſand Pounds; "for Expences concerning the Queen, forty thouſand "Pounds; and that, beſides all this, the Navy would "require, for the intended Expedition, three hun-"dred thouſand Pounds."

The H. of Commons are diſpleaſed.

Theſe great Occaſions of Supply made ſome Mem-bers of the Houſe of Commons take Advantage of the King's Neceſſities, and improve the popular Diſ-contents; which the King might eaſily have allay'd by ſoft Words, and Reformation of ſome few Abu-ſes: But finding the King not much diſpos'd to pleaſe them, they flew into higher Pretenſions, com-plaining, "That the Treaſury was miſemployed; "that evil Counſels guided the King's Deſigns; that "all our Neceſſities were owing to a wrong Ma-"nagement; that they ought to Petition the King "to take a more faithful Council; that it was not "ſafe to grant more Money, till Grievances were "redreſs'd; that it ſhould be declared, againſt what "Enemy the Fleet and Army were intended; that "Court Offices were ſold; that the King had not "yet given a full Anſwer to their Petition concern-"ing Religion; nor about the Impoſition upon "Wines; that all Miſcarriages were in greateſt mea-"ſure owing to the Potency of the Duke of *Buck-"ingham*, upon whom they reflected with great Se-"verity, that he had broke the Match with *Spain*, "to make that with *France* upon much harder terms; "that Papiſts were openly encourag'd, and ſome "Prieſts and Jeſuits had obtain'd Warrants of Par-"don diſpenſing with expreſs Statutes."

Conference between *Lords* and *Commons*.

A Conference was held between the Lords and Commons upon the Subject of theſe Debates, and more eſpecially upon the Eſtabliſh'd Religion. When the Conference was over, both Houſes were ordered to meet at *Chriſt-Church*, to receive an An-ſwer to their Petition concerning Religion: To eve-ry Clauſe whereof his Majeſty anſwered in a Parlia-mentary way, upon *Aug.* 7. And becauſe the Foundation of all the enſuing Troubles was laid in theſe Apprehenſions of the Growth of Popery; it will be proper to give the Petitions and Anſwers in their Order at large.

Petition of Parliament, and his Majeſty's *Anſwer*.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

"*Moſt Gracious Sovereign,*

"IT being infallibly true, that Nothing can more "eſtabliſh the Throne, and aſſure the Peace and "Proſperity of the People, than the Unity and "Sincerity of Religion; We your moſt humble and "loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Tempo-"ral, and Commons of this preſent Parliament aſ-"ſembled, hold our ſelves bound, in Conſcience "and Duty, to repreſent the ſame to your Sacred "Majeſty, together with the dangerous Conſequen-"ces of the Increaſe of Popery in this Land, and "what we conceive to be the principal Cauſes "thereof, and what may be the Remedies.

Chriſtopherſons and Jeſuits, that have too too much abuſed the Ignorant of the Tongue. III. That the Indices Expurga-tory may be likewiſe peruſed, &c. And he immediately after, publiſh'd his Reaſons for ſupporting the good Intention of ſo ſtriking at the Foundations of Popery, in a Tract, Intituled, "An Explanation or Enlarging of the ten Articles, in the "Supplication of Dr. *James*, lately exhibited to the Clergy "of *England*: Or a manifeſt Proof that they are both reaſona-"ble and faiſible within the Time mentioned." *Oxford* 1625. 4to. But in this uſeful Project, the very Learned Honeſt Man could have no Succeſs, and could afterward get no great Prefer-ment, of which he tenderly complained in his *Manuduction*, Printed in this ſame Year, 1625. The Matter hath been mo-tioned in Convocation. Oh! let it not be ſaid, as was once ſpoken of our Convocations and Congregations here in *Oxford*, that they were Cauſe of much Evil, becauſe they were *inuti-les ſine fructu*.

Yet the Majority of the Lower Houſe of Convocation were heartily againſt Popery, and the *Arminian* Faction, for which Zeal the Leaders of them were diſcountenanced, and mark'd out for the Diſpleaſure of Superiours, as is plain from the Account given by one Member of another; Dr. *William Leo*, Preacher at *Wandſworth* in *Surrey*, in his Funeral Sermon on Dr. *Daniel Featley* at *Lambeth*, *April.* 21. 1645. ſpoke thus.——We ſerved together in three Convocations, to wit, the laſt two of King *James*, to whom we had the Honour to be Chaplains in Ordinary, and the firſt of King *Charles*, kept at *Oxford*; all which time he ſtrongly ſet himſelf againſt all that had any ſmack of *Rome*, or *Romiſh* Superſtition. In which Convoca-tion, five and forty of us, whereof he was chief, made a ſo-lemn Covenant among our ſelves, to oppoſe every Thing that did but ſavour or ſcent never ſo little of Pelagianiſme, or Se-mi-Pelagianiſme.——But how harſhly and hardly he was uſed by a great Man in the Church, that ſhall be nameleſs. *Ani-mus meminiſſe horret, luctuq; refugit.* For in a manner, he was driven thence, and we were conſtrained to get him an Horſe, and two poor Men travelled with him, the one on the one Side, and the other on the other Side, did ſupport and ſtay him up all the Way, and ſo brought him home to *Lam-beth*, travelling on Foot-pace. When we took our leave of him at *Bullington-Green*, he ſaid, *Valete amici nunc tem-poris: Ego, ut olim Bucerus, ſum pila fortunæ, quæ non eſt omnibus una. Orate pro me, pro Rege, Lege, Grege, ite-rum valete in Domino Ieſu*, and ſo went on.

"The

1625. “ The Dangers appear in theſe Particulars:

I. “ In their deſperate Ends, being both the Subverſion of Church and State; and the Reſtleſneſs of their Spirits to attain theſe Ends, the Doctrine of their Teachers and Leaders perſuading them, that therein they do God good Service.

II. “ Their evident and ſtrict Dependence upon ſuch Foreign Princes, as no way affect the Good of your Majeſty and this State.

III. “ The opening a way of Popularity to the Ambition of any who ſhall adventure to make himſelf Head of ſo great a Party.

The principal Cauſes of the Increaſe of Papiſts; are,

I. “ The want of the due Execution of Laws againſt Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants; occaſioned partly by the Connivency of the State, partly by Defects in the Laws themſelves, and partly by the manifold Abuſe of Officers.

II. “ The interpoſing of Foreign Princes, by their Ambaſſadors and Agents, in favour of them.

III. “ Their great Concourſe to the City, and frequent Conferences and Conventicles there.

IV. “ The open and uſual Reſort to the Houſes and Chapels of Foreign Ambaſſadors.

V. “ The Education of their Children in Seminaries and Houſes of their Religion in Foreign Parts, which of late have been greatly multiplied and enlarged for entertaining of the *Engliſh*.

VI. “ That in ſome Places of your Realm, your People be not ſufficiently inſtructed in the Knowledge of true Religion.

VII. “ The licentious Printing and Diſperſing of Popiſh and Seditious Books.

VIII. “ The Employment of Men ill-affected in Religion, in Places of Government, who do, may, or ſhall countenance the Popiſh Party.

The Remedies againſt this outragious and dangerous Diſeaſe, we conceive to be theſe enſuing.

I. “ That the Youth of this Realm be carefully educated by able and religious Schoolmaſters, and they to be injoined to Catechize, and inſtruct their Scholars in the Grounds and Principles of true Religion. And whereas, by many Complaints from divers Parts of the Kingdom, it doth plainly appear, That ſundry Popiſh Scholars, diſſembling their Religion, have craftily crept in, and obtained the Places of Teaching in divers Counties, and thereby infected and perverted their Scholars, and ſo fitted them to be tranſported to the Popiſh Seminaries beyond the Seas; That therefore there be great care in Choice and Admitting of Schoolmaſters, and that the Ordinaries make diligent Enquiries of their Demeanours, and proceed to the removing of ſuch as ſhall be faulty, or juſtly ſuſpected.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

This is well allowed of: And, for the better Performance of what is deſired, Letters ſhall be written to the two Archbiſhops, and from them Letters to go to all the Ordinaries of their ſeveral Provinces to ſee this done; the ſeveral Ordinaries to give Account of their Doings herein to the Archbiſhops reſpectively, and they to give Account to his Majeſty of their Proceedings herein.

II. “ That the ancient Diſcipline of the Univerſities be reſtored, being the famous Nurſeries of Literature and Vertue.

Anſw. This is approved by his Majeſty, and the Chancellour of each Univerſity ſhall be required to cauſe due execution of it. 1625.

III. “ That ſpecial Care be taken to enlarge the Word of God throughout all the Parts of your Majeſty's Dominions, as being the moſt powerful Means for planting of true Religion, and rooting out of the contrary. To which end, among other things, to adviſe your Biſhops, by Fatherly Entreaty and tender Uſage, to reduce to the peaceable and orderly Service of the Church ſuch able Miniſters as have been formerly ſilenced, that there may be a profitable Uſe of their Miniſtry in theſe needful and dangerous Times; and, that *Non-Reſidency*, *Pluralities*, and *Commendams*, may be moderated: Where we cannot forbear moſt humbly to thank your Majeſty for diminiſhing the Number of your own Chaplains, not doubting of the like Princely Care for the well-beſtowing of the reſt of your Benefices, both to the Comfort of the People, and the Encouragement of the Univerſities, being full of grave and able Miniſters unfurniſh'd of Livings.

Anſw. This his Majeſty likes well, ſo as it be applied to ſuch Miniſters as are peaceable, orderly, and conformable to the Church-Government: For Pluralities and Non-reſidencies they are now ſo moderated, that the Archbiſhops affirm, there be now no Diſpenſations for Pluralities granted; nor no Man now is allowed above two Benefices, and thoſe not above thirty Miles diſtant: And for avoiding Non-reſidence, the Canon in that caſe provided ſhall be duly put in execution. For Commendams, they ſhall be ſparingly granted, only in ſuch caſes where the Exility and Smallneſs of the Biſhoprick requireth. Alſo his Majeſty will cauſe that the Benefices belonging to him ſhall be well beſtowed. And, for the better propagating of Religion, his Majeſty recommendeth to the Parliament, that Care may be taken, and Proviſion made, that every Pariſh ſhall allow a competent Maintenance for an able Miniſter; and, that the Owners of Parſonages Impropriate would allow to the Vicars, Curates, and Miniſters, in Villages and Places belonging to their Parſonage, ſufficient Stipend and Allowance for Preaching Miniſters.

IV. “ That there may be ſtrict Proviſion againſt Tranſporting of *Engliſh* Children to the Seminaries beyond the Seas, and for the recalling of them who are already there placed; and for the Puniſhment of ſuch your Subjects as are Maintainers of thoſe Seminaries, or of the Scholars; conſidering, that beſides the ſeducing of your People, great Sums of Money are yearly expended upon them, to the impoveriſhing of this Kingdom.

Anſw. The Law in this caſe ſhall be put in execution: And farther, there ſhall be Letters written to the Lord Treaſurer, and alſo to the Lord Admiral, that all the Ports of this Realm, and the Creeks and Members thereof, be ſtrictly kept, and ſtrait Searches made to this end: A Proclamation ſhall be to recall both the Children of

Noble-

1625. **Noblemen, and the Children of any other Men, and they to return by a Day: Alſo Maintainers of Seminaries, or Scholars there, ſhall be puniſhed according to Law.**

V. "That no Popiſh Recuſant be permitted to come within the Court, unleſs your Majeſty be pleaſed to call him upon ſpecial Occaſion, agreeable to the Statute of 3 *Jacobi*. And whereas your Majeſty, for preventing of apparent Miſchiefs both to your Majeſty and the State, hath in your Princely Wiſdom taken Order, that none of your natural-born Subjects not profeſſing the true Religion as by Law eſtabliſhed, be admitted into the Service of your Royal Conſort the Queen; we give your Majeſty moſt humble Thanks, and deſire that your Order herein may be obſerved."

Anſw. **If his Majeſty ſhall find or be inform'd of any Concourſe of Recuſants to the Court, the Law ſhall be ſtrictly followed: And his Majeſty is pleaſed that by Proclamation the** Britiſh **and the** Iriſh **Subjects ſhall be put in the ſame caſe. And as his Majeſty hath provided in his Treaty with** France, **ſo his Purpoſe is to keep it, that none of his Subjects ſhall be admitted into his Service, or into the Service of his Royal Conſort the Queen, that are Popiſh Recuſants.**

VI. "That all the Laws now ſtanding in force againſt Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and others, having taken Orders by Authority derived from the See of *Rome*, be put in due execution. And to the Intent they may not pretend to be ſurpriſed, that a ſpeedy and certain Day be prefixed by your Majeſty's Proclamation for their Departure out of this Realm, and all other your Dominions, and not to return upon the ſevereſt Penalties of the Law now in force againſt them; And that all your Majeſty's Subjects may be thereby admoniſhed not to receive, comfort, entertain, or conceal any of them, upon the Penalties which may be lawfully inflicted. And that all ſuch Papiſts, Jeſuits, and Recuſants, who are and ſhall be impriſoned for Recuſancy or any other cauſe, may be ſo ſtrictly reſtrained, as that none ſhall have Conference with them, thereby to avoid the Contagion of their corrupt Religion. And that no Man who ſhall be ſuſpected of Popery be ſuffered to be a Keeper of any of your Majeſty's Priſons."

Anſw. **The Law in this caſe ſhall be put in execution, and a Proclamation ſhall be to the effect deſired: And ſuch Reſtraint ſhall be made as is deſired: And no Man that is juſtly ſuſpected of Popery ſhall be ſuffered to be Keeper of any of his Majeſty's Priſons.**

VII. "That your Majeſty be pleaſed to take ſuch Order as to your Princely Wiſdom ſhall be expedient, that no natural-born Subject, or ſtrange Biſhops, nor any other, by Authority from the See of *Rome*, confer any Eccleſiaſtical Orders to exerciſe any Eccleſiaſtical Function whatſoever toward or upon your Majeſty's natural Subjects within your Dominions."

Anſw. **This is fit to be ordered according as is provided; and it ſhall be ſo publiſhed by Proclamation.**

VIII. "That your Majeſty's Learned Council may receive Order and Commandment to conſider of all former Grants of Recuſants Lands, that ſuch of them may be avoided as are made to the Recuſants Uſe or Intereſt, out of which the Recuſant receiveth any Benefit, which are either void or voidable by the Law." 1625.

Anſw. **The King will give Order to his learned Council to conſider of the Grants; and will do according as is deſired.**

IX. "That your Majeſty will be likewiſe pleaſed ſtrictly to command all your Judges and Miniſters of Juſtice, Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal, to ſee the Laws of this Realm againſt Popiſh Recuſants to be duly executed: And namely, That the Cenſure of Excommunication be declared and certified againſt them, and that they be not abſolved but upon publick Satisfaction, by yielding to Conformity."

Anſw. **His Majeſty leaves the Laws to their courſe, and will order in the point of Excommunication as is deſired.**

X. "That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to remove from Places of Authority and Government all ſuch Perſons as are either Popiſh Recuſants, or according to Direction of former Acts of State to be juſtly ſuſpected."

Anſw. **This his Majeſty thinks fit, and will give Order for it.**

XI. "That preſent Order be taken for diſarming all Popiſh Recuſants legally convicted or juſtly ſuſpected according to the Laws in that behalf, and the Orders taken by his late Majeſty's Privy Council upon Reaſon of State."

Anſw. **The Laws and Acts in this caſe ſhall be followed, and put in due execution.**

XII. "That your Majeſty be alſo pleaſed, in reſpect of the great Reſort of Recuſants to and about *London*, to command forthwith, upon pain of your Indignation and ſevere Execution of the Laws, that they retire themſelves to their ſeveral Countries, there to remain confined within five Miles of their Places."

Anſw. **For this the Laws in force ſhall be forthwith executed.**

XIII. "And whereas your Majeſty hath ſtrictly commanded and taken Order, that none of the natural-born Subjects repair to the hearing of Maſſes, or other ſuperſtitious Service, at the Chapels or Houſes of foreign Ambaſſadors, or in any other Places whatſoever; We give your Majeſty moſt humble Thanks, and deſire that your Order and Commandment therein may be continued and obſerved, and that the Offenders herein may be puniſhed according to the Laws."

Anſw. **The King gives Aſſent thereto, and will ſee that obſerved which herein hath been commanded by him.**

XIV. "That all ſuch Inſolencies as any that are Popiſhly affected have lately committed, or ſhall hereafter commit, to the Diſhonour of our Religion, or to the Wrong of the true Profeſſors thereof, be exemplarily puniſhed."

Anſw. **This ſhall be done as is deſired.**

1625. XV. "That the Statute of 1 *Eliz.* for the payment of Twelve-pence every *Sunday* by ſuch as "ſhall be abſent from Divine Service in the Church, "without a lawful Excuſe, may be put in due execution, the rather for that the Penalty by Law "is given to the Poor, and therefore not to be diſpenſed withal."

Anſw. It is fit that this Statute be executed, and the Penalties ſhall not be diſpenſed withal.

XVI. "Laſtly, That your Majeſty would be pleaſed to extend your Princely Care alſo over the "Kingdom of *Ireland*, that the like Courſes may be "there taken for the reſtoring and eſtabliſhing of "true Religion there."

Anſw. His Majeſty's Cares are and ſhall be extended over the Kingdom of Ireland, and he will do all that a Religious King ſhould do for the reſtoring and eſtabliſhing true Religion there.

"And thus (moſt gracious Sovereign) according "to our Duty and Zeal to God and Religion, to "your Majeſty and your Safety, to the Church and "Commonwealth, and their Peace and Proſperity, "we have made a faithful Declaration of the preſent Eſtate, the Cauſes and Remedies of this increaſing Diſeaſe of Popery; humbly offering the "ſame to your Princely Care and Wiſdom. The "Anſwer of your Majeſty's Father, our late Sovereign, of famous Memory, upon the like Petition, "did give us great Comfort of Reformation; but "your Majeſty's moſt gracious Promiſes made in "that kind, do give us Confidence and Aſſurance "of the continual Performance thereof. In which "Comfort and Confidence repoſing our ſelves, we "moſt humbly pray for your Majeſty's long Continuance in all Princely Felicity."

The Petition and Anſwer were wiſe and moderate.

It is plain, that as nothing could more become the Wiſdom and Honour of the Parliament, than to make ſuch a *Petition*; ſo nothing could better aſſert the Zeal and Affection of the King, than to give ſuch an *Anſwer*. The Petition ſhews, that the Jealouſies of Popery were then very high; and the Anſwer aſſures them, that the King will effectually ſuppreſs thoſe Fears and Jealouſies. But indeed Political Jealouſies are like the Conjugal, when they are once raiſed, it is hard to extinguiſh 'em. Promiſes of Fidelity are not believ'd; Reconciling Favours are ſuſpected; and the ſtricteſt Guard upon Innocence will be thought Guilty. There is no Reaſon to doubt, but that his Majeſty was Sincere in theſe Royal Aſſurances he gave his People: And for a more full Conviction, at the time of Reading the Petition and Anſwer, it was farther intimated to the Commons, "That as his Majeſty took well "their minding him of the Care of Religion, ſo he "would have done and granted the ſame things if "they had not petitioned for them. That he did "not place this Anſwer to their Petition as a *Wheel* "to draw on other Affairs and Deſigns, but he "leaves them to move in their own Spheres; and "what he hath done in this Particular comes from "theſe two Fountains, Conſcience and Duty to his "Father, who in his laſt Speech recommended unto him the Perſon, but not the Religion, of his "Queen."

The Duke of Buckingham, a potent Favourite, fatal to his Maſter.

Next to the Dangers of Popery, the greateſt Grievance of the Commons was, to ſee the Duke of *Buckingham* in the exceſſive Favours of the King, the prime Miniſter, the higheſt Officer, and in effect the ſole Mover of the Court. The Favourites of every Prince were always odious to the *Engliſh* People, and were frequently ſet upon by *Engliſh* Parliaments. Not only Self-love, Envy, Ambition, Diſguſt, Revenge, and ſuch like Paſſions, do naturally create an Averſion to any one Subject who ſeems to engroſs and appropriate to himſelf the common Father of the People; but the laudable Affections that prompt to Equity and Impartiality, Tenderneſs to our Prince, and Love to our Country, all conſpire to make every indifferent Perſon an Enemy to the one powerful Fellow-member, that commands the Head, and uſurps over the whole Body. This Reſentment had been very loud in the preſent Seſſion; Speeches and Replies had been very ſevere: And therefore the Duke thought it proper to make ſome Apology and Defence for himſelf. He took an Opportunity of doing this when both Houſes were thus together to receive his Majeſty's Anſwer as before related. "He began with acquainting the Lords "and Commons, that by the King's Command he "was to give an Account of the Fleet, and the Preparations thereof. He ſaid, that the firſt and the "laſt time he had the Happineſs to ſpeak in that "Auditory, it was of the *Spaniſh* Treaty, and then "he was ſo happy as to be honoured and applauded "by both Houſes of Parliament; and he made no "queſtion but ſpeaking now with the ſame Heart, "he ſhould be no leſs acceptable to them. He requeſted the Houſe of Commons to believe, that "if any Member had, in Diſcharge of his Conſcience, or in his Zeal for Reformation, ſpoke any "thing which might ſeem to reflect upon ſome particular Perſons; He ſhould be the laſt Man that "would apply this to himſelf, becauſe he was confidently aſſured of two things; *firſt*, that they "would be juſt not to fall upon him without cauſe; "and *ſecondly*, that he himſelf ſhould do nothing "unſuitable to the Character of a faithful *Engliſhman*." Then he proceeded to ſum up the Objections rais'd againſt him, and to give particular Anſwers to them. The Objections were by way of *Quære*; 1. *By what Counſel thoſe Deſigns and Actions of War were carried on and enterpriſed?* Anſ. By the Counſel of the Parliament, appointed according to the Act of both Houſes, *March* 23. 1623. &c. 2. *Why did not his Majeſty declare the Enemy preſently upon granting thoſe three Subſidies?* Anſ. His Majeſty conſidered the ſtate of *Chriſtendom* at that Seaſon, and found it full of Danger to declare the Enemy, for three Reaſons, *&c.* 3. *Whether a conſiderable Sum of Money be yet required?* Anſ. Forty thouſand Pounds is yet neceſſary, *&c.* 4. *Why was not this Want of Money foreſeen, but now only thought upon unexpectedly and dangerouſly, conſidering the Sickneſs?* Anſ. It was foreſeen before, but interrupted by unfortunate Accidents, *&c.* 5. *Who gave Counſel to his Majeſty ſo ſuddenly, when the Sickneſs was ſo dangerouſly ſpread, to conveen this Parliament?* Anſ. His Majeſty commanded him to ſay, that it was the Buſineſs it ſelf that gave this Counſel, and the Neceſſity of it, *&c.* 6. *Is not the time of the Year too far ſpent for the Navy to go forth?* Anſ. The King anſwered this formerly; Better half the Navy periſh, than the going thereof ſhould be ſtayed. 7. *Whether thoſe eight Ships lent to the* French *King, which were employed againſt the* Rochellers, *were not paid with the Subſidy Money?* Anſ. Thoſe eight Ships were employed at the Charge of the *French* King, *&c.* 8. *Whether the Duke, having been our Servant to break the Match with* Spain, *made not a worſe Match with* France, *and upon harſher Terms?* Anſ. I hope the contrary will appear by the Anſwer to your Petition. 9. *Did not the Duke ſerve us in breaking the two Treaties with* Spain, *out of Spleen and Malice to* Conde Olivares? Anſ. There was no Reaſon to hate *Olivares*, who was the Means to make him happy in obliging this Nation with Papers received from his Hands, *&c.* 10. *Why ſhould the Duke ſpeak of immenſe Charges which the Kingdom is not able to bear; as, to aſſiſt the King of* Denmark *with thirty thouſand Pounds* per *Month, Count* Mansfield *with twenty thouſand Pounds a Month, the Low Countries with eight thouſand Pounds a Month, and two thouſand ſix hundred Pounds a Month for* Ireland? Anſ. Make

All Court Favourites odious to the Engliſh People.

The Duke's Plea in Parliament.

And Objections againſt him anſwered.

the

1625. the King Chief of the War by a Diverſion, and he will give a greater Advantage to all his Allies, than by any Monthly Allowance, &c. 11. *But where is the Enemy?* Anſ. Make the Fleet ready to go out, and the King bids You name the Enemy your ſelves, &c.

Debates of the Commons upon his Majeſty's Anſwer, and the Duke's Plea.

After the Commons were returned from the Upper Houſe on this *Tueſday, Auguſt* 9. a Report was made of his Majeſty's Anſwer, and of the Duke's Defence: Upon which the Members differ'd. Some were for preſent Supply in Gratitude to his Majeſty's gracious Anſwer; and urg'd, that this Supply was not for the King's own particular Wants, but for the Honour and Defence of the Kingdom; and, that it might prove dangerous not to comply with the King in ſuch a modeſt and juſt Deſire. Others were of a contrary Mind, and ſaid, It was rather their Duty to preſent to the King, how he might live glorious at home, and be feared abroad, by having his Deſigns better managed, and an Enemy declared: that we ought to be more ſecured from Domeſtick Foes, before we engage againſt any foreign Enemy: that the great Sums given for Honours and Offices would go far in ſetting out the Fleet, &c. After warm Debates, they agreed to conſider farther of the Matter to morrow. (*a*)

Meſſage from the King to the H. of Commons.

Accordingly, on *Wedneſday, Auguſt* 10. while the Commons were going to re-aſſume the Debate, they receiv'd a Meſſage from the King, wherein his Majeſty took notice, "That he perceived the Houſe intended to enter into conſideration of divers Heads "concerning the King and the Commonwealth; that "he was pleaſed with their good Intentions, but "deſired them to conſider his Affairs, which require'd a ſpeedy Diſpatch, and indeed a quick Supply. He offer'd the Parliament ſhould meet again "in Winter, at what time they pleaſe, upon his "Royal Word, and then ſit till they had perfected "all things for the common Good: and, in concluſion, deſired them to conſider, that this was the "firſt Requeſt he had ever made to them."

The Influence of this Meſſage upon the Houſe of Commons.

Upon this Meſſage ſome Members earneſtly preſſed the giving of two Subſidies, and two Fifteens, in regard to his Majeſty's Honour, and the Neceſſity of Publick Affairs. But others replied, That *Neceſſity* was a dangerous Counſellor, and might be a continual Argument of Supplies in all Parliaments: that thoſe Miniſters who had put the King and Kingdom into ſuch *Neceſſity*, ought to anſwer for it: that there was as much Neceſſity for Redreſs of Grievances as for Grant of more Subſidies, &c. The Houſe at laſt agreed upon a Declaration, drawn up in this Form:

They draw up a *Declaration.*

"WE the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of "the Commons Houſe of Parliament, being "the Repreſentative Body of the whole Commons "of this Realm, abundantly comforted in his Majeſty's late gracious Anſwer touching Religion, "and his Meſſage for the care of our Health; do "ſolemnly proteſt and vow, before God and the "World, with one Heart and Voice, That we are "all reſolved, and do hereby declare, that we will "ever continue moſt Loyal and Obedient Subjects "to our moſt gracious Soveraign Lord K. *Charles*; "and that we will be ready, in convenient time, "and in a Parliamentary way, freely and dutifully "to do our utmoſt Endeavours to diſcover and reform the Abuſes and Grievances of the Realm and "State, and in like ſort to afford all neceſſary Supply to his moſt excellent Majeſty upon his preſent, "and all other his juſt Occaſions and Deſigns; "moſt humbly beſeeching our ſaid dear and dread "Soveraign, in his Princely Wiſdom and Goodneſs, "to reſt aſſured of the true and hearty Affections of "his poor Commons, and to eſteem the ſame to be "(as we conceive it is indeed) the greateſt worldly Reputation and Security that a juſt King can "have; and to account all ſuch as Slanderers of the "Peoples Affections, and Enemies to the Commonwealth, that ſhall dare to ſay the contrary." 1625.

The King offended at it.

This Declaration was ſent to the King by ſuch of the Privy Council as were Members of the Houſe: and if his Majeſty would have ſeem'd pleas'd with it, and would have commanded *Buckingham* to make his Peace with the Commons, and would have promis'd a Redreſs of Civil Grievances as graciouſly as he had anſwer'd the Complaints about Religion, and have ſo comply'd with the Genius of the Nation; he might then have made himſelf ſafe at home, and very conſiderable abroad. But it ſo happen'd, that he thought the Duke a neceſſary Inſtrument by no means to be laid aſide; and apprehended, that the Grievances of a ſix Month's Reign ought not to be objected to him; and, that nothing elſe ought to interrupt an immediate Supply. Upon theſe Thoughts, on *Friday, Auguſt* 12. the King ſent a Commiſſion directed to ſeveral Lords for the Diſſolution of the Parliament. Whereupon the Uſher of the *Black Rod* was ſent to call up the Commons to the Lords Houſe: But they being reſolv'd into a Grand Committee, and knowing the Deſign of the Meſſage, refuſed to admit the Meſſenger, or to let the Speaker take the Chair, till Mr. *Glanvil*, Chairman of the Committee, had made a Report in a kind of Proteſtation. Then the Houſe went up, and having heard his Majeſty's Commiſſion read, it was accordingly executed, and the Parliament diſſolved.

Diſſolves the Parliament by Commiſſion.

To the general Diſcontent of the People.

This abrupt Diſſolution, tho' founded upon ſome weighty Reaſons, was a great Unhappineſs to King and Kingdom: It left a deep Impreſſion of Diſcontent upon the Minds of the People, and created a Diffidence and Jealouſie between the King and all ſucceeding Parliaments.

Acts paſſed in this Parliament.

At this Parliament, begun and holden by Prorogation at *Weſtminſter* the 13th Day of *June, Anno Regis Caroli primo*, 1625, theſe Acts were paſs'd.

I. "An Act for the Puniſhing of divers Abuſes "committed on the Lord's-day, commonly called "*Sunday.*

II. "An Act to enable the King to make Leaſes "of Lands, Parcel of the Dutchy of *Cornwal.*

III. "An Act for the Eaſe of obtaining Licenſes "of Alienation, and in the pleading of Alienations "with Licenſe, or of Pardons of Alienation without Licenſe, in the Court of *Exchequer* or elſewhere.

IV. "An Act to reſtrain Tippling in Inns and "Ale-houſes.

V. "An Act for the Subſidy of the Clergy.

VI. "An Act for two Subſidies of the Temporalty.

VII. "An Act that this Seſſion of Parliament "ſhall not determine by his Majeſty's Aſſent to this "and ſome other Acts.

VIII. "An Act to confirm an Agreement between "the King and the Copyholders of *Macclesfield* in "the County of *Cheſter.*

IX. "An Act for the Settlement of an Agreement "of the Tenants of *Chelvenham* and *Aſhby* alias "*Charleton*, between the King and Sir *Charles Grival*, Knight."

The King proceeds to a War.

The Parliament being diſſolved, the King purſued his Deſigns of War, and order'd the Fleet to be ſpeedily put to Sea. He made a League with the *United Provinces* againſt the Emperour and King of *Spain*, for reſtoring the Liberties of *Germany*. The *States*, by their Ambaſſadors, deſir'd to enter into this League: upon which the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Holland* were ſent to the *Hague* to

(*a*) See A Speech delivered in the Lower Houſe of Parliament, aſſembled at *Oxford*, in *Aug.* 1625. *Cotton's Poſthuma* 8vo. p. 273.——Speech of Mr. *Rouſe*, for the augmenting of ſmall Livings, &c. in *Caſe of Impropriations.* 8vo. p. 190.

1625. conclude the ſame, and to comfort the King's diſtreſſed Siſter with the Hopes of Reſtitution.

A Proclamation againſt the Papiſts.

To gratifie the Deſires of the late Parliament, and to keep his Royal Word, the King wiſely iſſued out his *Proclamation* to command the Return, within a time limited, of all *Engliſh* Youth bred up in foreign Schools and Seminaries: That no Biſhop, Prieſt, or other Perſon in Orders by Authority of the See of *Rome*, ſhould preſume to confer Eccleſiaſtical Orders, or exerciſe his Function or Juriſdiction towards any of his natural Subjects: and, That all Statutes in force againſt Jeſuits, *&c.* be put in due execution. (*a*)

But want of Money to carry on the War, muſt drive the King upon ſome Meaſures of Supply that were extraordinary, and therefore thought illegal. That of Borrowing from the Subjects by their own Conſent was firſt tried, as the moſt inoffenſive: To which purpoſe, the King directed his Letters to the Lords Lieutenants in the ſeverall Counties, in manner following.

The King's Letters for a *Loan.*

" *Right Truſty and Well-beloved,*

" IT hath been ſo uſual a thing for Kings and Princes of this Realm to make uſe of their Subject's good Affections, by borrowing ſome ſuch competent Sums of Money of Perſons able to lend, as might ſupply thoſe preſent Occaſions for publick Service, which cannot attend that length of time wherein it can be raiſed by Contribution by the generality of our Subjects. As we have not only preſent occaſion to make the like Trial, by borrowing from ſome private Gentlemen and others; but alſo of your Sincerity and Endeavours in furtherance of the Service; that is to ſay, in taking ſome courſe either out of your own Knowledge and Experience, or by any other Means and Inſtruments which you like beſt, to make collection of as many Perſons Names within the County wherein you are Lieutenant, as may be of Ability to furniſh us with ſeveral Sums at this time; and therefore to return in a Book, both the Names of the Perſons, their Dwellings, and what Sums you think they may ſpare; that we may thereupon direct our Privy Seals unto them, according to the Form of this encloſ'd. And for your farther Inſtruction in this Caſe, on whoſe Truſt we do ſo much repoſe, we wiſh you to adviſe herein with your Deputy-Lieutenants, as thoſe from whom we have ſpecial Cauſe to promiſe our ſelves all good Offices of Duty and Affection. To which we muſt add thus much farther, That we do not at this time intend to deal with any Noblemen, neither are you to deal with any of the Clergy, becauſe we have reſerved that Direction to the Metropolitans of the ſeveral Provinces; to proceed only with ſome ſpecial Perſons, that are known to be Men of Wealth and Ability, and not meerly ſubſiſting upon thoſe Livings which in moſt Places are far inferiour to that Maintenance we could wiſh them. By which Courſe and Conſideration of ours, tho' you may perceive how much we deſire to procure this Loan without Inconveniency to any, which is only intended for the Service of the Publick; yet muſt we aſſure you, that we had no greater Cauſe at any time than now to make uſe of your Integrity and Induſtry in reſpect of your Election of the Lenders, and of your conſtant Demonſtration both of Diligence and Affection to the Service. Having now delivered unto you as much as for the preſent can be expected from us, we will refer you for any farther Direction unto our Privy Council, as hereafter occaſion ſhall require: To whom our Pleaſure is, you do return you Certificates in Manner and Form as is aforeſaid, at the moſt within twenty Days after the Receipt of theſe our Letters. *Given*, &c. 1625.

Letters of the Comptroller under the *Privy Seal.*

Accordingly, in purſuance of this Method, the Comptroller of the King's Houſhold, by Order of the Council, iſſued forth Letters in the King's Name, under the Privy Seal, to the ſeveral Perſons return'd by the Lord Lieutenants, with a Preamble of Grounds and Reaſons, and then concluding, "The Sum which we require of you by theſe Preſents is .... which we do promiſe in the Name of Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, to repay to you, or your Aſſigns, within eighteen Months after the Payment thereof unto the Collector. The Perſon we have appointed to collect it is .... to whoſe Hands we do require you to ſend it within twelve Days after you have received this Privy Seal; which, together with the Collector's Acquittance, ſhall be ſufficient warrant unto the Officers of our Receipt for the Re-payment hereof at the time limited." *Given at*, &c.

The Collectors of this Loan were appointed to pay into the Exchequer the Sums received, and to return the Names of ſuch as diſcovered a Diſpoſition to delay or excuſe the Payment of the Sums required of them.

An ill Project.

This Project did not ſo much anſwer the King's Occaſions, as it treaſured up the Peoples Murmurs and Complaints: For, the King's *Borrowing* what the Parliament deny'd to *give*, was to arraign the Judgment of the Commons; and for Subjects to have their Abilities valued by the Lieutenants, was a Way of Taxing without Precedent; and to have the particular Sum demanded, took away all appearance of a voluntary Loan; and to have the Names returned of thoſe who ſhould refuſe or delay, as well as of thoſe who ſhould freely lend, was to regiſter the King's Subjects in different *Columns* of Enemies and Friends: Beſides, the Lenders could hardly expect to be repaid without a Parliamentary Fund; and yet a following Parliament might be ſo far from thinking it a juſt Debt, that they would rather refuſe the Diſcharge, for fear it ſhould encourage the like Practice in other Intervals of Parliament.

Warrants from Privy Council againſt the *Papiſts.*

To help to allay theſe popular Diſcontents, the Privy Council iſſued out Warrants for the Diſarming of Popiſh Recuſants; and directed expreſs Letters to the Principal Lords of that Communion, requiring them to render their Arms and Furniture thereunto belonging, together with all their Habiliments of War, to be removed into Places convenient, and to remain there during the King's Pleaſure. Inſtructions were likewiſe ſent to the Lord Lieutenants, to examine into the Truth and Reaſon of a prevailing Report, *That there was a great and unaccuſtomed Reſort to the Houſes of Papiſts, that there were frequent Aſſemblies, ſolemn Entertainments, and a ſpecial Intercourſe of Letters between them*; and to enquire and ſearch if there were any Preparation of Men or Arms, or Practice of Arms, or Endeavours of Alteration among Perſons diſcontented with the preſent Government. (*b*)

The Fleet ready to Sail.

The Fleet was now ready, and ten brave Regiments were deſigned for this Expedition. The Duke, Lord Admiral, declined to go in Perſon; which rais'd a greater Prejudice againſt him, that he ſhould be ſo forward in his Counſels for the War, and yet recede from an actual Service in it. To ſupply his Place, Sir *Edward Cecil* was created Lord Viſcount *Wimbleton*, and had the Command of the whole Fleet, the Earl of *Eſſex* being Vice-Admiral under him. This Sir *Edward Cecil* was a third Son of

Lord *Wimbleton* General at Sea and Land.

(*a*) See, By the King, a Proclamation, for recalling his Majeſties Subjects from the *Seminaries* beyond the Seas, and putting the Laws againſt Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts in Execution. Given at *Woodſtock* 14. *Aug.* Reg. 1. Printed Sheet.

(*b*) See a Letter of the Earl of *Carliſle* to the Duke of *Buckingham*, giving Account of his Majeſties Reſolution, by Advice of Council, for the diſarming of all the Popiſh Lords, and what Brabble fell out upon the Execution thereof, at the Houſe of the Lord *Vaux* in *Northamptonſhire*, dat. *Nov.* 20. 1625. in the *Cabala*, *Fol.* p. 214.

1625. *Thomas* Earl of *Exeter*, train'd up a Soldier in the *Netherlands* upon continual Service for thirty five Years, being firſt Colonel of Foot, and at the Battle of *Newport* Commander of the *Engliſh* Horſe; General of the Forces ſent by King *James* againſt the *Spaniards* and *Imperialiſts*. So that he came with the Reputation of a Land Soldier, not of a Seaman; and ſeemed not ſo fit for the Voyage, as for the Deſcent upon *Spain*. His being a Stranger to the Navy was the worſe reſented, becauſe in the Choice of Officers for this Service, Sir *Robert Manſel*, a true old Sea Commander, was neglected; which much diſguſted the common Seamen, who naturally love a Fellow-Sailor.

The Expedition at Sea unfortunate.

In the Beginning of *October* (too late a Seaſon) the Fleet, conſiſting of eighty Ships, the *Ann Royal*, a Ship of twelve hundred Tun, being Admiral, put forth from *Plymouth* for the Coaſts of *Spain*; and after four Days Sail met with a furious Storm, which ſo diſperſed the Ships, that fifty of 'em were miſſing for ſeven Days: but they join'd again upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, where they found a Prize put into their Hands, the *Spaniſh* Shipping in the Bay of *Cadiz*, weak and eaſie to be taken; but in Negligence and ill Conduct, they ſuffer'd 'em to eſcape. To regain ſome Honour, the Forces landed, and Sir *John Boroughs* took a ſmall Fort; but the Soldiers finding good ſtore of the rich Wines, took a liberty in them, and had expoſed themſelves to the Enemy, if they had not been commanded Aboard again: when the General putting to Sea, intended to wait for the Plate-Fleet, which was daily expected from the *Weſt-Indies*: But the ill Condition of his Men, by reaſon of a general Contagion, obliged him to return home with Diſhonour in *November* following.

Return of the Fleet

This unfortunate Expedition encreas'd the Jealouſies and hard Apprehenſions of the People. Some little Enquiries were made into the Miſcarriage. The General and other Officers were examined before the Council, where they threw the blame upon one another, and only proved it to be among them a very ill-managed Deſign. When the Forces were landed at *Plymouth* in *December*, a Proclamation iſſued forth, to command that no Soldiers of the Fleet ſhould depart from their Colours, or be diſcharged of their Service, till the King ſhould ſignifie his Pleaſure: So the Companies were diſperſed into ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. Orders were likewiſe ſent for the better exercising of the Train'd-Bands, and for aſſigning old Officers, experienced in the *Low Country* Wars, to take their Poſts in the ſeveral Counties, there to muſter and diſcipline the Militia, and make them ready for the publick Service. But the People did not like theſe Appearances of War without the Countenance of a Parliament.

A Parliament to be ſummoned.

And therefore the King wiſely determined to call a Parliament to meet in *February* following: And to prepare for their more amicable Meeting, his Majeſty enjoined the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to proceed againſt Popiſh Recuſants by Excommunication, and other Cenſures of the Church; and to uſe all lawful Means of bringing them to publick Juſtice. Eſpecially he recommended to their vigilant Care, the unmasking and repreſſing of thoſe who were not profeſſed Papiſts, yet diſaffected to the true Religion, and kept cloſe their evil Inclinations, and ſo by ſecret Means and Slights did encourage and advance the Growth of Popery (*a*). This Command was ſeconded by a Proclamation, requiring that all convicted Papiſts ſhould according to the Laws of this Realm, remain confined to their Dwelling-places, or within five Miles thereof, unleſs upon ſpecial Licenſe firſt obtained in neceſſary Caſes. (*b*)

Wiſe Methods to prepare for a happy Meeting.

1625.

This Method was prudent and popular; but ſome other Courſes were taken very diſagreeable. The Duke of *Buckingham* was allowed to throw his Marks of Diſpleaſure upon thoſe Members who had oppos'd him in the laſt Parliament: of which, one of the chief was the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Lord Keeper, whom the Duke had openly reproved at *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, for ſiding againſt him; the Biſhop ſtoutly anſwered, That he was indeed engaged with *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, and other worthy Patriots, to labour the Redreſs of the Peoples Grievances, and in ſo good a Cauſe he was reſolved to ſtand upon his own Legs. *If that be your Reſolution* (ſaid the Duke) *look you ſtand faſt*: and ſo they parted never to be reconciled; for ſhortly after the Biſhop was ſequeſtred from the Council-Table, from the Seal, and from the Preſence of the King, tho' he retained the Name of Lord Keeper, till now, upon *October* the 30th, the Seal was given to Sir *Thomas Coventry* at *Hampton-Court*, who was that Day ſworn of the Privy Council, with the Stile and Dignity of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*. Other Tokens of Prejudice were ſhewn againſt ſome of the leading Members in the laſt Houſe of Commons, who were now made Sheriffs, that they might be incapable of being elected within their ſeveral Counties: Among theſe Gentlemen were Sir *Edward Coke*, who had been Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King*'s-*Bench*, and therefore reſented it as the greater Indignity to have this Office put upon him. To avoid it, if poſſible, he drew up Exceptions againſt the Oath of a Sheriff, and ſent them to the Attorney-General, who by Order of Council did attend the Judges, and received their Opinion, that of the four Articles objected by Sir *Edward Coke*, they found no reaſonable Cauſe to make any Alteration, only in one of the ſaid Articles, *viz*. *You ſhall do all your Pain and Diligence to deſtroy and make to ceaſe all manner of Hereſies and Errors, commonly called Lollaries, within your Bailywick from time to time, to all your Power, and be helping to all Ordinaries and Commiſſioners of the Holy Church, and favour and maintain them as oftentimes as you ſhall be required*: Which Part of the Oath, as obſelete and irreligious, they did agree ſhould be left out of the Oath to be adminiſtred to Sir *Edward Coke*, and all other Sheriffs for the future. And an Order of Council was accordingly made to that Effect: which reformed the Oath, but did not excuſe the Perſons. (*c*) Another Practice diſpleaſing to the Country, was the King's directing his Precepts to all Sheriffs, commanding them to make Proclamation, That all ſuch as had Forty Pounds a Year, or more, of Lands or Revenues, in their own Hands or the Hands of Feoffees, and are not yet Knights, do at their Perils prepare to preſent themſelves in his Majeſty's Preſence by the 31*ſt* of *January*, to receive the Order of Knighthood. This indeed was old Law and Cuſtom; but, to reinforce it now, when the Value of Eſtates was ſo much diſproportioned to the Quality of Knights, was thought at beſt to be but a legal Oppreſſion. The faireſt Pretence for it was to do Honour to the King's Coronation.

Some Courſes taken that diſobliged the People.

Sir *Edw. Coke* High Sheriff.

Perſons compell'd to take the Honour of Knighthood.

For the King had declared his Intentions to be ſolemnly crown'd upon *Candlemas-day*; and required all Perſons, who by reaſon of their Offices and Tenures were bound to perform any Duties at that Solemnity, to pay their Attendance, and perform their reſpective Service: and gave Orders to the Earl Marſhal, and Lord Chamberlain, to prepare for the

Coronation appointed.

(*a*) See the King's Letters to the two Archbiſhops, to be communicated by them to their Suffragans, for the diſcountenancing and ſuppreſſing of Popery and Superſtition; and to proceed againſt Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts by Excommunication and other Eccleſ. Cenſures. Given at *Windſor*, 15. Dec. Reg. 1.

(*b*) See, By the King a Proclamation, for the more cloſe and ſtrict Confinement of Popiſh Recuſants, convicted according to Law. Given at *Whitehall*, *Jan.* 11. Reg. 1.

(*c*) See the Order of Council at *Hampton Court* in *December* 1625. that the Clauſe of Proſecuting the Lollards ſhould be left out in every Sheriff's Oath, and that the reſt of the Oath ſhould ſtand. In *Ruſhworth* 1. p. 201.

Rites

1625. Rites and Ceremonies of creating ſeveral Knights of the *Bath*.

Thankſgiving for the Plague ceaſing. By this time the Plague abating, the King ordain'd a General Thankſgiving to be celebrated on *Sunday* the 29th of *January* in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* and Places adjacent, and on *February* the 19th in all other Places of the Kingdom: For which purpoſe, by the King's Command, a (*a*) *Form of Prayer and Thankſgiving* was drawn up by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, and *St. Davids*. The Number of thoſe that died this Year within and without the Walls of the City of *London*, and in the Liberties and nine out-Pariſhes, from the 16th of *December* 1624, to the 15th of *December* 1625, was in total, Fifty four thouſand two hundred ſixty and five; whereof there died of the Plague, Thirty five thouſand four hundred and ſeventeen.

Ceremonial for Coronation. To prepare for the Coronation, ſeveral Biſhops (among whom Biſhop *Laud*) were appointed to meet at *White-hall* upon *Wedneſday*, *Jan.* the 4th to conſult and draw up a *Form of the Service and Ceremonies* to be then uſed. (*b*) And becauſe the Biſhop of *Lincoln* as Dean of *Weſtminſter*, was to have a chief Part of thoſe Ceremonies, the King offended with him, order'd that he ſhould not appear, but his Place ſhould be ſupply'd by Biſhop *Laud*. A double Grief to Biſhop *Williams*, to be himſelf kept abſent, and to have his Office executed by one for whom he had the leaſt Affection.

The Form of Coronation. On *Thurſday*, *Feb.* 2. the King began his Proceſſion from *Weſtminſter-hall*, and entred the Abbey-Church a little before Ten in the Morning, attended by the Aldermen of *London*, eighty Knights of the *Bath* in their Robes, the King's Serjeants at Law, Sollicitor and Attorney Generals, the Judges, Barons, Biſhops, Viſcounts, and Earls, in their Parliament Robes, going before the King two and two uncovered. After them followed the Officers of State, being eight Earls and one Marqueſs, according to their reſpective Places, bearing the Swords, the Globe, the Sceptre, the Crown, the Lord-Mayor of *London* carrying the ſhort Sceptre, two Biſhops carrying, one the Golden Cup, the other the Communion Plate. Next before his Majeſty went the Earl of *Arundel* as Earl Marſhal of *England*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* as Lord High Conſtable for that Day. The King, habited in white Sattin, went under a rich Canopy, ſupported by the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, the King having on each hand a Biſhop, and his Train of Purple-Velvet carried up by the Maſter of the Robes, and the Maſter of the Wardrobe. At the entring into the Church, Biſhop *Laud* delivered into the King's Hands the Staff of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, with which the King walked up to the Throne. Then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* preſented his Majeſty to the Lords, and Commons, and People there preſent, Eaſt, Weſt, North and South, who gave their Aſſent and joyful Approbation. After Sermon the King went to the Altar, and took the Coronation Oath in this manner.

Coronation Oath.

Archbiſhop. Sir, Will you grant and keep, and by your Oath confirm to the People of *England*, the Laws and Cuſtoms to them granted by the Kings of *England* your lawful and religious Predeceſſors, and namely the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Franchiſes, granted to the Clergy by the glorious King St. *Edward* your Predeceſſor, according to the Laws of God, the true Profeſſion of the Goſpel eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom, agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the ancient Cuſtoms of the Realm?

King. I grant and promiſe to keep them.

Archb. Sir, Will you keep Peace and godly Agreement (according to your Power) both to God, the Holy Church, the Clergy, and the People? 1625.

King. I will keep it.

Archb. Sir, Will you, to your Power, cauſe Law, Juſtice, and Diſcretion, to Mercy and Truth, to be executed to your Judgment?

King. I will.

Archb. Sir, Will you grant to hold and keep the Laws and rightful Cuſtoms which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have? And will you defend and uphold them to the Honour of God, ſo much as in you lieth?

King. I grant and promiſe ſo to do.

One of the Biſhops. Our Lord and King, We beſeech you to pardon, and to grant and to preſerve unto us, and to the Churches committed to your Charge, all Canonical Privileges, and do Law and Juſtice: and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King to his Kingdoms ought to be Protector and Defender of the Biſhops and the Churches under their Government.

King. With a willing and devout Heart I promiſe and grant my Pardon, and that I will preſerve and maintain to you, and the Churches committed to your Charge, all Canonical Privileges, and due Law and Juſtice; and that I will be your Protector and Defender to my Power, by the aſſiſtance of God, as every good King in his Kingdom in Right ought to protect and defend the Biſhops and Churches under their Government.

Then the King aroſe, and was led to the Communion-Table, where he took a ſolemn Oath in ſight of all the People, to obſerve all the Premiſes; and laying his hand upon the Bible, ſaid,

The things which I have here promiſed I ſhall perform and keep. So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

After the Oath, the King was placed in the Chair of Coronation, and was anointed by the Archbiſhop, and inveſted with the Robes of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, and had the Crown of King *Edward* put on his Head, and his Sword girt about him. He offer'd this Sword, with two others, and ſome Pieces of Gold and Silver at the Communion Table. He was afterwards conducted by the Nobility to the Throne; where this Exhortation was read to his Majeſty.

Stand and hold faſt from henceforth the Place to which you have been Heir by the Succeſſion of your Forefathers, being now deliver'd to you by the Authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us and all the Biſhops and Servants of God. And as you ſee the Clergy to come nearer to the Altar than others; ſo remember, that in all Places convenient you give them greater honour, that the Mediator of God and Man may eſtabliſh you in the Kingly Throne to be a Mediator betwixt the Clergy and the Laity, and that you may reign for ever with Jeſus Chriſt the King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

It is a Juſtice to the World to give theſe Particulars of the Coronation, becauſe ſome Offence and

(*a*) See a ſhort Form of Thankſgiving to God, for the ſtaying the contagious Sickneſs of the Plague; to be uſed in Common-Prayer on *Sundays*, *Wedneſdays*, and *Fridays*; ſet forth by Authority. Imprinted at *London* by *Bonham Norton*, &c. 1625. 4to.

(*b*) See a Book of the Form and Ceremonies to be uſed in the King's Coronation, *Feb.* 2. 1625. Diary Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, *Ruſhworth*. 1. p. 204. *Sanderſon*, p. 25.

Excep-

1625. Exceptions were afterward made to part of them; and they were ſeverely charg'd upon Biſhop *Laud* as his arbitrary Innovations. *(a)*

A Reſtraint upon the Members a great Prejudice in the enſuing Parliament.

The Opening of the Parliament drew near: but before their Meeting, there appear'd ſome perſonal Grudges in the Duke of *Buckingham* that ſtruck at the Honour and Freedom of both Houſes. Some Members of the late Houſe of Commons, the Duke's Opponents, were made incapable of ſerving their Counties by having the Sheriffalties obtruded on them; as, Sir *Edw. Coke* made Sheriff of the County of *Bucks*, Sir *Rob. Philips* of *Somerſet*, and Sir *Tho. Wentworth* of *Yorkſhire*. The like Hardſhip was now uſed toward ſome Members of the Upper Houſe, as the Earl of *Briſtol* and the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, both under the Duke's Diſpleaſure. The Earl of *Briſtol* had fell out with the Duke in the Court of *Spain*, upon Principles of Integrity and Open-dealing; for this little Diſſention the Duke repreſented him to King *James* under ſuch a Character of being diſaffected to the King's Intereſt, that the Earl, upon his Return to *England*, was firſt diſgracefully ſtopt at *Calais*; and when he came to *Dover*, the Duke uſed all poſſible Inſtigations that he might be immediately committed to the *Tower*: when the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Hartford* oppos'd this arbitrary Deſign; The Duke however prevail'd, that a Letter ſhould be wrote to him by the Lord *Conway*, not to come to Court, nor to the King's Preſence, till he had anſwer'd to ſome Queries which his Majeſty ſhould appoint the Council to put to him. After the Death of King *James*, the Duke had Power to proſecute the ſame Reſentments; and not only kept him at a diſtance from Court, but had him remov'd from all his Offices and Employments: nor could he be ſuffer'd to come to an Account for the Monies expended in the King's Service, nor permitted to come to the Parliament which was diſſolv'd at *Oxford*. Upon iſſuing out the Writs for this new Parliament, the Earl's Call was wilfully omitted. Senſible of this Injury to his Right of Peerage, he petition'd the King to have the uſual Writ of Summons, as a Privilege never denied to any Peer of the Realm, to aſſiſt in the great Council of the Nation: He only received Anſwer by the Lord *Conway*, That the King was no ways ſatisfied, and therefore he muſt propound to him, *Whether he would rather ſit ſtill and enjoy the Benefit of the late King's Pardon in Parliament, or to wave it, and put himſelf upon Tryal for his Negotiation in* Spain; *and that to one of theſe he muſt truſt to, and give a direct Anſwer*. The Earl did directly anſwer, That he had been already queſtion'd upon twenty Articles by a Commiſſion of the Lords, and had given, as he preſum'd, full Satisfaction: That he did not wave the Pardon granted by King *James* in Parliament; nor would he wave any Privilege of being duly call'd to the preſent Seſſion. But ſtill receiving no Writ, when the Parliament ſat, he petition'd the Houſe of Lords, ſhewing, "That he being a Peer of the "Realm, had not receiv'd a Summons to Parlia-"ment; and deſires their Lordſhips to mediate "with his Majeſty, that he may enjoy the Liberty "of a Subject, and the Privilege of his Peerage, *&c.*" This Matter being referred to a Committee of Privileges, the Earl of *Hartford* reported, *That it was neceſſary their Lordſhips ſhould beſeech his Majeſty, that a Writ of Summons may be ſent to the Earl of* Briſtol, *as alſo to ſuch other Lords whoſe Writs are ſtopped, except ſuch as are made incapable to ſit in Parliament by Judgment of Parliament, or other legal Judgment.* Upon this a Writ was directed to him; but the Lord Keeper ſent a Letter with it, commanding him, in his Majeſty's Name, to forbear his perſonal Attendance: which indeed made the Writ a formal Mockery; and therefore the Earl firſt anſwered the Lord Keeper by Letter dated from *Dorſet-Court*, March 31. 1626. and then again petition'd the Houſe of Lords for their wiſe Conſideration *how far this might intrench upon the Liberty and Safety of the Peers, and the Authority of their Letters Patents, to be in this ſort diſcharged by a Letter miſſive of any Subject without the King's hand.*

As on 3 Commoners and 2 Lords.

Earl of *Briſtol* not called by Writ of Summons.

Biſhop of *Lincoln* not ſummon'd to Parliament.

The like Affront was given to the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, late Lord Keeper; who falling under the imperious Duke's Diſpleaſure, had not only the Seal taken from him, but was denied to do his Homage to the King with the reſt of the ſpiritual Lords at the Coronation, or to do his Office as Dean of *Weſtminſter* in aſſiſting at that Solemnity; and had now no Parliamentary Summons ſent to him. This Omiſſion he repreſented to the King in a reſpectful Letter, as *the withdrawing of a Favour which had not been denied to any Priſoners or condemned Peers in his Father's Reign; beſeeching that he might have leave to make his Proxy, if his perſonal Attendance muſt not be permitted.* When upon a Motion in Parliament he did receive his Writ, he had likewiſe a particular Charge from the Keeper not to appear in Perſon, and had ſome difficulty to get his Proxy left with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. *(b)*

Theſe Reſtraints upon the Members of both Houſes muſt be acknowledg'd to have been the paſſionate Efforts of the Duke of *Buckingham*, which founded ill, and were enough to prejudice the Parliament before their Meeting.

Opening of the Second Parliament.

On *Monday* the 6th of *February* this ſecond Parliament began. If his Majeſty had choſe the later gracious Cuſtom of ſpeaking himſelf to the two Houſes, it might have left the better Impreſſions of Duty and Affection. But the King being placed in his Royal Throne, the Lords in their Robes, and the Commons below the Bar, it pleaſed his Majeſty to refer them wholly to the Lord Keeper? who ſpoke thus:

"*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Bur-*
"*geſſes of the Houſe of Commons,*

Speech of the Lord Keeper.

"YOU are here aſſembled by his Majeſty's "Writs and Royal Authority to hold a new "Parliament, the general, ancient, and powerful "Council of this renowned Kingdom; whereof if "we conſider aright, and think of that incompa-"rable Diſtance between the ſupreme Height and "Majeſty of a mighty Monarch, and the ſubmiſ-"ſive Awe and Lowlineſs of a Loyal Subject, we "cannot but receive exceeding comfort and content-"ment in the Frame and Conſtitution of this high-"eſt Court, wherein not only the Prelates, Nobles, "and Grandees, but the Commons of all degrees "have their part, and wherein that high Majeſty "doth deſcend to admit, or rather to invite the "humbleſt of his Subjects to Conference and Coun-"cil with him of the great, weighty, and difficult "Affairs of the King and Kingdom: a Benefit and "Favour whereof we cannot be too ſenſible and "thankful; for ſure I am, that all good Hearts "would be both ſenſible and ſorrowful, if we did "want it. And therefore it behoveth all, with uni-"ted Hearts and Minds, free from Diſtraction and "Diverſion, to fix their Thoughts upon Counſels "and Conſultations worthy of ſuch an Aſſembly, "remembring, that in it is preſented the Majeſty "and Greatneſs, the Authority and Power, the "Wiſdom and Knowledge of this great and famous

(a) Particularly his reſtoring a Clauſe in one of the Prayers, not uſed ſince *Henry* VII, and now put in theſe Words. *Let him obtain Favour for this People, like Aaron in the Tabernacle, Eliſha in the Waters, Zacharias in the Temple, give him Peter's Key of Diſcipline, Paul's Doctrine.*

There is a Letter of *Symonds D'Ewes* to Sir *Martin Stutevill*, Kt. dat. *Middle-Temple*, *Feb.* 4. 1625. giving a full Account of what he had ſeen and obſerved at the Coronation. MSS. *Harley* 38. *C.* 8.

(b) The Original Letter of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s Submiſſion and humble Requeſt to the King's Majeſty, dat. *Feb.* 1625. is in MSS. *Harley* 35. *C.* 9.

"Nation.

1625. " Nation. And it behoveth us to magnifie and to " bleſs God, that hath put the Power of Aſſembling Parliaments in the hands of him, the Virtue " of whoſe Perſon doth ſtrive with the Greatneſs of " his Princely Lineage and Deſcent, whether he " ſhould be accounted *major* or *melior*, a greater " King, or a better Man; and of whom you have " had ſo much Trial and Experience, that he doth " as affectionately love, as he doth exactly know " and underſtand the true Uſe of Parliaments; witneſs his daily and unwearied Acceſs to this Houſe " before his Acceſs to the Crown; his gracious Readineſs to all Conferences of Importance; his frequent and effectual Interceſſion to his bleſſed Father of never-dying Memory for the Good of the " Kingdom, with ſo happy Succeſs, that both this " and future Generations ſhall feel it, and have " cauſe to rejoyce at the Succeſs of his Majeſty's " Interceſſion. And when the Royal Diadem deſcended upon himſelf, preſently, in the midſt of " his Tears and Sighs for the Departure of his moſt " dear and Royal Father, in the very firſt Conſultation with his Privy Council, was reſolved to " meet his People in Parliament: And no ſooner " did the heavy Hand of that deſtroying Angel " forbear thoſe deadly Strokes which for ſome time " did make this Place inacceſſible, but his Majeſty " preſently reſolved to recall it, and hath now " brought you together, and in a happy Time, I " truſt, to treat and conſult with uniform Deſires " and united Affections, of thoſe Things that concern the general Good.

" And now being thus aſſembled, his Majeſty " hath commanded me to let you know, that his " Love and Affection to the Publick moved him to " call this Parliament; and looking into the Danger " and ſpreading of that late Mortality, and weighing the multitude of his Majeſty's preſſing Occaſions and urging Affairs of State, both at home " and abroad, much importing the Safety and State " of this Kingdom; the ſame Affection that moved " him to call it, doth forbid him to prolong the " Sitting of this Parliament. And therefore his " Majeſty reſolving to confine this Meeting to a " ſhort time, hath confined me to a ſhort Errand; " and that is, that as a thing moſt agreeable to the " Kingly Office, to the Example of the beſt Times, " and to the Frame of modern Affairs, his Majeſty " hath called you together to conſult and to adviſe " of provident and good Laws, profitable for the " Publick, and fitting for the preſent Times and " Actions: for upon ſuch depends the Aſſurance of " Religion and of Juſtice, which are the ſureſt Pillars and Buttreſſes of all good Government in a " Kingdom: For his Majeſty doth conſider, that " the Royal Throne on which God out of his Mercy " to us hath ſet him, is the Fountain of all Juſtice; " and that good Laws are the Streams and Quills " by which the Benefit and Uſe of this Fountain is " diſperſed to his People. And it is his Majeſty's " Care and Study, that his People may ſee with " Comfort and Joy of Heart, that this Fountain is " not dry, but they and their Poſterity may reſt " aſſured and confident in his time to receive as " ample Benefit from this Fountain by his Majeſty's Mercy and Juſtice, as ever Subjects did in " the time of the moſt eminent Princes amongſt his " noble Progenitors; wherein as his Majeſty ſhews " himſelf moſt ſenſible of the Good of the Publick, ſo were it an Injury to this great and honourable Aſſembly, if it ſhould be but doubted " that they ſhall not be as ſenſible of any thing that " may add to his Majeſty's Honour; which cannot but receive a high degree of Love and Affection, if his Majeſty ſucceeding ſo many Religious, Wiſe, and Renowned Princes, ſhould begin " his Reign with ſome Additions unto thoſe good " Laws which their happy and glorious Times have " afforded. And this his Majeſty hath cauſed me " to deſire at this time eſpecially above others: for " his Majeſty having at his Royal Coronation lately ſolemnized the ſacred Rites of that bleſſed " Marriage between his People and him, and therein by a moſt holy Oath vowed the Protection " of the Laws, and Maintenance of Peace both to " Church and People; no time can be ſo fit for his " Majeſty to adviſe and conſult at large with his " People as this preſent time, wherein ſo lately " his Majeſty hath vowed Protection to his People, " and they have proteſted their Allegiance and Service to him.

" This is the Sum of that Charge which I have " received from his Majeſty to deliver unto you, " wherein you ſee his Majeſty's Intent to the Publick: And therefore his Deſire is, that according " to that conveniency of Time which his Affairs " may afford, you will apply your ſelves to diſpatch " the Buſineſs of this Parliament."

The Speech not grateful.

This Speech was the leſs acceptable becauſe the King was himſelf ſilent, which ſome ſuſpicious Tempers did not fail to repreſent as an Indication that the King was out of Humour with his People. Beſides, the Matter of this Speech, and the Dreſſing of it, had a peculiar Air of Greatneſs, which would have ſomewhat better become the King than his Miniſter.

Sir Heneage Finch Speaker.

On *Wedneſday Februar.* 8. the Commons preſented Sir *Heneage Finch*, Kt. Serjeant at Law and Recorder of *London*, for their Speaker; who having made the accuſtomed Excuſes, and received his Majeſty's Command to ſerve, he made a very flouriſhing Speech, with ſome extraordinary Flights and Figures, that were a peculiar Infirmity of that Age, and more eſpecially of that Perſon. He concludes more ſedately thus: " But I may weary your Majeſty, and loſe " my ſelf, and forget for whom I am a Speaker. " Cuſtom gives me the Privilege, as an humble Suitor on the Behalf of the Houſe, to preſent their " few Petitions unto your Majeſty. The firſt, That " for the better attending this publick and important Service, our ſelves and our neceſſary Attendants may, with your Majeſty's tender Allowance, be free both in our Perſons and Goods from " Arreſts and Troubles, according to our ancient " Privileges. 2. The next, That ſince for the preparing and drawing on to Concluſion ſuch Propoſitions as ſhall be handled in the Houſe, Debate " and Diſpute will be neceſſary, and by Variety of " Opinions Truth is oftentimes beſt diſcerned; your " Majeſty will likewiſe, according to our ancient " Uſage and Privilege, vouchſafe us Liberty and " Freedom of Speech, from which I aſſure my ſelf " Duty and Loyalty to your Majeſty will never be " ſevered. 3. That when Occaſions of Moment " ſhall require, your Majeſty upon our humble " Suit, and at ſuch times as may beſt ſort with your " Occaſions, will vouchſafe us Acceſs to your Royal " Perſon. 4. That the Proceedings of the Houſe " may receive a favourable Interpretation at your " gracious Hands, and be free from Miſconſtructions."

His Speech to the King.

Good Beginning in the Houſe of Commons.

The Commons began with very dutiful Reſpects, in thanking the King for his late gracious Anſwer to their late Petition for Religion. Then a Bill was brought in, to adminiſter an Oath for rendring a true Account of all general and publick Taxes, Rates, and Collections. Another againſt ſcandalous Miniſters. A Committee for Grievances, and another for ſecret Affairs, to ſit every *Friday* and *Wedneſday* during Parliament. They complained of the Miſcarriage of the Fleet to *Cadiz*, of evil Counſellors about the King; of the Miſemployment of the Publick Revenue; and other Political Diſorders. A Committee was likewiſe named for Religion, to reſtrain the Growth of Popery.

The King's Meſſage for Supply.

While theſe Matters were debating, Mr. Secretary *Cook* delivered a Meſſage from the King to the Commons, declaring his Majeſty's Occaſions for Supply: And the Neceſſity and Expedition of this

" Supply

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The Commons expect Redreſs of Grievances.

Supply were farther urg'd by *William* Earl of *Pembroke* in a Conference which the Lords deſired with the Commons. But the Commons, before they would enter into Conſideration of Money Bills, called for a Report from the Committee of Grievances, and found theſe Reſolutions agreed upon.

Reſolutions of the Committee of Grievances.

1. *Reſolved, That the Diminution of the Kingdom in Strength and Honour is a general Evil which we ſuffer under. As* 2. *The Increaſe and Countenancing of Papiſts.* 3. *The not guarding of the narrow Seas.* 4. *Plurality of Offices in one Hand.* 5. *Sales of Honour and Places of Judicature.* 6. *Delivery up of Ships to the* French. 7. *Miſemployment of three Subſidies and three Fifteens,* &c. And they ordered, that the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was more particularly concerned in the Occaſions of theſe Grievances, ſhould have Notice given, that the Houſe intend ſuddenly to reſume the Debate of theſe Matters. In theſe Speeches upon this Subject, Mr. *Clement Cook* let fall this warm Expreſſion, *It is better to die by a foreign Enemy, than to be deſtroyed at home.*

The Lords more inclined to immediate Supply.

The Lords ſeem'd more complying with the King's Deſires, and appointed a Committee to conſider of the common Safety and Defence; who reported their Opinion, that one Fleet ſhould be preſently ſet to Sea to prevent the Invaſion of our Coaſts, and to annoy the King of *Spain*; that another be ſet out to defend our Channel, and ſecure our Ships from Pirates; and that due Conſideration ſhould be had of maintaining the Armies under the King of *Denmark* and Count *Mansfield*. The Lords deſired a Conference with the Commons upon this Subject-matter:

But the Commons reſolve to have the publick Grievances firſt conſidered.

But the Commons not reliſhing a Supply without Redreſs of Grievances, returned Anſwer, That they did deſire to have a good Correſpondency with their Lordſhips, and would be ever careful of the Safety and Defence of the Kingdom, and maintain their own Privileges; and, that for this Reaſon they would immediately proceed againſt the Duke.

Upon Notice of this Ferment in the Houſe of Commons, the King wrote this Letter to the Speaker, to be communicated to the Houſe.

King's Letter to the Speaker.

" *Truſty and Well-beloved.*

" HAving aſſembled the Parliament early in the " beginning of the Year, for the more timely " Help and Advice of our People in our great and " important Affairs; and having of late not only " by Meſſage but alſo of our ſelf put our Houſe of " Commons in mind of our preſſing Occaſions, and " of the preſent Eſtate of Chriſtendom, wherein " they have equal Intereſt with us, as well in re" ſpect of their own former Engagements, as of " the common Cauſe; we ſhall not need to tell " them with what Care and Patience we have, in " the midſt of our Neceſſities, attended their Re" ſolutions: But becauſe their unſeaſonable Slow" neſs may produce at home as ill Effects as a De" nial, and hazard the whole Eſtate of Things a" broad; we have thought fit, by you the Speaker, " to let them know, that without more loſs of time " we look for a full and perfect Anſwer of what they " will give for our Supply, according to our Expe" ctation and their Promiſes. Wherein as we preſs " for nothing beyond the preſent State and Conditi" on of our Subjects, ſo we accept no leſs than is " proportionable to the Greatneſs and Goodneſs of " the Cauſe: Neither do we preſs them to a pre" ſent Reſolution in this, with a purpoſe to preci" pitate their Counſels, much leſs to enter upon " their Privileges; but to ſhew that it is unfit to " depend any longer upon Uncertainties, whereby " the whole Weight of the Affairs of Chriſtendom " may break in upon us on the ſudden, to our Diſ" honour and the Shame of this Nation. And for " the Buſineſs at home, we command you to pro" miſe them in our Name, that after they have ſa" tisfied us in this our reaſonable Demand, we ſhall " not only continue them together at this time ſo " long as this Seaſon will permit, but call them " ſhortly again to perfect thoſe neceſſary Buſineſſes " which ſhall be now left undone: And now we " ſhall willingly apply fit and reaſonable Remedies " to ſuch juſt Grievances which they ſhall preſent " unto us in a dutiful and mannerly way, without " throwing an ill Odour upon our preſent Govern" ment, or upon the Government of our late bleſſed " Father: And if there be yet who deſire to find fault, " we ſhall think him the wiſeſt Reprehender of " Things paſt, who, without reflecting backward, " can give us Council how to ſettle the preſent " Eſtate of things, and to provide for the future " Safety and Honour of the Kingdom."

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The Letter not acceptable.

This Letter pleaſed the leſs, becauſe it was an expreſs *Demand* of Supply, which had been ſooner given upon a *Deſire* of it; and becauſe it inſiſted upon that Supply *before* the Redreſs of Grievances, which uſually preceeded or at leaſt attended upon all former Aids.

A Meſſage to the ſame effect.

The King's Occaſions were ſo importunate, that, beſides the Letter, he ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe by Sir *Richard Weſton*, to ſollicit their more ſpeedy Aſſiſtance for theſe Reaſons:

1. *That his Majeſty's Fleet being returned, and the Victuals ſpent, the Men muſt of neceſſity be diſcharged, and their Wages paid, or elſe an aſſured Mutiny will follow, which may be many ways dangerous at this time.*

2. *That his Majeſty hath made ready about forty Ships to be ſet forth on a ſecond Voyage to hinder the Enemy, which want only Victuals and ſome Men, which without preſent Supply of Money cannot be ſet forth and kept together.*

3. *That the Army which is appointed in every Coaſt muſt be preſently disbanded, if they be not preſently ſupplied with Victuals and Cloaths.*

4. *That if the Companies of* Ireland *lately ſent thither be not provided for, inſtead of defending that Country, they will prove the Authors of Rebellion.*

5. *That the Seaſon of providing healthful Victuals will be paſt if this Month be neglected.*

" And therefore his Majeſty commanded me to " tell you, That he deſired to know, without far" ther delaying of Time, what Supply you will give " him for theſe his preſent Occaſions, that he may " accordingly frame his Courſe and Counſel."

The Commons returned this Anſwer.

Anſwer of the Commons to the K.'s Meſſage.

" *Moſt Gracious Soveraign,*

" YOur Majeſty's Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, " the Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, " in all Humility preſent unto your Royal Wiſdom " this their Loyal Anſwer to the Meſſage which " your Majeſty was pleaſed, by the Chancellor of " your Exchequer to ſend unto them; deſiring to " know, without any further deferring of Time, " what Supply they would give to your Majeſty " for your preſent and extraordinary Occaſions; " that you might accordingly frame your Courſes " and Counſels. Firſt of all, they moſt humbly " beſeech your Majeſty to know, and reſt aſſured, " that no King was ever dearer to his People than " your Majeſty; no People more zealous to main" tain and advance the Honour and Greatneſs of " their King than they; which, as upon all Occa" ſions, they ſhall be ready to expreſs, ſo eſpe" cially in the ſupport of that Cauſe wherein your " Majeſty and your Allies are now juſtly engaged. " And becauſe they cannot doubt but your Majeſty, " in your great Wiſdom, even out of Juſtice, and ac" cording to the Example of your moſt famous Pre" deceſſors, will be pleaſed graciouſly to accept the " faithful and neceſſary Information and Advice of " your Parliament; which can have no End but the " Service of your Majeſty and Safety of your Realm, " in diſcovering the Cauſes and propoſing the Re" medies of theſe great Evils, which have occaſion" ed your Majeſty's Wants, and your People's Grief.

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“ They therefore in Confidence and full Aſſu-
“ rance of Redreſs therein, do with one conſent
“ propoſe (though in former time ſuch Courſe hath
“ been unuſed) that they really intend to aſſiſt
“ and ſupply your Majeſty in ſuch a way, and in
“ ſo ample a Meaſure, as may make you ſafe at
“ home and feared abroad. For the diſpatch
“ whereof they will uſe ſuch Diligence as your
“ Majeſty's preſſing and preſent Occaſions ſhall
“ require.”

This Anſwer ſeemed to be very reſpectful and ſincere, and if his Majeſty could have taken it in that obliging Senſe, and have made a ſoft and eaſie Return of Confidence in them, the Seſſions might have been happy, and the Aid ſufficient. But his Majeſty was pleaſed to be impatient of Delays; and either mov'd by his own Diſpoſition to be reſolute, or prevailed upon by the Duke of *Buckingham* to ſkreen him from all danger, he thought fit to ſend this Reply in a Letter to the Speaker.

“ *Mr. Speaker,*

The K.'s Reply in a Letter to the Speaker.

“ THE Anſwer of the Commons delivered by
“ you, I like well of, and do take it for a
“ full and ſatisfactory Anſwer, and I thank them
“ for it; and I hope you will with all expedition
“ take a Courſe for performance thereof, the which
“ will turn to your own Good as well as mine.
“ But for your Clauſe therein of preſenting of Grie-
“ vances, I take that but for a Parenthesis in your
“ Speech, and not a Condition: And yet for An-
“ ſwer of that Part I will tell you; I will be as
“ willing to hear your Grievances as my Predeceſ-
“ ſors have been, ſo that you will apply your
“ ſelves *to redreſs Grievances*, and not to *enquire af-*
“ *ter Grievances.* I muſt let you know, that I will
“ not allow any of my Servants to be queſtioned
“ amongſt you; much leſs ſuch as are of eminent
“ Place and near unto me. The old Queſtion was,
“ *What ſhall be done to the Man whom the King*
“ *will Honour?* But now it hath been the Labour
“ of ſome, to ſeek what may be done againſt him
“ whom the King thinks fit to Honour. I ſee
“ you ſpecially aim at the Duke of *Buckingham*;
“ I wonder what hath ſo altered your Affections
“ towards him: I do well remember, that in the
“ laſt Parliament in my Father's Time, when he
“ was an Inſtrument to break the Treaties, all of
“ you (and yet I cannot ſay all, for I know ſome
“ of you are changed; but yet the Houſe of Com-
“ mons is always the ſame) did ſo much Honour
“ and Reſpect him, that all the Honour conferred
“ on him was too little; and what he hath done
“ ſince to alter or change your Minds I wot not:
“ but can aſſure you, he hath not meddled or done
“ any Thing concerning the Publick or Common-
“ wealth, but by ſpecial Directions and Appoint-
“ ment, and as my Servant; and is ſo far from
“ gaining or improving his Eſtate thereby, that I
“ verily think he hath rather impaired the ſame.
“ I would you would haſten my Supply, or
“ elſe it will be worſe for your ſelves: for if any
“ Ill happen, I think I ſhall be the laſt ſhall feel
“ it.”

This Reply had no good effect.

If his Majeſty had gone no further in this Reply than the firſt Paragraph of it, Things and Men had been eaſily reconciled. But to inhibit their Enquiry into Grievances, and declare a Protection to that Miniſter who was thought the Cauſe of 'em, and to urge a Supply with a ſort of Menace of their ſuffering by the denial of it; this was ſoon improved into higher Jealouſies and Fears: And that Part of the Houſe which under a Freedom of venting their Diſpleaſure would have been the ſooner ſatisfied, began now to gain a greater Reputation to their Complaints, and to gather Strength upon the Royal Oppoſition. For indeed all popular Diſcontents have ſomewhat of the Nature of Torrents; give them a little room to run and they quickly draw off themſelves: but if you offer preſently to obſtruct their Courſe, they ſwell and ſpread the more.

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The Majority of the Houſe fell now directly on the Duke, as the chief Cauſe of all publick Miſcarriages. And Dr. *Turner*, a Phyſician, propoſed theſe *Queries* to the Houſe as grounded upon Common Fame.

Queries of Dr. *Turner* againſt the Duke of *Buckingham.*

1. *Whether the Duke being Admiral be not the Cauſe of the Loſs of the King's Royalty in the Narrow Seas?*

2. *Whether the unreaſonable, exorbitant and immenſe Gifts of Money and Land beſtowed on the Duke and his Kindred, be not the Cauſe of impairing the King's Revenues, and impoveriſhing of the Crown?*

3. *Whether the Multiplicity of Offices, conferred upon the Duke and others depending upon him (whereof they were not capable) be not the Cauſe of the Evil Government of this Kingdom?*

4. *Whether Recuſants in general, by a kind of Connivency, be not born out and encreaſed by reaſon of the Duke's Mother and Father-in-Law being known Papiſts?*

5. *Whether the Sale of Honours, Offices and Places of Judicature, and Eccleſiaſtical Livings and Promotions (a ſcandal and hurt to the Kingdom) be not through the Duke?*

6. *Whether the Duke's ſtaying at home, being Admiral and General in the Fleet of the Sea and Land Army, were not the Cauſe of the bad Succeſs and Overthrow of that Action? And whether he did give good direction for that Deſign?*

All theſe are famed to be ſo.

Two Queſtions on the Queries of Dr. *Turner.*

Hereupon two Queſtions were debated in the Houſe.

1. *Whether the ſix Heads, delivered by Dr.* Turner, *to be the Cauſe of the Evils, that were grounded upon common Fame, be to be debated in Parliament?*

2. *Whether an Accuſation upon common Fame, by a Member of this Houſe, be a Parliamentary way?*

Some Members diſtinguiſhed between *Common Fame* and *Rumour*; this latter they ſaid was rather the Murmurs of private People, but the former was a *Vox Populi*, or general Voice of the Nation, which muſt be admitted as a Ground of Enquiry; which *Common Fame* tho' it was no Argument for a definitive Sentence, yet was a it proper Reaſon for previous Inquiſition. So the Houſe came to this Reſolution:

Reſolution of the Houſe of *Commons.*

That Common Fame is a good Ground of Proceeding for this Houſe, either by Enquiry or preſenting the Complaint (if the Houſe finds cauſe) to the King or Lords.

The next Day the Commons were re-aſſuming the Debate, when Sir *Richard Weſton* delivered to the Houſe this ſecond Meſſage from his Majeſty.

A ſecond Meſſage from the King.

“ His Majeſty hath taken notice of a ſeditious
“ Speech uttered in the Houſe by Mr. *Clement Cook*;
“ the Words are ſaid to be to this effect: *That it were*
“ *better to die by an Enemy than to ſuffer at home:* Yet
“ his Majeſty in Wiſdom hath forborn to take any
“ courſe therein, or to ſend to the Houſe about
“ it, not doubting but the Houſe would in due
“ time correct ſuch an Inſolence. But his Maje-
“ ſty hath found that his Patience hath wrought
“ to an ill effect, and hath emboldened one ſince
“ to do a ſtrange Act, in a ſtrange way and un-
“ uſual; that is, Dr. *Turner*, who on *Saturday* laſt,
“ without any Ground of Knowledge in himſelf, or
“ Proof tendered to the Houſe, made an Enquiry
“ of ſundry Articles againſt the Duke of *Bucking-*
“ *ham* as he pretended, but indeed againſt the
“ Honour and Government of the King and his
“ late Father. This, his Majeſty ſaith, is ſuch an
“ Example that he can by no means ſuffer, though
“ it were to make enquiry of the meaneſt of his
“ Servants, much leſs againſt one ſo near unto
“ himſelf; and doth wonder at the fooliſh Im-
“ pudency of any Man, that can think he ſhould
“ be drawn out of any End to offer ſuch a Sa-

“ crifice

1625. "crifice, much unworthy the Greatneſs of a King "and Maſter of ſuch a Servant. And therefore "his Majeſty can no longer uſe his wonted Pa-"tience, but deſireth the Juſtice of the Houſe a-"gainſt the Delinquents; not doubting but ſuch "courſe will be taken, that he ſhall not be con-"ſtrained to uſe his Regal Authority to right "himſelf againſt theſe two Perſons."

Dr. Turner explains and juſtifies himſelf. Upon Delivery of this Meſſage, Dr. *Turner* ſtood up and explain'd himſelf, and juſtified his late Propoſals to the Houſe. The Debate upon it being put off to another Day, Dr. *Turner* being then indiſpos'd, wrote a Letter to the Speaker in his further Vindication. This Reſentment of the King did but encreaſe the Ferment againſt the Duke: So, as on the *Monday* following, Sir *William Walter* repreſented to the Houſe, that he thought the cauſe of all Grievances was that which happen'd in the Court of King *Lewis* XI. of *France*; i. e. *All the King's Council rode upon one Horſe*: And therefore the Parliament ought to adviſe his Majeſty as *Jethro* did *Moſes*, to take Aſſiſtants rightly qualified, &c. Sir *John Elliot* made another bold and ſharp Speech upon the Subject of ill-Management and Grievances. But to qualifie theſe Heats with all reſpect to the King, and with a deference to the neceſſity of publick Affairs, the Commons on *March* 27. voted three Subſidies and three Fifteens, and an Act thereupon to be brought in as ſoon as Grievances were preſented to his Majeſty and anſwered by him. And then they proceeded to receive Informations againſt the Duke; and ordered he ſhould have notice of it.

Houſe of Commons vote three Subſidies and two Fifteens.

This ſo affected the King, who had reſolved to defend the Duke, that on *March* 23. he ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, that they ſhould attend his Majeſty to Morrow at Nine-a-Clock in the Morning in the Hall of his Palace at *White-hall*; and that in the mean time all Proceedings in the Houſe and Committee ſhould ceaſe.

Accordingly, on *March* 29. the Lords and Commons attending, the King made this Speech to them.

King's Speech to both Houſes.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,

"I Have call'd you hither to Day, I mean both "Houſes of Parliament, but it is for ſeveral "and diſtinct Reaſons: My Lords, you of the "Upper Houſe, to give *You* thanks for the Care of "the State of the Kingdom now; and not only for "the Care of your own Proceedings, but for inciting your fellow Houſe of the Commons to take "that into their Conſideration. Therefore, my "Lords, I muſt not only give you thanks, but I "muſt alſo avow, that if this Parliament do not "redound to the good of this Kingdom (which I "pray God it may) it is not *Your* Faults. And "you, Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, I am "ſorry that I may not juſtly give the ſame "thanks to *You*; but that I muſt tell you, that I "am come here to ſhew you your Errors, and, as I "may call it, unparliamentary Proceedings in this "Parliament. But I do not deſpair, becauſe you "ſhall ſee your Faults ſo clearly by the Lord "Keeper, that you may ſo amend your Proceedings that this Parliament ſhall end comfortably "and happily, though at the beginning it hath had "ſome Rubs."

Then the Lord Keeper, by the King's Command, ſpake to this effect:

The K.'s Mind more fully expreſt by the Lord Keeper.

"That they were here aſſembled, by his Maje-"ſty's Commandment, to receive a Declaration of "his Royal Pleaſure; intended only to the Houſe "of Commons, tho' delivered in the preſence of "both Houſes. That no King was ever more loving to his People, or better affectioned to the "right Uſe of Parliaments. That when his Maje-"ſty hath received Satisfaction of his reaſonable "Demands, he will hear and anſwer their juſt "Grievances. That never King was more jealous "of his Honour, nor more ſenſible of the Neglect "and Contempt of his Royal Rights. That there "be ſome particular Proceedings wherein his Ma-"jeſty is aggrieved. 1. That a ſeditious Speech "had been utter'd by Mr. *Cook*; for which the "Houſe had not duly cenſur'd him. 2. That Dr. "*Turner* had adviſed the Houſe to enquire upon "ſundry Articles againſt the Duke of *Buckingham* "without Knowledge or Proof: And yet the Houſe "had been ſo far from correcting his Inſolency, "that Committees walked in the ſame ſteps, and "proceeded in a like unparliamentary Inquiſition. "That as to the Duke, his Majeſty knew the Sin-"cerity of his Proceedings; and muſt believe that "their aim at him is directly to wound the Honour "and Judgment of himſelf and his Father. That "as to the Supply voted for him, it was dilatory "and ſcanty; for the *Meaſure* of it, ſo far from "making him ſafe at Home and feared Abroad, as "contrariwiſe to expoſe him both to Danger and "Diſeſteem: and for the *Manner* of granting it, "it was in it ſelf very Diſhonourable and full of "Diſtruſt. That therefore his Majeſty commands "them to go together, and by *Saturday* next re-"turn their final Anſwer. That his Majeſty "doubteth not, but after his gracious Admoniti-"on, they will in due time obſerve and follow the "better ſort of Members; which if they ſhall do, "his Majeſty is moſt ready to forget whatſoever is "paſt."

Then his Majeſty thus further expreſſed himſelf.

The King reſumes his Speech.

"I muſt withall put you in mind a little of times "paſt. You muſt remember, that in the time of "my bleſſed Father, you did with your Counſel "and Perſwaſion perſwade both my Father and "Me to break off the Treaties: I confeſs I "was your Inſtrument for two Reaſons; one was "the fitneſs of Time; the other, becauſe I was ſe-"conded by ſo great and worthy a Body as the "whole Body of Parliament. Then there was no "Body in ſo great Favour with you as this Man "whom you ſeem now to touch, but indeed my "Father's Government and mine. Now that you "have all things according to your Wiſhes, and "that I am ſo far engaged that you think there is "no retreat; now you begin to ſet the Dice and "make your own Game. But I pray you be not "deceived: it is not a Parliamentary way, nor is it "a way to deal with a King. Mr. *Cook* told you, "*It was better to be eaten up by a Foreign Enemy than* "*to be deſtroyed at Home*. Indeed I think it is more "Honour for a King to be invaded, and almoſt de-"ſtroyed by a Foreign Enemy, than to be deſpi-"ſed by his own Subjects.

"Remember that Parliaments are altogether in my "Power for their Calling, Sitting and Diſſolution; "therefore as I find the Fruits of them good or e-"vil, they are to continue, or not to be. And re-"member that if in this time, inſtead of mending "your Errors, by delay you perſiſt in your Errors, "you make them greater and irreconcileable: where-"as, on the other ſide, if you do go on cheerfully "to mend them, and look to the diſtreſſed Eſtate of "*Chriſtendom*, and the Affairs of the Kingdom, as "it lieth now by this great Engagement, you will "do your ſelves Honour; you ſhall encourage me "to go on with Parliaments, and I hope all Chri-"ſtendom ſhall feel the good of it."

A ſevere way of ſpeaking to an Engliſh Parliament.

It muſt be acknowledged this was a *Severity* of ſpeaking; that from whatever Spirit of Honour it might proceed, and how agreeable ſoever it was to the later Notions of Majeſty, yet it had not been the uſual Language of an *Engliſh* Prince to an *Engliſh* Parliament. King *Henry* VIII. who had moſt of the Arbitrary Monarch in him, took the Members apart when

1626. when he had a mind to fright them; and ſpoke always with an artificial Temper to a whole Houſe, or the whole Body together. The preſent King might poſſibly have carried his Point by a like Art of ſoft ſpeaking; but to throw by all Inſinuation and Court Addreſs, and receive the Commons in ſo blunt a manner, as they thought to be Upbraiding and Menacing; This reliſhed ill with moſt of them, and alienated them from his Majeſty's Perſon and Intereſt more and more.

That did not reliſh well. For when they returned to their Houſe and fell upon debating of the Speeches delivered by the King and the Lord Keeper, they reſolved themſelves into a grand Committee, and order'd the Doors to be lock'd, and no Member to go forth; and all other Proceedings to ceaſe till the Houſe ſhould come to a Reſolution in this Matter.

The King being informed of the great Exceptions taken at his late Speech, and the explanatory Charge given by the Lord Keeper, commanded the Duke to give Satisfaction at a Conference of both Houſes in the Painted Chamber, held for that purpoſe, on *March* 29.

The Duke was to excuſe the King's Speech. He laboured to excuſe the King's preſcribing a ſhort Day for their granting a Supply; and aſſured them his Majeſty would give a longer time if the Buſineſs did require their further Conſideration. He let them underſtand, that the King's inſiſting upon a larger Aid than they had yet voted, was owing to the great Neceſſity of his Affairs, and the benefit of being enabled to carry the War to the Enemies Door. That his Majeſty did not mean to interrupt their Proceeding upon Grievances; but only hop'd, that they would not ſo much ſeek Faults as the Means to redreſs them.

Which made the Diſguſt greater. But as this Apology was made by an unacceptable Man, ſo perhaps the very making of it did but obſtruct the King's Buſineſs; becauſe it confeſt the doing ſomewhat that wanted an Apology.

The Duke addreſſes himſelf to both Houſes. At the ſame time the Duke made an Addreſs to both Houſes in his own behalf; and gave them an Account of his Negotiation in the *Low Countries*, and of the Management of the Fleet; and concluded with intreating their charitable Opinion of him and his Actions. Then the Lord *Conway* ſtood up and endeavour'd to vindicate the Duke from the ſeveral Jealouſies rais'd againſt him; and laid before them an Account of the Sums of Money disburs'd for the War. But all this could not divert the Commons from proceeding in their Enquiries into publick Grievances, and from preparing a humble Remonſtrance to the King in this Form.

" *Moſt Gracious Sovereign*,

Remonſtrance of the Commons. " WHereas your Majeſty hath been pleaſed of " late, at ſundry times and by ſeveral means, " to impart unto us your Royal Pleaſure touching " ſome Paſſages and Proceedings in this preſent Par- " liament: We do firſt, with unſpeakable Joy and " Comfort, acknowledge your Majeſty's Grace and " Favour, in that it hath pleaſed you to cauſe it to " be delivered unto us by the Lord Keeper of your " Great Seal in your own Royal Preſence, and be- " fore both Houſes of Parliament, *That never King* " *was more loving to his People, nor better affected to the* " *right Uſe of Parliaments*; withall profeſſing your " moſt gracious Reſolution, *To Hear and Redreſs our* " *juſt Grievances*. And with like comfort we acknow- " ledge your Majeſty's Goodneſs ſhining at the very " Entrance of your glorious Reign, in commanding " the Execution of the Laws eſtabliſhed to preſerve " the true Religion of Almighty God; in whoſe " Service conſiſteth the Happineſs of all Kings and " Kingdoms.

" Yet let it not diſpleaſe your Majeſty, that we " alſo expreſs ſome ſenſe of juſt Grief intermix'd " with that great Joy, to ſee the careful Proceed- " ings of our ſincere Intentions ſo miſreported, as " to have wrought Effects unexpected, and we hope " undeſerved.

" Firſt, Touching the Charge againſt us in the 1626. " Matter concerning Mr. *Cook*, we all ſincerely pro- " teſt, that neither the Words mentioned in your " Majeſty's Meſſage, nor any other of ſeditious ef- " fect were ſpoken by him, as hath been reſolved " by the Houſe without one negative Voice. How- " ſoever, in a Speech occaſionally utter'd, he let " fall ſome few Words which might admit an " ill Conſtruction; whereat the Houſe being diſ- " pleaſed at the delivery of them, as was expreſſed " by a general and inſtant check, he forthwith ſo " explained himſelf and his Intention, that for the " preſent we did forbear to take them into Conſi- " deration, which ſince we have done; and the ef- " fect thereof had before this appeared, if by im- " portant Buſineſſes of your Majeſty's Service we " had not been interrupted.

" The like Interruption did alſo befall us in the " Caſe of Dr. *Turner*; wherein the Queſtion being " formerly ſtated, was ordered to be taken that ve- " ry Day on which we received your Majeſty's " Command to attend you.

" But for our own Proceedings, we humbly be- " ſeech your Majeſty to be truly informed, that be- " fore that Overture from Dr. *Turner* (out of our " great and neceſſary care for your Honour and the " Welfare of your Realm) we had taken into ſe- " rious Conſideration the Evils which now afflict " your People, and the Cauſes of them, that we " might apply ourſelves unto the fitteſt Remedies: In " the purſuit whereof, our Committees (whatſoever " they might have done) have in no particular pro- " ceeded otherwiſe, than either upon ground of " Knowledge in themſelves, or Proof by examinati- " on of Witneſſes or other Evidence. In which " courſe of Service for the Publick Good, as we " have not ſwerved from the Parliamentary ways " of our Predeceſſors, ſo we conceive that the diſ- " covery and reforming of Errors is ſo far from lay- " ing an Aſperſion upon the preſent Time and " Government, that it is rather a great Honour " and Happineſs to both: yielding Matter to great " Princes wherein to exerciſe and illuſtrate their " nobleſt Virtues.

" And altho' the grievous Complaints of the " Merchants from all Parts, together with the " common Service of the Subjects well affected to " thoſe who profeſs our Religion, gave us occaſion " to debate ſome Buſineſſes that were partly Fo- " reign, and had relation to Affairs of State; yet " we beſeech your Majeſty to reſt aſſured, it was " exceeding far from our Intention either to tra- " duce your Counſellors or diſadvantage your Ne- " gotiations.

" And though ſome Examples of great and po- " tent Miniſters of Princes, heretofore queſtion'd in " Parliament have been alledg'd, yet was it with- " out paralleling your Majeſty's Government or " Councils to any Times at all, much leſs to Times " of exception.

" Touching the Letter of your Majeſty's Secre- " tary, it was firſt alledged by your Advocate " for his own Juſtification, and after, by direction " of the Committee, produced to make good his " Allegation.

" And for the Search at the Signet Office, the " Copy of a Letter being divulged, as in your Ma- " jeſty's Name, with pregnant cauſe of Suſpicion, " both in the Body and Direction thereof, to be " ſuppoſititious; the Committee out of deſire to be " cleared therein, did by their Order ſend ſome of " themſelves to the Signet-Office, to ſearch whether " there were any Records of Letters of that Nature, " without Warrant to the Officer for any, much " leſs for a general Search.

" But touching Publick Records, we have not for- " born as often as our Buſineſſes have required to " make ſearch into them; wherein we have done " nothing unwarranted by the Laws of your Realm, " and the conſtant Uſage of Parliaments. And if

1626. "for the eaſe of their Labours, any of our Committees have deſired the help of the Officers, Repertories, or Breviats of Direction, we conceive it is no more than any Subject in his own Affairs might have obtained for ordinary Fees.

"Now concerning your Majeſty's Servants, and namely the Duke of *Buckingham*, we humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to be informed by us your faithful Commons, who can have no private End but your Majeſty's Service and the Good of our Country; that it hath been the ancient, conſtant, and undoubted Right and Uſage of Parliaments, to queſtion and complain of all Perſons of what Degree ſoever found grievous to the Common-wealth, in abuſing the Power and Truſt committed to them by their Soveraign. A Courſe approved not only by the Example in your Father's Days of famous Memory, but by frequent Precedents in the beſt and moſt glorious Reigns of your noble Progenitors, appearing both in Records and Hiſtories; without which Liberty in Parliament, no private Man, no Servant to a King, perhaps no Counſellor, without expoſing himſelf to the hazard of great Enmity and Prejudice, can be a means to call great Officers into queſtion for their Miſdemeanours; but the Common-wealth might languiſh under their Preſſures without Redreſs. And whatſoever we ſhall do accordingly in this Parliament, we doubt not but it ſhall redound to the Honour of the Crown and Welfare of your Subjects.

"*Laſtly*, We moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty graciouſly to conceive, that though it hath been the long Cuſtom of Parliaments to handle the Matter of Supply with the laſt of their Buſineſſes; yet at this time, out of extraordinary Reſpect to your Perſon and Care of your Affairs, we have taken the ſame into more ſpeedy Conſideration, and moſt happily on the very Day of your Majeſty's Inauguration, with great Alacrity and unanimous Conſent: After a ſhort Debate we grew to the Reſolution for a preſent Supply, well known to your Majeſty.

"To which, if addition may be made of other great Things for your Service, yet in conſultation amongſt us, we doubt not but it will appear that we have not receeded from the Truth of our firſt Intention, ſo to ſupply you as may make you ſafe at Home and feared Abroad; eſpecially if your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to look upon the way intended in our Promiſe, as well as to the meaſure of the Gift agreed.

"With like Humility we beſeech your Majeſty not to give ear to the officious Reports of private Perſons for their own Ends, which hath occaſioned ſo much Loſs of Time, nor to judge our Proceedings whilſt they are in Agitation; but to be pleaſed to expect the Iſſue and Concluſion of our Labours, which when we are concluded will manifeſt and juſtify to your Majeſty the Sincerity and Loyalty of our Hearts; who ſhall ever place in a high degree of Happineſs the performing of that Duty and Service, which may moſt tend to your Majeſty's Honour and the Good of your Kingdom."

The King not pleaſed with the Remonſtrance.

Upon delivery of this Remonſtrance, a fair and affable Return from his Majeſty might have been well accepted, and had poſſibly reſtor'd a good Underſtanding. But the King either conſcious of his own Integrity and the Fidelity of the Duke, or being reſolutely bent upon a War, and perfectly averſe to all Meaſures that might ſeem to retard it, only told them; that *he could give no preſent Anſwer; but deſired the Houſe to Adjourn for a Week, as the Lords had done*: and they Adjourn'd accordingly.

Some Diſcontents even in the Houſe of Lords.

As to the Houſe of Lords, though his Majeſty in his Speech of *March* 29. had diſtinguiſh'd them from the Commons by his particular Thanks and Approbation: yet ſome occaſions of Offence did ſoon offer, that raiſed ſome unhappy Jealouſies among them. 1626. They thought it was ſome Intrenchment on the Liberties of Peerage, that Writs were not iſſued to ſome of their Fellow-Peers; and when by importunity iſſued, were yet attended with expreſs Orders that they ſhould not appear in Perſon.

Another Grievance to them was, that ſome of the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Nobility pretended to claim a Precedency of the *Engliſh* Lords; which they reſented as an Indignity and Affront to their Quality and Honour; and preſented a Petition to the King in the Names of the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled*, repreſenting, that *whereas the Peers and Nobility of* England *had heretofore in Civility yielded, as to Strangers, Precedency to ſuch Nobles of* Scotland *and* Ireland *as, being in Titles above them, had reſorted hither: Now divers of the Natural-born Subjects of thoſe Kingdoms reſident here do, by reaſon of ſome late created Dignities in thoſe Kingdoms of* Scotland *and* Ireland, *claim Precedency of the Peers of this Realm, which tended to the Diſſervice of his Majeſty, and to the great Diſparagement of the* Engliſh *Nobility; which they ſhew by ſeveral Reaſons; and they humbly beſeech his Majeſty that the Prejudice and Diſparagement of the Peers and Nobility of this Kingdom be redreſſed.* To which Petition his Majeſty gave a favourable Anſwer; that *he would take Order therein.* Another offence was taken at the infringing of their Liberties, by the King's committing in time of Parliament the E. of *Arundel* to the *Tower*, without expreſſing the Cauſe of his Commitment. It was conceiv'd to be about the Marriage of the Lord *Maltravers*, the Earl's eldeſt Son, to the Siſter of the young Duke of *Lenox*. The Earl of *Arundel* having been committed in *March* laſt, the Lords were immediately ſenſible of their Honours and Privileges being concerned in this Matter; and were entring into Debates upon it, when the Lord Keeper ſignified to the Houſe, that he was commanded to deliver this Meſſage from his Majeſty unto their Lordſhips, *viz.* *That the Earl of* Arundel *was reſtrained for a Miſdemeanour that was perſonal to his Majeſty, and lay in the proper knowledge of his Majeſty, and had no relation to Matters of Parliament.* But the Lords appointing Committees to ſearch for Precedents, did upon their Report come to this unanimous Reſolution: *That the Privilege of this Houſe is, that no Lord of Parliament, the Parliament ſitting, or within the uſual times of Privileges of Parliament, is to be Impriſoned or Reſtrained without Sentence or Decree of the Houſe, unleſs it be for Treaſon, or Felony, or refuſing to give Surety of the Peace.* Upon which, they ordered a Remonſtrance or Petition of the Peers, concerning the Claim of their Privileges from Arreſts and Impriſonments during the Parliament; which the whole Houſe preſented to his Majeſty on *April* 19. and next Day the Lord Preſident delivered this Anſwer from the King; *That their Lordſhips having ſpent ſome time about this Buſineſs, and it being of ſome conſequence, his Majeſty ſhould be thought raſh, if he ſhould give a ſudden Anſwer thereto, and therefore will adviſe of it, and give them a full Anſwer in convenient time.* This Anſwer being for ſeveral Days deferred, on the 2d of *May* their Lordſhips order'd, that the Lord Keeper ſhould move his Majeſty for a ſpeedy and gracious Anſwer to their Petition. On the 4th of *May*, his Lordſhip reported this farther Anſwer from the King. *It is a Cauſe wherein he hath had a great deal of Care, and is willing to give their Lordſhips Satisfaction, and hath it in his Conſideration how to do it; and hath been interrupted by other Buſineſs, wherein Mr. Attorny hath had occaſion of much Conference with him (as their Lordſhips are acquainted) but will with all Conveniency give their Lordſhips Satisfaction, and return them an Anſwer.* On the 9th of *May*, the Lords ſuſpecting the Delay to be a Denial of Juſtice, drew up this other Petition to the King.

The Earl of Arundel's Impriſonment in time of Parliament another Grievance to the Lords.

Reſolution of the Rights of Peerage.

Petition to the King.

Not favourably anſwer'd.

"*May it pleaſe your Majeſty*,

Another Petition of the Lords

"WHereas the whole Body of the Peers, now aſſembled in Parliament, did on the 19th Day of *April*, exhibit to your Majeſty an humble "Re-

1626. " Remonſtrance and Petition, concerning the Privilege of Peers in Parliament, and in particular " touching the Earl of *Arundel*; whereupon we received a gracious Anſwer, That in convenient " time we ſhould receive a fuller Anſwer, which " we have long and dutifully attended: And now " at this time ſo great a Buſineſs being in handling " in the Houſe, we are preſſed by that Buſineſs to " be humble Suiters to your Majeſty for a gracious " and preſent Anſwer."

The King offended with the Lords. On *May* 11, the Lord Preſident reported this Anſwer from his Majeſty: *That he did little look for ſuch a Meſſage from the Houſe; that himſelf had been of the Houſe, and did never know ſuch a Meſſage from the one Houſe unto the other. Therefore when he received a Meſſage fit to come from them to their Soveraign, they ſhall receive an Anſwer.* When the Lords deſired to know at what part of the Petition his Majeſty took Exception, the Lord Preſident further reported to them; *The Exception the King taketh is at the Peremptorineſs of the Term,* to have a preſent Anſwer. *And the King wonders at your Impatience, ſince he hath promiſed an Anſwer in convenient time.* It is very plain that King *Charles* had little of the *King-craft* which was profeſſed by his Father: and therefore he made moſt of his *Anſwers* in Parliament ſo blunt and rough, that a direct denial of Requeſts had been often more Gracious than his way of promiſing Satisfaction to them.

The Earl at laſt ſet at Liberty. Their Lordſhips ſtill purſued their Petitions, till about the beginning of *June* the Earl of *Arundel* was at laſt reſtored to his Liberty; and coming to the Houſe rendred his humble Thanks unto his Majeſty for this gracious Favour to him, and gave their Lordſhips alſo moſt hearty Thanks for their frequent Interceſſions to the King for him: proteſting Loyalty and all faithful Service to his Majeſty.

The greateſt diſturbance in the Houſe of Lords was the Quarrel between the Duke of *Buckingham* and E. of *Briſtol*. But that which moſt occaſioned, and continually improved the Diſcontents in the Houſe of Lords, was the Conteſt between the D. of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Briſtol*.(*a*) They had begun their Emulation in the Court of *Spain*, where the Duke had been moſt officious to pleaſe the Prince, and the Earl had thought himſelf more ſerviceable to the Honour of the Nation. The Earl at his return, upon the Suggeſtions of the Duke, was debarred acceſs to his Majeſty, was examined by a Committee of Lords at the King's appointment, was kept under Reſtraint, and was denied his Writ to Parliament; and when upon Interceſſion of the Lords he had the uſual Summons, yet he received it with an Order not to make his Perſonal Appearance: Upon which he ſent a Petition to the Houſe, ſetting forth the Wrong done to him; and deſiring to be heard in the Houſe, that he might there clear himſelf, and prefer his Accuſation againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*. This ſo highly offended the King, that he ſent this Meſſage by the Lord Keeper to the Houſe of Lords.

"His Majeſty hath heard of a Petition preferred " unto this Houſe by the Earl of *Briſtol*, ſo void of " Duty and Reſpects to his Majeſty, that he hath " great Cauſe to puniſh him. He hath alſo heard " with what Duty and Reſpectfulneſs to his Majeſty " your Lordſhips have proceeded therein, which, " his Majeſty conceiveth to have been upon the " Knowledge you have, that he hath been reſtrained " for Matters of State; and his Majeſty doth therefore give your Lordſhips Thanks for the ſame, and " is reſolved to put the Cauſe upon the Honour and " Juſtice of your Lordſhips and this Houſe. And " therefore his Majeſty commands me to ſignifie to " your Lordſhips his Royal Pleaſure, that the Earl " of *Briſtol* be ſent for as a Delinquent, to anſwer " in this Houſe his Offences committed in his Negotiations before his Majeſty's being in *Spain*, and " his Offences ſince his Majeſty's coming from *Spain*, " and his ſcandalizing the Duke of *Buckingham* immediately, and his Majeſty by Reflection: With 1626. " whoſe Privity, and by whoſe Directions the Duke " did guide his Actions, and without which he did " nothing. All which his Majeſty will cauſe to be " charged againſt him before your Lordſhips in this " Houſe."

Earl of *Briſtol* brought to the Bar and charged with High-Treaſon. Upon this Meſſage the Lords made an Order, that the Earl of *Briſtol* ſhould be brought to the Bar of their Houſe on *Monday May* 1. When he ſtood there the Lord Keeper acquainted him, " That the Attorney General, in his Majeſty's Name, was there " ready to charge him with High-Treaſon, and other Offences and Miſdemeanours of a very high " Nature." The Articles againſt him were then exhibited by Sir *Robert Heath* Attorney General, upon the ſeveral Heads of 1. *Offences done and committed by the Earl of* Briſtol *before his Majeſty's going into* Spain, *when he was Prince.* 2. *Offences done and committed by the ſaid Earl during the Time of the Prince's being in* Spain. 3. *Offences done and committed by the ſaid Earl after the Prince's coming from* Spain.

The Earl's Anſwer. The Earl anſwered; " That he had already lodged a Petition in the Houſe, *April* 19. to be heard " in his Accuſation of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and " therefore deſired that their Lordſhips would in " order firſt receive his Charge againſt the ſaid Duke " and the Lord *Conway*, and not ſuffer his Teſtimony to be invalidated by an Impeachment till his " Charge was firſt heard." So he tendered to the Houſe his Articles againſt the Duke; which the Clerk received, and he withdrew. And his Petition exhibited the 19th of *April* was read over; and the Lords reſolved upon the Queſtion: *That the ſaid Earl's Charge againſt the Duke of* Buckingham *and the Lord* Conway *ſhould be preſently read.* His Charge againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*.

The Earl being ſhortly after called in again to the Bar of the Lord's Houſe, made a long and elegant Speech, defending his own Innocence and Honour, and charging the Duke with very many ill Counſels and arbitrary Actions. After which, upon a Promiſe to anſwer the Attorney General's Charge as ſoon as might be, he was remitted to Mr. *Maxwel* the Gentleman Uſher, in whoſe Houſe and Cuſtody he remained.

Then were read the Articles of the Earl of *Briſtol* againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, dated *May* 1. 1626. to this Effect:

Articles againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*. I. " That the Duke of *Bucks* did ſecretly combine " with Count *Gondamor* to carry the Prince into " *Spain*, to be inſtructed in the *Roman* Religion; and " thereby to ſubvert the true Religion here Eſtabliſhed.

II. " That Mr. *Porter* was firſt ſent into *Spain* " upon this Deſign; and at his Return impoſed upon the King and Prince to obtain what the Duke " had before plotted.

III. " That the Duke at his arrival in *Spain* ſhewed himſelf popiſhly affected, by abſenting from " the Proteſtant Service conſtantly uſed in the Earl " of *Briſtol*'s Houſe, and even by kneeling and adoring the Sacrament of the Maſs; which gave the " *Spaniards* ſuch hopes of the Prince's Converſion, " that they propoſed harder Conditions for Religion than what had been before agreed to.

IV. " That the Duke had many times, in preſence " of the Earl, mov'd the Prince to write a Letter to " the Pope, which the Earl vigorouſly oppoſed, and " hinder'd the writing during his ſtay in that Court; " but after he the Earl was come away, the Duke " did extort ſuch a Letter to the Pope.

V. " That the Pope being inform'd of the Duke's " Inclination in point of Religion, ſent the Duke a " Bull in Parchment, to perſwade and encourage " him to pervert the Prince.

(*a*) See a Letter from the King to the Earl of *Briſtol*, charging him with Miſbehaviour in *Spain*, and zealouſly eſpouſing the Quarrel of the Duke of *Buckingham*, dat. *Jan.* xxi. 1625. in *Cabala*. Fol. p. 203.

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VI. “That the Duke had ſo behaved himſelf in “ *Spain* as to be odious to that King and Court; and “ therefore he broke off the Match upon his own “ Indignation, not out of Service to this Nation.

VII. “That ſo intending to croſs the Marriage, “ he made uſe of indirect means, and concealed many Things from his late Majeſty to advance his “ own Ends.

VIII. “ That for the ſame Purpoſe he had abus’d “ both Houſes of Parliament by a falſe Relation of “ thoſe Affairs.

IX. “ That he gave great Scandal by his perſonal “ Behaviour in the Court of *Spain*; and left there a “ blemiſh upon the *Engliſh* Nation.

X. “ That he had been in great part the Cauſe of “ the Ruin of the Prince *Palatine*.

XI. “ That in his Reports to the two Houſes he “ had wronged him the Earl in point of his Honour “ and of his Liberty.

XII. “ That he the Earl had revealed theſe Miſ- “ carriages of the Duke to the late King, who had “ promiſed to hear him at large four Days before “ his Sickneſs; upon which the King was much “ preſſed and vexed by the Duke, and ſhortly after “ died.”

The Articles of the ſaid Earl againſt the Lord *Conway*, delivered and read at the ſame time were 11 in Number; to the purpoſe of proving the ſaid Lord *Conway* to be the Duke’s Servant and Creature, and a Promoter and Abetter of all Miſcarriages committed by the Duke.

After reading the ſaid Articles, the Lords order’d that the King’s Charge againſt the Earl of *Briſtol* ſhould be firſt heard, and then the Charge of the ſaid Earl againſt the Duke; yet ſo that the Earl’s Teſtimony againſt the Duke ſhould not be prevented, prejudiced or impeached. On the Day following, the Lord Keeper delivered to the Houſe a Meſſage from the King to this Effect, “ That the Articles exhibited againſt the Duke of *Buckingham* are ſuch, “ as the King of his own Knowledge can teſtifie the “ Duke’s ſincere Carriage in them; that they had “ been cloſed in the Earl’s own Breaſt for two Years “ contrary to his Duty, and were now vented by “ way of Recrimination; and that therefore they “ ſhould put a difference between his Majeſty’s “ Charge againſt one that appeareth as a Delinquent, “ and the Recrimination of the Earl of *Briſtol* a- “ gainſt his Majeſty’s Witneſs.”

The King interpoſes in the Duke’s behalf.

The Lords Houſe more inclin’d to the Earl than to the Duke.

The Majority of the Lords were more inclined to eſpouſe the Earl’s Cauſe, upon a better Opinion of his Character and Perſon than they had of the Duke’s; and being more apt to pity his Misfortunes, that he had incurred the King’s diſpleaſure only by oppoſing the Duke’s Ambition. Upon appearance of this Inclination in the Houſe, there was an Endeavour to remove the Earl’s Cauſe out of their Lordſhips Cognizance, and to proceed againſt him by way of Indictment in the King’s Bench. But this attempt did but gain the Earl more Friends in the Upper Houſe, in being ſenſible that taking the Cauſe out of their Houſe would infringe their Liberties, and leave an Imputation upon their Honour and Juſtice; and therefore they ſtopt the Revocation of it.

The Earl’s Anſwer and Vindication of himſelf.

About a Fortnight after the delivering in thoſe Articles by the Attorney General, the Earl gave in his Anſwer, and introduc’d it with an eloquent Speech: wherein he firſt aſſerted his conſtant and ſtrict adherence to the Proteſtant Religion; and then inſiſted upon his Honour and Integrity in his Negotiations in *Spain*: And then exhibited his full Anſwer to the ſeveral Articles preferred againſt him; and then concluded with another Speech, wherein “ He “ hoped their Lordſhips would not only find him “ far from Blame, but a faithful Servant to his “ late and preſent Majeſty; and that therefore “ their Lordſhips would take ſuch Courſe as they “ in their Wiſdom ſhould think fit, not only for “ upholding the Honour and Reputation of a Peer “ of this Realm, but likewiſe for becoming humble “ and earneſt Suitors to his Majeſty, that he may “ be reſtor’d to his Majeſty’s moſt gracious Favour; “ which above all worldly Things he moſt deſireth.”

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Impeachment againſt the Duke by the Commons.

But the Proceeding of the Lords in this Caſe was now interrupted by an Impeachment of the Duke prepared in the Houſe of Commons; which upon *May* 8. was delivered at a Conference of both Houſes, and held them two Days. It was managed by eight Members and ſixteen more Aſſiſtants; the Managers were Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Glanvil*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Sherland*, Mr. *Wandeford*, and Sir *John Elliot*.

A Conference between the two Houſes.

Sir *Dudley Diggs* began with thanking their Lordſhips for condeſcending to this Conference: He then repreſented the publick Grievances and Complaints of the People; and then came to this Application. *The Commons therefore wondering at the Evils which they ſuffered, debating of the Cauſes of them, found they were many, like many Lines to one Circumference, of Decay of Trade and Strength, of Honour and Reputation in this Kingdom; which, as in one Centre, met in one great Man the Cauſe of all, whom I am here to name, the Duke of* Buckingham. Then pauſing a while, he read the Preamble to the Charge, and then ſpoke in general to the Grounds and Reaſons of it; comparing the *Engliſh* Monarchy to the World, the Commons to the Earth and Sea, the King to the Sun, the Lords to the Stars and Planets, and the Duke of *Buckingham* to a prodigious Comet. And finally inferring, that all the Grievances complained of by the Commons were to be imputed to the Duke only, and to his Procurement.

The Subſtance of the Articles, and of the Duke’s Anſwer afterwards given in to them.

The Articles of Impeachment and the D.’s Anſwer.

I. *Article.* “ That he the ſaid Duke, being young “ and unexperienc’d, had with exorbitant Am- “ bition, and for his own Advantage procured “ and engroſſed into his own Hands ſeveral great “ Offices.”

The Duke’s Anſwer. “ As to the Places he holds “ three only are worthy the Name of Offices, *viz.* the “ Admiralty, the Wardenſhip of the Cinque Ports, “ and Maſterſhip of the Horſe; for which he ac- “ knowledgeth the Bounty and Goodneſs of his moſt “ gracious Maſter, who prevented his deſires in ask- “ ing him for them. And that there be many Prece- “ dents both in ancient and modern Times, that one “ Man eminent in the Eſteem of his Soveraign hath “ at one time held as great and as many Offices.”

II. *Art.* “ That he the ſaid Duke, in the 16th of “ the late King, did give to the Earl of *Notting-* “ *ham* for the Office of Admiral three thouſand “ Pounds; and did procure from the late King “ an Annuity of one thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, “ to be paid to the ſaid Earl for his ſurrendry, “ to obtain to himſelf a Grant of the ſaid Office “ during Life.”

The Duke’s Anſwer. “ That he obtained a Grant “ of the Office of Admiralty freely, and without “ any Contract or Bargain with the late Lord Ad- “ miral, who ſurrender’d it willingly without any “ Promiſe; and received a Penſion at the King’s own “ Free-will and Pleaſure. And he affirms, that his “ Majeſty’s Navy is in better State by much, than “ ever it was in any precedent Time whatſoever.”

III. *Art.* “ That in the 22d of the late King, he “ gave to *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, Lord Warden of “ the Cinque Ports, for ſurrender of the ſaid Of- “ fice one thouſand Pounds, and procured him “ an Annuity of five hundred Pounds yearly.”

The Duke’s Anſwer. “ That the Lord *Zouch* being “ grown in Years, and unfit to execute ſo great a “ Truſt, and willing to reſign it, and treating with “ other Noblemen upon ſome Recompence for it, “ he did indeed agree to give him one thouſand

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IV. *Art.* "That he the ſaid Duke, by reaſon of his ſaid Offices, ought to have ſafely guarded the Seas; whereas, ever ſince the Diſſolution of the two Treaties, 21 *Jacobi*, he had neglected the performance of his ſaid Office and Duty, and broken the Truſt committed to him."

The Duke's Anſwer. "Whatever Loſſes have happen'd to the King's Subjects during that time, are not owing to his want of Care and Diligence. For that he had encreaſed the ordinary Guard allowed for the Narrow Seas; and ſuch further Proviſion is now made as will give good Satiſfaction."

V. *Art.* "That a Ship called the *St. Peter* of *Newhaven*, laden with Goods of the Subjects of *France*, in time of Peace with that Kingdom, was taken at Sea by direction of the ſaid Duke, and brought to *Plymouth* as a Prize, where divers Goods, to the Value of twenty thouſand Pounds were taken out for the benefit of the ſaid Duke, and the Ship with the reſidue of her Goods ſent into the River of *Thames* and there detained. Upon which there was an Arreſt at *Newhaven* of two *Engliſh* Merchant Ships, to the great diſturbance of Trade, and prejudice of the Merchants."

The Duke's Anſwer. "He ſets forth the Fact, and hopes it will ſufficiently appear, that he hath not done any thing herein which was not juſtifiable, and grounded upon deliberate and well adviſed Counſels and Warrants."

VI. *Art.* "That the ſaid Duke abuſing the Lords of the Parliament in the 21ſt of King *James*, with pretence of ſerving the State, did oppreſs the *Eaſt-India* Merchants, and extorted from them ten thouſand Pounds to releaſe their Ships which he had ſtopt from their intended Voyage."

The Duke's Anſwer. "He reciteth the Matter of Fact, and proves the Compoſition made by the Company with his late Majeſty by legal Proceedings, and advice of Counſel; and refers himſelf to the Judicial Acts which prove the contrary to what is alledg'd againſt him."

VII. *Art.* "That about the end of *July* laſt, he the ſaid Duke as Admiral, did by indirect and ſubtle Means and Practices, procure one of the principal Ships of his Majeſty's Navy Royal, call'd the *Vanguard*, and ſix other Merchant Ships to be put into the Hands of the *French* King."

The Duke's Anſwer. "That this Article was ſo mix'd with Actions of great Princes, that he dar'd not in his Duty publiſh every Paſſage thereof: but he could affirm, that thoſe Ships were lent to the *French* King at firſt without his privity; and when he knew it, he did that which belong'd to an Admiral of *England* and a true *Engliſh-man*."

VIII. *Art.* "That the ſaid Duke, knowing the ſaid Ships were intended to be employ'd againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion in the Town of *Rochel*, did procure the ſaid Ships to be delivered, that they might be ſo uſed and employ'd, as they accordingly were, againſt the Town of *Rochel*."

The Duke's Anſwer. "That he was ſo far from practiſing, or conſenting that the ſaid Ships ſhould be ſo employ'd, that he believed the Pretence of the *French* King, that he would uſe thoſe Ships againſt *Genoa*; and when it was diſcover'd that they would be employ'd againſt thoſe of the Religion, he did by all fit and honourable Means endeavour to divert that Courſe." 1626.

IX. *Art.* "That whereas Titles of Honour were wont to be conferr'd as the Rewards only of Virtue and Induſtry: he the ſaid Duke had perverted that Ancient and moſt Honourable Way, and had enforced ſome that were Rich to purchaſe Honour: As the Lord *R*—— Baron of *T*——, to the prejudice of the Gentry and diſhonour of the Nobility."

The Duke's Anſwer. "He utterly denies compelling the Lord *R*—— to buy his Title of Honour; who was before willing to have given a much greater Sum, but could not then obtain it; and he did now obtain it by Sollicitation of his own Agents."

X. *Art.* "That whereas no Places of Judicature ought to be procured for any Reward, Bribe or Gift, he the ſaid Duke in the 18th of King *James*, did procure of the ſaid King the Office of High-Treaſurer of *England*, to the Lord Viſcount *M*.... now Earl of *M*..... for the Reward of twenty thouſand Pounds: And in the 16th of the ſaid King, did procure the Office of the *Maſter of the Wards* for Sir *L. C.* afterward Earl of *M*.... for the Reward of ſix thouſand Pounds."

The Duke's Anſwer. "That he received not, or had a Penny of either of thoſe Sums to his own Uſe: nor did he know of the procurement of them."

XI. *Art.* "That he had procured divers Titles of Honour to his Mothers, Brothers, Kindred and Allies, of ſmall Eſtates, to the prejudice of the Nobility and the damage of the Cr own."

The Duke's Anſwer. "That as to procuring ſome few Honours for thoſe who were ſo near and dear unto him, the Law of Nature, and the King's Royal Favour, may plead for his excuſe."

XII. *Art.* "That he had obtained a Grant from the Crown of divers Manors, parcel of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and of other Lands and Rents belonging to the Crown; and had likewiſe received exceeding great Sums of Money for his own uſe without Accompt, to the great diminution of the Revenues of the Crown, according to the Schedules annex'd."

The Duke's Anſwer. "That he doth acknowledge the bountiful Hand of his late Majeſty; but as to the immenſe Sums and Values which are ſuggeſted to have been given to him, there be great miſtakes in the Schedules, to which he will give particular Anſwer in another Schedule."

XIII. *Art.* "That whereas nothing ought to be adminiſtred to the Royal Perſons of Kings in their Sickneſs, without Conſent and Direction of ſome of their known Phyſicians: the ſaid Duke without any ſufficient Warrant, did unduly cauſe and procure certain Plaiſters, and a certain Drink or Potion to be given to his late Majeſty; after which divers ill Symptoms did appear upon his ſaid Majeſty, who did attribute the Cauſe of his growing worſe to the ſaid Plaiſter and Drink."

The Duke's Anſwer. "That he was by infinite bonds of Duty and Thankfulneſs obliged to be tender of the Life and Health of his late Soveraign Maſter. That he did neither apply nor procure the Plaiſter or Poſſet-drink, in the Charge term'd a Potion, to his late Majeſty, nor was preſent when the ſame was firſt taken or applied. But that his Majeſty being ſick of an Ague, enquir'd how he the Duke had lately recovered from the like Diſtemper: and he told his Majeſty that the Earl of *Warwick*'s Phyſician had cured him with

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“a Plaiſter and Poſſet-drink. The King deſired to have the like Medicines ſent for; but the Duke delayed it, till the King commanded them to be fetch'd by an expreſs Meſſenger, and firſt took them in his the Duke's abſence. When the King grew worſe, he the Duke heard a rumour as if his Phyſick had done the King hurt; and that he the Duke had adminiſtred it without Advice. The Duke acquainting the King herewith, his Majeſty with much Diſcontent anſwer'd thus: *They are worſe than Devils that ſay it.* He humbly prays their Lordſhips not only to conſider the Truth of this Matter, but alſo to commiſerate the ſad thought which this Article hath revived in him.”

The ſeveral Articles having been enlarged and aggravated by the reſpective Members choſen out for Management, Sir *John Elliot* concluded the Impeachment in a bitter Speech; ending thus:

Sir *John Elliot*'s concluding Speech.

“I conclude by preſenting to your Lordſhips the particular Cenſure of the Biſhop of *Ely*, reported in the 2d of *Rich.* I. And to give you a ſhort view of his Faults; He was firſt of all noted to be luxurious. Secondly, He married his own Kindred to Perſonages of higheſt Rank and Places. Thirdly, No Man's Buſineſs was done without his help. Fourthly, He would not ſuffer the King's Council to adviſe in Matters of State. Fifthly, He grew to ſuch a height of Pride, that no Man was thought worthy to ſpeak unto him. And, Laſtly, His Caſtles and Forts of Truſt he did *obſcuris & ignotis hominibus tradere.* His Doom was this, *Per totam Inſulam publice proclamatur, pereat qui perdere cuncta feſtinat, opprimatur ne omnes opprimat.*”

Concluſion of the Duke's Anſwer.

The Duke concluded his Anſwer with referring all to the Judgment of their Lordſhips; “acknowledging how eaſie it was for him in his younger Years, and unexperienc'd, to fall into thouſands of Errors; but hoping he had been preſerv'd from running into any heinous and high Miſdemeanours and Crimes. In whatſoever he had unwittingly offended, he claimed the Benefit of his late and preſent Majeſty's Pardon; and hopeth, and will daily pray, that for the future he ſhall by God's Grace ſo watch over his Actions both Publick and Private, that he ſhall not give any juſt Offence to any.”

The Duke having put in this Anſwer, earneſtly moved the Lords to ſend to the Commons to expedite the Reply; and the Commons did as earneſtly deſire a Copy of his Anſwer.

The King reſolv'd to prevent a Trial.

But the King did ſeem reſolv'd that this Proceſs ſhould never end in a formal Trial. The faithful Maſter was more than equal to the wiſe Prince: The more popular Odium the Duke lay under, he became the nearer Object of Royal Favour. If his Majeſty could have a little inclin'd an Ear to the Voice of the People, and could have excluded this Favourite from his Councils and his Preſence, while the Cry was loud againſt him, he might in all appearance have better protected his Servant, and better defended his own Royal Honour. But he was impatient of all Proceedings againſt the Duke; and therefore to execute ſome diſpleaſure on the principal Actors, he commanded Sir *Dudley Diggs* who open'd the Impeachment, and Sir *John Elliot* who concluded the laſt Article, to be both committed to the *Tower.* And on *May* 11. the King came to the Houſe of Lords and expreſſed his Reſentments in this manner:

Impriſons the two Members of the Houſe of Commons.

Makes a Speech full of Reſentment to the Lords.

“*My Lords,*

“THE cauſe and only cauſe of my coming to you this Day is, to expreſs the Senſe I have of all your Honours: for he that toucheth any of you toucheth me in a very great Meaſure. I have thought fit to take Order for the puniſhing ſome inſolent Speeches lately ſpoken. I have been too remiſs heretofore in puniſhing ſuch Speeches as concern my ſelf: Not that I was greedy of their Monies, but that *Buckingham* through his importunity would not ſuffer me to take notice of them, leſt he might be thought to have ſet me on, and that he might come the forwarder to his Trial. And to approve his Innocency, as touching the Matters againſt him, I my ſelf can be a Witneſs to clear him in every one of them.

“I ſpeak not this to take any thing out of your hands, but to ſhew the Reaſon why I have not hitherto puniſhed thoſe inſolent Speeches againſt my ſelf. And now I hope you will be as tender of my Honour, when time ſhall ſerve, as I have been ſenſible of yours.”

Motion of the Commons to commit the Duke.

The ſame Day a Meſſage was brought from the Commons to their Lordſhips by Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, to make Declaration, “That they hold it a thing of dangerous Conſequence, both for the preſent and future times, that a Man of ſo great Eminence, Power, and Authority, being Impeached and Accuſed of ſuch high Crimes and Offences, ſhould yet enjoy his Liberty, *&c.* Wherefore they recommend it as their unanimous Deſire, that their Lordſhips would be pleaſed forthwith to commit the Perſon of the ſaid Duke to ſafe Cuſtody.” Upon which the Duke made a Speech, to deſire his Trial might be haſtned, that he might no longer ſuffer than needs muſt. “And now (*ſays he*) that my Accuſer hath not been content only to make my Proceſs, but to preſcribe to your Lordſhips the manner of your Judgment, and to judge me before I am heard, I ſhall not give way to any of their unjuſt Demands, *&c.*”

The Duke angry.

But the quick Reſentments of the King, and the ſeeming Defiance of the Duke, did but irritate the Commons to a more importunate Proſecution. They reſolved therefore to proceed in no other Buſineſs, till they had Satisfaction in this Cauſe. They turned the Houſe into a grand Committee, and fell upon conſidering Ways and Means how to ſecure their Rights and Liberties. In which Committee Sir *Dudley Carleton* made a very reconciling Speech, and mov'd the Houſe not to intrench upon his Majeſty's Prerogatives, leſt it ſhould bring him out of Love with Parliaments: He urg'd the Neceſſity of a good Correſpondence to be kept up between the King and his People: He laid ſome blame upon Sir *Dudley Diggs* and Sir *John Elliot*, and inferr'd, that they ſpoke beyond their Commiſſion; *And this* (ſays he) *drew his Majeſty, with other inſolent Invectives, to uſe his Regal Authority in committing them to the* Tower.

The Commons more incenſed.

Caſe of Sir *Dudley Diggs*.

The Words imputed to Sir *Dudley Diggs* were, *That he did forbear to ſpeak farther of that* (meaning the Plaiſter apply'd to his late Majeſty) *in regard of the King's Honour.* Upon which a Proteſtation was drawn up and thus taken by every Member.

I Proteſt before Almighty God and this Houſe of Parliament, that I never gave Conſent that Sir Dudley Diggs *ſhould ſpeak theſe Words that he is now charged withall, or any Words to that effect. And I have not affirmed to any that he did ſpeak ſuch Words, or any to that effect.*

Within few Days after Sir *Dudley* was releaſed from the *Tower*, and coming into the Houſe made there a Proteſtation, that the Expreſſion charg'd upon him was far from his Words, and never came into his Thoughts. He thank'd the Houſe for their Reſpects unto him, and ſaid, he had received from his Majeſty a gracious Teſtimony of his Satisfaction. But ſtill the Duke could not digeſt the Affront; he affirmed to the Houſe of Peers, that ſome Words were ſpoken at the late Conference by Sir *Dudley Diggs*, which ſo far did trench upon the King's Honour, that they are interpreted Treaſonable. After long Debate, thirty ſix Lords made a voluntary Proteſtation, upon their Honours, *That the ſaid Sir* Dudley Diggs *did not ſpeak any thing at the ſaid Conference which did or might trench on the King's Honour; and if he had they would preſently have reprehended him for it.*

1626. Not long after, Sir *John Elliot* was alſo releaſed, and coming into the Houſe diſcharged himſelf of the offenſive Paſſages in his late Charge againſt the Duke, and obtained a Vote of the Houſe, that *He had not exceeded the Commiſſion given him in the late Conference.*

Caſe of Sir *John Elliot.*

So as Things were not yet carried ſo high, but that a little mutual Compliance might have ſtill made a happy Seſſion. But his Majeſty had ſo much Affection for the Duke, and ſo much Occaſion for immediate Supply, that he could not bear the Thoughts of a Trial that might be provoking and long depending: And therefore the Day after the Duke had put in his Anſwer, the King wrote this Letter to the Speaker, dated *June* 9.

King's Letter to the Speaker.

" *Truſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well.*

"OUR Houſe of Commons cannot forget how " often and how earneſtly we have called up- " on them for the ſpeeding of that Aid which they " intended us for our great and weighty Affairs, con- " cerning the Safety and Honour of Us and Our " Kingdoms. And now the time being ſo far ſpent " that unleſs it be preſently concluded, it can nei- " ther bring us Money nor Credit by the time which " themſelves have prefixed, which is the laſt of this " Month, and being farther deferred would be of " little Uſe, we being daily advertiſed from all " Parts of the great Preparations of the Enemy rea- " dy to aſſail us: We hold it neceſſary by theſe " our Letters to give them our laſt and final Admo- " nition, and to let them know, that we ſhall ac- " count all farther Delays and Excuſes to be expreſs " Denials. And therefore we Will and Require you " to ſignifie unto them, that we do expect that they " do forthwith bring in their Bill of Subſidy to be " paſſed without Delay or Condition, ſo as it may " fully paſs the Houſe by the end of the next Week " at the fartheſt: Which if they do not, it will " force us to take other Reſolutions. But let them " know, if they finiſh this according to our Deſire, " that we are reſolved to let them Sit together for " the Diſpatch of their other Affairs ſo long as the " Seaſon will permit, and after their Receſs to bring " them together again the next Winter. And if by " their Denial or Delay any thing of ill Conſequence " ſhall fall out, either at home or abroad, we call " God and Man to witneſs, that we have done our " Part to prevent it, by calling our People together " to adviſe with us, by opening the Weight of our " Occaſions unto them, and by requiring their time- " ly Help and Aſſiſtance in theſe Actions wherein " we ſtand engaged by their own Counſels. And " we Will and Command you, that this Letter be " publickly read in the Houſe."

Not well received by the Houſe of Commons.

Theſe were thought too hard Words by the Commons, who had their Money yet in their hands, and were reſolv'd to have a Redreſs of ſome Grievances as an Equivalent for it: And therefore their only Anſwer at preſent was an earneſt Petition to the King concerning the Dangers ariſing from the Increaſe and the Impunity of Popiſh Recuſants; giving a Catalogue of many in Commiſſion and Truſt who were either profeſs'd Papiſts themſelves, or had Popiſh Wives and Children: and then deſiring that the aforeſaid Parties, and others ſo ill affected, *be put out of ſuch Commiſſions and Places of Authority wherein they now are in his Majeſty's Realm of* England, *contrary to the Acts and Law of State in that behalf.* (*a*)

Their Anſwer.

Then a Committee was appointed to prepare an Anſwer to his Majeſty's late Letter; and the Subſtance of it was delivered by the Speaker in a Speech before the King, wherein he preſented the Anſwer of the Houſe fairly wrote in Parchment, ſaying, " This Parchment contains two things, the one by " way of Declaration, to give your Majeſty an Ac- " count and humble Satisfaction of their clear and " ſincere Endeavours and Intentions in your Maje- " ſty's Service: and the other an humble Petition " to your Majeſty for the Removal of that great " Perſon the Duke of *Buckingham* from Acceſs to " your Royal Preſence." 1626.

They proceed to a Remonſtrance.

His Majeſty not giving a favourable Anſwer, the Commons proceeded to draw up a *Remonſtrance*; which they had no ſooner finiſh'd, but they had Intimation that the Parliament would be that Day Diſſolv'd: upon which, they ordered every Member of the Houſe to have a Copy of the ſaid *Remonſtrance*; which was to this effect:

" WE your loyal and faithful Subjects the " Commons—retarded in the Proſecution " of Publick Affairs — think it our Duties to de- " clare thoſe Interruptions and Preventions — In " the firſt Parliament, the Commons then aſſem- " bled— preſenting two Subſidies — were preſ- " ſed by means of the Duke of *Buckingham* to en- " large that Supply, which conceiving not to be " there effected, he procured an Adjournment to " *Oxford*, and there a Diſſolution. — Before the " Choice of this preſent Parliament, he procured the " late Members to be made Sheriffs, to preclude " them from the Service of this Houſe — Now " enquiring into Grievances, we found that the moſt " preſſing and comprehenſive Miſchief and Grie- " vance that we ſuffer'd was fundamentally ſettled " in the vaſt Power and enormous Actions of the " ſaid Duke. — We have made a Parliamentary " Charge againſt him — in which we have been " interrupted and diverted by Meſſages procured " through Miſinformation from your Majeſty— " Two of our Members have been committed to " cloſe Impriſonment. — Notwithſtanding our " Declaration againſt the Duke for Plurality of Of- " fices, he has ſince procured the Office of Chan- " cellour of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. — We " cannot hope for the Service of your Majeſty and " the Safety of the Nation, ſo long as we thus ſuf- " fer under the Preſſures of the Power and Ambiti- " on of the ſaid Duke. — Your Majeſty has been " adviſed to *New Counſels*, and in particular to levy " the Subſidies of Tonnage and Poundage, which " determined upon the Death of your Royal Father, " and were never payable to any of your Majeſty's " Anceſtors, but only by a ſpecial Act of Parlia- " ment. — We proteſt to your Majeſty and the " whole World, that until this great Perſon be re- " moved, we are out of hope of any good Succeſs— " but no ſooner ſhall we receive Redreſs and Relief " in this, but we ſhall proceed to accompliſh your " Majeſty's own Deſire."

The King hearing that this *Remonſtrance* was under a Preparation in the Houſe, reſolved to part with the Parliament rather than with the Duke, and was giving Orders for a Diſſolution; when the Houſe of Peers, in great Reſpect to his Majeſty's Intereſt and Honour, preſented this Addreſs to him for continuing the Seſſions.

The Lords Addreſs againſt a Diſſolution.

" *May it pleaſe your excellent Majeſty,*

" WE your faithful and loyal Subjects, the " Peers of this Kingdom, having received " this Morning a Meſſage from your Majeſty, inti- " mating an Intention to diſſolve this Parliament; " remembring that we are your Majeſty's heredita-

(*a*) See a Remonſtrance, prepared by the Commons to be preſented to the King, of Grievances in Liberty, in Property, and in Religion. *Ruſhworth*, 1. p. 204.

There is a Petition of the Commons to the King, deſiring him to remove all the Recuſants, and ſuſpected for Religion, from bearing Offices in the ſeveral Counties of *England*, expreſſing the Names of ſuch Recuſants as now bore Office. dat. 8. *June* 1626. MS. *Harley* 39. C. 5.

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1626. "ry Great Council of the Kingdom, do conceive "that we cannot deſerve your Majeſty's gracious "Opinion expreſſed in this Meſſage unto us, nor "diſcharge our Duty to God, your Majeſty, and "our Country, if after Expreſſion of our great and "univerſal Sorrow, we did not humbly offer our "loyal and faithful Advice to continue this Parliament; by which thoſe great and apparent Dangers at home and abroad, ſignified to us by your "Majeſty's Command may be prevented, and your "Majeſty made happy in the Duty and Love of "your People, which we hold the greateſt Safety "and Treaſury of a King: for the effecting whereof, our humble and faithful Endeavour ſhall never be wanting."

The King reſolute to diſſolve the Parliament.

After this, the Lords ſent ſeveral of their Members to intreat his Majeſty to give Audience to the whole Houſe of Peers: But the King returned Anſwer, *That his Reſolution was to hear no Motion to that Purpoſe, but he would diſſolve the Parliament*; and immediately cauſed a Commiſſion to paſs under the Great Seal to that Purpoſe: Which Commiſſion being read in the Upper Houſe, in Preſence of the Commons, the ſaid Parliament was diſſolved on the 15th of *June*.

Done on *June* 15.

Declaration of Reaſons for Diſſolving the two laſt Parliaments.

To take off, if poſſible, the Diſcontents and Murmurs of the People on this Occaſion, his Majeſty publiſhed *A Declaration of the Cauſes of Diſſolving the two laſt Parliaments*—— Given at *Whitehall* the 30th day of *June* in the ſecond Year of our Reign.

Wherein his Majeſty aſſerts, "That the Calling, "Adjourning, Proroguing, and Diſſolving of Parliaments, do peculiarly belong unto himſelf by an "undoubted Prerogative inſeparably united to his "Imperial Crown; of which, as of his other Regal "Actions, he is not bound to give an Account to "any but to God only. That coming to the Crown, "he found himſelf engaged in a War with a potent "Enemy, invited and encouraged thereto by the "humble Advice of both the Houſes of Parliament "in the Life of his Father. That after his Death "ſummoning a new Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and "by reaſon of the Plague adjourning it to *Oxford*, "and deſiring a farther Supply, he found them ſo "ſlow, and ſo full of Delays and Diverſions, and "the Contagion ſo much encreaſing, his Majeſty "diſſolved that Parliament. That after this, by "Advice of his Privy Council and his Council of "War, he continued his Preparations and former "Reſolutions, though it pleaſed God not to give the "Succeſs which was deſired. That he ſummon'd "a new Parliament to meet on *Febr.* 6. at the firſt "Meeting whereof he did forbear to preſs them "with any Thing which might have the leaſt Appearance of his own Intereſt. That the Commons, "on *March* 27. voted three Subſidies and three Fifteens, and on *Apr.* 26. upon ſecond Cogitations, "added a fourth Subſidy. His Majeſty, with much "Patience, expected the Performance of what the "Commons had thus promiſed; but they, being abuſed by the violent and ill-adviſed Paſſions of a "few Members of the Houſe for private and perſonal Ends ill beſeeming Publick Perſons truſted by "their Country, not only neglected, but wilfully "refuſed to hearken to all the gentle Admonitions "which his Majeſty could give them; and neither "did nor would intend any thing but the Proſecution of one of the Peers of this Realm.——Whereupon his Majeſty wrote a Letter to the Speaker, "dated *June* 9. 1626. Notwithſtanding which Letter, read in the Houſe, being a clear and gracious Manifeſt of his Majeſty's Reſolutions, they "never ſo much as admitted one Reading to the "Bill of Subſidies; but inſtead thereof, they prepared and voted a Remonſtrance, containing as well "many diſhonourable Aſperſions upon his Majeſty, 1626. "as dilatory Excuſes for their not proceeding with "the Subſidies. Wherefore his Majeſty, upon mature Adviſement, diſcerning that all farther Patience would prove fruitleſs, on the 15th inſtant he "diſſolved this unhappy Parliament: Since which "he hath put on this Reſolution, that he will go "on cheerfully and conſtantly in Defence of the "Faith and true Religion, and (notwithſtanding "ſo many Difficulties and Diſcouragements) will "take his Sceptre and Sword into his Hand, and "not expoſe the Perſons of the People committed "to his Charge to the inſatiable Deſires of the King "of *Spain*, who hath long thirſted after an univerſal Monarchy; nor their Conſciences to the Yoke "of the Pope of *Rome*: And, that at home he will "take that care to redreſs the juſt Grievances of his "good Subjects as ſhall be every way fit for a good "King." (*a*)

King's Proclamation againſt an intended Remonſtrance of the Commons.

This was ſeconded by a Royal *Proclamation* taking notice of a *Remonſtrance* drawn up by a late Committee of the Commons, intended to have been preſented to his Majeſty, "Wherein were many Things "contained to the Diſhonour of the King and his "Royal Father: Of which ſeveral Copies have been "ſcattered; and therefore, for ſuppreſſing of this "inſufferable Wrong, his Majeſty commands all "Perſons who have any Copies or Notes of the ſaid "Remonſtrance, forthwith to burn the ſame, that "the Memory thereof may be utterly aboliſhed."

Earl of *Briſtol* again committed, Earl of *Arundel* confin'd.

On the ſame Day the Parliament was diſſolved, the Earl of *Briſtol* was again committed to the *Tower*, and the Earl of *Arundel* again confined to his own Houſe: which, with many other Steps of Diſtinction, did unhappily improve the general Diſcontent of the Lords and Commons.

A ſham Information againſt the Duke of *Buckingham* in the Star Chamber.

Soon after an Information was preferred by the King's ſpecial Command in the Star-Chamber, againſt the Duke of *Buckingham* for high Offences and Miſdemeanours, and in particular for the Plaiſter applied to King *James*, according to the laſt Article preferred againſt him by the Commons. The Duke put in his Anſwer, and divers Witneſſes were examined. But it came to no judicial Hearing, and was therefore ſuſpected to be an Evaſion of Juſtice rather than a Proſecution of it.

Privy Council declare for Tonnage and Poundage, tho' not yet given by Parliament.

To take off the Complaint Parliament in of the illegality of receiving Tonnage and Poundage without a ſpecial Act of the Legiſlature, the Privy Council now declared, that the ſaid Revenue hath been conſtantly continued for many Ages, and is a principal and moſt neceſſary Part of the Revenue of the Crown; and in the two laſt Parliaments had been thought upon, but could not be ſettled by their Authority by reaſon of the Diſſolutions, tho' it was ſufficiently intended to have been confirmed by Parliament, as it hath been from time to time by many Deſcents and Ages. Whereupon they ordered, that all ſuch Duties on Merchandizes ſhall be levied and paid; and an Inſtrument for that purpoſe was paſſed under the Great Seal. For the King having depriv'd himſelf of the Proſpect of all Parliamentary Aids, and yet reſolving to proſecute the War, it was neceſſary to project all poſſible Ways and Means of raiſing Money; which put the King and his Miniſtry upon ſome Inventions which indeed nothing but a Neceſſity could excuſe, and the People would not excuſe that Neceſſity.

Projects of getting Money.

By Forfeitures of Recuſants.

One Method was to improve the Forfeitures ariſing to the Crown by the execution of the Laws againſt Prieſts, Jeſuits, and Popiſh Recuſants; wherein there had been great Abuſes by ſome inferiour Officers, who had oppreſſed ſuch Recuſants without Advantage to the King. And therefore the King grants a Commiſſion to the Arch-biſhop of *York*, Sir *John Savile* and others, *To Treat and make Compoſition*

(*a*) Of the ſame Date was a Proclamation for a General Faſt to be obſerved in *London*, *July* 5th; and in the reſt of *England*, *Aug.* 2. 1626.

1626. *with the ſaid Recuſants for all Forfeitures in not going to Church, under ſuch Conditions and Immunities as they ſhall ſee meet and convenient, according to ſuch Inſtructions as his Majeſty hath or ſhall give for that Purpoſe: His Majeſty rather deſiring their Converſion than Deſtruction.* This was juſtly ſuſpected as a Toleration of Popery in thoſe who could purchaſe it; and as a Power diſpenſing with the common Courſe of the Penal Laws.

By granting Crown Lands.

A Proclamation was likewiſe publiſhed declaring the King's Reſolution to make his Revenue certain, by granting his Crown Lands, as well holden by Copy as otherwiſe, to be from henceforth holden in Fee-Farm. This too was diſliked as a Project of impoveriſhing the ſtated Revenue of the Crown, by raiſing preſent Fines.

By requiring Loans and Contributions.

The King's Letters were ſent to the Nobility and Gentry, that according to the Precedents of former Times, upon extraordinary Occaſions, they would grant him their private Aſſiſtance by way of Contribution, or of Loan; *expecting from them ſuch a large and cheerful Teſtimony of their Loyalty as may be acceptable to himſelf, and exemplary to his People.* But this was reſented as a way of asking by Authority, and an Extortion rather than a Deſire.

By Ship-Money.

Then a peculiar Charge was laid upon the ſeveral Ports and Maritime Counties, to furniſh and ſet out Ships for the preſent Service, in ſuch and ſuch proportionable Numbers; Twenty for the City of *London*, &c. The County and Ports of *Dorſet* preſented a Plea of Excuſe to the Council Table; and alledged that this was an Impoſition without Precedent. The Lord Mayor and Commonalty of *London* made a like Petition; and pleaded for an abatement at leaſt of the Number of Ships requir'd of them. But the Council gave a general Anſwer, That Petitions and Pleadings againſt a neceſſary Command did but obſtruct the publick Service, and were therefore by no means to be admitted. This Burthen was ſuch a Terror to the Sea-Ports, that many of the Inhabitants removed higher into the Country to avoid the Vexation of it. Their withdrawing encreas'd the Burthen of thoſe who ſtaid behind: And therefore an Order was iſſued out, that leſt the deſerting of the Coaſts, Ports and Sea-Towns, ſhould expoſe thoſe Places to become a Prey, and invite the Enemy to an Invaſion, the Inhabitants who had withdrawn themſelves to inland Places were required to return with their Families and Retinues, and there to abide during the Times of Hoſtility and Danger.

Several Petitions againſt this new Impoſition.

The King more and more engaged in Foreign Quarrels.

For the King found himſelf more and more engaged in Foreign Quarrels. The King of *Denmark* had taken up Arms againſt the Emperor, in an Alliance with the Princes of the *Lower Saxony*, and therein claim'd the Aſſiſtance of the Crown of *England* for the Reſtitution of the Elector *Palatine*. Hereupon the King ſent a Fleet to be join'd with the *Daniſh* Ships to ſecure the River *Elbe*, and ſo prevent the Tranſporting of Commodities for the Service of the *Spaniards*. And beſides this Aid by Sea, the King ſent over Six thouſand Land Men, under the Command of Sir *Charles Morgan*, to augment the Army of the King of *Denmark*, who fought the *Imperialiſts* under the Command of Count *Tilly* on *Aug.* 27. near *Luttern*; where the King and his Confederates being forced to an unequal Battle were entirely defeated.

Eſpecially in a new Rupture with *France*.

And beſides theſe open Breaches with *Spain* and the Empire, the King was now further embarraſs'd in a new Rupture with *France*. The firſt Occaſion of it was the King of *France*'s employing our *Engliſh* Ships againſt his Proteſtant Subjects at *Rochel*, when by Treaty they were lent only to aſſiſt the *French* upon the Coaſts of *Italy*: This was reſented as a Breach of Faith in the *French* King; and made the *Engliſh* People ſo extremely jealous of our own Court, that nothing leſs could be done than to demand Reſtitution of our Ships, and a Reaſon why they had been ſo employed againſt the *Rochellers*. The King of *France* juſtified the putting them upon that Service by the neceſſity of his Affairs; and excuſed the preſent Reſtitution of them on a pretence, that his Subjects, by whom they were now mann'd, would not yet deliver them. Our Ships having been thus diſhonourably employed, and more injuriouſly detain'd; the Duke of *Bucks*, as Lord Admiral, did by expreſs Commiſſion make a Repriſal on the *French*, by ſeizing the St. *Peter* of *Newhaven* and other *French* Merchants. This provok'd the King of *France* not only to deny the giving up our Seven Ships lent to him, but to lay an Arreſt upon our Merchants Goods in his Dominions, to the Value of Three hundred thouſand Pounds. Theſe Feuds were thought to be induſtriouſly improved by an Emulation between the two prime Miniſters of each Nation, Cardinal *Richlieu* and the Duke of *Buckingham*; this latter having been deſigned Ambaſſador to *France* for compoſing of the Differences, was by the other's Envy deny'd Acceptance by the *French* King. Upon which the Duke is ſaid to have ſworn in a Rage, *That ſince he was forbidden to enter in a peaceable manner into* France, *he would force his Paſſage with an Army.* But however upon Reaſons of State the two Kings were reconciled; and ſome Satisfaction being made to the *French* Merchants, the *French* King reſtored the *Engliſh* Ships, and releaſed the Imbargo on their Goods at the beginning of *May* 1626. which ſeem'd to make up perfect Peace and Union. But Diſtaſtes and Jealouſies were ſtill remaining; and both Courts were diſpos'd to break upon a ſmall Occaſion.

The Queen ſuſpected of doing ill Offices between *Engl.* and *France*.

This made the King and Duke the more jealous of the Queen's Family, as ſending Intelligence, and ſpreading Reports, and doing other ill Offices between the two Nations. It had been agreed by the Articles of Marriage, that the Queen ſhould chuſe her own Servants of her own Country and Religion; and ſhould in particular have a certain Number of Prieſts for her Houſhhold Chaplains, together with a Biſhop, who ſhould exerciſe all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in Matters of Religion. Theſe Men being courted by the *Engliſh* Papiſts, and zealouſly ſupported by the Queen's Favour, had opportunities to ſhew a very zealous Partiality for their own Country and the *Romiſh* Communion; growing forward and inſolent, and putting the Queen upon ſuch Courſes as created Diſtruſt and Unkindneſs between the King and Her.

The King reſolves to ſend away the Queen's *French* Servants.

His Majeſty repreſented this uneaſineſs to his Brother of *France*, imputing it to the crafty and evil Counſels of the Queen's Domeſticks, contrary to her own Inclinations; and ſo declared he could no longer bear with thoſe that were the known Cauſes and Fomenters of this Diſturbance. He could give many Inſtances of their rude Behaviour, but he thought one might ſuffice, that *Without his knowledge they had made his Royal Conſort walk to* Tyburn *to pay her Devotions there.* In ſhort, that they had ſo much abuſed his Patience, and affronted his Perſon, that he was reſolved no longer to endure it. Before any Anſwer was return'd from *France*, on *July* 1. toward Evening, the King, attended by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Holland* and *Carliſle*, and other principal Officers, came to *Somerſet* Houſe, and having commanded the appearance of all the Queen's Servants, the King ſpoke his Mind to them in this manner.

Makes a Speech to them.

" *Gentlemen and Ladies,*

" I Am driven to that extremity, as I am perſonal-
" ly come to acquaint you, that I very earneſtly
" deſire your Return into *France*. True it is, the De-
" portment of ſome amongſt you hath been very in-
" offenſive to me; but others again have ſo dallied
" with my Patience, and ſo highly affronted Me,
" as I cannot, I will not any longer endure it."

The Biſhop of *Mende* and Madam *St. George*, who had given the greateſt Offence, began to make their Apologies: but the King turn'd from them, ſaying only,

1626. only, *I name none, but I tell you my Reſolution.* As ſoon as the Queen heard it, ſhe fell into a high Paſſion, and upbraided his Majeſty with the utmoſt Diſaffection to her. He tried all the moſt kind and tender ways to pacify her; and when he had uſed all gentle Perſwaſions, he roundly bid her *be ſatisfied, for it muſt be ſo* (a). This Action indeed did ſeem to be ſome Indignity put upon the Queen; and it was a greater hardſhip upon her Servants, who had moſt of them ſold their Effects in *France* to purchaſe a dependence on the *Engliſh* Court, and were now worſe than Baniſh'd home. But as there was a Provocation for it, ſo there was in one reſpect a happy Conſequence in it: For after this Set of Creatures were diſmiſt, the Queen grew much more Endearing to his Majeſty, and he moſt Firm and Fond in his Affections to her.

The Queen enraged.

The Lord *Carleton* ſent to the *French* Court.

The King ſent over the Lord *Carleton* to the *French* Court to give advice of this Action, and prevent all hard Conſtructions of it. But the *French* King immediately declared his ill Reſentments of it, and denied Audience to the Lord *Carleton*, and complained of an expreſs Violation of the Articles of Marriage; and for an immediate Act of Hoſtility ſeiz'd upon One hundred and twenty *Engliſh* Ships, that were then in his Ports and Rivers.

Declaration of War againſt *France.*

Upon this the King of *England* publiſhed a Declaration of War againſt *France*, expreſſing the Grounds of it to be, 1. That the Council of *France* had obſtructed the landing of Count *Mansfeild's* Army contrary to promiſe; with whom the *French* ſhould have joined for relief of the *Palatinate*. 2. That the King of *France* contrary to the Articles with his Proteſtant Subjects, had block'd up their Towns, Garriſons and (b) Forts. 3. That the King of *France* had committed an Example of great Injuſtice in full Peace, by ſeizing 120 *Engliſh* Ships, with all their Merchandize and Artillery.

A Fleet ſent to the relief of *Rochel.*

The King prepares a Fleet of Thirty Men of War, and ſent them at the beginning of *October* under the Command of the Earl of *Denbigh* to relieve the *Rochellers*; who being then beſieged and greatly diſtreſſed, had ſued to the King of *England* for his Protection and Defence. But this Fleet going out too late, ſuffered ſo much by adverſe Winds and Storms, that they were not able to reach the *French* Coaſts, but were driven back into our own Harbours, and left the *Rochellers* not only to deplore their own Miſery, but perhaps to ſuſpect our Integrity.

King adviſes with the Privy Council how to raiſe Money.

While the King found himſelf under theſe various Difficulties, he commanded his Council to adviſe by what Means and Ways he might be furniſhed with Monies ſuitable to theſe great Occaſions. After conſulting many Days, they came to this Reſolution: *That the Urgency of Affairs not admitting the way of Parliament, the moſt ſpeedy, equal and convenient Means would be by a General Loan from the Subject, according as every Man was Aſſeſſed in the Rolls of the laſt Subſidy.*

They adviſe the Mothod of Loan.

A Declaration for it.

Upon this Reſult the King publiſhed a Declaration, to inform his People, that the Urgency of his occaſions would not give leave to the Calling of a Parliament; but aſſuring them, this Way ſhould not be made a Precedent; and promiſing, in the Word of a Prince, *Firſt*, To Repay all ſuch Sums of Money as ſhould be lent without Fee or Charge. *Secondly*, That not one Penny ſo borrowed ſhould be expended otherwiſe than on the Publick Service.

Inſtructions to the Commiſſioners.

The King choſe his Commiſſioners for receiving of this Loan, and gave them theſe private Inſtructions.

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1. "To ſet themſelves a good Example in freely "ſubſcribing to the beſt of their own Ability.

2. "To require a Loan from others according "to the Rates in the laſt Book of Subſidy: a Man "of 100 *l.* in Goods to lend 100 Marks, and he "of 100 *l.* in Lands to lend a full 100 *l.*

3. "To uſe all poſſible Endeavours to cauſe every "Man to lend cheerfully, upon conſideration of "Honour, Intereſt and Common Safety.

4. "To appoint the Payment within fourteen "Days, or at leaſt one half within that time, and "the remainder before the 20th of *December.*

5. "That they treat apart with every one; and "if any refuſe, they ſhall examine them upon "Oath, and charge them upon Allegiance not to "diſcloſe whatever their Anſwer is.

6. "That they begin with ſuch Perſons as are "likely to ſet the beſt Examples.

7. "That they certifie to the Privy Council in "Writings, the Names, Qualities and Dwelling-"Places of all Refractory Perſons.

8. "That upon lending the Sums requir'd, his "Majeſty will remit their Grant upon the late Be-"nevolence, and accept what was paid on that ac-"count as a part of the preſent Loan.

9. "That they admit of no Suit to be made, or "Reaſons to be given for the abating of any Sum.

Laſtly, "The Commiſſioners are required upon "their Faith and Allegiance, not to impart their "Inſtructions to any others."

The People murmur at it.

Divers Lords of the Council were appointed to repair into their ſeveral Countries for advancement of this Loan: But no Art or Intereſt could bring off a Free People from Murmuring at it, as an arbitrary and illegal Impoſition. This Reluctancy of private Perſons made the Government more ſevere in execution of the Project; and this Severity of the Government made People more and more averſe to it. Thoſe who ſuffered for their Oppoſition grew Popular; and diſpleaſing of the Court was now thought a Demonſtration of Conſcience and Honour. So as the Steps taken to proſecute this Deſign made the Deſign it ſelf much the more odious.

Thoſe who opposed it were puniſhed by the Court.

Sir *Randolph Crew* ſhewing himſelf diſſatisfied, was remov'd from his Place of Lord Chief Juſtice, and Sir *Nicholas Hide* was put in his room, a Creature of the Duke's, and he who had drawn up his Anſwer to the late Impeachment in Parliament.

The Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſpoke publickly againſt the Loan; for which, a Complaint was ſent up to the Lords of the Council, and upon this Occaſion an Information of other pretended Matters was preferred againſt him in the Star-Chamber.

The Benchers of *Lincolns-Inn* demurring upon it as not in due Form of Law, received a Letter of Reproof from the Lords of the Council, with a Command to return the Names of the Refractory.

The Gentry in ſeveral Counties refuſing to Subſcribe, were bound over by Recognizance to appear at the Council Table; and there refuſing to comply, were many of them committed to Priſon.

The Common ſort who deny'd the Rates requir'd of them, were by Warrant of the Council, directed to the Commiſſioners of the Navy, impreſt to ſerve in the Ships ready to go out in his Majeſty's Service. And others of them in and about *London* were made to appear before the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, by him to be enrolled among the Land Forces; with a Reaſon declar'd, that they who refuſ'd to aſſiſt with their Purſes ſhould ſerve in their Perſons for the Common Defence.

(a) There is a Letter of *J. Porey*, to Sir *Simmonds D'Ewes*, dat. *London* 5. *July* 1626. giving a very particular Account of what paſſed in *Somerſet-Houſe*, at the King's diminiſhing the Queen's Servants, in MS. *Harley* 38. *C.* 8.

(b) Another Reaſon was given, that the *French* King had broke his Articles with his Proteſtant Subjects, when the King of *England* had been a Mediator of Peace between them, and they had done nothing to violate them. So early did King *Charles* look upon himſelf as a Guarantee of the Liberties and Rights of the *French* Proteſtants.

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None ſo forward as the Papiſts.

And that which added to the Popular Diſguſt was, That the Papiſts were all forward and liberal upon this occaſion; and the Proteſtant Subjects who were moſt ſparing of their Liberty and Property, were all hunted into the Reproach of being Puritans. And it was imputed to the Court as an Obſervation of theirs, that in this Teſt of Allegiance the Papiſts were exceeding Orthodox, and the Puritans were the only Recuſants.

The Court Biſhops and ſome of the Clergy were too buſie in it.

Another great Unhappineſs was this; The Biſhops at the King's Requeſt were moſt of them zealous to promote this Supply of the Publick Neceſſities; and earneſtly preſs'd their Clergy to contribute their beſt Aſſiſtance in it (*a*). Hence ſome were more officious than became their Function in ſuch a ſecular Affair: And others were ſo indiſcreet as to make it a Doctrine of their Pulpits to urge the Duty of Anſwering whatever the King demanded. In particular,

Caſe of *Sibthorp.*

Dr. *Sibthorp*, Vicar of *Brackley*, preach'd upon this Subject at *Northampton*, on *Feb.* 22. 1626. at the *Lent* Aſſizes; and having his Sermon licenſed by the Biſhop of *London*, he publiſh'd it under the Title of *Apoſtolick Obedience*, with a Dedication to the King. The whole Scope of it was to advance the Loan, and to juſtifie the King's impoſing publick Taxes without Conſent of Parliament; and to prove that the People, in Point of Conſcience, were bound to ſubmit to the Regal Will and Pleaſure. For which he was afterward called in Queſtion, and Cenſured by the Parliament: But yet he gain'd his Ends at Court, being made Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty, Prebendary of *Peterborough*, and Rector of *Burton Latimers* in *Northamptonſhire*; from which he was ejected in the Civil Wars, and enjoy'd them again at the Reſtoration, dying in *April* 1662. One who ſpeaks moſt favourably of the Royal Party, ſays, *He was a Perſon of little Learning, and of few Parts, only made it his Endeavours, by his Forwardneſs and Flatteries, to gain Preferment.*

Caſe of *Manwaring.*

Dr. *Roger Manwaring* promoted the ſame Cauſe in two Sermons preach'd before the King and Court at *Whitehall*, wherein he advanc'd theſe new Doctrines: "That the King is not bound to obſerve the Laws "of the Realm concerning the Subject's Rights and "Liberties, but that his Royal Will and Command "in impoſing Loans and Taxes, without common "Conſent in Parliament, doth oblige the Subject's "Conſcience upon pain of eternal Damnation. That "thoſe therefore who refuſed to pay this Loan, "offended againſt the Law of God and the King's "ſupreme Authority, and became guilty of Impiety, "Diſloyalty, and Rebellion, *&c.*" For which he was Cenſured by the next Parliament, but ſoon after by the Court preferr'd to the Rectory of *Stamford Rivers* in *Eſſex*, to hold with his Vicarage of S. *Giles in the Fields, London*; made Dean of *Worceſter* in 1633. and Biſhop of *St. David*'s in 1635. dying at *Caermarthen* in Privacy and Poverty on *July* 1. 1653. Theſe laſt Sermons were firſt preach'd at *Oatlands* before the King in *July* 1627. and publiſh'd under the Title of *Religion and Allegiance*: but bearing immediate Relation to the Loan, they were fit to be mention'd under this Year 1626.

Having thus paſs'd through the two firſt Years of this unfortunate Reign, and deliver'd the full Series of Civil Affairs; it will be proper to take a Review of the State of Religion and the Church, as very much affecting the Peace and Policy of this Reign.

State of Religion in theſe two firſt Years of King Charles I.

Two Days after the Parliament began, a Convocation was opened at St. *Paul*'s on *Monday* June 20. 1625. Dr. *John Bowles* was choſen Prolocutor, who had been made Dean of *Saliſbury* in *July* 1620. and was preferred to the See of *Rocheſter* in 1630. No Eccleſiaſtical Buſineſs was done, nor any Motion made toward it in the Upper or Lower Houſe. During their Seſſion, on *June* 24. the King commanded the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with ſix other Biſhops (not in a Synodical Capacity) to draw up a Form of Prayer for the Publick Faſt. On *June* 25, all the Biſhops who were then in Town were introduced in a Body, to wait upon the Queen, and to kiſs her Hand.

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Convocation without Buſineſs.

Mr. *Mountague* queſtioned in the Houſe of Commons for his *Appeal to* Cæſar.

On *July* 7. Mr. *Richard Mountague*, Canon of *Windſor*, and Fellow of *Eaton*, Rector of *Stamford Rivers*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty, was brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, to anſwer for his Book entitul'd, *An Appeal to* Cæſar, which was there Charged upon him, to be contrived and publiſhed to put a Jealouſie between the King and his well affected Subjects, and to contain many things contrary to the Articles of Religion eſtabliſh'd by Parliament; and that the whole Frame thereof was an Encouragement to Popery.

Account of the Book and the Author.

This Cauſe had begun in the 21ſt of King *James*, when this Learned Man had publiſh'd a former Book entitled, *A new Gagg for an old Gooſe*, in anſwer to a Popiſh Book, call'd *A Gag for the new Goſpel*. When upon a Suggeſtion that he had receded from ſome Doctrines of the Reformed Churches, and had too much ſoftened ſome of the *Roman* Tenets; he was then queſtion'd in Parliament, and the Cauſe being of dubious Points of Belief, was referr'd to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who expreſſed his diſlike of the Book, and gave the Author a ſolemn Admonition. Some other Biſhops, who were called of the *Arminian* Party, had a different Notion of Mr. *Mountague*'s Opinions, and encouraged him to re-aſſert them, and defend them in another Treatiſe to be dedicated to the King; and as an Appeal to his Royal Judgment and Authority, to be entitled *Appello Cæſarem*. The Archbiſhop diſallowed the Book, and endeavoured to ſuppreſs it: But the other Biſhops atteſted their Approbation of it, and haſtned the Edition. The Houſe now appointed a Committee to examine the Errors of it, and gave the Archbiſhop Thanks for his former Admonition to the Author; whoſe Books they Voted to be contrary to the Eſtabliſh'd Articles, to tend to the King's Diſhonour, and to the Diſturbance of Church and State: For which they aſſign'd him a time of Anſwer, and took Bond for his Appearance under the Penalty of Two thouſand Pounds. (*b*)

The King interpoſes for Mr. *Mountague.*

But on *Saturday*, *July* 9. the King himſelf interpos'd, and ſignified to the Commons, that *What had been ſpoken in their Houſe, and determin'd againſt Mr.* Mountague, *was diſpleaſing to him. He hop'd one of his Chaplains might have as much protection as the Servant of an ordinary Burgeſs.* This was look'd upon as an arbitrary Obſtruction of Juſtice, and would but have incenſed the Houſe to have proceeded more ſeverely, if on their next Day of Sitting, *Monday*, *July* 11. the Parliament had not been prorogued to *Oxford*, where they met again on *Monday*, *Aug.* 1.

Convocation at *Oxford* without the Prolocutor.

Here at *Oxford* there was a very ſmall appearance of Convocation. Dr. *Bowles*, the Prolocutor, abſenting himſelf for fear of the Infection, Dr. *Thomas Goad* officiating in his Place; their Meeting was kept in the Chapel of *Merton* College. The only Motion remember'd in Hiſtory, is that of the Learned Dr. *James*, who propoſed that all the Manuſcript Works of the Fathers, in the Libraries of each Univerſity, and elſewhere in *England*, might be peruſed; and that ſuch Places in them as had been corrupted in

(*a*) See Inſtructions directed from the King's moſt excellent Majeſty to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to be put in Execution, agreeable to the Neceſſity of Times—— for Aſſiſtance from the Church. ——and to ſtir up the People. —— Given at *Weſtminſter* xxi. *Sept.* 1626.——and the Archbiſhop's Letter to the Biſhops on that Occaſion. Printed for the King's Printers. 1626. 4*to*.

(*b*) There was a Declaration made and atteſted by *George* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *John* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, *Walter Belcanqual* Dean of *Rocheſter*, *Samuel Ward* Profeſſor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, and *Thomas Goad* D. D. profeſſing their Opinion, that the Diſcipline of the Church of *England* was not impeached by the Synod of *Dort*, as had been falſely ſuggeſted by Mr. *Mountague*, in his *Appello Cæſarem*, and it was now Printed 1626. 4*to*.

Popiſh

1626. Popiſh Editions, might be faithfully printed according to the moſt ancient Copies: A very laudable Deſign; but the Motion dropt without conſidering of it. The Encouragement he deſired for it was poſſibly the ſame which he recommends in one of his own Letters. " If every Church-man that hath 100 *l.* " *per Annum* and upward, will lay down but a Shil- " ling for every Hundred toward theſe publick " Works, I will undertake the Reprinting of the Fa- " thers, and ſetting forth five or ſix Volumes of Or- " thodox Writers, comparing of Books printed with " printed and written, collating of Popiſh Tranſlati- " ons with the Greek, and generally whatſoever ſhall " concern Books, or the Purity of them, I will take " upon Me to be *Magiſter Sancti Palatii* in *England.*"

Convocation did nothing but give their Money.

The Convocation having neither deſired nor received any Royal Licenſe to treat of Eccleſiaſtical Matters, kept only to that Civil Purpoſe, for which they were chiefly called, together with the Parliament, of aſſiſting the King with a reaſonable Aid, and accordingly made a Grant of three Subſidies, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament, as had been the Cuſtom ever ſince the Act of Submiſſion; ſince which Time the Taxes of the Clergy were paſſed into Secular Laws, when before that Act they were enjoin'd and levy'd by Synodical Conſtitutions, under the Penalty of Spiritual Cenſures.

Mr. *Mountague* applies to the King.

Mr *Mountague* ſeeing himſelf under the Diſpleaſure and Proſecution of the Houſe of Commons, made no Application to either Houſe of Convocation (who without the King's Direction did not apprehend that the Cauſe fell regularly under their Cognizance) but wrote a humble Letter to his Majeſty, dated *July* 29. 1625. wherein he firſt plainly laid open the State of his Caſe, and then petition'd that by his Majeſty's Authority and Wiſdom, he might be protected from thoſe who had no Power over his Perſon, as being his Majeſty's Servant in Ordinary; nor over his Book as being wrote by the Command of his Royal Father, and authoriz'd by his preſent Majeſty himſelf; and then concluded with this Declaration, " That if " he could not really and throughly anſwer what- " ſoever was, or could be imputed to him in any of " his Books, he would no farther deſire any Favour " or Protection, but would be willingly left to the " Power of his Enemies."

The Biſhops interceed for him in a Letter to the Duke.

The Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, *Oxford* and *St. David*'s, who had a kind Opinion of *Mountague* and his Writings, and ſeemed very ſenſible of the Danger to the Church, in allowing Points of Divinity to be examined and judged by the Commons in Parliament, uſed all poſſible Endeavours to ſtop this Method of Proceeding; and knowing the Duke of *Buckingham* to have the greateſt Influence upon the King, they begg'd his Interceſſion in this Letter, dated *Auguſt* 2.

" *May it pleaſe your Grace,*

" WE are bold to be Suitors to you in the Be- " half of the Church of *England*, and a poor " Member of it, Mr. *Mountague*, at this Time not a " little diſtreſſed. We are not Strangers to his Per- " ſon, but it is the Cauſe which we are bound to be " tender of. The Cauſe we conceive (under correcti- " on of better Judgment) concerns the Church of " *England* nearly. For that Church when it was Re- " formed from the ſuperſtitious Opinions broach'd " or maintained by the Church of *Rome*, refuſed the " apparent and dangerous Errors, and would " not be too buſie with every particular School- " Point.

" Now, may it pleaſe your Grace, the Opinions " which at this time trouble many Men in the late " Book of Mr. *Mountague*, are ſome of them ſuch as " are expreſsly the Reſolved Doctrine of the Church " of *England*, and thoſe he is bound to maintain. " Some of them are ſuch as are fit only for Schools, " and to be left at more liberty, for Learned Men to " abound in their own Senſe, ſo they keep themſelves " peaceable and diſtract not the Church. And there- " fore to make any Man ſubſcribe to School Opini- " ons, may juſtly ſeem hard in the Church of Chriſt, " and was one great Fault of the Council of *Trent.* " And to affright them from thoſe Opinions in which " they have (as they are bound) ſubſcribed to the " Church, as it is worſe in it ſelf, ſo may it be the " Mother of greater Danger.

" May it pleaſe your Grace further to conſider, " that when the Clergy ſubmitted themſelves in " the Time of *Henry* VIII. the Submiſſion was ſo " made, that if any Difference doctrinal, or other, " fell in the Church, the King and the Biſhops were " to be Judges of it in the National Synod or Con- " vocation; the King firſt giving leave under his " Broad Seal to handle the Points in Difference. " But the Church never ſubmitted to any other " Judge, neither indeed can ſhe though ſhe would.

" And we humbly deſire your Grace to conſi- " der, and then to move his moſt Gracious Maje- " ſty (if you ſhall think fit) what dangerous Con- " ſequences may follow upon it. For, *Firſt*, If any " other Judge be allowed in Matter of Doctrine, " we ſhall depart from the Ordinance of Chriſt, " and the continual Courſe and Practice of the " Church. *Secondly*, If the Church be once brought " down beneath her ſelf, we cannot but fear what " may be the next Stroke at it. *Thirdly*, it will " ſome way touch the Honour of his Majeſty's dear " Father, and our moſt dread Sovereign of glori- " ous and ever bleſſed Memory, King *James*, who " ſaw and approved all the Opinions of this Book. " And he in his rare Wiſdom and Judgment, would " never have allowed them, if they had croſſed with " Truth and the Church of *England*. *Fourthly*, We " muſt be bold to ſay, that we cannot conceive what " Uſe there can be of Civil Government in the Com- " mon-wealth, or of Preaching, or external Mi- " niſtry in the Church, if ſuch fatal Opinions, as " ſome which are oppoſite and contrary to theſe " delivered by Mr. *Mountague* are, ſhall be publick- " ly taught and maintained. *Fifthly*, We are cer- " tain that all or moſt of the contrary Opinions " were treated of at *Lambeth*, and ready to be pub- " liſhed; but then Q. *Elizabeth* of famous Memo- " ry, upon notice given how little they agreed with " the Practice of Piety and Obedience to all Govern- " ment, cauſed them to be ſuppreſſed; and ſo they " have continued ever ſince, till of late ſome of them " have received Countenance at the Synod of *Dort.* " Now this was a Synod of that Nation, and can be " of no Authority in any other National Church till " it be received there by publick Authority. And " our Hope is, that the Church of *England* will be " well adviſed, and more than once over, before " ſhe admit a Foreign Synod, eſpecially of ſuch a " Church as condemneth her Diſcipline and manner " of Government; to ſay no more.

" And further, We are bold to commend to your " Grace's Wiſdom this one Particular, His Majeſty " (as we have been informed) hath already taken " this Buſineſs into his own Care, and moſt wor- " thily referred it in a right Courſe to Church con- " ſideration. And we well hoped, that without " further trouble to the State, or breach of Unity " in the Church, it might have been well and order- " ly compoſed, as we ſtill pray it may.

" Theſe Things conſidered, we have little to ſay " for Mr. *Mountague*'s Perſon; only thus much we " know, he is a very good Scholar, and a right " honeſt Man: A Man every way able to do God, " his Majeſty, and the Church of *England* great " Service. We fear he may receive Diſcouragement; " and (which is far worſe) we have ſome cauſe to " doubt this may breed a great Backwardneſs in able " Men to write in the Defence of the Church of " *England*, againſt either home or foreign Adverſa- " ries, if they ſhall ſee him ſink in Fortune, Repu- " tation, or Health, upon occaſion of his Book. " And this we moſt humbly ſubmit to your Grace's " Judgment, and Care of the Church's Peace and

" Welfare.

1626. " Welfare. So commending your Grace to the Pro-
" tection of Almighty God,

" We ſhall ever reſt at

" Your Grace's Service,

" Apr. 2.1626. *Jo. Roffen. Jo. Oxon. Guil. Meneven.*"

The Duke eſpouſed the Cauſe.

The Duke's eſpouſing this Cauſe, and the King's reproving the Houſe of Commons for meddling in it, did but more exaſperate the adverſe Party, who were now Enemies to *Mountague* not as an *Arminian*, but as an Inſtrument (in their Thoughts) of Arbitrary Power. And it was indeed the State Intereſt that gave the great Diſtinction to theſe School Opinions. Thoſe Divines who adher'd to the more rigid Opinions of St. *Auſtin*, *Calvin*, and the Synod of *Dort*, they were at this time of the Country Party, in favour with the People, and with the prevailing Side in Parliament; ſo they eſtabliſh'd to themſelves the Reputation of being ſound and orthodox Proteſtants: While the other Divines who went back to the Foundations of Religion, and to the Import of the Scriptures, and to the Senſe of the Primitive Fathers, in rejecting the hard Decrees of Reprobation, and in reconciling the Will of Man with the Grace of God; they were eminently of the Court-Party, and Favourites of the King and the Duke: and under a Prejudice upon this Civil more than a Religious Account, they were charg'd with *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, only to make them the more odious to the Common People. Even the *Arminians* in *Holland* ſuffer'd more as a State Faction than as a Religious Sect; they were found Adverſaries to the Rights and Liberties of the People; and it was under that Character they were made Hereticks, rather than for their abſtracted Notions in Divinity. And it was the *ſame* now in *England*; the Doctrinal Controverſie would have created no great Difference, if there had not been a Political Diviſion in it.

Arminians hated as a Civil Faction.

Many Anſwers to Mr. *Mountague*'s Book.

It was this very Reaſon that now inflam'd the Commons againſt Mr. *Mountague*; and they would have ſhewn their Indignation at his having ſuch an Intereſt at Court, if this Parliament had not been ſo very abruptly diſſolv'd. And this again encreas'd the Prejudice againſt what they now call'd the *Arminian* Party; and the Cry againſt them was ſo popular, that many Divines were encouraged to confute the Principles of Mr. *Mountague*'s Book, and to repreſent them as falſe and pernicious. In this Deſign Dr. *Sutcliff*, Mr. *Burton*, Mr. *Rowſe*, Mr. *Yates*, Mr. *Wotton*, and even a Biſhop of the Church, Dr. *Carleton*, engaged themſelves. Their Writings ſerv'd to heighten the Jealouſies of the Wiſer, and to confirm the Prejudices of the weaker Men. This was ſoon improv'd into ſuch a univerſal Diſlike of the dreadful Name of *Arminianiſm*, that even the King and the Duke began to think it not ſafe and honourable to ſupport a Cauſe that was generally run down by the Voice of the People: And therefore at the opening of the ſecond Parliament, ſummon'd to meet *Feb.* 162⅚, the Duke ſeem'd inclinable to drop his Concern for *Mountague*, the better to reconcile himſelf to ſome of the leading Members: And for the ſame Reaſon his Majeſty was diſpos'd to leave Mr. *Mountague* to the free Proſecution deſign'd againſt him, and not to interpoſe in his Favour; that he might not thereby interrupt his more important Affairs. Biſhop *Laud*, who was a zealous Friend to the Perſon and Opinions of Mr. *Montague*, was ſenſible of this Intention of the Court to deſert him: It was on ſuch a Proſpect that he made this Entry in his Diary, *Jan.* 29. Sunday. *I underſtand what* D. B. *had collected concerning the Cauſe, Book, and Opinions of* Richard Mountague, *and what* R. C. *had determined with himſelf therein. Methinks I ſee a Cloud ariſing and threatning the Church of* England: *God of his Mercy diſſipate it.* 1626.

The King and Duke were inclined to deſert Mr. *Mountague*.

Houſe of Commons reſolve to proceed againſt him.

As ſoon as the Parliament began *Feb.* 6. the Commons had an immediate Eye upon *Mountague*, and reſolv'd to call him to Account. This rais'd the Curioſity of many Peers to underſtand what the Tenets were, and how they differ'd from the *Calviniſtical* Opinions which were commonly called the Doctrine of the Church, and were then the generally received Senſe of the Articles of it. To this end, a Conference was procured by the Earl of *Warwick* to be held in the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Houſe in Preſence of his Grace and many others of the Nobility, upon *Saturday* Feb. 11. between Dr. *Buckeridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and Dr. *White* Dean of *Carliſle* on the ſide call'd *Arminian*, and Dr. *Morton* Biſhop of *Litchfield*, and Dr. *Preſton* Preacher of *Lincolns-Inn*, on the other ſide. This Conference was again renew'd in the ſame Place upon *Friday* Feb. 17. wherein Mr. *Mountague* himſelf appear'd in the room of Biſhop *Buckeridge*. The Succeſs of theſe Conferences was differently reported, according to the different Affection of the Hearers. The Parliament in the mean time began with returning Thanks to the King for his gracious Anſwer to their late Petition for Religion (*a*). And when the Houſe of Commons fell upon the Subject of Grievances, thinking their Liberty and Property to depend much on the eſtabliſh'd Faith and Worſhip, they appointed a Committee to conſider of the State of Religion and the Growth of Popery. To this Committee the Houſe referred the Examination of Mr. *Mountague*'s **Appeal to Ceſar**; who, on *Apr.* 18. making their Report by Mr. *Pym* to the Houſe, theſe Articles were drawn up againſt him.

Hence a Conference between Divines of each Opinion.

(*a*) The good King loſt much of the Affections of the People, by eſpouſing the Cauſe and Intereſt of the Higher and more Rigid Clergy, who in the Name of Conformity exceeded all the Rules and Orders, and Cuſtoms of the Church. This Super-Conformity approaching nearer to the *Roman* Pomps and Ceremonies was about this time very eminent in the Church of *Durham*, as we may take from the Words of the Common's Declaration and Impeachment upon the Complaint of *Peter Smart* Clerk, againſt *John Coſin* Dr. in Divinity, *Ferdinando Morecraft*, and other Prebendaries in 1640. That after the Death of Dr. *James*, late Biſhop of *Durham* (1617.) Dr. *Neale* ſucceeding him in that Biſhoprick, during the time he was Biſhop, the ſaid Dr. *Coſin*, *Ferd. Morecraft*, &c. with *Rich. Hunt*, late Dean, and others, late Prebendaries of *Durham*, took away the Communion-Table of that Cathedral Church, and erected an Altar of Marble Stones, ſet upon Columns, with many Cherubims thereupon, and a carved Skreen curiouſly painted and guilded, ſet over the ſame: Which Altar, Copes, Organs, Images, Pictures, with other Furniture, and unlawful Alterations in the ſaid Church, coſt the ſaid Dean and Chapter above two thouſand Pounds. To which Altar, thus ſet up, were frequent Bowings, which Bowing did encreaſe after Dr. *Coſin* came to be Prebend there, who did officiate at the ſaid Altar, with his Face toward the Eaſt, and Back toward the People: That the ſaid Dean and Prebendaries bought one Cope found in a Search for Maſs Prieſts, whereupon was embroider'd the Image of the Trinity; and other two Copes, one having a Crucifix, &c. That they firſt changed the Morning Prayer, read plainly and diſtinctly at ſix a Clock, and then took it quite away; and inſtead thereof, divided the Ordinary Morning Service, and Singing, into two Parts. That they ſet up and renewed many gorgeous Images, and Pictures; three whereof were Statues of Stone, one of which ſtanding in the midſt, repreſented the Picture of Chriſt, with a Golden Beard, a Blew Cap, and Sun-Rays upon his Head. That they uſed an exceſſive Number of Candles, more upon a Saint's Day than upon a Lord's Day; and cauſed the ſame Candles to be lighted in the ſaid Church, in a new ſtrange and ſuperſtitious manner, burning two hundred Wax Candles in one *Candlemas* Night, whereof there were about ſixty upon, and about the Altar. That they did abſolutely forbid the Pſalms in Metre, and would have only Anthems, and namely one of the three Kings of *Colen*. That they cauſed many Pictures and carved Images to be ſet upon the Font, &c. That they cauſed a Knife to be kept in the Veſtry for cutting of the Sacramental Bread, and appropriated to that Uſe, which they commonly called the *Conſecrated Knife*, &c.

Theſe Fopperies ſo lately introduced, did not, perhaps, gain over one Papiſt; however the good Meaning of ſome few; but did diſturb and alienate the Minds of Proteſtants, and created that Averſion to Cathedral Service, which was likely enough to end in the Ruin of Cathedral Churches.

Articles

1626.

Articles exhibited by the Commons *againſt* Richard Mountague, *Clerk.*

Articles of the Commons againſt Mr. *Mountague.*

"THat he the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, in or about the 21ſt Year of the Reign of our late Sovereign King *James* of famous Memory, hath cauſed to be printed, and in his Name to be publiſhed, one Book called *An Anſwer to the late Gagg of Proteſtants*; and in or about *Ann.* 22. of the ſame King, he cauſed to be printed and publiſhed one other Book entituled, *A Treatiſe of the Invocation of Saints*; and likewiſe in the firſt Year of his Majeſty's Reign that now is, he procured to be printed, and in his Name to be publiſhed, another Book entituled, *An Appeal to* Cæſar: In every of which Books he hath maintained and confirmed ſome Doctrine contrary or repugnant to the Articles agreed by the Archbiſhop and Biſhops of both Provinces and the whole Clergy holden in the Convocation at *London* 1562. for avoiding Diverſity of Opinions, and for eſtabliſhing Conſent touching true Religion: All which appears in the Places hereafter mentioned, and in divers other Places and Paſſages of the ſame Books: And by his ſo doing, hath broken the Laws and Statutes of this Realm in that Caſe provided, and very much diſturbed both the Peace of Church and Commonwealth.

"I. Whereas in the 35th Article of the Articles aforementioned it is declared, That the ſecond Book of Homilies doth contain a good and wholſome Doctrine, in the 16th Homily of which Book it is determined, *That the Church of* Rome *as it is at preſent, and hath been for the ſpace of 900 Years and odd, is ſo far wide from the Nature of a true Church, that nothing can be more*; He the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, in ſeveral Places of his ſaid Book called *the Anſwer to the Gagg*, and in his other Book called *the Appeal*, doth adviſedly maintain and affirm, that *the Church of* Rome *is and ever was a true Church ſince it was a Church.*

"II. Whereas in the ſame Homily it is likewiſe declared, that *the Church of* Rome *is not built upon the Foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles*; and in the 28th Article of the ſaid Articles, that *Tranſubſtantiation overthroweth the Nature of a Sacrament*; and in the 25th Article, that *Five other reputed Sacraments of the Church of* Rome *are not to be accounted Sacraments*: yet, contrary and repugnant hereunto, He the ſaid *Richard Mountague* doth maintain and affirm in his Book aforeſaid, called *The Anſwer to the Gagg*, that *the Church of* Rome *hath ever remained firm upon the ſame Foundation of Sacraments and Doctrine inſtituted by God.*

"III. In the 19th Article it is further determined, that *the Church of* Rome *hath erred not only in their Living and Matters of Ceremony, but alſo in Matters of Faith*; he the ſaid *Richard Mountague* ſpeaking of thoſe Points which belong to Faith and good Manners, Hope and Charity, doth in the ſaid Book called *the Gagg*, affirm and maintain, that *None of theſe are controverted in their Points*, meaning the Proteſtants and Papiſts. And notwithſtanding that in the 31ſt Article it is reſolved, that *the Sacrifice of Maſſes in which, as it is commonly ſaid, the Prieſt did offer Chriſt for the Quick and the Dead to have Remiſſion of Pain and Guilt too, is a blaſphemous Fable and dangerous Deceit*; this being one of the Points controverted between the Church of *England* and the Church of *Rome*; the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, in his Book called *the Gagg*, doth affirm and maintain, that *the controverted Points are of a leſſer and inferior Nature, of which a Man may be ignorant without any danger of his Soul at all*; *A Man may reſolve to oppoſe this or that without Peril of periſhing for ever.*

"IV. Whereas in the 2d Homily entituled *againſt peril of Idolatry*, contained in the aforeſaid Book of Homilies, approved by the 35th Article aforementioned, it is declared, that *Images teach no good Leſſon neither of God nor Godlineſs, but all Error and Wickedneſs*; he the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, in his Book the *Gagg* aforeſaid doth affirm and maintain, that *Images may be uſed for the Inſtruction of the ignorant, and Excitation of Devotion.*

1626.

"V. That in the ſame Homily it is plainly expreſſed, that *the attributing the Defence of certain Countries to Saints is a ſpoiling of God of his Honour, and that ſuch Saints are but the* Dii tutelares *of the Gentile Idolaters*; the ſaid *Richard Mountague* hath notwithſtanding, in his ſaid Book entituled, *A Treatiſe concerning the Invocation of Saints*, affirmed and maintained, *That Saints have not only a Memory, but a more peculiar Charge of their Friends*, and that *it may be admitted that ſome Saints have a peculiar Patronage, Cuſtody, Protection and Power, as Angels alſo have, over certain Perſons and Countries by ſpecial Deputation*, and that *it is no Impiety ſo to believe.*

"VI. Whereas in the 17th of the ſaid Articles it is reſolved, that *God hath certainly decreed by his Counſel, ſecret to us, to deliver from Curſe and Damnation thoſe whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of Mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt to everlaſting Salvation*; *wherefore they which be endued with ſo excellent a Benefit of God, be called according to God's Purpoſe working in due Seaſon, they through Grace obey the Calling, they be juſtified freely, walk religiouſly in good Works, and at length, by God's Mercy, attain to everlaſting Felicity*: He the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, in the ſaid Book called *The Appeal*, doth maintain and affirm, that *Men juſtified may fall away, and depart from the State which once they had*; *they may ariſe again and become new Men poſſibly, but not certainly nor neceſſarily*: And the better to countenance this his Opinion, he hath in the ſame Book wilfully added, falſified, and changed divers Words of the 16th of the Articles before mentioned, and divers other Words both in the Book of Homilies and in the Book of Common-Prayer, and ſo miſ-recited and changed the ſaid Places. He doth alledge in the ſaid Book called *The Appeal*, endeavouring thereby to lay a moſt wicked and malitious Scandal upon the Church of *England*, as if ſhe did herein differ from the Reformed Churches of *England*, and from the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas; and did conſent to thoſe pernicious Errors which are commonly called *Arminianiſm*, and which the late famous Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* of happy Memory did ſo piouſly and diligently labour to ſuppreſs.

"VII. That the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, contrary to his Duty and Allegiance, hath endeavour'd to raiſe great Factions and Diviſions in this Commonwealth, by caſting the odious and ſcandalous Name of *Puritans* upon ſuch his Majeſty's loving Subjects as conform themſelves to the Doctrine and Ceremonies of the Ch. of *England*, under that Name laying upon them divers falſe and malicious Imputations, ſo to bring them into Jealouſie and Diſpleaſure with his moſt excellent Majeſty, and into Reproach and Ignominy with the reſt of the People, to the great danger of Sedition and Diſturbance in the State, if it be not timely prevented.

"VIII. That the Scope and End of the ſaid *Richard Mountague*, in the Books before mentioned, is to give Encouragement to Popery, and to withdraw his Majeſty's Subjects from the true Religion eſtabliſhed to the *Roman* Superſtition, and conſequently to be reconciled to the See of *Rome*: all which he laboureth by ſubtle and cunning ways, whereby God's true Religion hath been much ſcandaliz'd, thoſe Miſchiefs introduced which the Wiſdom of many Laws hath endeavoured to prevent, the Devices and Practices of his Majeſty's Enemies have been furthered and advanced to the great Peril and Hazard of our Soveraign Lord the

1626. " King, and of all his Dominions and loving Subjects.

" IX. That the ſaid *Richard Mountague* hath inſerted into the ſaid Book called *The Appeal*, divers Paſſages diſhonourable to the late King his Majeſty's Father of famous Memory, full of Bitterneſs, Railing, and injurious Speeches to other Perſons, diſgraceful and contemptible to many worthy Divines both of this Kingdom and of other Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, impious and profane in ſcoffing at Preaching, Meditating, and Conferring, Pulpits, Lectures, Bible, and all Shew of Religion: All which do aggravate his former Offences, having proceeded from malicious and envenomed Heat againſt the Peace of the Church, and the Sincerity of the Reformed Religion publickly profeſſed and by Law eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom.

" All which Offences being to the Diſhonour of God, and of moſt miſchievous Effect and Conſequence againſt the Good of this Church and Commonwealth of *England*, and of other his Majeſty's Realms and Dominions; the Commons aſſembled in Parliament do hereby pray, that the ſaid *Rich. Mountague* may be puniſhed according to his Demerits, in ſuch exemplary manner, as may deter others from attempting ſo preſumptuouſly to diſturb the Peace of Church and State, and the Book aforeſaid may be ſuppreſſed and burnt."

The Conſequence does not appear.

It does not appear whether theſe Articles were preſented to the King, or preferred in any Judicial manner, or whether Mr. *Mountague* gave in any Anſwer, or made any other publick Vindication. It is moſt probable that the Commons were ſo immers'd in the Impeachment of the Duke of *Buckingham*, that they had not leiſure to proſecute this inferior Cauſe before their Diſſolution: Nor did the King take any notice of this Complaint, or ſuffer it to be debated in Convocation. He thought it a Diſpute fitter to be ſilenc'd than to be determined; and therefore by Advice of his Biſhops, he iſſued out a Proclamation on *June* 14. declaring, " not only to his own People, but to all the World, his utter diſlike of all thoſe who to ſhew the Subtilty of their Wits, or to pleaſe their own Humours, or vent their own Paſſions, do, or ſhall adventure to ſtir, or move any new Opinions, not only contrary but differing from the Sound and orthodoxal Grounds of the true Religion, ſincerely profeſſed in the Church of *England*; and alſo aſſuring his Subjects of his full and conſtant Reſolution, that neither in matter of Doctrine, nor Diſcipline of the Church, nor in the Government of the State, he will admit of the leaſt Innovation: but by God's Aſſiſtance will ſo guide the Scepter of theſe his Kingdoms and Dominions (by the Divine Providence put into his hand) as ſhall be for the Comfort and Aſſurance of his Sober, Religious and well affected Subjects, and for the ſuppreſſing and ſevere puniſhing of ſuch as out of any ſiniſter Reſpects or Diſaffection to his Perſon or Government, ſhall dare, either in Church or State, to diſtract or diſquiet the Peace thereof. He thereupon commands all his Subjects (the Clergy moſt eſpecially, both in *England* and *Ireland*) that from thenceforth they ſhould carry themſelves ſo wiſely, warily and conſcionably, that neither by Writing, Preaching, Printing, Conferences, or otherwiſe, they raiſe any Doubts, or Publiſh or Maintain any new Inventions or Opinions concerning Religion, than ſuch as are clearly grounded and warranted by the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* heretofore publiſhed and happily eſtabliſh'd by Authority. Straitly charging all Archbiſhops and Biſhops in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, as alſo Counſellors of State, Judges and Miniſters of Juſtice, ſpeedily to reclaim and repreſs all ſuch Spirits as ſhall adventure hereafter to break this Rule of Sobriety, and due Obedience to his Majeſty's Laws, and this Religious Duty to the Church of God, or in the leaſt degree attempt to violate this Bond of Peace: Adding this further Intimation of his Royal Pleaſure, that whoever from henceforth ſhall take the Boldneſs, wilfully to neglect this his Majeſty's Gracious Admonition; and either for the ſatisfying of their unquiet and reſtleſs Spirits, or for expreſſing of their raſh and undutiful Inſolencies, ſhall wilfully break that Circle of Order, which without apparent Danger both to Church and State may not be broken, his Majeſty will proceed againſt them with that ſeverity, as upon due Conſideration had of their Offences and Contempts, they and every one of them ſhall deſerve, *&c.*"

The King iſſues a Proclamation againſt Innovating in the Doctrine or Diſcipline of the Church.

This Proclamation did but encreaſe the Fears of Popery and *Arminianiſm*.

But this wiſe Proclamation was known to be meant not ſo much to reſtrain *Mountague*, as to diſcourage and ſuppreſs the Anſwers that were made to him; and therefore did but ſerve to improve the Jealouſies of *Arminianiſm* and growing Popery: which Jealouſies however unreaſonable, did ſo much obſtruct the King's Intereſt, that it had been more happy if he would not have ſeemed a Party in any ſcholaſtick Queſtions.

Caſe of Biſhop *Goodman*.

Another Occaſion that much encreaſed the Fears of Popery was a Sermon before the King, on *March* 26, the fifth *Sunday* in *Lent*, Preach'd by Dr. *Goodman* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*; who aſſerted the *Real Preſence* of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in ſuch a poſitive and literal Explication, that his Doctrine ſeem'd to differ little but in Word from the groſs Abſurdity of Tranſubſtantiation. This liberty of treading upon the Borders of Popery, taken before the King himſelf, was an Offence to the greateſt Part of the Auditory, and quickly rais'd ſuch a Noiſe in Court and Country, that his Majeſty found himſelf obliged to ſuffer ſome Cogniſance to be taken of it: And accordingly on *Wedneſ.* following *March* 29. there were great Debates in Convocation upon the Subject of this Sermon; but having no Licenſe for that purpoſe, they let fall the Matter without any Reſolutions in it. And his Majeſty thought it a more effectual Method to refer the Conſideration of the Sermon to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Durham* and *St. David's*; who at the King's Command met together on *Wedneſday Apr.* 12. and after ſome Conſult agreed to give this Anſwer to the King. *That ſome Things in that Sermon were ſpoken leſs cautiouſly, but nothing falſely, That nothing was innovated by him in the Doctrine of the Church of* England. *But to avoid Offence, it might be very proper that the Biſhop ſhould preach the Sermon again at ſome time to be choſen by himſelf, and ſhould then ſhew how or wherein he was miſunderſtood by his Auditors*; which by Order of the King the Biſhop did accordingly perform. But this was by no means a Satisfaction to the World, becauſe it looked like a reciting and at beſt but a ſoftning of the Error, which ought to have been plainly renounc'd: there being Reaſon enough to ſuſpect that Preacher of leaning toward Popery, who to the ſingle Scandal of his Order was afterward a declared Profeſſor of it.

Archbiſhop and Biſhops give their Opinion not in Convocation.

Convocation meets.

A Convocation had been ſummon'd to meet a Day after the Parliament, upon *Feb.* 7. 162⅚. but no matters of Religion were debated in it, excepting the forementioned Subject of Biſhop *Goodman*'s Sermon; of which Archbiſhop *Laud* has entered it in his Diary, *March* 29. *In the Convocation held that Day, there was much debating concerning the Sermon which* Gabriel Goodman, *Biſhop of* Glouceſter, *had preached before the King on the* Sunday *preceeding, being the Fifth Sunday of* Lent. This debating ſeems to have been only in the Upper Houſe of Convocation, of which the Party offending was a Member, as well as the Writer who took this Note of it. And their Lordſhips ſeem to have enter'd on this Debate by Direction from the King, who immediately after took away the Cauſe from all dependence in Convocation, and referred it to a Committee of Biſhops appointed by his own Royal Authority; who reported their Judgment to the King as before related.

Debate in the Upper Houſe.

1626.

Not a Word in Convocation about Mr. *Mountague* or his Controverſie.

It is more to be admired, that the Controverſie about *Arminianiſm* and the Advances toward Popery, ſhould not be once mention'd in Convocation, when it had ſo much divided the Church, and diſturb'd the whole Kingdom, and was now brought into the Houſe of Commons, where the Articles exhibited againſt *Mountague* muſt to the greateſt degree affect the Church and Clergy. The Reaſon of this paſſive Silence in Convocation is thus accounted for by a Writer who beſt knew the Secret Hiſtory of thoſe Times. "But nothing (ſays he) was of ſuch concernment to a Convocation as the Cauſe of *Mountague*, vexed and moleſted by the Commons in both "the Parliaments, for ſuppoſed Popery and *Arminianiſm*, matters meerly Doctrinal. And poſſibly it "may be admired, that they ſhould do nothing in a "Matter of their own *Peculiar*, having his Majeſty "to their Friend: For it appears in the Letter of the "three Biſhops before mention'd to the Duke of "*Buckingham*, *That his Majeſty had taken that Buſineſs into his own Care, and had moſt worthily referred* "*it in a right Courſe to Church Conſideration*. And "it appears alſo by the Breviate, p. 8. that on *Sunday*, *April* 22. of this preſent Year, *His Majeſty* "*had commanded all the Biſhops to come before him, and* "*reprehended ſuch as came* (being fourteen in Number) *for being ſilent in Cauſes which concerned the* "*Church, and had not made known to him what might* "*be profitable or unprofitable for it, the Cauſe whereof* "*he was ſo ready to promote*. But then we are to call "to Mind, that *Laud* not long ſince had been ſent "by the Duke of *Buckingham* to conſult with *Andrews*, and learn of him what he thought fitting "to be done in the Cauſe of the Church, and more "eſpecially in the Five Articles ſo hotly agitated "between the *Remonſtrants* and *Contra-Remonſtrants* "in the *Belgick* Provinces. And it appears by the "Event, that *Andrews* did not hold it fit for any "thing to be done in that Particular, as the Caſe "then ſtood; the Truth in thoſe Opinions not being ſo generally entertained amongſt the Clergy, "nor the Archbiſhop, and the greater part of the "Prelates, ſo inclinable to them, as to venture "the determining of thoſe Points to a Convocation."

Heylyn's Life of *Laud*, p. 1. l. 3. p. 146.

The Miſfortune of the Bps. who were called *Arminian*.

There is little more of moment relating to Church Affairs. Biſhop *Laud*, and thoſe other Prelates and Divines who lay under the Odium of *Arminians* and Popiſhly affected, becauſe they were of a larger Underſtanding, and a more publick Spirit than many others of their Order, were unhappily engag'd in the Intereſt of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and very forward in thoſe Meaſures which the King unfortunately took: And their being thus made a Court Faction, brought a popular Diſtruſt and Hatred of them. And a further Occaſion now offer'd to render them the more ſuſpected as Inſtruments of a ſomewhat arbitrary Power. His Majeſty's Neceſſities, that aroſe from his not complying with two ſeveral Parliaments, had driven him upon the way of Loan. This Project much diſcontented and diſturbed the People: the King thought it would be a Means to reconcile them, if the Biſhops and Clergy ſhould recommend the Cauſe in their ſeveral Parts of the Country. (*a*) In order to this, Biſhop *Laud*, tranſlated from *St. David's* to *Bath and Wells*, on *June* 20. 1626, did now upon the 14th of *September* following receive a Command from his Majeſty by the Duke of *Buckingham*, to reduce into form ſome *Inſtructions* partly Political partly Eccleſiaſtical, to ſhew the Urgency of the King's Affairs, and his occaſions of Supply to aſſiſt the King of *Denmark*, to be publiſhed in all Pariſhes within the Realm. The Duke deliver'd the certain Heads to him, and deſired him to put them into formal Inſtructions by the *Saturday* following; on which Day, *Sept.* 16. the Biſhop carry'd

Diary of Archbiſhop *Laud*, *Sept.* 14. &c.

Inſtructions to the Clergy in the Matter of a Loan.

1626.

them to the Duke who approv'd them, and thence to the King who was as well pleas'd with them, and the next Day they were read before the Lords of the Privy Council, who gave a like Approbation of them: Upon which, on *Sept.* 21, the King ſent them as Letters of Precept to the two Archbiſhops to be communicated to their Suffragans in this Form:

"*Moſt Reverend Father in God, Right Truſty and Right* "*well Beloved Counſellor, we greet you well*,

"WE have obſerv'd that the Church and the "State are ſo nearly united and knit together, that tho' they may ſeem two Bodies, yet indeed in ſome relation they may be accounted but "as one, inaſmuch as they are both made up of the "ſame Men, which are differenced only in relation to "Spiritual or Civil Ends. This Nearneſs makes the "Church call in the Help of the State, to ſuccour "and ſupport her, whenſoever ſhe is preſſed beyond her Strength: And the ſame Nearneſs makes "the State call in for the Service of the Church; "both to teach that Duty which her Members know "not, and to exhort them to and encourage them in "that Duty which they know.

"It is not long ſince we order'd the State to ſerve "the Church, and by a timely Proclamation ſettled "the Peace of it: And now the State looks for the "like Aſſiſtance from the Church, that ſhe and all "her Miniſters may ſerve God and us, by Preaching Peace and Unity at Home, that it may be the "better able to reſiſt foreign Force uniting and multiplying againſt it. And to the end that they to "whom we have committed the government of the "Church under us, may be the better able to diſpoſe of the preſent occaſions, we have, with the "Advice of our Council, thought fit to ſend unto "you theſe *Inſtructions* following, to be ſent by you "to the Biſhops of your Province, and ſuch others "whom it may concern, and by them and all their "Officers directed to all the Miniſters throughout "the ſeveral Dioceſſes; that according to theſe punctually they may Inſtruct and Exhort the People "to ſerve God and Us, and labour by their Prayers "to divert the Dangers which hang over us.

"The Danger in which we are at this time is "great: It is encreaſed by the late Blow given our "good Unkle the King of *Denmark*, who is the "chief Perſon in thoſe Parts that oppoſed the ſpreading Forces of *Spain*. If he cannot ſubſiſt there is "little or nothing left to hinder the Houſe of *Auſtria* from being Lord and Maſter of *Germany*: and "that is a large and mighty Territory, and ſuch "as, ſhould it be gotten, would make an open way "for *Spain* to do what they pleaſed in all the Weſt "part of Chriſtendom. For beſides the great Strength "which *Germany*, once poſſeſſed, would bring to them "which are too ſtrong already, you are to conſider, "*Firſt*, How it enables them by Land, in that it "will join all or the moſt part of the *Spaniard's* now "diſtracted Territories, and be a means for him "ſafely and ſpeedily to draw down Forces againſt "any other Kingdom that ſhall ſtand in his way. "Nor can it be thought the *Low Countries* can hold "out longer againſt him, if he once become Lord "of the Upper Parts. And, *Secondly*, You are to "weigh how it will advantage him by Sea, and "make him ſtrong againſt us in our particular Dominion of the Seas; which is of eaſie Apprehenſion to all Men: And beſides, if he once get *Germany*, he will be able, though he had no Gold from "*India*, to ſupply the Neceſſity of thoſe Wars, and "to hinder all Trade and Traffick of the greateſt "Staple Commodities of this Kingdom, Cloth and "Wool, and ſo make them of little or no Value.

"You are to know therefore, that to prevent this "is the preſent Care of the King and State; and

(*a*) See a Complaint to the Lords of the Council againſt *John* Biſhop of *Lincoln* for ſpeaking againſt the Loan, and ſeveral other Informations, in *Ruſhworth*, p. 224.

“there is no probable way left but by ſending Forces and other Supplies to the ſaid King of *Denmark* our dear Unkle, to enable him to keep the Field, that our Enemies be not Maſters of all on the ſudden. You are further to take notice, how both we and the whole State ſtand bound in Honour and Conſcience to ſupply the preſent Neceſſity of the King of *Denmark*: For this Quarrel is more nearly ours, the recovery of the ancient Inheritance of our dear Siſter and her Children. The King of *Denmark* ſtands not ſo near in Blood unto her as we do: yet for her and our ſakes that brave and valiant King hath adventur'd into the Field; and in that Engagement hath not only hazarded his Perſon, but, as things go now, it may turn to ſome danger to his own Kingdom and Poſterity, ſhould he not receive Aid and Succour from us without delay: which ſhould it happen (as God forbid) will be one of the greateſt Diſhonours that ever this Kingdom was ſtained withall. Nor is Danger and Diſhonour all the Miſchief that is like to follow this Diſaſter: For if it be not preſently relieved, the Cauſe of Religion is not only likely to ſuffer by it in ſome one Part (as it hath already in a fearful manner in the *Palatinate*) but in all Places where it hath gotten any footing: So that if we Supply not preſently our Allies and Confederates in this Caſe, it is like to prove the Extirpation of true Religion, and the Replanting of *Romiſh* Superſtition in all the neighbouring Parts of Chriſtendom. And the Coldneſs of this State ſhall ſuffer in all Places as the Betrayer of that Religion elſewhere, which it profeſſeth and honoureth at home, which will be an Imputation never to be waſhed off: And God forbid this State ſhould ſuffer under it.

“Neither may you forget rightly to inform the People committed to your charge, that this War which now grows full of Danger, was not enter'd upon raſhly and without Advice, but you are to acquaint them that all former Treaties by a peaceable way were in the latter end of our dear Father of ever bleſſed Memory diſſolved as fruitleſs and unfit to be longer held on Foot; and this by the Counſel of both Houſes of Parliament then ſitting: So thoſe two great and honourable Bodies of Peers and People repreſented in Parliament, led on this Counſel and Courſe to a War with *Spain*: To effect this they deſired our Aid and Aſſiſtance, and uſed us to work our ſaid dear Father to entertain this Courſe. This, upon their Perſwaſions and Promiſes of all Aſſiſtance and Supply, we readily undertook and effected, and cannot now be left in that Buſineſs but with the Sin and Shame of all Men: *Sin*, becauſe Aid and Supply for the Defence of the Kingdom, and the like Affairs of State; eſpecially ſuch as are adviſed and aſſumed by Parliamentary Council; are due to the King from his People, by all Law both of God and Men: And *Shame* if they forſake the King while he purſues their own Counſel juſt and honourable; and which could not under God but have been as ſucceſsful, if it had been followed and ſupplied in time, as we deſired and laboured for.

“One Thing there is which proves a great hindrance of this State, and not continu'd among the People without great Offence againſt God, Detriment both to Church and State, and our great Diſſervice in this and all other Buſineſs. It is *Breach of Unity* which is grown too great and common amongſt all ſorts of Men. The Danger of this goes far; for in all States it hath made way for Enemies to enter. We have by all means endeavour'd Union, and require of you to Preach it, and Charity the Mother of it, frequently in the Ears of the People. We know their loyal Hearts, and therefore wonder the more what ſhould cauſe diſtracted Affections. If you call upon them (which is your Duty) we doubt not, but that God will bleſs them with that Love to himſelf, to his Church, and their own Preſervation, which alone will be able to bind up the Scatterings of divided Affections into Strength. To this end you are to lay before them what Miſeries home Diviſions have brought upon this and many other Kingdoms; and to Exhort all Men to embrace it in time. The Danger it ſelf, beſides all other Chriſtian and Prudent Motives, is of force enough (where it is duly conſidered) to make Men join in all Amity againſt a common Enemy, a great and growing Enemy; and to do it in time, before any ſecret and cunning working of his may uſe one Part in a Diviſion to weaken the other.

“And in the laſt place (but firſt and laſt and all times to be inſiſted on) you are to call upon God your ſelves, and to incite the People to join with you in humble and hearty Prayers unto God, that he would be pleaſed now, after long Affliction of his dear People and Children, to look in Mercy both upon them and us; and in particular for the Safety of the King of *Denmark* and that Army which is left him; that God would Bleſs and Proſper him againſt his and our Enemies. Thus you are to ſtrengthen the Hearts and Hopes of our Loyal Subjects and People in and upon God: And whereas the greateſt Confidence Men have in God ariſeth not only from his Promiſes, but from their Experience likewiſe of his Goodneſs, you muſt not fail often to recall to the Memory of the People with Thankfulneſs, the late great Experience we have had of his Goodneſs towards us: For three great and uſual Judgments, which he darts upon Diſobedient and Unthankful People, are *Peſtilence*, *Famine* and the *Sword*. The *Peſtilence* did never rage more in this Kingdom than of late; and God was graciouſly pleaſed in Mercy to hear the Prayers which were made unto him; and the ceaſing of the Judgment was little leſs than a Miracle. The *Famine* threatned us this preſent Year; and it muſt have followed had God rained down his Anger a little longer upon the Fruits of the Earth: But upon our Prayers he ſtaid that Judgment, and ſent us a bleſſed Seaſon, and a moſt plentiful Harveſt. The *Sword* is the thing which we are now to look to; and you muſt call the People to their Prayers again againſt that Enemy, that God would be pleaſed to ſend the like Deliverance from this Judgment alſo; that in the ſame Mercy he will vouchſafe to ſtrengthen the Hands of his People; that he will ſharpen their Sword, but dull and turn the Edge of that which is in our Enemies Hands; that ſo while ſome fight others may pray for the Bleſſing. And you are to be careful, that you fail not to direct and hearten our loving People in this and all other neceſſary Services, both of God, his Church and Us: that we may have the Comfort of our Peoples Service; the State Safety; the Church Religion; and the People the enjoying of all ſuch Bleſſings as follow theſe. And we end with doubling this Care upon you, and all under you in their ſeveral Places.

“*Given at our Palace at* Weſtminſter, *in the Second Year of our Reign*, Sept. 21. 1626.”

The executing of theſe Inſtructions.

Theſe Inſtructions were ſent to the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, willing and requiring each of them to ſee the ſaid Inſtructions publiſhed and diſperſed in the ſeveral Dioceſſes of their reſpective Province; who accordingly ſent their Orders to every one of their Suffragans to ſee them made known to the worthy Preachers and Miniſters in their Dioceſs, and, ſo far as their Lordſhips might in their own Perſons, to put theſe things in execution, and to call upon the Clergy under them, in their Preachings and private Conferences to ſtir up all ſorts of People to expreſs their Zeal to God, their Duty to the King, and their Love both to their Country and to one another; that all Good and Chriſtian-like Courſe might

1626. might be taken for the Preſervation of true Religion, both in this Land and throughout all Chriſtendom.

Theſe *Inſtructions* though Modeſt and Pious, had not the deſired Effect of quieting the Minds of the People, who generally look'd upon them as a Stratagem of State to promote the raiſing of Money without a Parliament: The leaſt Attempts of that kind will be alway odious to the *Engliſh* People.

However, this Piece of Service recommended Biſhop *Laud* more and more to the Favour of the King and Duke: And upon the Death of Dr. *Lancelot Andrews*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Dean of his Majeſty's Chapel Royal, on *Sept.* 22. (*a*) *Laud*, now Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, was admitted to the Deanery of the Chapel on *October* 6. in which Office he prevailed with his Royal Maſter to break one very ill Cuſtom that had obtained at Court, ſince the firſt entrance of King *James*. The Cuſtom was, that at what part ſoever of the Publick Prayers the King came into his Cloſet (which looked into the Chapel) the Divine Service then depending was preſently cut off, and an Anthem ſung, to make immediate way for the Sermon. This had an Appearance of Profaneneſs, or Contempt of the Liturgy: And therefore this new Dean did very honourably repreſent the Scandal of it to the King; who piouſly comply'd with a Redreſs of it. Biſhop *Laud* enters the Matter thus in his own Diary: November 14. *or thereabout, taking occaſion from the abrupt both Beginning and Ending of Publick Prayer on the* 5th *of* November, *I deſired his Majeſty King* Charles, *that he would pleaſe to be preſent at Prayers as well as Sermon every* Sunday; *and that at whatſoever part of the Prayers he came, the Prieſt then officiating might proceed to the End of the Prayers. The moſt Religious King not only aſſented to this Requeſt, but alſo gave me Thanks. This had not before been done from the beginning of King* James *his Reign to this Day: Now Thanks be to God it obtaineth.*

Bp. *Laud* made Dean of the Chapel.

Reforms one great Abuſe.

The Fears of Popery in *England* were unhappily augmented by the confidence of the Papiſts in *Ireland*, who were now driving a Bargain for a *Toleration*, and offered the Terms of maintaining for the King's Service Five hundred Horſe and Five thouſand Foot (*b*). To conſider of this Propoſal a great Aſſembly of the whole Nation, both Papiſts and Proteſtants, was called by the then Lord Deputy *Falkland* to the Hall of the Caſtle of *Dublin*. The *Iriſh* Biſhops upon Invitation of the Lord Primate *Uſher* met firſt at his Houſe; and he and they unanimouſly drew up and ſubſcribed a Proteſtation, againſt the Tolerating Popery, in this Form:

The Inſolence of the Papiſts in *Ireland*.

" *The Judgment of divers of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops " of* Ireland, *concerning Toleration of Religion.*

Archbiſhops and Biſhops in *Ireland* proteſt againſt any Toleration of Popery.

" THE Religion of the Papiſts is Superſtitious " and Idolatrous; their Faith and Doctrine " Erroneous and Heretical; their Church in reſpect " of both Apoſtatical. To give them therefore a " Toleration, or to conſent that they may freely " exerciſe their Religion, and profeſs their Faith and " Doctrine is a grievous Sin, and that in two re- " ſpects.

" 1. It is to make our ſelves acceſſory not only to " their Superſtitions, Idolatries and Hereſies, and " in a Word to all the Abominations of Popery, " but alſo (which is a Conſequent of the former) " to the Perdition of the Seduced People which pe- " riſh in the Deluge of the Catholick Apoſtacy.

" 2. To grant them Toleration in reſpect of any " Money to be given, or Contribution to be made " by them, is to ſet Religion to Sale, and with it " the Souls of the People, whom Chriſt our Saviour " hath redeemed with his moſt precious Blood. " And as it is a great Sin, ſo alſo a Matter of moſt " dangerous Conſequence: the Conſideration where- " of we commend to the Wiſe and Judicious; be- " ſeeching the God of Truth to make them who are " in Authority Zealous of God's Glory, and of the " Advancement of true Religion: Zealous, Reſo- " lute, and Couragious againſt all Popery, Superſti- " tion and Idolatry. *Amen.*

James *Armachanus.*	Richard *Cork, Cloyne,* &c.
Mal. *Caſſellen.*	Andr. *Alachaderſ.*
Anth. *Medenſis.*	Tho. *Kilmore & Ardagh.*
Tho. *Fernes & Leghbris.*	Theo. *Dromore.*
Ro. *Dunenſis,* &c.	Mich. *Waterford & Lyſmore.*
George *Derenſ.*	Fran. *Lymerick.*

This bold and ſeaſonable Declaration, drawn up toward the end of 1626. was publiſhed at *Chriſt-Church*, before the Lord Deputy and Council, by one of the Subſcribers Dr. *George Downham* Biſhop of *Derry*, in the midſt of his Sermon; wherein he ſpoke much againſt *Subordinating Religion to Secular Deſigns, and Mens Proſtituting their Conſcience to worldly Reſpects, and ſetting their Souls to Sale for the Gain of earthly Matters,* &c. On the next *Sunday* the Lord Primate preach'd before the ſame Auditory: The Text was 1 *John* 5. 15. *Love not the World,* &c. wherein he made a like Application againſt ſelling Toleration to the Papiſts: Rebuking thoſe *Who, for worldly Ends, like* Judas, *would ſell their very Saviour for pieces of Silver.* This Conſcience and Courage of the Biſhops did prevent the open Purchaſe of a Toleration of Popery, and put the Government upon finding out another way to maintain Forces for the Defence of that Kingdom. (*c*)

And now to proſecute the Series of Civil Affairs in the Third of *Charles* I. 1627. The King engaged in an unſeaſonable War with *France*, made his Subjects more indifferent in it, by leaving the whole Management to his Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham*; who obtained a large Commiſſion to be Admiral of the Fleet, and Commander General of all the Land Forces; and to Conduct and Employ them according to ſuch private Inſtructions as he ſhould receive from his Majeſty; and to advance to the Order of Knighthood ſuch Perſons employ'd in the Fleet and Army, as he in his Diſcretion ſhould think fit. 1627. 3 *Car.* I.

French War committed to the Duke of *Buckingham.*

With theſe full Powers the Duke ſet Sail from *Portſmouth* on *June* 27. with a Fleet conſiſting of One hundred Sail of Ships, of which Ten only were the Kings Men of War, and 6 or 7000 Land Soldiers. Toward the latter end of *July* he appeared before the Town of *Rochel*, and ſent a Meſſage to them to join with him in Relief of the oppreſſed Proteſtants in *France*. But the *Rochellers* who were ſo importunate for the coming of the *Engliſh*, were now afraid of their Appearance, and ſhut their Gates againſt them. Upon this Surprize the Duke ſent Sir *William Beecher* on Shoar, accompanied by the Duke of *Sobiez* and commiſſioned with a Letter of Credence from his Majeſty of *Great Britain*. With ſome difficulty they

Who goes with the Fleet.

To relieve *Rochel*.

The *Rochellers* now afraid of the *Engliſh*.

(*a*) Dr. *Lancelot Andrews*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, died at his Palace in *Southwark*, *Sept.* 25. 1626. See his Legacies and Benefactions in his Life, written by Mr. *Iſaackſon*, inſerted in Mr. *Fuller's Abel Redivivus*. 4to.

See the Sermon Preach'd at his Funeral, in the Pariſh Church of St. *Saviour's Southwark*, on *Saturday* the 11th of *Novemb.* 1626. in the Append. to Biſhop *Andrew's* Sermons, Fol.

(*b*) There is a Letter of *J. Porey* to Sir *Simonds D'Ewes*, dated in *Auguſt* 1626. complaining, that the Papiſts are exceeding ſtrong and inſolent in *Ireland*; and that the Biſhop of *Meath*, Dr. *Uſher* looks daily to be killed by them; —— and that they have been exceeding audacious in *Scotland*, untill they hanged up Six or Seven of the Jeſuits! MSS. *Harley* 38. *C.* 8.

(*c*) *Cox* in his Hiſtory of *Ireland*, P. ii. p. 43. mentions the Propoſitions made in *Ireland* in favour of the Papiſts, *viz.* to ſuſpend all Proceedings againſt them for Marriages and Chriſtnings by *Rom.* Prieſts, and to give them liberty of ſuing out *Liveries*, and *Outres des Mains* without taking the Oath of Supremacy, with Deſign to introduce a more publick *Toleration* of that Religion.

were

1627. were admitted into the Town, and the Magiſtrates for their more ſolemn Reception called an Aſſembly, in which Sir *William Beecher* ſpoke to this Effect:

Sir *Will. Beecher's* Speech to them.

"That the Duke of *Buckingham* was come with a "great Fleet and Army to their Aſſiſtance, which "his Royal Maſter had ſent out of a fellow-feeling "of their Sufferings, to require from the King of "*France* a performance of the late Articles of Peace, "made by the King of *England's* Mediation on behalf "of the Proteſtants in *France*. Declaring, that if "they ſhould now refuſe to accept the Deliverance "offered to them, he muſt proteſt before God and "Man, in the Name of the King his Maſter, that his "ſaid Maſter was fully cleared of his Engagements "upon Honour and Conſcience for their Relief."

This Declaration was ſeconded by the earneſt Sollicitations of their Friend and Country-man the Duke of *Sobiez*: But the Magiſtrates and chief Inhabitants were poſſeſſed with ſuch a fear of the King of *France* his Army then upon a March againſt them; and were many of them ſo govern'd by a Court-Party in the Town, that they dar'd give no better Anſwer than this of Suſpence and Forbearance:

Their Anſwer.

"That they "did render all humble and hearty Thanks to his "Majeſty of *Great-Britain* for the Care he had of "them; and to the Duke for his Forwardneſs and "Readineſs to do his beſt Service for their Good. "But they were bound by Oath of Union to do no- "thing without the common Conſent of the reſt of "their Proteſtant Brethren in *France*. And there- "fore they muſt pray the King of *Great-Britain* to "excuſe them, in deferring the Conjunction of their "Forces till they had ſent to the reſt of the Prote- "ſtant Towns, who were of the Union with them. "And in the mean time their Prayers and Wiſhes "ſhould be for the happy Progreſs of ſuch Actions "as the Fleet and Army ſhould undertake (*a*)."

Before the Duke of *Sobiez* went from the *Engliſh* Fleet into the Town, the Duke of *Buckingham* communicated his Deſign to him, to land his Army in the Iſle of *Oleran* near to *Rochel*; which *Sobiez* well approved as feaſible and proper: the *French* Forces in that Iſland being few, and the Forts weakly manned and victualled: Diſſuading him from any Thoughts of landing upon the Iſle of *Rhee*; becauſe it was farther diſtant from *Rochel*, and furniſhed with a conſiderable Force of Horſe and Foot, with a Citadel well fortified, and other Advantages of repelling Invaders and defending it ſelf.

Buckingham intends a Deſcent on *Oleran*.

Changes his Reſolution and Lands at *Rhee*.

But the Admiral not ſtaying for the return of *Sobiez* from *Rochel*, alters his Reſolution, and directs his Courſe to the Iſle of *Rhee*; and upon *July* 30. makes near the Shoar. The next Day he ordered a Squadron of Twelve Ships to lie before the Mouth of *Port-Brelen*, falling down with the reſt of the Fleet to the Fort *de la Pree*, againſt which they played with their Canon, ſtill making their Approaches nearer to the Land. *Toiras*, Governour of the Iſle, being ſufficiently Alarm'd, marched out from the Citadel of St. *Martins* with all the Strength he could draw together to prevent the *Engliſh* from landing: But under the Cover of their own Cannon, the braveſt of the *Engliſh* Officers, Sir *John Burroughs*, Sir *Alexander Bret*, Sir *Charles Rich* (with the *French* Proteſtant Monſieur St. *Blanchard*) went firſt a Shore, ſoon followed and ſupported by Twelve hundred Men. The Enemy being a thouſand Horſe and Foot beſides Voluntiers, Immediately advanc'd up to the *Engliſh* and began a very warm Encounter, wherein were ſlain Sir *William Heyden* and ſome hundreds of the *Engliſh*, with Monſieur *Blanchard* a Proteſtant Agent from the Duke of *Rhoan*. On the *French* ſide the Governour's Brother, the Baron of *Chuntal*, and ſome few others. By degrees the *Engliſh* forced their way, made the Enemy retreat, and gained room for their whole Army to land. The Governour retir'd with his wounded Men to the Citadel of St. *Martins*, and if the *Engliſh* had immediately purſued, to all appearance they had been eaſily Maſters of that Place, and of the whole Iſle. The Fort *la Pree* near the Landing-place, and meanly provided of Men and Victuals, was alſo ſlighted or neglected, when the eaſie taking of it would have beſt prevented the landing of *French* Recruits, and was moſt proper to ſecure a Retreat for the *Engliſh*. But five Days being oddly ſpent before the *Engliſh* Army moved, gave *Toiras* opportunity to repleniſh and fortifie his Citadel of St. *Martins*, and to ſend away to Court for Supplies. 'Tis certain the Court were in a great Aſtoniſhment upon this *Engliſh* Invaſion; the King fell Sick, as if by Impreſſion of the ill News, and ſent his Reſolution to give the Proteſtants honourable Terms, if they would not join with the *Engliſh*; inviting the Head of the Party, the Duke of *Rohan*, with great offers of Money and Honour, to ſecure him from falling in with this great Juncture of Deliverance to his oppreſſed Brethren.

Sharp Action.

[illegible] affrighted.

After an ill-tim'd Delay the Duke of *Buckingham* debark'd all his Land Forces, and ſent back *Sobiez* and Sir *William Beecher* to *Rochel* to ſollicite for ſome Recruits; who by their Intereſt ſoon return'd with five hundred Foot. Upon this the Duke in two Days March came with his Army before St. *Martins*, and publiſhed a Manifeſto, declaring, "His Royal Ma- "ſter's Care and Zeal for the Reformed Churches of "*France*, to reſtore them to their ancient Liberty "and Splendor: though indeed his laudable Deſigns "for their Good had been well nigh perverted to "their Ruin, by a breach of Promiſe in the *French* "King; who had employ'd thoſe *Engliſh* Ships a- "gainſt *Rochel*, which were lent him upon a ſolemn "Aſſurance of being otherwiſe employ'd, *&c.*" (*b*)

The Duke proceeds.

Publiſhes a *Manifeſto*.

Upon Approach of the Duke the *French* quitted the Town of St. *Martins*, and retir'd into the Citadel, which the Duke preſently block'd up; and raiſing Entrenchments and Batteries, he fired upon the Fort for two Months together, when he might have ſtarv'd it in leſs time, if he had remember'd to ſtop up a Well within his Trenches, from which the Enemy had their ſecret Draught of Water, during the whole time of the Siege.

Takes the Town of St. *Martins*.

Before this Place the *Engliſh* endured much fatigue and loſs; and more eſpecially ſuffered in the Death of that excellent Soldier Sir *John Burroughs*, who was ſlain on *Sept.* 20. with a Muſquet ſhot from the Citadel, while he was viewing of the *Engliſh* Works: His Body was brought over and honourably Interr'd at *Weſtminſter*.

Death of Sir *John Burroughs*.

This Expedition proving ſo tedious and ineffectual, raiſed many Diſcontents in *England*. Some murmured that the Admiral had broke his Word with Duke *Sobiez*, and landed in a wrong Place: Others ſaid his landing was rather a Feint than a real hearty Attempt; for he did not march quick enough after landing, nor did he take the Fort *la Pree*: Nor was he now in earneſt beſieging St. *Martins*; for many Preſents and Complements had continually paſſed between him and the Governour. And in ſhort, the generality of the People of *England* diſliked a War not ſupported by a Parliament; and ſpoke freely for a new Parliament to be called, and for ſome Miniſters to be queſtioned in it.

The Duke his Expedition cenſur'd.

The King under theſe Perplexities reſolved to ſend a Squadron with Recruits of Men, Ammunition and Proviſion to the Army at *Rhee*, and commands the Preſs of certain Companies of Marines, to Rendevouz at *Plymouth*, and thence to be imbark'd for the ſaid Service: Appointing them at firſt to be under the Command of *Charles* Lord Viſcount *Wilmot*, but ſoon after Commiſſioning the Earl of *Holland* to

King ſends Recruits.

(*a*) See the Memoirs of the Duke of *Rohan*, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, 8*vo*.

(*b*) The *Manifeſto* is publiſhed at large in the Apology for the Proteſtants of *France*, in Six Letters 4*to*. 1583. dated *Wedneſday* 21, *July* 1627.

take

1627. take them into his Charge, Tranſport and Conduct them to the Iſle of *Rhee*, and there deliver them to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Which comes too late. Some Recruits, being about Sixteen hundred *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, arrived at *Rhee* about the end of *September*; before which time the *French* had got into the Harbour, and reliev'd the Citadel with Proviſions in ſight of our Navy and Army. The Governour *Toiras* affrighted at the freſh Recruits of the *Engliſh*, was in great Trouble how to ſend Intelligence to the *French* Court. At laſt one *Sandgrein* ventur'd out, and eſcaping the Guards got ſafe to the King: And for fear of his Miſcarriage *Toiras* prevail'd with three of his Garriſon to ſwim aſhore to the main Continent: One of the three got ſafe to Land and delivered the Meſſage.

Sandgrein.

French K. advances with an Army. The King of *France* at this alarm draws down his Army towards *Rochel*, forming as it were a Blockade as if he deſigned the taking of that Town: When the more immediate Intention was by that means to land Forces upon the Iſland of *Rhee*, and to put in Proviſions into the beſieged Citadel of St. *Martins*. And this Deſign was effected, ſeveral little Veſſels getting in with a Supply ſufficient to ſupport the Garriſon, and to encourage them to a longer Defence.

Rochellers at laſt declare for the *Engl.* The *Rochellers* at this Juncture put forth a Maniſeſto and declar'd for *England*; and the Duke of *Rhoan* gave Commiſſions to raiſe Forces to aſſiſt the *Engliſh*, in preſervation of the Edict of Peace lately granted and ſince violated by the King of *France*. On the other hand, the King makes publick Declaration, that he will on his part obſerve the ſaid Edict of Peace; and proclaims the Dukes of *Rhoan* and *Sobiez* to be Traitors, and offers Reward for the killing of them. The Reformed were very Unfortunate (if not unjuſt) in theſe Meaſures: If they had heartily received the *Engliſh* at their firſt Arrival, or had continued to reject the joining with them, they might have either way averted their impending Ruin.

French Fleet. But by this time the *French* had got a great Supply of Shipping from the *Spaniard* for their Aſſiſtance, which with their own made up above a hundred Sail, ſuperiour to the *Engliſh* Navy, with which however they declined Engaging, and propoſed nothing more than to get ſuitable Proviſions into the Citadel, and tire out the Beſiegers. To carry on the ſame Deſign, *Toiras* ſeem'd to enter into a Treaty of Surrender upon honourable Terms: and prevail'd with the Duke for ſafe Conduct to a Meſſenger ſent to the King of *France* for leave to come off with Honour. The Duke conſents, on condition that an *Engliſh* Gentleman ſhould go along with the Meſſenger of *Toiras*, and be ſuffer'd to paſs through *France* into *England*: And ſo they went together to the *French* Court; but there in open breach of Faith the *Engliſh* Gentleman was ſecur'd, while the Agent of *Toiras* did his Buſineſs effectually.

Toiras outwits the Duke.

Toiras carried on the ſham-Treaty, and ſpun out the Time ſo long, that he gained his Point of receiving a conſiderable Relief of Men, Victuals and Ammunition: And then broke off the Treaty in Deriſion, ordering his Men upon the Walls to advance their Pikes with Mutton and Fowl upon the Heads of them, to reproach the *Engliſh* with their newly obtained Plenty. And they were further animated with News of the *French* landing more Forces near the *Meadow-Caſtle* (a Place alſo fatally neglected by the *Engliſh*) againſt whom the Duke ſent out a ſtrong Detachment, leaving his Trenches unguarded; upon which Advantage the Enemy ſally'd out of the Citadel, and got poſſeſſion of the deſerted Trenches; ſo as when the *Engliſh* after ſome reaſonable Succeſs had forc'd the new Recruits to take refuge under the Cannon of the Citadel, and were returning to their own Camp, they were obliged to diſpute the recovery of their Trenches, and loſt many Lives before they could regain them.

Under theſe Diſcouragements, about the middle of *October*, the Duke held a Council of War, and thought of a Reſolution to decamp and re-imbark for *England*. He communicated to *Sobiez* his Reaſons, that the Seaſon was declining, his Army diminiſh'd, his Proviſions conſum'd, and his Officers adviſing him to Retire. But *Sobiez* earneſtly diſſuaded the Duke, told him the Relief brought to the Beſieged was not conſiderable; the Earl of *Holland's* Fleet was coming with Supplies; the Retreat would draw after it the loſs of *Rochel*, and bring an irreparable Diſhonour to the King of *England*, in making ſo great an Enterprize to ſo little purpoſe. 1627. The Duke weary.

Upon this the Duke continued the Siege, and ſoon after reſolved to Storm the Citadel and Works: Accordingly on *Novem.* 6. a general Aſſault was made; but after the loſs of many Men, the Fort was found to be inacceſſible. Yet continues the Siege.

This Repulſe, with the News of more Forces of the *French* continually pour'd into the Iſland, inclin'd the Duke to raiſe the Siege and return home. So upon *Novem.* 8. early in the Morning, the Drums beat, and the Army prepared for a March. Upon their firſt Motions of Retreat, the Enemy appeared equal in Foot, and far ſtronger in Horſe, ready to fall upon the *Engliſh* Rear. The Duke ſeveral times drew up the Army in their March, and made a ſtand to offer Battle: But the wary *French* declined an open Fight, having projected a greater Advantage upon leſs hazard. For when the *Engliſh* in their Retreating had enter'd a narrow Cauſey, having on each Hand Salt-Pits and deep Ditches (wherein the *Engliſh* had neglected to raiſe a Fort at the Entry, and another at the End of it near the Bridge, which if done might have ſecured their Retreat) the *French* upon this Advantage fell with great Fury upon the *Engliſh* Horſe, who preſs'd their Foot into great diſorder, and made the Croud ſo tumultuous upon the Bridge that many of the *Engliſh* were drowned in the River, beſides many that fell into the Salt-Pits, and many falling by the Sword: Yet the *Engliſh* who had paſſed the Bridge with their true Native Courage rallied again, and drew up to fight their purſuing Enemy, who being afraid of any equal Terms barely repaſs'd the Bridge, which the *Engliſh* guarded with a ſelect Party all Day, and burnt it down at Night; and without further Attack from the *French* were put on board the next Day. The *Engliſh* loſt about 50 Officers, near 2000 common Soldiers, Priſoners of Note 35, and 44 Colours hung up as Trophies in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* in *Paris*. The King of *France* in a bravery diſmiſt the Priſoners, as a kind Token to his Siſter the Queen of *England*: And when the Lord *Montjoy* offer'd a round Sum for his Ranſom, the King told him, his Redemption ſhould be only two couple of *Engliſh* Hounds. If my Lord look'd on this as a Generoſity of the King, 'tis certain others took it as a ſlight upon his Lordſhip, who had gained more Diſhonour in the Retreat than any other Commander; for having his Troops in the Rear charged by the *French*, he turn'd and broke in upon the *Engliſh* Foot, and made ſo much Confuſion, that Sir *Charles Rich* is reported to have cry'd out, *Kill him! Kill him! though he be my Brother*. The Duke returns inglorious. Retreat dangerous. Loſs of the *Engliſh*.

When the Duke had thus ſhipp'd his Army on *November* 9. he ſent in a civil Promiſe to the *Rochellers*, that he would come again to their Relief; and preſently after ſet Sail for *England*, and met the Earl of *Holland* as he was ſetting out from *Plymouth*, who excuſed his Delay upon theſe Pretences; that when he was firſt ready to go on Board at *Plymouth*, the Ships with Proviſion were not come out of *Chatham*; and when the Proviſions were come, Time was ſpent before he could get them to a Rendezvous; and when all Things were fix'd for Sailing the Winds proved contrary. The Duke of *Buckingham* himſelf had the greater need of Apologies, going out a hated Favourite, and returning an unfortunate General. All he had to plead was, his acting by Advice of a Coun- Apologies of the Duke.

cil

1627.

cil of War, and his want of timely Supply (*a*). The King received him with full Grace and Affection, and only told him, *He was glad not to find the Loſs ſo great as Sir* Sackvil Crow *had repreſented in a Letter to him.* But the King's Indulgence made the popular Reſentments greater: Tongues and Pens were ſharpen'd upon this inglorious Expedition; and the Pulpit it ſelf could not be reſtrain'd from ſome Reflections on it: Dr. *Moor* Prebendary of *Wincheſter*, a Man of Wit, took occaſion to cite in his Sermon the Saying of *Auguſtus*, *Quintili Vare redde Legiones*, which periſhed (ſays he) by the Hiſtorian's Account, *propter inſcitiam & temeritatem Ducis*, dwelling on the Word *Ducis* with ſuch a particular Emphaſis, as made moſt of the Auditors underſtand the Alluſion.

Reflections on him.

French K. reſolves now to take *Rochel.*

The King of *France* reſolved now upon a formidable Siege of *Rochel*, and according to the Advice of *Montluc*, in the Year 1573. he determined to reduce the Town by Famine. In order to which, he drew an entire Circumvallation toward the Continent, with three Forts and many Redoubts, precluding all hopes of Relief by Land; and by Sea the great Miniſter Cardinal *Richlieu* (who had the utmoſt Zeal for extirpating the Proteſtants) projected the making of a Mole or vaſt Barricado croſs the Channel, about fourteen hundred Yards in length, leaving a ſmall Space in the Middle for the Flux and reflux of the Sea, and cutting off all other manner of Conveyance.

The *Rochellers* ſend to the King of *Engl.*

Under this ſad Proſpect the *Rochellers* ſent over the Duke of *Sobiez* and other Deputies to lay before the King and Council their Petition and Remonſtrance, to this effect: "They firſt thank his Majeſty for the "great Aſſiſtance and Comfort they had received "by the Fleet ſent in *July* laſt. Then they take "notice of Application made to the King of *Denmark* to propound a Peace between the Crowns of "*England* and *France*: and if ſuch a Treaty do proceed, they humbly pray that his Majeſty would "inſiſt upon the Capitulation made between the "*French* King and the Reformed Churches; which "they on their part had kept inviolable, till they "ſaw the Conditions on the other ſide entirely broke. "They repreſent that they are now to be ſhut up by "Land and Sea, and muſt fall into inevitable Ruin "without ſpeedy Succour: They therefore beſeech "his Majeſty with all poſſible Diligence to ſend "them Supplies, and once more to protect them "with his Royal Navy, to prevent the blocking up "their Harbour, They laſtly entreat his Majeſty "and the Lords of the Council, to have ſo much "pity on their indigent Condition, as to permit a "general Collection to be made for them through "*England* and *Ireland*. Concluding with their Reſolutions to hold out a Siege, depending on a ſeaſonable Relief from *England*, being aſſured thereof by the Duke of *Buckingham* at his Departure, "that he would once more come in Perſon to their "Aſſiſtance." (*b*)

The King not able to aſſiſt them.

But alas! the Anſwer could be only good Words: For indeed the *Rochellers* were not reduced to much greater Neceſſities by their Prince, than our King was by his People and his exigent Affairs: Univerſal Diſcontents and repeated Complaints of Grievance. Many Gentlemen ſtood committed for refuſing to comply with the Demands of Loan, and being brought before the Council had been re-demanded to ſeveral Priſons. Sir *John Elliot*, a Priſoner in the *Gate-houſe*, had his Petition for Diſcharge rejected. Sir *Peter Hayman* upon refuſing Compliance to the Loan, was commanded by the Council to go upon his Majeſty's Service in the *Palatinate*, and did accordingly go. Many of the like Sufferers upon Return of a *Habeas Corpus* were denied Bail. Archbiſhop *Abbot* in much Favour with the People, and the moderate Clergy, was confined to a remote Country Houſe, and ſoon after Sequeſtred from his Office and Juriſdiction, given by Commiſſion to thoſe Biſhops whom he reputed his Enemies. Biſhop *Williams* another Popular Prelate ſuffered many Hardſhips from the Court. The Citizens murmur'd againſt a viſible Decay of Trade, and againſt an arbitrary Impoſt upon ſome Commodities. The Merchants were diſcouraged from building more Ships, when ſo many had been preſſed for the King's Service and not paid. The Mariners came in Multitudes to the Court at *White-hall* clamouring for their Pay in great Diſorder and Confuſion. And the Land Forces were kept in Pay without their former Wages.

Great Diſcontents in City and Country.

1627.

Advice of Sir *Robert Cotton.*

In this unhappy State of Affairs, Sir *Robert Cotton* the judicious Antiquary, was called before the King and Council to deliver his Opinion in point of Hiſtory and Law, upon the preſent Juncture of Affairs; which he did to this effect: "That the Houſe of "*Auſtria*, from the Time of *Charles* V. had been graſping at a univerſal Monarchy, which had been all "along the Honour and Intereſt of *England* to oppoſe: And thoſe *Engliſh* Princes who had moſt "oppoſed it, had always the Affections and Hearts "of their People. That this was the Buſineſs of "the preſent Reign, and the Deſire of the *Engliſh* "Nation. That to carry on this Deſign the King "muſt have Money; and no way to get Money with "Speed, Aſſurance, and Satisfaction, but by Grant "of Parliament. No way to diſpoſe a Parliament "to ſuitable Grants but by removing all Jealouſies, "eſpecially thoſe relating to Religion and Liberties. "And nothing more plauſible than for the Duke of "*Buckingham* to be the firſt Adviſer of calling ſuch "a Parliament."

Wiſe and Honeſt.

Reſolution to call a Parliament.

Upon theſe and ſuch like Conſiderations repreſented to the King, a Reſolution was taken at the Council Table on *January* 29. for a Parliament to meet on the 17th of *March* following. And to prepare the way, Warrants were ſent to all Parts to releaſe the Impriſon'd Gentry for the Matter of Loan; according to a precedent Order of Council, by which there were ſet at Liberty 19 Knights, 13 Eſquires, and 4 Gentlemen, who had remained under Confinement in ſeveral Counties: 3 Knights, 1 Eſquire, and 4 *Londoners*, all Priſoners in the *Fleet*. Two Knights, 1 Eſq; and 3 *Londoners* in the *Gate-houſe*: Some in the *Marſhalſea*; others in the *New-Priſon*, and ſeveral in the Cuſtody of Meſſengers. One Effect of their Liberty was this, that as faſt as the Writs came down to the Counties and Boroughs, thoſe Gentlemen who had thus ſuffered were moſt in the Peoples Eye to be elected Members, as the fitteſt to aſſert their Countries Liberties and Rights. The like gracious *Orders* were iſſued from the Council to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, to uſe great Moderation in demanding the Loan from thoſe Citizens who deferr'd a Compliance with it. And among other Arts of ſoftning, Archbiſhop *Abbot*, Biſhop *Williams*, and the Lord *Briſtol*, who had lain under peculiar Hardſhips, had by expreſs Direction their Writs ſent to them to ſit in the Houſe of Peers this enſuing Parliament.

Methods to ſoften the People.

Some unhappy Steps.

Theſe Ways of Wiſdom and Juſtice could not fail of their natural Effects of Peace and Obedience in the People: But at the ſame Time ſome unhappy Meaſures were taken, that ſerved only to renew the late Jealouſies and Fears. For on the Day after the Parliament Writs were teſted, the King granted a Privy Seal, on *January* 30. to *Philip Burlemach*, a *Dutch* Merchant, to receive Thirty thouſand Pounds from the Treaſury, to be returned into the *Low Countries* to Sir *William Balfour* and

(*a*) The Duke of *Rohan*, in his Memoirs obſerved, that the Iſſue of this Expedition of the Duke of *Buckingham* was, that he wrack'd both his own and his Country's Honour, conſumed much of the *Rochellers* Proviſions, and ruin'd the Party he came to relieve.

(*b*) See the Apology of the Reformed Churches in *France*, wherein are expreſſed the Reaſons why they have joined their Armies to thoſe of the King of *Great Britain*. Tranſlated and Dedicated to the High Court of Parliament, by *John Reynolds*, *London*. 1628. 4*to*.

John

1627. *John Dalbier*, for the raiſing of a thouſand *German* Horſe, with Arms for Horſe and Foot, to be ſent into *England* by *February* 28; which though perhaps a neceſſary Preparation for his Majeſty's Foreign Engagements; yet People ſuſpected it the Deſign of a Standing Army: And the more ſo, becauſe the King near the ſame time granted a Commiſſion to twenty three Lords and others, to raiſe Money by Impoſitions in the nature of Exciſe. And the Levying of Ship-Money upon the ſeveral Counties was then under Debate in the Council; as if Methods were already concerted to live without Parliaments, if the approaching Parliament ſhould riſe without giving Money.

Parliament meets. The Parliament being aſſembled on *Monday* the ſeventeenth of *March*, the King began with this Speech.

King's Speech. "*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"THeſe Times are for *Action*: Wherefore for Examples ſake, I mean not to ſpend much "Time in *Words*; expecting accordingly that your "(as I hope) good Reſolutions will be ſpeedy, not "ſpending Time *unneceſſarily*, or (that I may better ſay) *dangerouſly*. For tedious *Conſultations* at "this Conjuncture of Time are as hurtful as ill *Reſolutions*.

"I am ſure you now expect from me, both to "know the Cauſe of your Meeting, and what to Reſolve on: Yet, I think, there is none here but "knows, that Common Danger is the *Cauſe* of this "Parliament; and that Supply at this time is the "chief *End* of it: So that I need but point to you "what to do. I will uſe but few Perſwaſions: For "if to maintain your own Advices, and as now the "Caſe ſtands for the following thereof, the true "Religion, Laws and Liberties of this State, and "the juſt Defence of our true Friends and Allies be "not ſufficient, then no Eloquence of Men or Angels will prevail.

"Only let me remember you, that my Duty moſt "of all, and every one of yours according to his "Degree, is to ſeek the Maintenance of this Church "and Common-wealth: And certainly there never "was a Time, in which this Duty was more neceſſarily requir'd than *now*.

"I therefore judging a Parliament to be the Ancient, Speedieſt and Beſt Way, in this Time of "Common Danger, to give ſuch Supply as to ſecure "*our ſelves*, and to ſave our *Friends* from imminent "Ruin have called you together: Every Man now "muſt do according to his Conſcience. Wherefore "if you (as God forbid) ſhould not do your Duties, "in contributing what the State at this time needs, "I muſt, in diſcharge of my Conſcience, uſe thoſe "*other means* which God hath put into my Hands, "to ſave that which the *Follies* of particular Men "may otherwiſe hazard to loſe.

"Take not this as a *Threatning*, for I ſcorn to "threaten any but my Equals, but an *Admonition* "from him, that both out of Nature and Duty hath "moſt Care of your Preſervations and Proſperities. "And though I thus ſpeak, I hope that your Demeanours at this Time will be ſuch, as ſhall not "only make me approve your former Counſels, but "lay on me ſuch Obligations, as ſhall tie me by "way of Thankfulneſs to meet *often* with you. For "be aſſur'd, that nothing can be more pleaſing to "me than to keep a good Correſpondence with "you.

"I will only add one Thing more, and then leave "my Lord Keeper to make a ſhort Paraphraſe upon "the Text I have deliver'd you; which is, *To remember a Thing, to the end we may forget it.*

"You may imagine, that I came here with a 1627. "doubt of Succeſs of what I deſire, remembring "the Diſtractions of the laſt Meeting. But I aſſure you, that I ſhall very eaſily and gladly forget and forgive what is paſt, ſo that you will at "this preſent Time leave the former ways of Diſtractions, and follow the Counſel lately given "you, *To maintain the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.*"

Remarks on this Speech. This Speech was thought to have a greater Air of Majeſty and Sincerity than of Prudence and Affection. A Parliament call'd for *Supply* gives more for *Asking* than for *Demanding*. When the King referred himſelf to their *contributing what the State needed*, he might have omitted the mention of any *other Means put into his Hands*. And whatever he himſelf could *ſave*, he might forbear to prejudge the *loſing by the Follies of particular Men*. It is pity any Expreſſions ſhould have wanted an Apology; *not to take them as a Threatning*, and the Reaſon given is ſomewhat too big: *I ſcorn to threaten any but my Equals.*

The Lord Keeper ſeconded his Majeſty to this effect:

Lord Keeper's Speech. "YOU are here to Conſult and Conclude of "weighty and urgent Buſineſs. The *Pope* and "Houſe of *Auſtria* combine to obtain, one a Spiritual, the other a Temporal Monarchy. *France* is "ſway'd by a *Popiſh* Faction, that has broke the Articles of Agreement between the King and his Proteſtant Subjects. The Emperor, *France* and *Spain* "are in open War againſt Us. The King of *Denmark* is diſtreſſed, the King of *Sweden* diverted, "and the *Low-Country Men* diſabled to give Aſſiſtance.

"For this Cauſe the King hath called you together, to ſtrengthen our ſelves at Home, and encourage our Allies Abroad.

"The great Preparation muſt be *Treaſure*; for "the giving of which I might preſs many Reaſons: "1. For his Majeſty's ſake who requires it: to "whom ye owe Duty by the Law of God, the "Law of Nature, and your own Allegiance. 2. "For the Cauſe-ſake, the Charity, Honour, and Intereſt of aſſiſting our diſtreſſed Friends Abroad. "*Laſtly*, In Reſpect of the manner of his Majeſty's "Demand, which is in Parliament, the way that "hath ever beſt pleaſed the Subjects of *England*.—— "This way his Majeſty hath choſen, not as the only way, but as the fitteſt.—— If this be deferred, Neceſſity and the Sword of the Enemy "make way to the others.—— Reſolve of your "Supplies, that they may be timely and ſufficient, "ſerving the Occaſion. Your Counſel, your Aid, "all is but loſt; if your Aid be either too little "or too late. And his Majeſty is reſolved, that "his Affairs cannot permit him to expect it over "long."

Sir John Finch Speaker. The Commons choſe Sir *John Finch* to be their Speaker, who being preſented to the King on *Wedneſday March* 19. made a cuſtomary Speech to be excuſed from that Office; but his Choice, as uſually, was by the King approv'd. (*a*)

Before they entred upon any Debates, there was a bold Letter communicated to the Members, directed *To my noble Friends of the Lower-Houſe of Parliament*, reciting many Grievances of the State, induſtriouſly diſperſt and commonly called, *A Speech without Doors.*

Thurſday, March 20. The Houſe ſettled their grand Committees for Religion, Grievances, Courts of Juſtice and Trade, and drew up a Petition to

(*a*) The Copy of this Speech of Sir *John Finch*, as Speaker, is preſerved in MS. *Harley* 62. *A.* 30. inciting his Majeſty to a Zeal againſt Popery by commending him for it.——By your royal Edict you have baniſh'd thoſe Incendiaries of *Rome*, the Prieſts and Jeſuits, Enemies to your Church and State.—— You have given life to the Law againſt Recuſants, and by your own exemplary Piety have drawn more than you have *compelled* to come to Church.

1627. the King for a Faſt; to which the Lords conſented.

The Commons fall upon the Matter of Grievances.

Saturday March 22. Publick Grievances were warmly Debated, Billiting of Soldiers, Loans by Benevolences and Privy Seal, Impriſonment of Subjects refuſing to lend, Denial of Releaſe upon *Habeas Corpus.* The Houſe inclining not to ſupply his Majeſty, till theſe Grievances were redreſt. To which purpoſe many ſmart Speeches were delivered by Sir *Francis Seymour*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Sir *Edward Cook*, Sir *Robert Philips*, &c. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* ſpoke as a Moderator between King and People, and adviſed *To truſt the King, and to breed a Truſt in him, by giving him a large Supply according to his Wants, and then proſtrating our Grievances humbly at his Feet.* The chief Advocate for the Prerogative was Sir *John Cook*, Secretary of State, who yet confeſt that *Illegal Courſes had been taken, and that a Redreſs muſt be by Laws and Puniſhment.* But he reſolved thoſe Courſes into the *Law of Neceſſity*; and declar'd, that to offer Grievances before a Supply *would ſeem a Condition with his Majeſty, a wiſe King jealous of his Honour.*

No Supply without Redreſs of Grievances.

Monday, Mar. 24. Secretary *Cook* renew'd the Motion of Supply, as preparatory to the Conſideration of Grievances: Other Members argu'd for preferring the Matter of Grievances, and ſaid, *They could have no Thanks for giving, till his Majeſty might ſee they had a Right to give.*

1628. *Tueſday, March* 25. Secretary *Cook* preſented to the Houſe ſome Propoſitions from the King touching Supply; and told them, that as to *Aid and Grievances his Majeſty would not ſtand on Precedence in point of Honour. The ſame Committee might conſider both in what Order they pleaſed.* Upon which the Houſe reſolved themſelves into a Committee, and made *Edward Littleton*, Eſq; the Chair-man. They firſt debated the Grievances relating to the Perſon of the *Subject*: And after many learned Speeches by Mr. *Creſwell*, Sir *Robert Philips*, Sir *Edward Cook*, Mr. *Hackwel*, and Mr. *Selden*, it was Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine Contradicente.*

Reſolutions of Liberty and Property.

1. "That no Free-Man ought to be detained or "kept in Priſon, or otherwiſe reſtrained by the "Command of the King or the Privy Council, or "any other, unleſs ſome Cauſe of the Commitment, "Detainer or Reſtraint be expreſſed; for which by "Law he ought to be Committed, Detained or Reſtrain'd.

"2. That the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* may not be "denied, but ought to be granted to every Man "that is committed or detained in Priſon, or other-"wiſe reſtrained; though it be by Command of the "King, the Privy-Council, or any other, he pray-"ing the ſame.

"3. That if a Free-Man be Committed or De-"tained in Priſon, or otherwiſe Reſtrained by the "Command of the King, the Privy-Council, or "any other, no Cauſe of ſuch Commitment, De-"tainer or Reſtraint being expreſſed; for which "by Law he ought to be Committed, Detained or "Reſtrained: and the ſame be return'd upon a "*Habeas Corpus*, granted for the ſaid Party, then "he ought to be Deliver'd or Bail'd."

After which the Houſe proceeded to take into Conſideration the Grievances relating to the Property of the Subject in his Goods; and came to this Reſolution, *Nemine Contradicente.*

"That it is the ancient and indubitable Right "of every Free-Man, that he hath a full and ab-"ſolute Property in his Goods and Eſtate: That no "Tax, Tallage, Loan, Benevolence, or other like "Charge, ought to be commanded or levied by the "King, or any of his Miniſters, without common "Conſent by Act of Parliament."

Wedneſday, March 26. The Propoſitions Yeſterday preſented by Secretary *Cook* from his Majeſty, were now Received and Read; and were as follow; 1628.

Propoſitions from the King.

"1. To furniſh with Men and Victuals Thirty "Ships to guard the *Narrow Seas*, and all along "the Coaſts.

"2. To ſet out Ten other Ships for the Relief of "the Town of *Rochel.*

"3. To ſet out Ten other Ships for preſervation "of the *Elbe*, the *Sound* and *Baltick* Sea.

"4. To levy Arms, Cloath, Victual, Pay and "Tranſport, for an Army of 1000 Horſe and 10000 "Foot for Foreign Service.

"5. To pay and ſupply 6000 more for the Ser-"vice of *Denmark.*

"6. To ſupply the Forts of the Office of Ord-"nance.

"7. To ſupply the Stores of the Navy.

"8. To build Twenty Ships yearly for the en-"creaſe of the Navy.

"9. To repair the Forts within the Land.

"10. To pay the Arrears of the Office of Ord-"nance.

"11. To pay the Arrears of the Victuallers Office.

"12. To pay the Arrear of the Treaſury of the "Navy.

"13. To pay the Arrears due for the Freight of "divers Merchant Ships imployed in his Majeſty's "Service.

"14. To provide a Magazine for Victuals for "Land and Sea Service."

The Debate upon theſe Propoſitions was referred to another Day. And the Commons had a Conference with the Lords about a Petition againſt Recuſants prepared in the Upper, and agreed to by the Lower Houſe. (*a*)

Petition againſt Popiſh Recuſants.

Monday, March 31. The Petition of both Houſes to his Majeſty againſt Popiſh Recuſants was introduc'd by the Lord-Keeper in a ſhort Speech, and then read by him. After Reading, his Majeſty ſpoke thus.

King's Speech on this occaſion.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I Do very well approve the Method of your Pro-"ceedings in this Parliament; *A Jove Principium*, "hoping that the reſt of your Conſultations will "ſucceed the happier. And I like the Preamble of "the Lord-Keeper; otherwiſe I ſhould have a little "ſuſpected, that you had thought me not ſo careful "of Religion as I have, and ever ſhall be, wherein "I am as forward as you can deſire. And for the "Petition, I anſwer, firſt in general, that I like it "well, and will uſe theſe as well as other Means "for the Maintenance and Propagation of that Re-"ligion wherein I have *lived*, and do reſolve to *die*: "But for the Particulars, you ſhall receive a more "full Anſwer hereafter.

"And now I will only add this, that as we pray "to God to help us, ſo we muſt help our ſelves: "For we can have no aſſurance of his Aſſiſtance, if "we do lie in Bed and only Pray without uſing "other Means. And therefore I muſt remember "you, that if we do not make Proviſion ſpeedily, "we ſhall not be able to put one Ship to Sea this "Year, *Verbum ſapienti ſat eſt.*"

King's Anſwer to the Petition.

After this the Clerk read the firſt Article of the ſaid Petition, and the Lord-Keeper read his Majeſty's Anſwer unto the ſame: And ſo through the whole Eight Articles. To all which his Majeſty gave direct and full Satisfaction, concluding, *That the Mildneſs that had been uſed towards thoſe of the Popiſh Religion, was upon hope that Foreign Princes thereby might be induced to uſe Moderation towards their Subjects of the Reformed Religion: But not finding that*

(*a*) There is a Copy of the Speech of Sir *John Cook*, at the Conference between the Lords and Commons about the Petition to the King againſt Recuſants, 29. *March* 1628. in MS. *Harley* 33. *C.* 8.

good

1628. *good Effect which was expected, his Majeſty reſolveth, unleſs he ſhall very ſpeedily ſee better Fruits, to add a further degree of Severity, to that which in this Petition is deſired.*

Wedneſday, *April* 2. The Propoſitions ſent from the King to the Commons, *March* 26. were for ſome time debated, and Speeches on that occaſion by Sir *Francis Seymour*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Edward Cook*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Sir *Henry Martin* who ſpoke moſt, with ſome Reflection on the late Managements of War, and ſeem'd averſe to any new Foreign Expeditions. Then the Houſe proceeded to Grievances, and took into Conſideration two other Heads of the Liberty of the Subject in his Perſon, *viz. Confinement and Deſignation, to Foreign Imployment*; and came to this Reſolution.

Further Reſolutions upon Liberty and Property. *Reſolv'd*, "That no Free-Man ought to be Con-"fin'd by any Command from the King or Privy-"Council, or any other, unleſs it be by Act of Par-"liament, or by other due Courſe, or Warrant of "Law."

Thurſday, *April* 3. Mr. Secretary *Cook* brought this Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons from the King.

Meſſage from the King. "HIS *Majeſty having underſtood that ſome Rumours were ſpread abroad of a ſharp Meſſage* "yeſterday delivered by me; and of ſome Malici-"ous Words that the Duke ſhould ſpeak Yeſterday "at the Council Board, he commanded me to tell "you of the Malice of thoſe falſe Reports; for that "nothing fell from the Duke, or that Board, but "what was for the Good of this Aſſembly. He "would have you obſerve the Malice of thoſe Spi-"rits that thus put in theſe Jealouſies. Had the "Duke ſo ſpoken he ſhould have contradicted him "himſelf: For all of Us of the Council can tell, he "was the firſt Mover and Perſwader of this Aſſem-"bly of Parliament to the King: Eſteem of the King "according to his Actions, and not theſe Tales. "His Majeſty takes notice of our purpoſe, that on "*Friday* we will Reſolve upon Supply, which his "Majeſty graciouſly accepts of; and that our free "Gift, without any Condition, ſhould teſtifie to "the World that we will be as far from incroaching "upon his Prerogative, as he will be to incroach "upon our Liberties: And this ſhall well appear "when we preſent our Grievances to him, and then "we ſhall know that he hath no Intention to vio-"late our Liberties; only let us not preſent them "with an Aſperity of Words. He counts it his "greateſt Glory to be a King of Freemen not of "Villains. He thought to have deliver'd this Meſ-"ſage himſelf, but that he feared it would take us "too much time."

Thanks of the Houſe. After ſome Debates on this Meſſage, the Houſe agreed to acknowledge that his Majeſty had put a threefold Obligation on them: 1. In giving them *Satisfaction*. 2. In giving them *Aſſurance* (which is a great Law) that he will protect and relieve them. 3. In giving them *Advice* as may befit the Gravity of that Aſſembly and his own Honour: So they concluded *To carry themſelves as their Progenitors had before done, who never were mark'd for ſtepping too far on the King's Prerogative.* And then return'd their humble Thanks to his Majeſty. (*a*)

Friday, *April* 4. Mr. Secretary *Cook* deliver'd another Gracious Meſſage from the King to aſſure them of the Enjoyment of their Rights and Liberties. And after ſome Debate the Houſe came to this unanimous Reſolve, *That five Subſidies be given to his Majeſty*:

Five Subſidies granted. And Mr. Secretary *Cook* was appointed to acquaint his Majeſty with this Reſolution. 1628.

Monday, *April* 7. Mr. Secretary *Cook* reported to the Houſe, "The King accepted of the Subſidies, "and was pleaſed to ask by how many Voices they "were granted? I ſaid, but by one; his Majeſty ask'd "how many were againſt him? I ſaid, none; for "they were voted by one Voice, and one general "Conſent. His Majeſty was much affected there-"with, and called the Lords in Council, and there "I gave them account what had paſſed. Beſides, it "gave his Majeſty no ſmall content, that although "five Subſidies be inferiour to his Wants, yet it is "the greateſt Gift that ever was given in Parlia-"ment. And now he ſees by this he ſhall have "the Affections of his People, which will be grea-"ter to him than all Value. He ſaid, he liked "Parliaments at the firſt, but ſince (he knew not "how) he was grown to a Diſtaſte of them; but "was *now* where he was *before*: He loves them, and "ſhall rejoice to meet with his People often." Well accepted by the King.

Mr. Secretary further acquainted the Houſe with a Speech of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s, at the Council Table, upon report of the five Subſidies; which was very ſweet and popular had it come from any other Perſon. Sir *John Elliot* expreſſed his Diſlike, that the Duke's Name ſhould be intermingled with the King's; *Contrary to the Cuſtom of our Fathers, and to the Honour of our Times.*

Several Members were now appointed to manage a Conference with the Lords, upon the Reſolutions of this Houſe relating to the Liberties and Properties of the Subject. Sir *Dudley Diggs* opened the Conference by way of Introduction. Sir *Edward Littleton*, of the *Inner-Temple*, ſpoke at large upon the Subject of *Perſonal Liberty*. Mr. *Selden* inſiſted upon the *Precedents* in that Matter: And Sir *Edward Cook* maintained the Argument as to the Rational part of the Law. Conference with the Lords upon Liberty and Property.

Tueſday and *Wedneſday* were ſpent in the Debate about Billeting of Soldiers upon the Subject againſt Law.

Thurſday, April 10. Mr. Secretary *Cook* deliver'd this Meſſage from the King, "*That his Majeſty de-"ſireth this Houſe not to make any Receſs theſe "Eaſter Holidays, that the World may take notice "how earneſt his Majeſty and We are for the Pub-"lick Affairs in Chriſtendom, which by ſuch a Re-"ceſs would receive Interruption.*" A Meſſage from the King.

This Meſſage was diſpleaſing to ſome Members; Sir *Robert Philips* ſaid, that *in* 12 *and* 18 Jac. *upon the like Intimation, the Houſe reſolved, it was in their Power to Adjourn or Sit.* Sir *Edward Cook* declared, *The King makes a Prorogation, but this Houſe adjourns it ſelf.* The Matter was referr'd to a Committee, to conſider the Power of the Houſe to Adjourn it ſelf; to the End, that it being now yielded unto in Obedience to his Majeſty, it might not turn to Prejudice in Time to come.

Hereupon a Meſſage was ſent to the King, *That the Houſe would give all expedition to his Majeſty's Service, notwithſtanding their purpoſe of Receſs.* His Majeſty returned Anſwer, *That the Motion had proceeded from himſelf, in regard of his Engagement in the Affairs of Chriſtendom; wiſhed them all Alacrity in their Proceedings, and that there might be no Receſs at all.* Anſwer of the Commons.

Friday, April 11. Secretary *Cook* mov'd to expedite the Vote of Subſidies, and turn it into an Act; Sir *Dudley Diggs* ſeconded the Motion: But Sir *Thomas Wentworth* oppoſed a middle way, which paſſed into a Reſolution of the Houſe, *That Grievances and Supply go Hand and Hand.* Grievances and Supply go together.

(*a*) The good Diſpoſition of the Commons at the Beginning of this Parliament, was well obſerved in a Letter of Mr. *William Bedell* to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, dat. *London*, *April* 11. 1628. ——In Parliament Affairs, the Beginnings yet go marvellouſly well, the Lower Houſe excellently temper'd; nothing has been yet ſo much as put to Queſtion. The Upper Houſe join'd with them, inſomuch, as when they had received the Motion for a publick Faſt, they added a Motion for putting in Execution all Laws and Acts of State againſt Recuſants. The Petition was Penned by the Biſhops of *Norwich* and *Litchfield*, and preſented to his Majeſty by both Houſes, &c. Letters of Archbiſhop *Uſher*. Fol. p. 389.

1628. *Saturday*, April 12. Mr. Secretary *Cook* delivered another Meſſage from the King to haſten the Supply; wherein this Paſſage more eſpecially gave Offence, *I muſt with ſome Grief tell you, that Notice is taken as if this Houſe preſſed not upon the Abuſes of Power only, but upon Power itſelf; this toucheth the King and Us who are ſupported by that Power.*

King preſſes a Supply.

This gave Offence. He was bid to explain what he meant by the Word *Power*. He anſwered, *I cannot deſcend to Particulars, or go from that his Majeſty gave me warrant or Power to deliver.*

About two Days after, Mr. Secretary *Cook* did again quicken the Buſineſs of Supply. After ſome Debates it was Order'd, "That a ſpecial Committee of eight Perſons ſhall preſently withdraw "themſelves, and conſult together upon ſome Heads, "and upon the Subſtance of a fair Repreſentation "to his Majeſty, which the Speaker ſhall deliver "in his Speech to his Majeſty on *Monday* next, and "at the ſame time to deliver the Petition againſt "Billeting of Soldiers."

Speaker's Speech to the King. *Eaſter Monday* April 21. The Commons being admitted to the King's Preſence, the Speaker endeavoured to ſatisfie his Majeſty in the manner of their Proceedings. "For this Purpoſe (ſays he) they "humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take into your "Royal Conſideration, that although by ancient "Right of Parliament, the conſtant Cuſtom hath "been to take into their Conſiderations the common Grievances of the Kingdom, before they enter upon the Matter of Supply: Yet to make a "full Expreſſion of that Zeal and Affection which "they bear to your Royal Majeſty, they have in "this Aſſembly, contrary to the ordinary Proceedings of Parliament, given your Majeſty's Supply "Precedency before the common Grievance of the "Subject, how preſſing ſoever; joining with it "only thoſe fundamental and vital Liberties of the "Kingdom, which give Subſiſtence and Ability to "your Subjects."

Toward the End of his Speech he introduc'd the *Petition of the Commons concerning the Billeting of Soldiers.*

King's ſhort Anſwer. To the Speech and Petition his Majeſty made Reply, "That they ſhould go on ſpeedily with their "Buſineſſes without any more Apologies. And as "to what concern'd their Petition, he would make "Anſwer in convenient Time."

From this Day to *Friday*, April 25. the Houſe in a grand Committee ſpent moſt of their Time in Debate about Martial Law; and in holding two Conferences with the Lords, concerning ſome Reſolves in order to a *Petition of Right*, tranſmitted from the Lower Houſe to the Upper.

Martial Law a Grievance.

Friday, April 25. In another Conference of the Lords and Commons, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made a ſmooth and ſoftning Speech, to introduce ſome new Propoſitions from the Upper Houſe, of the ſame Nature with the Commons *Petition of Right*, only more reſpectful and Submiſſive to the King, they were communicated to the Lower Houſe, who were not ſatisfied with them. (*a*)

Lord Keeper's Speech to urge the Diſpatch of the Supply. *Monday*, April 28. The King came to the Houſe of Lords, and the Commons being called up, the Lord-Keeper made a Speech to urge a Diſpatch of the Supply without longer Debate upon the Liberty of the Subject. "His Majeſty (ſays he) has commanded me to let you know, that he holdeth the "Statute of *Magna Charta*, and the other ſix Statutes "inſiſted upon for the Subjects Liberty to be all in "Force; and aſſures you that he will maintain all "his Subjects in the juſt freedom of their Perſons, "and ſafety of their Eſtates. And that he will go- "vern according to the Laws and Statutes of this "Realm. And that ye ſhall find as much Security "in his Majeſty's Royal Word and Promiſe as in "the Strength of any Law ye can make; ſo that "hereafter ye ſhall never have cauſe to complain." 1628.

The Queſtion who ſhould truſt, King or People. So as the only Queſtion between the King and Parliament was this; Whether his Majeſty's Royal Word and Promiſe, delivered by the Speaker in the King's Name and Preſence, was a ſufficient Security for Redreſs of Grievances, and future Maintenance of Rights and Liberties? Or, Whether this Verbal Promiſe ought not rather to be put into a written Law, as a more ſolemn Aſſurance to the People. The *Firſt* was thought moſt conducing to the King's Honour. The *Second* more agreeable to the Conſtitution of Parliaments. Mr. Secretary *Cook* made a Speech for Reliance on the King's Word. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* mov'd, that the Effect of the King's Promiſe might be put into a Bill: And it was accordingly ordered, *That a Committee of Lawyers do draw up a Bill containing the Subſtance of* Magna Charta, *and the other Statutes that do concern the Liberty of the Subject.* (*b*)

Meſſage from the King. *Thurſday*, May 1. While the Bill was preparing, Mr. Secretary *Cook* delivered a Meſſage from his Majeſty, "to know whether the Houſe will reſt on his "Royal Word or no, as declared to them by the "Lord-Keeper: If they do, he again aſſures them "it ſhall be Royally performed." There was great Silence for ſome time in the Houſe; and after ſome Debate it was plain, that no poſitive Anſwer could be given to ſuch a Meſſage. Open Denial had ſeem'd a rude Affront: And expreſs Aſſent had been (in the apprehenſion of moſt) a giving up the Cauſe of *Engliſh* Parliaments.

Not to be anſwered.

Friday May 2. The Houſe reſolv'd themſelves into a grand Committee to debate of this Matter. Some few argued for reſting on his Majeſty's Promiſe; but the far greater Majority agreed that the Legal Security muſt be by ſolemn Act. And Sir *Edward Cook* propoſed, that to pay all poſſible deference to his Majeſty's Honour, the Bill ſhould not come from the Houſe but from the King. Amidſt theſe Debates another Meſſage was deliver'd from his Majeſty, "that Publick Affairs would not "endure long Debate or Delay: ſo as this Seſſion "of Parliament muſt continue no longer than *Tueſday* ſevennight. But upon Diſpatch and good "Correſpondence, there ſhould be another Seſſion "at *Michaelmas* next, for the perfecting of ſuch "Things as could not be now done."

King ſends another quickning Meſſage.

Senſe of the Commons by their Speaker. *Saturday*, May 3. After long Debate the Commons agreed upon an Anſwer to all preceeding Meſſages, to be preſented to the King by the Mouth of their Speaker; who humbly *beg'd his Majeſty's leave to lay hold of his Gracious Offer, which gave them Aſſurance, that if they thought fit to ſecure themſelves in their Rights and Liberties by way of Bill, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give way to it.* His Majeſty's Anſwer was delivered by the Lord-Keeper, that *He expected an Anſwer by their Actions, and not Delay by Diſcourſes—— that they ought to have Confidence in his Royal Word; yet to ſhew the Sincerity of his Intentions, he is content that a Bill be drawn for a Confirmation of* Magna Charta *and the other ſix Statutes inſiſted upon for the Subjects Liberties, ſo as it be without Additions, Paraphraſes, or Explanations.*

Tueſday May 6. Mr. Secretary *Cook* again preſs'd the Houſe to rely upon the King's Word. This Importunity was now the more diſpleaſing, becauſe it ſeem'd to retract the late Intimation of his Majeſty's good Pleaſure for a Bill.

(*a*) The Speech delivered by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, at this Conference upon the Biſhop of *Norwich*'s reading the five Propoſitions is preſerved in *Tho. Fuller*'s Sovereign Prerogative. p. 153. and in *Ruſhworth* 1. p. 552.

(*b*) On the ſame Day *Apr.* 28. there were Debates in the Houſe of Commons, upon the Augmentation of poor Livings; and there be two very good Speeches preſerved upon that Subject, One Printed at *Oxford* 1628. 4*to*. entituled, *Sir* Benjamin Rudyard *his Speech in a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, in behalf of the Clergy, and of Pariſh s miſerably deſtitute of Instruction, through want of Maintenance.* The other, *A Speech in the Houſe of Commons, touching the Augmentation of poor Benefices.* Printed in Dr. *Kennett's* Caſe of Impropriat. *Append.* 8*vo*.

Thurſ-

1628.

Thurſday May 8. the Bill for Petition of Right was finiſhed, and a Clauſe about Martial Law added to it: And at a Conference it was delivered to the Lords for their Concurrence. (*a*)

Petition of Right.

Monday May 12. their Lordſhips deſired another Conference with the Commons; wherein, the Lord-Keeper declar'd the Reſult of their Debates in the Upper Houſe upon the Petition of Right, *that they had propounded ſome ſmall Matters to be altered, to make it more ſweet, and procure it a paſſable way to his Majeſty:* and then communicated a Letter from the King directed *to the right-truſty and right well-beloved the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the Higher Houſe of Parliament.* —— In which his Majeſty renews his Promiſe of Governing by Law, and puts them in mind that the Seſſion muſt draw to an end. This Letter was the ſame Day communicated to the Houſe of Commons, who were much diſſatisfied, as thinking the Deſign of it was only to defeat their Petition of Right.

Opinion of the Lords.

Saturday May 17. the Lords had another Conference with the Commons, wherein the Lord-Keeper propos'd this additional Clauſe to be put in the Concluſion of the ſaid Petition; *We preſent this our humble Petition to your Majeſty, with the Care not only of preſerving our own Liberties, but with due Regard to leave entire that ſoveraign Power wherewith your Majeſty is truſted for the Protection, Safety, and Happineſs of the People.*

Lords propoſe a concluding Clauſe.

This Clauſe was oppoſed in ſeveral Speeches by Mr. *Alford*, Mr. *Pimm*, Mr. *Hackwell*, Sir *Edward Cook*, Sir *Tho. Wentworth*, Mr. *Noy*, and Mr. *Selden*, who ſaid, that *Soveraign Power* was no Parliamentary Word, and there could be no ſuch Thing diſtinct from the Power of the Law, or a legal Prerogative. To admit of ſuch an additional Salvo for a Regal Power, would be to leave the Subject in worſe Condition than before, *&c.*

Rejected by the Commons.

After this, ſeveral Conferences were held; wherein the Lords offered Reaſons for their Amendment, and the Commons for not conſenting to it. On this latter ſide, Mr. *Glanvil* made a remarkable Speech as to the Law-part, and Sir *Henry Martin* as to the Rational-part of not admitting the Acknowledgment of Soveraign Power in the Perſon of the King. (*b*)

Monday May 26. the Lords at another Conference agreed with the Commons in the Petition of Right, with theſe ſmall Amendments: *Means* inſtead of *Pretext*; *not warrantable by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm*, to be put inſtead of *Unlawful*. To which Amendments the Commons readily agreed, and the Bill was engroſſed and read a third Time, and order'd to be preſented to the King. The Bill of Subſidy was read the ſecond Time, and committed.

Petition of Right agreed on by both Houſes.

Wedneſday May 28. a Conference between Lords and Commons about the Manner of delivering the *Petition of Right*. Agreed, that no Addition or Preface be uſed to the King, but that the Petition be preſented to his Majeſty by Command of the Lords and Commons; and his Majeſty be deſired, that to the Content of his People, he would be pleaſed to give his gracious Anſwer in full Parliament.

How to be preſented.

Monday June 2. the King in Parliament ſpake thus.

" *Gentlemen,*

"I Am come hither to perform my Duty: I think " no Man can think it long, ſince I have not " taken ſo many Days in anſwering the Petition, as " ye ſpent Weeks in framing it. And I am come " hither to ſhew you, that as well in *formal* things " as in *eſſential*, I deſire to give you as much Con- " tent as in me lies."

The King's Speech.

Then the Lord-Keeper, after commending the King's Favour to them, deſired 'em to hear their own Petition read, and his Majeſty's gracious Anſwer.

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The whole Tenour of this *Petition of Right* was in theſe four Particulars ſupported by reference to former Acts of Parliament; and by expreſſing the late Grievances ſuffered contrary to the ſaid Acts.

They do therefore humbly pray your moſt excellent Majeſty.

" I. That no Man hereafter be compelled to make " or yield any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, or " ſuch like Charge, without common Conſent by " Act of Parliament: And, that none be called to " make Anſwer, or take Oath, or to give Atten- " dance, or be confined, or otherwiſe moleſted or " diſquieted concerning the ſame, or for refuſal " thereof.

Heads of the Petition of Right.

" II. That no Free-man in any manner, be im- " priſoned or detained without due Proceſs of Law.

" III. That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to re- " move the Soldiers and Mariners, now billetted up- " on divers Inhabitants againſt their Wills; and, " that your People may not be ſo burthened in time " to come.

" IV. That all Commiſſions for proceeding by " Martial Law may be revoked and annulled; and, " that hereafter no Commiſſions of like nature may " iſſue forth to any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, " to be executed as aforeſaid, leſt by colour of them " any of your Majeſty's Subjects be deſtroyed or put " to Death, contrary to the Laws and Franchiſe of " the Land."

The King's Anſwer was deliver'd in theſe Words:

The King willeth that Right be done according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm; and, that the Statutes be put in due Execution that his Subjects may have no cauſe to complain of any Wrong or Oppreſſions contrary to their juſt Rights and Liberties: To the Preſervation whereof, he holds himſelf in Conſcience as well obliged as of his Prerogative.

King's Anſwer.

If this could have been thought a free and full Anſwer, it had been a moſt happy Union of King and Parliament. But the fatal Jealouſies were, that the King, in his Prefatory Speech, betrayed an unwilling Compliance extorted from him; and, that the final Anſwer it ſelf was ſomewhat dubious and reſerv'd.

Not acceptable.

Therefore on the next Day, *Tueſday* June 3. the King's Anſwer being read in the Houſe of Commons, occaſioned many Speeches of Complaint, and a Reſolution of the Houſe, *That an humble Remonſtrance be preſented to his Majeſty, touching the Dangers and Means of Safety of King and Kingdom.*

A Remonſtrance intended.

Thurſday June 5. this Meſſage was brought from his Majeſty by the Speaker.

" His Majeſty wiſheth you to remember the Meſ- " ſage he laſt ſent you, by which he ſet a Day for " the End of this Seſſion (*Wedneſday* June 11.) and " he commands me to let you know, that he will " certainly hold that Day prefixed without Altera- " tion: and becauſe that cannot be if the Houſe en- " tertain more Buſineſs of length, he requires you " that ye enter not into, or proceed with, any new " Buſineſs, which may ſpend greater time, or which " may lay any Scandal or Aſperſion upon the State- " Government or Miniſters thereof."

Meſſage from the King.

This Meſſage ſerv'd but to improve the Fears and Jealouſies of the Commons; and they were put into a new and greater Ferment, when Sir *John Eliot* coming to that Part of the Meſſage which im-

(*a*) See upon this Occaſion, The Privileges and Practices of Parliaments in *England*, collected out of the Common Laws of this Land, ſeen and allowed by the Learned in the Laws; commended to the High Court of Parliament now aſſembled. Printed 1628. 4*to.*

The Prerogative of Parliaments in *England*, proved in a Dialogue between a Counſellor of State Juſtice of Peace and written by the worthy much lacked and lamented Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Kt. deceaſed, Dedicated to the King's Majeſty, and to the Houſes of Parliament now aſſembled. Preſerved to be now happily in theſe diſtracted Times publiſhed and printed at *Middleburg*, 1628. 4*to.*

(*b*) See *the Copies* of two Speeches in Parliament, one by *John Glanvil*, Eſq; another by Sir *Henry Martin*, Kt. at a general Committee of both Houſes the 22d of *May* 1628 why they could not inſert the Clauſe, their Lordſhips deſire of a *Saving to Sovereign Power.* Printed 1628. 4*to.*

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plied their laying Scandal or Aſperſion upon ſome Miniſters of State: The Speaker roſe from his Chair, and apprehending that Sir *John* was falling on the Duke, he thus enjoin'd him Silence; *There is a Command laid upon me, that I muſt command you not to proceed.* Upon which Sir *John Elliot* ſat down; and Sir *Dudley Diggs*, in great concern, ſaid, *Muſt we not proceed? Let us ſit in ſilence. We are miſerable: we know not what we do.* And there was a profound Silence in the Houſe for a while; till Sir *Nathaniel Rich* ſaid, *We muſt now ſpeak, or for ever hold our Peace*, &c. Some objected, that the Speech lately ſpoken by Sir *John Elliot* had given Offence (as they feared) to his Majeſty. Upon which the Houſe voted, *That every Member of the Houſe is free from any undutiful Speech from the beginning of the Parliament to this day.* And ordered, *That the Houſe be turned into a Committee, to conſider what is fit to be done for the Safety of the Kingdom, and that no Man go out upon pain of being ſent to the* Tower. But the Speaker obtained Leave to go forth. And then the Houſe was reſolv'd into a Committee, Mr. *Whitby* in the Chair. Mr. *Wandesford* moved, that they ſhould not fear to make a Remonſtrance of their Rights: And Sir *Edward Cook* ſpoke out, *Let us palliate no longer; if we do, God will not proſper us. I think the Duke of* Buckingham *is the Cauſe of all our Miſeries; and till the King be informed thereof, we ſhall never go out with Honour, or ſit with Honour here. That Man is the Grievance of Grievances*, &c. The Houſe agreed upon ſeveral Heads for a *Remonſtrance*; and while it was moving to be put to the Queſtion, *Whether the Duke of* Buckingham *ſhould not be declared the chief and principal Cauſe of all thoſe Evils?* the Speaker (who after he had Leave to go forth, went privately to the King) brought this Meſſage, *That his Majeſty commands for the preſent they adjourn the Houſe till to morrow morning, and that all Committees ceaſe in the mean time.* And the Houſe was accordingly adjourn'd. The Lord Keeper carried the like Command to the Upper Houſe, where it was likewiſe obey'd.

The Speaker enjoins Silence.

This gives great Offence.

The King commands the two Houſes to adjourn.

And ſends a kinder Meſſage.

Friday June 6. the Speaker brought a more kind Meſſage from the King, *to declare his Majeſty's Intentions not to bar them from what hath been their Right, but only to avoid all Scandals on his Council and Actions paſt.* After ſome Debate, the Commons ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, that *they would join in a humble Requeſt to the King, that a clear and ſatisfactory Anſwer be given by his Majeſty, in full Parliament, to the Petition of Right.* To which the Lords agreed.

Requeſt of the two Houſes for a fuller Anſwer to their Petition of Right.

Saturday June 7. The King came to the Houſe; and the Commons being ſent for, the Lord Keeper preſented the Requeſt of both Houſes, and ſaid,

"*May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,*

"THE Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and "Commons in Parliament aſſembled, taking "into Conſideration, that the good Intelligence be- "tween your Majeſty and your People doth much "depend upon your Majeſty's Anſwer unto their "Petition of Right formerly preſented, with unani- "mous Conſent do now become moſt humble Sui- "tors unto your Majeſty, that you would be plea- "ſed to give a clear and ſatisfactory Anſwer there- "unto in full Parliament."

The King graciouſly replied,

King's Reply.

"The Anſwer I have already given you, was "made with ſo good Deliberation, and approved by "the Judgments of ſo many wiſe Men, that I could "not have imagined but it ſhould have given you "full ſatisfaction. But to avoid all ambiguous In- "terpretations, and to ſhew you there is no Dou- "bleneſs in my Meaning, I am willing to pleaſure "you as well in Words as in Subſtance. Read your "Petition, and you ſhall have an Anſwer that I am "ſure will pleaſe you."

He grants,

The Petition was read, and Anſwer given, *Soit droit fait come il eſt deſiré.*

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and ſpeaks.

The King proceeded, "This I am ſure is full, yet "no more than I granted you in my firſt Anſwer; "for the Meaning of that was, to confirm your Li- "berties: knowing, according to your own Prote- "ſtation, that ye neither mean nor can hurt my "Prerogative. And I aſſure you, my Maxim is, "That the Peoples Liberties ſtrengthen the King's "Prerogative, and the King's Prerogative is to de- "fend the People's Liberties. You ſee how ready "I have ſhewed my ſelf to ſatisfie your Demands; "ſo that I have done my part: Wherefore if this "Parliament have not a happy Concluſion, the Sin "is yours; I am free from it."

Joy of the Commons.

Whereupon the Commons return'd to their Houſe in great Joy, and reſolved ſo to proceed, as to expreſs their Thankfulneſs to his Majeſty. They order'd, that the Grand Committees for Religion, Trade, Grievances, and Courts of Juſtice, ſhould ſit no longer, and the Houſe ſhould proceed only in conſideration of Grievances of moſt moment. Bells ringing and Bonfires were through the whole City, and all true Hearts had a ſhare in the publick Joy.

If the Commons at this Juncture could have withdrawn their intended *Remonſtrance*, or the King could have look'd upon it as no Diminution of his Honour; then the Accommodation had been perfect and laſting.

The Remonſtrance goes on.

But the Commons thought their Rights and Liberties not ſufficiently aſſerted, without complaining of the ſeveral Inſtances wherein they apprehended a manifeſt Breach and Violation of them. So they proceeded to draw up the Particulars of greateſt Moment; and in concluſion,

Hatred of the D. of Buckingham.

Friday June 13. It was reſolved upon the Queſtion, *That the exceſſive Power of the Duke of* Buckingham *is the Cauſe of the Evils and Dangers to the King and Kingdom.* And ordered, *That this be added to the Remonſtrance.*

Remonſtrance preſented.

Tueſday June 17. The *Remonſtrance* was preſented to the King in the Banquetting-houſe by the Speaker, attended by the whole Houſe. The Subſtance of it was in theſe ſix Branches:

Subſtance of it.

"I. The Danger of Innovation and Alteration "in Religion. This occaſioned, 1. By the great "Eſteem and Favours many Profeſſors of the *Romiſh* "Religion receive at Court. 2. Their publick Re- "ſort to Maſs at *Denmark-houſe*, contrary to his "Majeſty's Anſwer to the Parliament's Petition at "*Oxford*. 3. Letters and Warrants to ſtop Proceed- "ings againſt them. *Laſtly*, The daily Growth of "the *Arminian* Faction.

"II. The Danger of Innovation and Alteration "in Government, occaſioned by the Billeting of "Soldiers, by the Commiſſion for procuring one "thouſand *German* Horſe and Riders, as for the "Defence of the Kingdom; and by a ſtanding Com- "miſſion granted to the Duke to be General at Land "in Times of Peace.

"III. Diſaſters in the late Publick Deſigns; as, "the Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee*, and that lately "to *Rochel*, wherein the *Engliſh* have purchaſed "their Diſhonour with the Waſte of a Million of "Treaſure.

"IV. The Want of Ammunition, occaſioned by "the late ſelling away of thirty ſix Laſt of Pow- "der.

"V. The Decay of Trade by the Loſs of three "hundred Ships taken by the *Dunkirkers* and Pirates "within theſe three laſt Years.

"VI. The not guarding the *Narrow Seas*, where- "by his Majeſty hath almoſt loſt the Regality.

"Of all which Evils and Dangers, the princi- "pal Cauſe is the Duke of *Buckingham*'s exceſſive "Power, and Abuſe of that Power. And therefore "they humbly ſubmit it to his Majeſty's Wiſdom, "Whether it can be ſafe for himſelf, or his King- "dom, that ſo great Power both by Sea and Land, "as reſts in him, ſhould be truſted in the Hands "of any one Subject whatſoever."

1628. The King having heard out the Remonſtrance with ſome Indignation, told the Commons, *That he little expected ſuch a Remonſtrance, after he had paſſed the Petition of Right: However, as for their Grievances, he would conſider of them as they ſhould deſerve.*

The King angry at it.

It is ſaid, that ſoon after the King order'd a formal Anſwer to be drawn up in Writing to the ſaid Remonſtrance, denying or excuſing the ſeveral Charges in it: And in the mean time he ſent a Meſſage by Sir *Humphry May*, that he meant to end the Seſſion on the 26th of *June*. And that he might ſeem ready to redreſs every juſt Grievance, he order'd the Lord-Keeper to report in the Upper-Houſe that *his Majeſty had cancell'd the Commiſſion of Exciſe, and the Warrant for putting the Seal thereto.* And a Meſſage was ſent to the Commons to ſhew them the ſaid cancell'd Commiſſion and Warrant.

Another Remonſtrance againſt Tonnage and Poundage.

The Commons fell to preparing a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage to the King. In debating thereupon it was Order'd, That *a Committee be appointed to draw a Remonſtrance to his Majeſty of the Peoples Rights, and of the undue taking of Tonnage and Poundage, and Impoſitions without Act of Parliament, and to ſhew Reaſons why the Houſe cannot in ſo ſhort a time prepare that Bill.*

Subſtance of it.

In the ſaid Remonſtrance they declare theſe two things. "1. That there ought not any Impoſition "to be laid upon the Goods of Merchants exported "or imported, without common conſent by Act of "Parliament, which is the Right and Inheritance "of your Subjects; founded not only upon the "moſt Ancient and Original Conſtitution of this "Kingdom, but often confirm'd and declar'd in divers Statute Laws. 2. That the receiving of "Tonnage and Poundage, and other Impoſitions not "granted by Parliament, is a breach of the Fundamental Liberties of this Kingdom, and contrary "to your Majeſty's Royal Anſwer to our late Petition of Right. And therefore they humbly beſeech his Majeſty to forbear any further receiving "of the ſame, and not to take it in ill part from "thoſe of his loving Subjects, who ſhould refuſe to "make payment of any ſuch Charges without Warrant of Law demanded."

King offended.

When the King heard of this ſecond *Remonſtrance*, he was reſolved to prevent the delivery of it. And therefore on *Thurſday*, June 26. While the Remonſtrance being engroſſed was a reading in the Houſe, the King ſent for the Speaker and the whole Houſe, and ſhew'd his Reſentments in the following Speech.

Speech of Reſentment.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,

"IT may ſeem ſtrange that I came ſo ſuddenly to "end this Seſſion, before I give my Aſſent to the "Bills. I will tell you the Cauſe, tho' I muſt avow, "that I owe the account of my Actions to God "alone.

"It is known to every one, that a while ago the "Houſe of Commons gave me a Remonſtrance, how "acceptable every Man may judge; and for the Merit of it, I will not call that in Queſtion; for I "am ſure no wiſe Man can juſtifie it.

"Now ſince I am truly inform'd, that a ſecond "Remonſtrance is preparing for me, to take away "the Profit of my Tonnage and Poundage, one of "the chiefeſt Maintenances of my Crown, by alledging, I have given away my Right thereto by "my Anſwer to your Petition: This is ſo prejudicial to me, that I am forc'd to end this Seſſion "ſome few Hours before I meant, being not willing to receive any more Remonſtrances; to which "I muſt give a harſh Anſwer.

"And ſince I ſee that even the Houſe of Commons begins already to make falſe Conſtructions "of what I granted in your Petition, leſt it be "worſe interpreted in the Country, I will now "make a Declaration concerning the true Intent "thereof.

"The Profeſſion of both Houſes in the time of 1628. "hammering this Petition was no ways to trench "upon my Prerogative; ſaying, they had neither "Intention or Power to hurt it. Therefore it muſt "needs be conceiv'd, that I have granted no new, "but only confirm'd the ancient Liberties of my "Subjects: Yet to ſhew the clearneſs of my Intentions, that I neither Repent nor mean to Recede "from any thing I have promiſed you, I do here "declare my ſelf, that thoſe things which have been "done (whereby many have had ſome Cauſe to expect the Liberties of the Subjects to be trench'd upon, which indeed was the firſt and true Ground "of the Petition) ſhall not hereafter be drawn into Example for your Prejudice: And from time "to time, in the Word of a King, ye ſhall not have "the like cauſe to complain.

"But as for Tonnage and Poundage, it is a thing "I cannot want, and was never intended by you to "Ask, nor meant by me I am ſure to Grant.

"To Conclude; I command you all that are here "to take notice of what I have ſpoken at this time "to be the true Intent and Meaning of what I granted you in your Petition: But eſpecially you my "Lords the Judges; for to you only, under me, belongs the Interpretation of Laws: For none of the "Houſes of Parliament, either joint or ſeparate "(what new Doctrine ſoever may be rais'd) have "any Power either to make or declare a Law without my Conſent."

A ſurprize to both Houſes.

The King had come to the Houſe ſo unexpectedly that the Lords were not in their Robes, and the Commons had given no Order for the Speaker to deliver the Bill of Subſidies, which had not been yet return'd (as uſually) from the Upper Houſe. However, the Bill was deliver'd to the Speaker, ſtanding at the Bar of the Lords; who in a ſhort Speech declar'd it to be the greateſt Gift that ever was given to any Prince in ſo ſhort a time. And then the Bill was paſſed with theſe that follow: 1. *An Act for the Reformation of Abuſes committed on the Lord's Day, called Sunday.* 2. *The Petition exhibited to his Majeſty concerning divers Rights and Privileges of the Subject.* 3. *An Act for repreſſing of all unlicenſed Ale-houſes.* 4. *An Act to reſtrain the ſending over any to be Popiſhly bred beyond the Seas.* 5. *An Act for five entire Subſidies granted by the Clergy.* 6. *An Act for the Continuance and Repeal of divers Statutes; with ſeveral Private Acts.* As to the Bill prepar'd for Explanation of the Statute 3 *Jac.* about Leaſes of Recuſants Lands; the King ſaid, "That in this ſhort Time he had not "ſufficient leiſure to conſider thereof; but though "the Title were fair, he found many Errors therein; and if at the next Meeting they would amend "thoſe Errors, it ſhould paſs."

Bills paſſed.

Parliament prorogued to Oct. 20.

After which, the Lord Keeper expreſs'd it to be his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that this Seſſion now end, and that the Parliament be prorogued till the twentieth of *October* next.

General Diſcontents.

Thus broke up that Parliament, wherein were ſome of the greateſt mutual Obligations between King and People, and yet unhappily no Satisfaction on either ſide. The King had yielded to the largeſt Petition of Rights and Liberties, and yet left the People Jealous. The People had granted a Supply beyond Example, and yet left the King uneaſy: In ſhort, the Generality went home in Diſcontent. Some at the being interrupted in a Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, which upon Foundation of the Subject's Right, ſhould have ſettled and advanc'd the King's Revenue. Some at the King's Omiſſion of Thanks for the Bill of Subſidy, and taking not the leaſt notice of it. Others at the Speech of Prorogation, ſomewhat ſevere and upbraiding: And many at the Prorogation it ſelf, when they deſir'd rather a Receſs by joint Adjournment, that depending Matters might be kept in the ſame Condition to another Meeting.

Having

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Having thus without interruption related the Affairs of Parliament, we muſt now return to other Matters of State that interven'd.

The *Rochellers*, block'd up by the King of *France*, had ſome dependance on the Word of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had promiſed to come again to their Relief, and had ſome expectance from the King and Council to whom they had made a very earneſt Application. To this purpoſe a Fleet of about 50 Ships was early fitted out, under the Command of the Earl of *Denbigh*; who for want of Mariners, or for the Service of a Deſcent, took in two thouſand two hundred able Land-Men; and ſetting ſail from *Plymouth* on *April* 17. came to anchor at *Charleboy* in the Road of *Rochel* on *May* 1. He found twenty Sail of the King of *France*'s Ships riding before the Harbour, and being much ſuperiour in Number and Strength, he ſent Advice into the Town, that he would ſink the *French* Ships as ſoon as the Wind came Weſt, and made a higher Flood. About *May* 8. the Wind and Tide ſerved accordingly, and the *Rochellers* expected and ſollicited for that ſeaſon of Deliverance. But the Earl without attempting the Opportunity, weighed Anchor and ſail'd away, ſuffering four of the *French* Ships to purſue as it were the *Engliſh* Fleet, that arrived at *Plymouth* on *May* 26. This other inglorious Expedition was a greater diſcouragement to the poor *Rochellers*; and increas'd the Fears and Jealouſies of a Popiſh Intereſt at home. Many concluded the whole Deſign was but a Feint, and meant rather by the Court Party to reduce *Rochel* than relieve it. Some clamour'd againſt the Earl of *Denbigh*, and ſaid nothing better could be expected from his Conduct, who was Brother-in-law to the Duke of *Buckingham*. Others charg'd it as a Plot in one *Clark* a Bed-Chamber Man, who had been a chief Commiſſioner in both the Expeditions, and being a reputed Papiſt, was ſuppoſed to be employ'd for an Inſtrument of Miſcarriage. (*a*)

A Fleet ſent to Rochel.

This Expedition inglorious.

Complaints of it.

One *La Brun* a *French* Man, Captain in the *Engliſh* Fleet, gave in Depoſitions before the Mayor of *Plymouth* on *May* 16. which argu'd Treachery or apparent Cowardice in the Management of this late Expedition. This Account was certified by the Mayor of *Plymouth* the Burgeſſes, of that, Town in Parliament; by whom it was communicated to the Council-Table, from whence a Letter was directed to the Duke of *Buckingham*, as Lord High Admiral, dated the 30th of *May* 1628, *To ſignify his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that the Earl of* Denbigh *ſhould return back to relieve the Town of* Rochel *with the Fleet under his Charge, with other Ships prepared at* Portſmouth *and* Plymouth. But for all this Order of Council, no ſuch Return was made, nor any enquiry into the obſtruction of it. (*b*)

Sir Charles Morgan ſurrenders Stoadt.

In the ſame Month of *May* the *Engliſh* Garriſon of *Stoadt*, about twenty Miles from *Hamborough* on the other ſide the *Elbe*, was ſurrender'd to the *Imperialiſts* upon honourable Terms, by the Commander Sir *Charles Morgan*, who had defended the Place with the utmoſt Bravery and Reſolution.

Dr. Lamb killed by the Mobb.

June 13. Dr. *Lamb*, a Creature of the Duke's, was ſet upon in the Streets of *London* by the Rabble, and ſo roughly beat, that he died of his Bruiſes next Morning in the *Compter*. Some of the Mobb in their Fury were heard to ſay, that *were his Maſter the Duke there, they would give him as much.*

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A Terror to the Duke.

This made the Duke more apprehenſive of the Popular Rage againſt him; and turned that into an *Omen* which had poſſibly been otherwiſe an *Accident*, *viz.* on the ſame Day that *Lamb* was ſo aſſaulted, the Duke's Picture fell down in the High Commiſſion Chamber at *Lambeth*; though if *Lamb* had bore no relation to the Duke, he was of himſelf enough provoking to the Multitude. For he had got the common Reputation of a Conjurer, and had been publickly arraigned for practiſing Sorcery and helliſh Arts upon the Body of the Lord *Windſor*. He was further infamous for Vice and Lewdneſs, having been indicted and try'd for a Rape at the King's-Bench Bar, where he inſiſted upon his Innocence in ſuch an impudent manner, that his very Language implied the Fact, though he was found not Guilty. This riotous Murther was the unhappy Cauſe of a wider Breach between the Court and City: For on *Monday* after, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were ſent for to appear at the Council Table and were there examined, and threatn'd that they ſhould loſe their Charter if they did not diſcover and deliver up the principal Agents in the late Uproar; and had in concluſion a Fine of 6000 *l.* impos'd upon them.

Sir Rich. Weſton made Ld. Treaſurer.

July 15. The Earl of *Marlborough* was remov'd from the Treaſury, as a Man too cautious in advancing the King's Revenue, and Sir *Richard Weſton* Chancellor of the Exchequer, was made Lord Treaſurer, as a Miniſter acute and active, and fit for the Neceſſities of raiſing Money; Chief Baron *Walter* was for the like Reaſon diſplac'd. Sir *Tho. Wentworth*, a Leader of the Country Party in the Houſe of Commons, was near the ſame time honour'd with a Barony, and brought over to the Court. Biſhop *Laud* was tranſlated to the See of *London*, Mr. *Mountague* and Dr. *Manwaring* were pardon'd and preferred; theſe and ſome other of the like Promotions gave more and more diſguſt to the People, and confirm'd them in the Prejudice that the Court was only a governing Party.

Other Changes.

A third Fleet preparing for Rochel. To be commanded by the Duke.

A third Fleet was in the mean time preparing for the Relief of *Rochel*, that by a cloſe Siege was now reduc'd to the laſt Extremities (*c*). The Duke of *Buckingham* choſe to command in Perſon, and to that end came to *Portſmouth*, where on *Auguſt* 23. having been at Breakfaſt with *Sobiez* and the general Officers, *John Felton* (late Lieutenant in a Regiment of Foot under Sir *John Ramſey*) plac'd himſelf in an Entry through which the Duke was to paſs, who walking along with Sir *Thomas Frier*, and inclining his Ear to him in the poſture of Attention, *Felton* with a back blow ſtabb'd him on the left Side into the very Heart, leaving the Knife in his Body; which the Duke pulled out with his own Hand, and then fell down, crying only, *The Villain hath killed me.* *Felton* ſlipt away, and might have gone off undiſcover'd, but that either his Conſcience or his Inſolence betrayed him. For while the general Rumour was, that the Murderer muſt be a *French* Man, and ſome began to ſuſpect *Sobiez* as a Party in it, *Felton* ſtept out and ſaid, *I am the Man who did the Deed; let no Man ſuffer that is Innocent.* Upon which he was apprehended, and ſent Priſoner to *London*. When examined before the Privy Council, he was ſo obſtinately ſilent, that he was threaten'd with the Rack; but the Queſtion being put to the Judges, they declar'd it to be no legal way. He made no other

Who is ſtabb'd by Felton.

An Impudent Villain.

(*a*) The *Rochellers* upon the Retreat of the Second *Engliſh* Fleet, ſent four ſeveral Meſſengers to *England* with Inſtructions all to the ſame Effect.——The King of *Great Britain* diſpatched *la Cande* with two other Soldiers to give the *Rochellers* notice of the great Supplies he was preparing for them. *Mem. of D. of Rohan.* 8*vo.* p. 187.

(*b*) The Thoughts of good People upon this Caſe of *Rochel* are beſt diſcovered in a Letter of Dr. *John King* to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, dat. *Layfield*, *June* 30. 1628.—— *Rochel* it is much doubted cannot long hold out, and then there is little Hope of any Mercy from the King of *France*, which would be a woful Caſe to have ſo many poor Souls put to the Sword. It is thought his Majeſty would relieve them, if theſe Subſidies could come in Time. And it is to be wiſhed now, that his Majeſty had never meddled with them: For in the Beginning they were well provided to have made their own Peace. Letters of Archbiſhop *Uſher*. p. 397.

(*c*) The Memoirs of the Duke of *Rohan* relate, p. 187. that the King of *England* was very much unſatisfied with the ſlow Progreſs of the Fleet, and for that Reaſon, went himſelf in Perſon on the laſt of *July* to haſten it; in which Journey the Duke of *Sobiez* waited on him. The Duke of *Buckingham* ſtaying behind, ſets his Wits on work to find out ſome Means to obſtruct the ſending away of the Supplies, &c.

Con-

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Confeſſion than what he had (before the Commiſſion of the Fact) wrote in a Paper ſtitch'd in the Lining of his Hat; wherein he declared the only Motive "to be the late Remonſtrance of the Commons a- "gainſt the Duke; and that he could not ſacrifice "his Life in a nobler Cauſe, than by delivering his "Country from ſo great an Enemy." Yet others believ'd it was rather from a private and perſonal Revenge; becauſe he had been twice repuls'd upon his Application for a Captain's Commiſſion, and had long waited for his Arrears of Pay.

His Motive.

King bears it with great preſence of Mind.

The King within four Miles of *Portſmouth* was on his Knees in Devotion when the News was brought him, and did not riſe up, nor betray the leaſt interruption, till his Prayers were over: And then with great Evenneſs of Mind, he only cammanded that the Murderer ſhould be ſecur'd; and immediately gave Order that the Fleet ſhould haſten out. But to ſhew his Affection to the Duke's Memory, he gave command for a magnificent Funeral, till the thrifty Treaſurer diverted the Project by telling his Majeſty, *Such Pomp would but prove but an Hour's ſhow; and it would be more for his Glory to erect him a ſtately Monument that might be done for half the Coſt.* Upon which his Body was privately interr'd on *September* 25. And when the King afterwards talk'd of a coſtly Monument, the Treaſurer is ſaid to have uſed this other Evaſion: *Sir I am loth to tell your Majeſty what the World will ſay both here and abroad, if you ſhould raiſe a Monument for the Duke before you erect one for your Father.*

Character of the Duke.

Thus fell the Duke in the Age of Perfection, thirty ſix; a Gentleman born and built for a Courtier: of an Air and Port great and ſweet, with all the Nature and all the Art of Addreſs: Of Parts ſufficient to cover the want of Learning; and of a Seriouſneſs that ſerved much to diſguiſe his Neglect of Religion.

The Fleet ſail'd.

The Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſey*, ſail'd from *Portſmouth* Sept. 8. but very defective in their Stores of Victuals and Tackle, as Information was after given to the King and Council. When they came before *Rochel*, they found no *French* Navy to oppoſe them, only the immenſe Barricado croſs the Entry of the Port was now compleatly finiſh'd: Many brave Attempts were made to break through, but all in vain. So that the *Rochellers* in diſtreſs and deſpair implored the King's Mercy, and ſurrender'd *October* 18. And the *Engliſh* Fleet looking on, were now at liberty to return. (*a*)

Rochel ſurrendred.

After the Loſs of this Town, the *French* Proteſtants in all other Parts were ſo ſeverely treated, that they could not but reſolve upon ſome laſt Efforts of Self-preſervation; and ſent again to the King of *England* to implore Aſſiſtance, with this pathetical Expreſſion, that *what they now wrote was with their Tears and with their Blood.* But there was a Peace depending, and ſoon after concluded between the two Crowns; and the *French* Proteſtants were glad to ſubmit to any Terms that gave them their Freedom in Religion.

Laſt effort of the *French* Proteſtants.

Parliament further prorogued.

The Parliament by laſt Prorogation appointed to meet on *October* 20. was by Proclamation iſſued *October* 1. further prorogued to the 20th of *January* following.

Diſputes upon Tonnage and Poundage.

The Merchants and Traders were in great Diſturbances about the payment of Tonnage and Poundage: Upon the late Declaration of the Commons, and a concurrent Opinion of the Lawyers, many had declined, and even refuſed to pay the Impoſitions. For this Contempt they were ſummon'd before the Council Table, and committed to the *Fleet* and *Marſhalſea*, and not ſet at Liberty without entring into Bond for Payment. Mr. *Chambers*, committed on this account, brought his *Habeas Corpus* October 23. and was bail'd by Order of the Court. The Lords of the Council were much diſatisfied at it, and ſent for the Judges to the Lord-Keeper's Houſe, where they juſtified their Proceeding, and prov'd the Bailing of the Priſoner to be according to Law and Juſtice. Mr. *Vaſſal*, for a like refuſal, had an Information preferr'd againſt him in the *Exchequer* in *Michaelmas* Term; to which he pleaded *Magna Charta* and the Statute *De Tallagio non concedendo*, and that the Impoſition was illegal, becauſe without Aſſent of Parliament. The Attorney General demurr'd, and Mr. *Vaſſal* join'd in the Demur; the Barons in Exchequer denied to hear *Vaſſal*'s Council, and ſaid it was a Caſe already adjudged, and a Right of which the King was in Poſſeſſion; and impriſoned *Vaſſal* as ſtanding in contempt of the Court. About the ſame time Mr. *Chambers* had other Goods and Merchandiſe ſeiz'd for not paying Cuſtom; and upon the detaining of them, he ſued out a Writ of *Replevin*: But the Barons of the Exchequer order'd an Injunction to the Sheriffs, not to execute the Writ; and ſent a Precept to the Officers of the Cuſtom, to detain double Value of the Sums by them demanded for Duties to his Majeſty, and to reſtore the Reſidue. The like Proceedings were taken againſt Mr. *John Rolls*, a Parliament Man, and ſome other Merchants, to the unhappy Diſcouragement of Trade, and the general Grievance of the City of *London*.

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The King did ſome Popular Things.

And yet, to ſoften the Minds of the Subjects before the Meeting of Parliament, ſome Popular Things were wiſely done. As to the Horſe levied in *Germany*, which People ſuſpected was for a ſtanding Force in *England*, the Privy Council wrote to *Dalbeer* to diſpoſe them into the Service of the King of *Sweden* and the Duke of *Savoy*, his Majeſty's Allies: Archbiſhop *Abbot*, the more Popular for being in Diſgrace at Court, was ſent for to *White-hall*, and from his Barge received by the Archbiſhop of *York* and Earl of *Dorſet*, and by them ſolemnly introduced to the King, who gave him his Hand with a particular Countenance of Favour, and bid him not fail the Council Table twice a Week. *Mountague*'s *Apello Cæſarem* was call'd in by Proclamation; and other pleaſing Orders given againſt *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, the two Terrors of the common People. (*b*)

Parliament meets.

Fall upon Grievances.

Tueſday Jan. 20. the Parliament met; and the firſt Debate of the Commons was on the *Petition of Right* which had been Printed with ſome Additions and Comments, and the Copies firſt Printed without ſuch Additions had been by Order of the King ſuppreſt. They ſent for *Norton* the King's Printer, who own'd the Thing done by ſpecial Warrant.

The King ſends a Meſſage.

The Commons fell next upon Violation of the Subjects Liberty and Property ſince the End of laſt Seſſion, by the Levies of Tonnage and Poundage. This Matter was referr'd to a Committee; but while the Debate was warm upon it, the King ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe, and *willed them to deſiſt from*

(*a*) The Memoirs of the Duke of *Rohan* relate it thus: p. 188. At length on the 24th of *Aug.* new Stile, comes the Duke of *Buckingham* to *Portſmouth.* And on the 29th arrived there fifty Ships, ſome Men of War; and others laden with Ammunition and Proviſion. But on the 2d of *September*, the Duke of *Sobiez* going to viſit the Duke of *Buckingham*, as he had newly dined, he told him, that juſt then he had received Intelligence of the Re-victualing of *Rochel*, and that he was now going with the News to the King; and as he was lifting up the Hangings to go forth of the Room, he was ſtabbed with a Knife into the great Artery of his Heart by an Officer, whoſe Name was *Felton*, of which he died, and fell immediately.——The next Day the King makes the Earl of *Lyndſey* Admiral, *Morton* Vice-Admiral, and *Montjoy* Rear-Admiral,——and by the Care and Preſence of the King, more was now diſpatched in 10 or 12 Days, than in many Weeks before: So that all Things being now ready, they ſet Sail on the 18th of *September*.

(*b*) See the Proclamation declaring his Majeſty's Royal Pleaſure and Command, for putting the Laws and Statutes made againſt Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants in due Execution. Given at *Southwick*, 3. *Aug*. *Reg*. 3. 1628.

Letters of the Privy Council to the Biſhop of *Ely*, to procure the Caſtle of *Wisbich* for a Priſon to *Romiſh* Prieſts, and Jeſuits. *Ruſhworth* 1. p. 646. Order of Privy Council to the Lord Mayor of *London*, &c. *ib.*

1628. *farther Debate of thoſe Matters concerning Tonnage and Poundage till the next Day in the Afternoon, at which time he would ſpeak with them in the Banquetting Houſe at* White-hall.

Here the King ſpake thus:

King's Speech.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"THE Care I have to remove all Obſtacles that may hinder the good Correſpondency between Me and this Parliament, is the Cauſe I have called you together at this time; the particular Occaſion being a Complaint made in the Lower Houſe. And for you, my Lords, I am glad to take this and all other Occaſions, whereby you may clearly underſtand both my Words and Actions: For as you are neareſt in Degree, ſo you are the fitteſt Witneſſes unto Kings.

"The Complaint I ſpeak of is for ſtaying Mens Goods that denied Tonnage and Poundage. This may have an eaſie and ſhort Concluſion, if my Words and Actions be rightly underſtood. For by paſſing the Bill as my Anceſtors have had it, my by-paſt Actions will be included, and my future Proceedings authoriz'd; which certainly would not have been ſtuck at, if Men had not imagin'd that I had taken theſe Duties as appertaining to my Hereditary Prerogative; in which they are much deceived. For it ever was, and ſtill is my Meaning, by the Gift of my People to enjoy it: and my Intention in my Speech at the ending of the laſt Seſſion concerning this Point, was not to challenge Tonnage and Poundage as of Right, but *de Bene eſſe*, ſhewing you the *Neceſſity* not the *Right* by which I was to take it, until you had granted it to me; aſſuring my ſelf according to your general Profeſſions, you wanted *Time* not *Will* to give it to me.

"Wherefore now, having opportunity, I expect that without loſs of Time you make good your Profeſſions, and ſo by paſſing of a Bill put an end to all the Queſtions ariſing from this Subject; eſpecially ſince I have clear'd the only Scruple that can trouble you in this Buſineſs.

"To conclude, Let us not be jealous of one anothers Actions: For if I had been eaſily moved at every Occaſion, the Order you made on *Wedneſday* laſt might have made me ſtartle; there being ſome ſhow to ſuſpect, that you had given your ſelves the liberty to be the Inquiſitors after Complaints (the Words of your Order being ſomewhat too largely penn'd) but looking into your Actions, I find you only here Complainers, not ſeeking Complaints: For I am certain you neither pretend nor deſire the Liberty to be Inquiſitors of Men's Actions, before particular Complaint be made.

"This I have ſpoken, to ſhew you how ſlow I am to believe harſhly of your Proceedings; likewiſe to aſſure you, the Houſe s Reſolutions, not particular Men's Speeches, ſhall make me judge well or ill: Not doubting but according to my Example you will be deaf to ill Reports concerning me, till my Words and Actions ſpeak for themſelves; that ſo this Seſſion, beginning with Confidence one towards another, it may end in a perfect good Underſtanding between us; which God grant."

The Speech wiſe and tender.

It is certain, this Speech was as Prudent and Tender as faithful Subjects could poſſibly deſire from their lawful King. But it is in Jealouſies between Prince and People, as in thoſe between a married Pair; where if one ſide has given grounds of Suſpicion to the other, it is hard for the ſtricteſt Caution and Conduct, to remove the unhappy Doubts and Fears. 1628.

Meſſage from the King.

Monday January. 26. Mr. Secretary *Cook* brought a Meſſage from the King, *That the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage might be ſpeedily taken into Conſideration, and that no time might be loſt.* But now a Popular Fancy roſe, that the Bill muſt not be impos'd upon them, but muſt proceed naturally from the Motions of their own Houſe; that for that Reaſon it was moſt proper to ſuſpend the Bill for ſome time, while they proceeded upon other Grievances; and in the firſt place thoſe relating to Religion.

Grievance in Religion.

Tueſday, January 27. A Report was made to the Houſe, from the Committee for Religion, that a Remonſtrance upon that Subject, drawn up in laſt Seſſion, had been commanded away by the King; and for want of it the Committee could not now proceed. Hereupon Mr. Secretary *Cook* brought a Meſſage from his Majeſty: *That underſtanding the Remonſtrance concerning Religion was called for, he was pleaſed (to take away all Queſtion) to deliver it back to them; hoping, nevertheleſs, that they will proceed with the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage, and give Precedency to that Buſineſs.* But this Meſſage being referr'd to a Committee, they reſolv'd, "That the Conſideration of Religion ſhould take place before the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage." (a)

Another Meſſage from the King.

Wedneſday January 28. Secretary *Cook* brought another Meſſage from the King, *That if the Houſe would firſt diſpatch the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, they ſhould not be thereby interrupted in Matters of Religion, provided they did not intrench upon that which did not belong to them.* Sir *Thomas Edmonds* preſs'd a Compliance with this Meſſage, and urg'd them to *conſider how dangerous it was to alienate his Majeſty's Heart from Parliaments.* But after a Reply by Mr. *Corriton*, the Houſe Reſolved to ſend an Anſwer to the King, *That theſe Meſſages are inconvenient, and breed Debates and loſs of Time*; and did farther Reſolve, *That Tonnage and Poundage, ariſing naturally from this Houſe, they would in fit time take ſuch a Courſe therein, as they hoped would be to his Majeſty's ſatisfaction and Honour: And for the preſent, they would proceed in Matters of Religion.*

The Commons Anſwer.

Sir John Elliot's Speech.

Upon this Sir *John Elliot* ſpoke freely againſt the King's late Declaration prefix'd to the 39 Articles, and againſt that part eſpecially, where it is ſaid, that *if there be any difference in Opinion, concerning the ſeaſonable Interpretation of the ſaid Articles, the Biſhops and Clergy in Convocation have Power to ſettle thoſe Diſputes.* By which Power, he ſaid, *Popery* and *Arminianiſm* might be introduced. After ſome Debate upon ſuch a Power of determining the ſenſe of the 39 Articles, the Commons entred into a Proteſtation; which ſhall be given in the following Accounts of Religion.

Commons deſire a Faſt.

Friday January 30. Both Houſes preſented an Addreſs to the King, to appoint a Day of Faſting and Prayer, in conſideration of the *Miſeries of the Reformed Churches abroad*, &c. The King anſwer'd in ſome diſguſt, that *Fighting would do them more good than Faſting; that the Cuſtom of Faſting every Seſſion was but lately begun, and he was not fully ſatisfied with the neceſſity of it at this time: However, he would now grant their Requeſt, with this Note, that it ſhould not be brought into precedent for frequent Faſts, except on great Occaſions.*

The King not pleaſed with the Motion grants it.

Declaration of the Commons.

Soon after the Houſe of Commons preſented a Declaration to the King, in anſwer to his Meſſages,

(a) See the Speech of Mr. *Shirland* in the Houſe of Commons againſt the Deſigns and Increaſe of the *Arminians*, and their involving all good true hearted *Engliſh* Men and Chriſtians under the Name of *Puritans*.

Speech of Mr *Rouſe* againſt *Arminianiſm*.

Mr. *Kirton*'s Speech againſt the new Opinions brought in by ſome Church-men.

Mr. *Pym*'s Speech 27. *Jan.* againſt the two Diſeaſes, the old *Popery* and new *Arminianiſm*.

Speeches of Sir *Francis Seymour* and Sir *Robert Philips* to the ſame Argument.

Speeches of Mr. *Coryton* and Sir *John Elliot on the Security* of Religion. *Crew*'s Proceedings in the Houſe of Com. 1628. 8*vo*.

for

1628. for expediting the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage; to Repreſent that *they could not proceed therein without giving a Precedency to Religion, which they apprehended to be in great danger from Popery and* Arminianiſm. The King anſwer'd, that *the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was firſt regularly offered, and he muſt be ſtill inſtant with them, that they proceed in it with diligence: and as for the Cauſe of delaying Religion, there is none of them ſhould have a greater Care of it than himſelf.*

Againſt the King's Declaration.

Wedneſday February 4. The Houſe of Commons debated of the King's Declaration to prohibit Diſputes about Religion; concluding, that the main End thereof was to ſuppreſs the Puritan Party, and give liberty to the contrary Side; and they conceiv'd that Biſhop *Laud* and Biſhop *Mountague* had adviſed the King to that Declaration.

A Member ſerv'd with a *Subpœna.*

Tueſday February 10. Amidſt the Debates upon Religion, the Ware-Houſe of Mr. *Rolls*, Merchant and Sitting Member, was lock'd up by a Purſuivant, and he himſelf called forth and ſerv'd with a *Subpœna.* This much inflam'd the Houſe, though Sir *Humphry May*, a Privy-Counſellor, declar'd, that it did not proceed from King or Council; and the Attorney-General wrote to Mr. *Rolls* to excuſe the thing as a Miſtake.

Meſſage of the Commons to the Barons of the Exchequer.

Thurſday February 12. The Houſe was in a Committee upon Tonnage and Poundage, and admitted the Complaints of ſeveral Merchants, that their Goods were ſeiz'd, and Informations in the *Star-Chamber* preferr'd againſt them. Upon which, the Houſe Order'd, that a Meſſage ſhould be ſent to the Barons of the Exchequer, to make void their Injunctions and Orders about the ſtopping of Merchants Goods.

The Barons Anſwer.

Soon after, the Lord Treaſurer and Barons return'd an Anſwer, "That in their ſaid Orders and "Injunctions they did not determine, nor any way "touch upon the *Right of Tonnage and Poundage.*" This Anſwer was ill reſented by the Houſe, as a Juſtification of the Proceedings in the Exchequer; into which they reſolve farther to enquire.

The Pardons granted to Mr. *Mountague*, Dr. *Manwaring*, Dr. *Sibthorp*, and Mr. *Coſens*, gave a new Offence to the Houſe, who referr'd the Matter to a Committee, and they Reported ſome indirect Dealings, as well as dangerous Deſigns in it.

The Bookſellers and Printers in *London*, by Petition to the Houſe, complain'd of the Reſtraint of Books written againſt Popery and *Arminianiſm*, and the contrary allowed by the only means of the Biſhop of *London.*

Sir *Will. Acton* Sheriff of *London*, committed to the *Tower.*

An Information in *Star-Chamber* preferred againſt Mr. Chambers for refuſing to pay Tonnage while his Petition of Relief was lodg'd in Parliament, rais'd another Ferment in the Houſe; who on that occaſion committed to the *Tower* Sir *William Acton*, Sheriff of *London.*

Friday Feb. 13. The Houſe debated of the Increaſe of Popery, and made Enquiry concerning the ten Prieſts arraign'd at the *King's-Bench*; of which one only was condemn'd, and he repriev'd, and the other nine releas'd, Mr. Secretary *Cook* and the Attorney General being examin'd upon this Matter, reſolv'd the Proceeding into Warrants granted by the King's Mercy.

King's Meſſage ungrateful.

Thurſday Feb. 19. Several Officers of the Cuſtoms were examin'd, and charg'd with Breach of Privilege in ſeizing the Goods of Mr. *Rolls*, a Parliament-Man. But while the Houſe was debating of Reparation and Puniſhment, the King ſent a Meſſage on *Feb.* 23. that *what the Cuſtomers did was by his own direct Order and Command at the Council-Board.* Upon which a Committee reſolv'd, that *Mr.* Rolls *ought to have had Privilege of Perſon and Goods: but the Command of the King is ſo great, that they leave it to the Houſe.* Upon this followed many warm Speeches, and long Debates, and at laſt the Queſtion ordered to be put, *Whether the ſeizing of Mr.* Rolls's *Goods was not a Breach of Privilege?* The Speaker refuſed to put the Queſtion, and ſaid, *He was otherwiſe commanded by the King.* Upon which the Houſe, in ſome heat, Adjourn'd to *Wedneſday* next: At which time, both Houſes were Adjourn'd by his Majeſty's Command to *Monday* March 2. 1628.

Speaker held in the Chair.

On that Day the Commons being met, urged the Speaker to put the former Queſtion, who ſaid, *I have a Command from the King to Adjourn till* Mar. 10. *and put no Queſtion:* And ſo offering to leave the Chair, he was held down in it by ſome Members till the enſuing Proteſtations were publiſh'd.

Proteſtations of the Houſe.

"I. Whoſoever ſhall bring in Innovation of Religion, or by Favour or Countenance ſeek to extend or introduce Popery or *Arminianiſm*, or other "Opinion diſagreeing from the Truth, and Orthodox Church, ſhall be reputed a capital Enemy to "this Kingdom and Commonwealth.

"II. Whoſoever ſhall counſel or adviſe the taking "and levying of the Subſidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or ſhall "be an Actor or Inſtrument therein, ſhall be likewiſe reputed an Innovator in the Government, and "a capital Enemy to the Kingdom and Commonwealth.

"III. If any Merchant or Perſon whatſoever ſhall "voluntarily yield or pay the ſaid Subſidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, he ſhall likewiſe be reputed a Betrayer of "the Liberties of *England*, and an Enemy to the "ſame."

The King much incens'd.

The King being inform'd of this Diſorder, ſent for the Serjeant of the Houſe; but the Door was lock'd upon him, and he could not attend his Majeſty. Then the King ſent the Gentleman Uſher from the Lord's Houſe; but he was refuſed Admittance till the ſaid Votes were read: and then, in great confuſion, the Houſe was Adjourn'd to the 20th of *March.*

Commits ſeveral of the Members.

March 3. Several leading Members were by Warrant ſummon'd to appear before the Council on the next Day: when Mr. *Holles*, Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Coriton*, and Mr. *Valentine*, appearing, and refuſing to anſwer out of Parliament for what was ſaid and done in Parliament, were committed cloſe Priſoners to the *Tower*; and a Proclamation for apprehending Mr. *Long* and Mr. *Stroud.*

Tueſday March 10. His Majeſty in the Throne with Crown and Robes, the Lords in their Robes, the Commons not ſent for, tho' ſeveral appearing below the Bar; the King ſpoke thus:

Diſſolving Speech.

"*My Lords,*

"I Never came here upon ſo unpleaſant an Occaſion, it being the Diſſolution of a Parliament. "Therefore Men may have ſome cauſe to wonder "why I ſhould not rather chuſe to do this by Commiſſion, it being a general Maxim of Kings, to "leave harſh Commands to their Miniſters, Themſelves only executing pleaſing things. Yet conſidering that Juſtice as well conſiſts in Reward and "Praiſe of Virtue, as Puniſhing of Vice; I thought "it neceſſary to come here to day, and to declare "to you and all the World, that it was meerly the "undutiful and ſeditious Carriage in the Lower "Houſe, that hath made the Diſſolution of this "Parliament. And you, my Lords, are ſo far from "being any Cauſers of it, that I take as much "comfort in your dutiful Demeanour, as I am juſtly diſtaſted with their Proceedings. Yet to avoid "their Miſtakings, let me tell you, that it is ſo far "from me to adjudge all the Houſe alike guilty, "that I know there are many there as dutiful Subjects as any in the World; it being but ſome few "Vipers among them that did caſt this Miſt of Undutifulneſs over moſt of their Eyes: Yet to ſay "Truth, there was a good Number there that could "not be infected with this Contagion; inſomuch "that ſome did expreſs their Duties in ſpeaking, "which was the general Fault of the Houſe the laſt "Day.

1628.

"To conclude, As thoſe Vipers muſt look for "their Reward of Puniſhment, ſo You, my Lords, "may juſtly expect from me that Favour and Pro-"tection that a good King oweth to his loving and "faithful Nobility.

"And now, my Lord Keeper, do what I have "commanded you."

Then the Lord Keeper pronounc'd the Parliament Diſſolv'd: and there had been a Proclamation for the Diſſolution of it, dated *March* 2. (*a*)

Diſcontents and Libels.

The Diſcontents of the People were rais'd and artificially improv'd upon this Occaſion; and many Libels were thrown about the City, and eſpecially one againſt Biſhop *Laud*, to this effect. "*Laud* "look to thy ſelf; be aſſured thy Life is ſought. "As thou art the Fountain of Wickedneſs, Repent "of thy monſtrous Sins before thou be taken out of "the World: and aſſure thy ſelf, neither God nor "the World can endure ſuch a vile Counſellor or "Whiſperer to live."

King's Declaration of the Cauſes of Diſſolving this Parliament.

Upon the many Murmurs and Tendencies to Sedition, the King thought it proper to quiet the Minds of his loving Subjects by a *Declaration of the Cauſes which moved him to diſſolve the laſt Parliament*; beginning thus: "Howſoever Princes are not bound to "give Account of their Actions but to God alone, "yet for the Satiſfaction of the Minds and Affe-"ctions of our loving Subjects, we have thought "good to ſet down thus much by way of Declara-"tion, that we may appear to the World in the "Truth and Sincerity of our Actions, and not in "thoſe Colours in which we know ſome turbulent "and ill-affected Spirits (to maſk and diſguiſe "their wicked Intentions, dangerous to the State) "would repreſent us to the publick View."

And ſo giving an Account of their whole Proceedings, with full Reflections on them, it ended thus:

"And now having laid down the Truth and "Clearneſs of our Proceedings, all wiſe and diſcreet "Men may eaſily judge of thoſe Rumours and jea-"lous Fears that are maliciouſly and wickedly "bruited abroad; and may diſcern, by Examina-"tion of their own Hearts, whether, in reſpect of "the free Paſſage of the Goſpel, indifferent and "equal Adminiſtration of Juſtice, Freedom from "Oppreſſion, and the great Peace and Quietneſs "which every Man enjoyeth under his own Vine "and Fig-tree, the Happineſs of this Nation can "be parallel'd by any of our Neighbour Countries; "and if not, then to acknowledge their own Bleſ-"ſedneſs, and for the ſame be thankful to God the "Author of all Goodneſs."

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The King now reſolv'd to proceed in the *Star-Chamber* againſt the Members committed to the *Tower*. For this purpoſe, the Judges, by Command, met at *Serjeants-Inn*, where the Attorney-General propoſed ſome Queſtions, to which their Lordſhips gave in theſe Opinions.

Anſwer of the Judges to the Queſtions of Privilege of Parliament.

"I. All Parliament Men, by Privilege of Houſe, "ought to have freedom of Speech, concerning Mat-"ters debated in Parliament, by a Parliamentary "Courſe.

"II. That a Subject receiving probable Informa-"tion of any Treaſon, ought to make it known to "the King, or his Commiſſioners, when thereunto "required: Or elſe it is an Offence puniſhable in the "*Star-Chamber*, unleſs the Diſcovery concern the "Party himſelf.

"III. That a Parliament Man committing an "Offence againſt the King or Council, not in a Par-"liamentary way, may be puniſh'd for it after the "Parliament is ended; though regularly, he cannot "be compell'd out of Parliament to anſwer things "done in Parliament in a Parliamentary Courſe.

1629.

"IV. That if Parliament Men raiſe falſe Ru-"mours and Slanders againſt the Lords of the Coun-"cil and Judges, it is puniſhable out of Parliament, "as an Offence exorbitant committed in Parliament, "beyond the Office and beſides the Duty of a Par-"liament Man."

Upon the ſtrength of theſe Opinions, the King confirm'd his Reſolution of bringing the impriſon'd Members to Submiſſion or Penalties, for their late Behaviour in the Houſe. (*b*)

Proceedings againſt the late Members of Parliament.

This *Eaſter* Term Mr. *Strond* and Mr. *Long*, two of the confin'd Members brought a *Habeas Corpus*, directed to the Marſhal of the Houſhold to be return'd to the *King's-Bench*. A ſpecial Return was made, that they were committed by Warrant of Council, and detained by another Warrant under his Majeſty's Hand. The Sufficiency of this Return was argu'd largely, and Judgment given againſt the Priſoners.

May 7. An Information had been exhibited in the *Star-Chamber*, againſt the ſeveral Members then in Cuſtody, Sir *John Elliot*, *Denzil Holles*, *Benjamin Valentine*, *Walter Long*, *William Corriton*, *William Strode*, *John Selden*, Sir *Miles Hobert*, and Sir *Peter Hayman*, for their undutiful Speeches and Actions in the late Parliament. In *Trinity* Term they ſeverally brought a *Habeas Corpus*, and after Pleading a Return was made, that their Cauſe of Commitment was Special, and they ought not to be Bail'd. Nor were the Priſoners brought to the Bar, as by Rule and Cuſtom of the Court; but thoſe of them who had been committed to other Priſons, were now by expreſs command remov'd to the *Tower*. In *Michaelmas* Term the Judges came to a Reſolution, that *the Priſoners ſhould be Bail'd, giving Sureties for their good Behaviour*. And this Motion of Diſcharge proceeded from the King himſelf, who had conferr'd with the Judges, and had declared his Conſent the Priſoners ſhould be Bail'd, notwithſtanding their Obſtinacy, that they would not ſo much as preſent a Petition to him to expreſs, *That they were ſorry he was offended with them*. But the Priſoners began now to value themſelves upon their Suffering, and had ſo much Countenance from ſeveral of their late fellow Members, that they would not now accept of a Deliverance, but unanimouſly refuſed to find Sureties for their Behaviour; nay, Mr. *Holles* was ſo induſtrious to be continu'd in Cuſtody, that when one offer'd his own Bail, he would not yield to the Courſe of the Court, to be himſelf Bound with him. And even Mr. *Long*, who had actually found Sureties in the Chief Juſtices Chamber, declar'd in Court that his Sureties ſhould no longer continue. Such a Merit did they now place in Confinement as to labour againſt their own Liberty; and by ſuch glorying in Perſecution to raiſe a Popularity to themſelves, and caſt an Odium on the King.

Who glory in their Sufferings.

Upon this intractable Humour the King purſued another Method, and letting fall the Proceſs in the *Star-Chamber*, he reſolv'd to proceed againſt them by Common Law in the *King's-Bench*; where in this *Michaelmas* Term an Information was exhibited by the Attorney General, to which the Defendants put in a Plea to the Juriſdiction of the Court, and the Court did not over-rule the Plea, but gave a Day to join in Demurr that Term; when after learned Arguments on both ſides, the Judges agreed, *That the*

An Information againſt them in the *King's-Bench*.

(*a*) There is a true Relation of every Day's Proceedings in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, beginning the xxth of *January* 1628, until the Diſſolution thereof, with the ſeveral Speeches in the Houſe of Commons, and in Committees; in MSS. *Harley* 62. *A.* 11. and another Abſtract of Proceedings in this laſt Seſſion among the MSS. Collections left to *Lambeth* Library, by Archbiſhop *Tenniſon*, *Fol.* that ſupply the Account given by Sir *Tho. Crew*. 8*vo*.

(*b*) See his Majeſty's Declaration in Council, after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, concerning Religion, and his Reſolution to preſerve Unity of Doctrine and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*. *Ruſhworth* ii. p. 8.

See the Names of the Members cited by Warrants to anſwer their late Miſdemeanours in the Houſe of Commons; with the Account of their Examination and Anſwers; in *Crew's* Collection of Proceedings. 8*vo*. p. 161.

Court,

1629. *Court, as this Caſe is, ſhall have Juriſdiction, although theſe Offences were committed in Parliament, and that the imprisoned Members ought to Anſwer.* But the Defendants refuſed to put in any other Plea; upon which, on the laſt Day of the Term, Judgment was given againſt them upon a *Nihil dicit*, in this manner:

Judgment of the Court.

" I. That every of the Defendants ſhall be impriſon'd during the King's Pleaſure; Sir *John Elliot* to be impriſon'd in the *Tower* of *London*, and " the other Defendants in other Priſons.

" II. That none of them ſhall be deliver'd out of " Priſon, until he give Security in this Court for his " good Behaviour, and have made Submiſſion and " Acknowledgment of his Offence.

" III. Sir *John Elliot*, as the greateſt Offender " and Ringleader, ſhall pay a Fine to the King of " 2000 *l*. Mr. *Holles* 1000 Marks, and Mr. *Valentine* " 500 *l*."

They refuſed to ſubmit to any thing but the neceſſity of a long Impriſonment, where ſome of them died in Cuſtody, and others treaſur'd up a Reputation of Confeſſors for the Privilege of Parliament, and in 1640. had an ample Reward of Thanks and Money.

Peace between *England* and *France*.

Rochel being Surrender'd by the Proteſtants, and the *French* King being immediately after engag'd to proſecute a War in *Italy* againſt the *Spaniards*: This was a proper Juncture to mediate a Peace between *England* and *France*, of which the Articles were agreed upon at *Suſa* in *Italy*, within the Month of *April*, and publiſhed in both Kingdoms on the 10th of *May*. A Peace very acceptable to the King and Court upon the juſt Principles of Policy; and more ſo to the Queen, upon the accounts of Nature and Religion. But tho' Wiſe and Honourable enough in the Terms and Articles, it was ſuſpected and traduc'd by many Popular Heads, as if it did not provide for the Proteſtants abroad, and would much encourage the Papiſts here at home. (*a*)

Affairs of *Ireland*.

Ireland had been long without a Parliament, and many Grievances began to diſcontent the People; the Lord Deputy, Viſcount *Falkland*, conſented to the Deſires of the Nobility and Gentry, that Commiſſioners ſhould be choſe out of each Province, to go over into *England*, and preſent their Grievances to the King himſelf, and pray a Redreſs of them. Theſe Commiſſioners came to the Court in *September*, and gave in Writing their humble Petition; offering to remit to his Highneſs one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, borrowed of the Country for pay of the Army, and to grant three Subſidies to be paid in the next three Years, humbly requeſting Eaſe and Relief to ſome Burthens and Grievances. To every one of theſe Complaints of Grievance (being fifty five in number) the King return'd a particular Anſwer, either giving preſent Satisfaction, or promiſing a Method of ſudden Remedy: And to the laſt Requeſt for a new Parliament in that Kingdom, the King declar'd his Pleaſure for a ſpeedy Summons; upon which the Deputy and Privy-Council iſſued Writs for a Parliament to meet in *November*: A courſe too haſty and irregular. For by *Poyning*'s Act 20 *Hen*. 7. a Certificate muſt be firſt ſent over into *England*, from the Deputy and Council, under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, and then his Majeſty's Licenſe muſt be ſent back under the Great Seal of *England*: This Defect and Omiſſion was cenſur'd by an Order of the Council-Board, and by them referred to the Judges; who gave their Opinion, that *the Summons was illegal and void*. 1629.

Delivery of the Queen.

May 13. The Queen before her Time was deliver'd of a Son, and the Romiſh Prieſts were ſuch Frogs in the Bed-Chamber, that they would have immediately baptiz'd the Child in their way, if the King had not ſtep'd in and expreſsly aſſign'd that Office to his Chaplain Dr. *Webb*, who baptiz'd him by the Name of *Charles*: He died about an Hour after, and was interr'd at *Weſtminſter* by the Biſhop of *London*. (*b*)

Inſolence of the Popiſh Prieſts.

A Peace in agitation with *Spain*.

The King of *Spain* by his Loſſes in *Italy*, was brought low enough to ſue for a Peace with *England*. To ſollicite this Affair, *Peter Reuben* the famous Painter of *Antwerp*, Secretary and Gentleman of the Chamber to the Archdutcheſs, was ſent hither as an Agent, and ſeem'd to offer the reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, which was but a Bait to bring on other Terms. Upon the Jealouſie of the *Spaniards*, and the Honour of the *Engliſh* Court, this Negotiation went ſlowly on, till *Reuben* was recalled, and Don *Carlos de Colonnos* was ſent hither as Ambaſſador in *January* following, who brought it to a concluſion in the following Year.

The King ſoftens ſome of the late Members.

To ſoften the Murmurs of the late Members now impriſoned, the King tried another way of gaining over ſome other of the moſt Popular Commons, by Royal Favours and Preferments. Sir *Thomas Wentworth* and Sir *John Savile* were made Privy-Counſellors, Sir *Dudley Diggs* Maſter of the Rolls, Mr. *Noy* the King's Attorney-General, and Mr. *Littleton* Sollicitor. This Policy, however Generous and Wiſe, was called the buying off Men, and among the Improvers of Sedition, it help'd to aggravate the Craft of the Court, and the mercenary Spirit of theſe Perſons, who were yet moſt of them Men of the greateſt Induſtry, Fidelity and Ability in the King's Service.

Having thus related all Civil Affairs of Importance to the end of 1629, by a Method before preſcribed, we ſhall now look back upon the State of Religion, where we left it at the end of 1626.

State of Religion 1627.

The Lenity of Abp. *Abbot*.

And here it muſt be acknowledg'd to have been the Senſe of many Church-men, that the Lenity and Coldneſs of Archbiſhop *Abbot* had a very unhappy Influence upon the Peace and Honour of the Church of *England*. His immediate Predeceſſor, Dr. *Bancroft*, had Experience to underſtand the Conſtitution of the Church, and had Courage to aſſert the Diſcipline of it: and had he been ſucceeded by Biſhop *Andrews*, or Biſhop *Overal*, or ſome other active Inſtrument of Decency and Order; this Church had perhaps ſtood the Glory of the Reformation and the Envy of *Rome*. But by the bold Importunity of the Earl of *Dunbar*, the prime *Scotch* Favourite, Dr. *Abbot* was firſt preferr'd to the See of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, then ſoon to *London*, and ſo to *Canterbury*. A private Maſter of a College in *Oxford*, heavy and moroſe, and little elſe to make him ſeem wiſe and grave. His Character is thus drawn by a great Maſter of that Art. " He had been Head or Maſter of " one of the pooreſt Colleges in *Oxford*, and had " Learning ſufficient for that Province. He was a " Man of very moroſe Manners, and a very ſour " Aſpect, which in that time was called Gravity: " Made Biſhop before he had been Parſon, Vicar, " or Curate of any Pariſh Church in *England*, or " Dean or Prebend of any Cathedral Church: and " was in truth totally ignorant of the true Conſtitution of the Church of *England* and the State and " Intereſt of the Clergy; as ſufficiently appeared " through the whole courſe of his Life. He conſi-

Character of Abp. *Abbot* by the Lord *Clarendon*, Hiſt. Reb. B. 1. p. 68.

(*a*) The Memoirs of the Duke of *Rohan* ſay, p. 201. that the King of *France* proſecuting the War againſt his Proteſtant Subjects, would not leave *Paris* to go to the Relief of *Cazal*, till he had privately gotten Aſſurance out of *England*, which freed him from the Fear of any Invaſion thence, whilſt he was engaged in that Expedition; and made him confident of a Peace with that Nation, excluding the Reformed Party; and he wou'd not admit of any Addreſſes from them. See the Articles of Peace between the *French* King and his Proteſtant Subjects, upon Condition of general Pardon, and keeping in force the Edict of *Nantz*, concluded at *Netz*, 27. *June* 1629. in the ſaid Memoirs. p. 223.

(*b*) There was a Thankſgiving and Prayer for the ſafe Child-bearing of the Queen's Majeſty, in 1628. a Printed Sheet, and a Thankſgiving after it. 1629.

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1629. "dered Chriſtian Religion no otherwiſe than as it "abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued thoſe "Men moſt who did that the moſt furiouſly. For "the ſtrict Obſervation of the Diſcipline of the "Church, or the Conformity to the Articles or Canons eſtabliſh'd, he made little Enquiry, and took "leſs Care; and having himſelf made a very little "progreſs in ancient and ſolid Study of Divinity, "he adhered only to the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and "for his ſake did not think ſo ill of the Diſcipline "as he ought to have done."

For theſe Infirmities, this Prelate never made a juſt Figure in the Church, and had but very little Intereſt in the Court. But theſe very Diſadvantages turn'd to his greater Credit in the Country, and in the late Parliaments: And one Thing now happen'd, that ſerv'd much to raiſe his Reputation.

Caſe of Dr. *Sibthorp.* Dr. *Sibthorp*, Vicar of *Brackley*, Son-in-law to Sir *John Lamb*, a Man of ordinary Parts and ſordid Ambition, had preach'd a Sermon at the *Lent-Aſſizes* in *Northampton* 1626, on *Rom.* 13. 7. wherein his profeſt Deſign was, to prove the King's Right of impoſing Loans and Contributions on the Subject. This gave ſuch Offence to many of the Auditors, that the Noiſe of it reach'd the Court, and the Preacher was to be countenanc'd upon the meer Fame of Loyalty. Upon this Conceit, he tranſcribes his Sermon, and preſents it to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who carried the Copy to the King, and recommended the Publiſhing of it. The Biſhop of *London* wiſely declined the Licenſing, or purpoſely threw the Temptation upon the Archbiſhop, to whom the Copy was brought by Mr. *Murrey* Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, requiring his Approbation and Licence in the King's Name. Abp. *Abbot* honeſtly refuſes to Licenſe the Sermon. The Archbiſhop made Exceptions to ſeveral Paſſages in the Sermon, and deſir'd the Meſſenger to acquaint his Majeſty with the Reaſons why he muſt decline to give his *Imprimatur.* After ſome days, Mr. *Murrey* return'd, and told the Archbiſhop, *the King would inſiſt upon it.* But the Archbiſhop ſtill wav'd the matter, till another Meſſage was brought him by the ſame hand, that *if he did not diſpatch it, the King would take ſome other courſe with him.* Upon this the Archbiſhop put his Objections into Writing, and ſent them to the King, by whom they were communicated to the Duke, and by him to *Laud* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, and *Oxford*; in whoſe Names an Anſwer to the Archbiſhop's Exceptions was drawn up, and ſent by Mr. *Murrey* to *Lambeth*: but no Argument or Authority could prevail with his Grace to licenſe the Sermon; which was ſoon after licens'd by the Biſhop of *London* (*a*). The Duke of *Buckingham* reſented this Denial as a Contempt of himſelf and the King, and reſolved upon ſome Mark of Diſpleaſure. On *Tueſday* July 5. the Lord *Conway* was ſent to *Croyden*, to inform the Archbiſhop, that *it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure he ſhould withdraw himſelf to* Canterbury, *and ſhould not from henceforth meddle with the High Commiſſion.* The Archbiſhop offer'd Reaſons why *Canterbury* would be an inconvenient Place of Reſidence for him, and deſired he might rather retire to his Houſe of *Foard* five Miles beyond; to which the King readily aſſented, and allow'd convenient time to prepare for his Removal. See this Narrative of Abp. *Abbot*, in *Ruſhwort. Collect.* Vol. 1. p. 438. The Report of this Hardſhip upon the Archbiſhop, brought him more Viſitors to take their Leave of him; to thoſe degrees of Popularity, that this more provok'd the Court againſt him. When in ſubmiſſion he was got to *Foard*, he wrote there a large Narrative of his own Caſe; which indeed makes his Judgment and Actions in this Particular to be very laudable.

Severe Proceedings againſt the Abp. The Archbiſhop, in Diſgrace and a ſort of Baniſhment, made no Submiſſion to the King, but gave new Occaſions to the Court to be more and more offended with him. Upon which he was ſequeſtred from his Juriſdiction, and a Commiſſion was ſign'd *Octob.* 9. to the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, *Oxford*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *to do, execute, and perform all Acts, Matters and Things, any way touching or concerning the Power, Juriſdiction, or Authority of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *in Cauſes or Matters Eccleſiaſtical.*

Dangers of Popery. After the Reſolution to call the Parliament (which met *March* 17. 162 8/9.) the Dangers of Popery made a very popular Noiſe; and there were ſome unhappy Reaſons to promote it: eſpecially, that a Society of Recuſants was taken in *Clerkenwell*, moſt of them Jeſuits, and the Houſe where they were taken was deſigned to be a College of that Order. Among their Papers was found the Copy of a Letter written to their Rector at *Bruſſels*, upon the Subject of the enſuing Parliament; wherein they thus expreſs themſelves—"We hope as much in this Parliament, as ever we feared any in Qu. *Elizabeth's* "days.—We have made great uſe of this Anarchical Election, and have prejudicated and anticipated the great one, that none but the King's "Enemies and His are choſen of this Parliament.— "Now we have planted that ſoveraign Drug *Arminianiſm*, which we hope will purge the Proteſtants "from their Hereſie.—I cannot chuſe but laugh "to ſee how ſome of our own Coat have accoutred "themſelves: You would ſcarce know them if you "ſaw them: And 'tis admirable how in Speech and "Geſture they act the Puritans.—I am at this "time tranſported with Joy, to ſee how happily all "Inſtruments and Means, as well great as leſs, cooperate unto our Purpoſes." (*b*)

Policy of the Papiſts to divide the Proteſtants. The Senſe of this Letter was only to ſhew, that the Hopes of the Papiſts was in the Diviſion of the Proteſtants, and their Intereſt was to promote that Diviſion. And the Diſcovery of the Letter did but unhappily ſerve to promote the Argument of it: for it encreas'd the Fears and Jealouſies between Churchman and Puritan, and between Court and Country.

Proceedings in Parliament upon Matters of Religion. One of the firſt Things in the Houſe of Commons was to ſettle a Committee for Religion on *Thurſday Mar.* 20. and to addreſs the King for a ſolemn Faſt. The Commons had ſoon after a Conference with the Lords upon a Petition againſt Recuſants, wherein Mr. Secretary *Cook* thus expreſt himſelf.—"And "a little to awake the Zeal and Care of our learned and grave Fathers, it is fit that they take notice of that Hierarchy which is already eſtabliſhed in competition with their Lordſhips; for they "have a Biſhop conſecrated by the Pope: This Biſhop hath his ſubalternate Officers of all Kinds, "as Vicars-General, Arch-Deacons, Rural-Deans, "Apparitors, and ſuch like: Neither are theſe Nominal and Titular Officers alone; but they all execute their Juriſdictions, and make their ordinary "Viſitations through the Kingdom, keep Courts, "and determine Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes: And, which "is an Argument of more Conſequence, they keep "ordinary Intelligence by their Agents in *Rome*, and "hold correſpondence with the Nuncio's and Cardinals both at *Bruxels* and in *France*. Neither are "the *Seculars* alone grown to this height, but the "*Regulars* are more active and dangerous—Even "at this time they intend to hold a concurrent Aſſembly with this Parliament."

(*a*) Not meerly licenſed, but approved and recommended in theſe Words.—I have read over this Sermon; and I do approve it as a Sermon learnedly and diſcreetly preach'd, agreeable to the ancient Doctrine of the Primitive Church, both for Faith and good Manners, and to the Doctrine eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*; and therefore under my Hand I give Authority for the Printing of it, *May* 8. 1627. *Geo. London.*

(*b*) This Letter ſaid to be found amongſt the Papers of the Jeſuits, lately taken in *London* directed, to the Father, Rector at *Bruſſels*, and dated 24. *March* 1627, is printed at large in the *Papiſts Deſigns detected.* 1678. 4*to.* and there is a Manuſcript Copy of it in MSS. *Harley* 37. *B.* 5. And it was Printed by it ſelf in 1643. 4*to.*

Upon

1629.

Petition of the Parliament,

Upon this View of Popiſh Inſolence, a Petition was agreed upon by both Houſes, and preſented to his Majeſty on *Monday* March 31.

To give a Specimen of the firſt Article, and his Majeſty's Anſwer to it.

Againſt Popery.

Art. 1. "We moſt humbly and ardently beg at "the Hands of your moſt Sacred Majeſty, that your "Majeſty will be pleaſed to give continual Life "and Motion to all thoſe Laws that ſtand in force "againſt Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and all that have "taken Orders by Authority of the See of *Rome*, by "exacting a more due and ſerious Execution of the "ſame. Amongſt which Number, thoſe that have "highly abuſed your Majeſty's Clemency by return- "ing into the Kingdom after their Baniſhment, "contrary to your Highneſs expreſs Proclamation, "we humbly deſire may be left to the Severity of "your Laws, without admitting of any Mediation "or Interceſſion for them. And that ſuch of your "Majeſty's unſound and ill-affected Subjects as do "receive, harbour, or conceal any of their viperous "Generation, may without delay ſuffer ſuch Penal- "ties and Puniſhments as the Laws moſt juſtly im- "poſe upon them."

King's Anſwer.

Anſw. "To the firſt Point his Majeſty anſwer- "eth, That he will, according to your Deſire, give "both Life and Motion to the Laws that ſtand in "force againſt the Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and all "that have taken Orders by Authority of the See "of *Rome*: And to that end, his Majeſty will give "ſtrict Order to all his Miniſters for the diſcover- "ing and apprehending of them; and ſo leave "them, being apprehended, to the Tryal of the "Law. And in caſe after Tryal there ſhall be cauſe "to reſpit Execution of any of them; yet they ſhall "be committed (according to the Example of the "beſt Times) to the Caſtle of *Wisbich*; and there "be ſafely kept from exerciſing their Functions, or "ſpreading their ſuperſtitious and dangerous Do- "ctrine: And the Receivers and Abetters they ſhall "be left to the Law."

The *Second* Article was for watching Ports and Harbours, and ſearching Ships for Diſcovery of Jeſuits and young Students: The *Third* for prohibiting all Popiſh Recuſants to come to Court, or within ten Miles of *London*: The *Fourth* for taking away Compoſitions by which Papiſts purchaſe to themſelves a ſort of concealed Toleration: The *Fifth* for reſtraining the Reſort of *Engliſh* Papiſts to the Chapels of Foreign Ambaſſadors: The *Sixth* that no Papiſt be put into any Place of Authority or Command: The *Seventh* that all Judges and Juſtices be commanded to execute the Laws, and to give to the Lord Keeper a ſtrict Account of their Proceedings: The *Eigth* and laſt, for making a proviſional Law for training and educating of the Children of Popiſh Recuſants in the Grounds and Principles of our holy Religion. To all which Articles his Majeſty return'd ſuch diſtinct and full Anſwers, as might have convinc'd all rational People, that ſome late Connivences were really owing to the Hopes of a like Tenderneſs to foreign Proteſtants, and to an indulging Affection to the Queen, not at all to the King's own Judgment or Inclination, nor to any worſe Deſign in the prime Miniſters of State. (*a*)

Complaint againſt the Clergy for Principles of Arbitrary Power.

There was another Jealouſie in the Houſe of Commons, that ſome of the inferiour Clergy were advancing new Doctrines, to flatter the Court, and to give the King a Divine Right to abſolute Power. They thought this to be pragmatical, and of pernicious Effect. And therefore about the latter End of *May*, Mr. *Rous* brought in a Charge againſt Dr. *Edward Manwaring*, for his *Plot and Practice to alter and ſubvert the Frame and Fabrick of this Eſtate and Commonwealth. To which end* (ſays he)

1629.

Speech of Mr. *Rous* againſt Dr. *Manwaring*.

"1. He labours to infuſe into the Conſcience of "his Majeſty, the Perſuaſion of a Power not bound- "ing it ſelf with Laws, which King *James*, of fa- "mous Memory, calls in his Speech to the Parlia- "ment *Tyranny*, yea *Tyranny accompanied with Per- "jury.*

"2. He endeavours to perſwade the Conſcience "of the Subjects, that they are bound to obey Com- "mands illegal; yea, he damns them for not o- "beying them.

"3. He robs the Subjects of the Propriety of their "Goods.

"4. He brands them that will not loſe this Pro- "priety with moſt ſcandalous Speeches and odious "Titles, to make them moſt hateful to Prince and "People; ſo to ſet a Diviſion between the Head "and the Members, and between the Members "themſelves.

"5. To the ſame End, not much unlike to *Faux*, "and his Fellows, he ſeeks to blow up Parliaments "and Parliamentary Powers."

Declaration of the Commons againſt Dr. *Manwaring*.

The Matter of this Charge was put into a formal *Declaration of the Commons againſt Dr.* Manwaring *Clerk and Doctor in Divinity*, which was preſented on *June* 3. to the Lords at a Conference betwixt the Committees of both Houſes, Mr. *Pymm* managing that Conference for the Commons, who in a very long Speech did inveigh and aggravate as much as Zeal and Talk could do. Soon after the Commons, by their Speaker, demanded Judgment of the Lords againſt the ſaid Doctor; and they gave this Sentence.

Judgment of the Lords againſt him.

"1. That *Roger Manwaring*, Doctor in Divinity, "ſhall be impriſoned during the Pleaſure of the "Houſe.

"2. That he be fined one thouſand Pounds to "the King.

"3. That he ſhall make ſuch Submiſſion and Ac- "knowledgment of his Offences, as ſhall be ſet "down by a Committee in Writing, both at the "Bar, and in the Houſe of Commons.

"4. That he ſhall be ſuſpended for the time of "three Years from the Exerciſe of the Miniſtry, "and in the mean time a ſufficient Preaching Mi- "niſter ſhall be provided out of his Livings to ſerve "the Cure: This Suſpenſion and Proviſion to be "done by the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

"5. That he ſhall be hereafter diſabled to have "any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity or Secular Office.

"6. That he ſhall be for ever diſabled to preach "at the Court hereafter.

"7. That his ſaid Book is worthy to be burnt, "and that for the better effecting this, his Maje- "ſty may be moved to grant a Proclamation to call "in the ſaid Books, that they may be all burnt ac- "cordingly in *London*, and both the Univerſities; "and for the Inhibiting the printing thereof upon a "great Penalty."

In purſuance of the third Article of Penance, the Doctor made this Submiſſion in Tears upon his Knees.

The Doctor's Submiſſion.

"*May it pleaſe this Honourable Houſe,*

"I Do here in all Sorrow of Heart, and true Re- "pentance, acknowledge the many Errors and "Indiſcretions which I have committed, in preach- "ing and publiſhing thoſe two Sermons of mine, "which I called *Religion and Allegiance*, and my great "Fault in falling upon this Theme again, and hand- "ling the ſame raſhly and unadviſedly in my own "Pariſh Church of St. *Giles* in the Fields, the 4th "of *May* laſt paſt. I do humbly acknowledge thoſe "three Sermons to have been full of many dange- "rous Paſſages, Inferences, and ſcandalous Aſperſi- "ons in moſt part of the ſame. And I do humbly

(*a*) See the Petition of both Houſes of Parliament touching the putting in Execution the Laws againſt Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and Recuſants, preſented 31 March 1628. With his Majeſty's firſt Verbal Anſwer at the time of delivering the ſaid Petition; and his Majeſty's ſecond and more full Anſwer in Writing. MSS. *Harley* 35. *C.* 10.

1629. " acknowledge the Juſtice of this Honourable Houſe " in that Judgment and Sentence paſs'd upon me for " my great Offence. And I do from the bottom of " my Heart, crave Pardon of God, the King, and " this Honourable Houſe, and the Church, and this " Common-wealth in general, and thoſe worthy " Perſons adjudged to be reflected upon by me in " particular, for theſe great Errors and Offences."

Roger Manwaring.

If all the other Particulars in the Sentence had been as duly executed, it had been more for the Intereſt of the King, and even for the Credit of the Preacher. But when, after this Solemnity of Cenſure and Submiſſion, the Party was made a Favourite of the Court, and had Preferments heap'd upon him, this threw the Odium of the Doctrine upon the King and his Miniſters, which might otherwiſe have reſted upon the Indiſcretion of the Preacher. And this mark'd out the Doctor for a more propenſe Deſign of Flattery, and for diſſembling a Submiſſion, when he might have been otherwiſe pitied for inconſiderate Raſhneſs, and even beloved for the Ingenuity of Confeſſing and Retracting.

Preferr'd by the Court.

Next to Popery and Arbitrary Power, the Commons were under terrible Apprehenſions of what they called *Arminianiſm*. And tho' few underſtood the Thing, or ſo much as the Name; yet it was enough that they thought it a Hereſy, and even a Court Hereſy. And therefore *June* 13, the Commons voted, that Dr. *Neal*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Dr. *Laud*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, be named to be thoſe near about the King, who are ſuſpected to be *Arminians*; and that they are juſtly ſuſpected to be unſound in their Opinions that way. And accordingly in the Commons Remonſtrance againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, they declare, " The Hearts of your " good Subjects are perplexed, when with Sorrow " they behold a daily growth and ſpreading of the " Faction of the *Arminians*, that being, as your " Majeſty well knows, but a cunning way to bring " in Popery; and the Profeſſors of thoſe Opinions, " the common Diſturbers of the Proteſtant Churches, " and Incendiaries in thoſe States wherein they have " gotten any Head; being Proteſtants in Show, but " Jeſuits in Opinion: which cauſed your Royal Father, with ſo much pious Wiſdom and ardent " Zeal, to endeavour the ſuppreſſing of them, as " well at home as in the Neighbour Countries. And " your gracious Majeſty imitating his moſt worthy " Example, hath openly, and by your Proclamation, declared your miſlike of thoſe Perſons and of " their Opinions; who, notwithſtanding, are much " favoured and advanced, not wanting Friends even of the Clergy near to your Majeſty, namely " Dr. *Neal*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Dr. *Laud*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; who are juſtly ſuſpected " to be unſound in their Opinions that way. And " it being now generally held the way to Preferment " and Promotion in the Church, many Scholars do " bend the Courſe of their Studies to maintain thoſe " Errors."

Fears of *Arminianiſm.*

Bp. *Neal* and Bp. *Laud* expreſly named.

It is certain theſe Suggeſtions were founded much upon Prejudice and Inadvertence: For moſt of the *Engliſh* Divines called *Arminians*, had never read the Works of *Arminius*, but had drawn their diſtinguiſhing Opinions from the Primitive Fathers, and from the ſevere Abſurdities of ſome of the *Calviniſtical* Writers. The *Arminians* in *Holland* had been chiefly odious for being a State Faction, and it was under that Civil Character that King *James* was ſo incenſed againſt them. His preſent Majeſty and the Duke, favoured theſe *Engliſh* Divines, not ſo much for their Sentiments in Point of Faith, as for their eminent Zeal in Matters of Diſcipline, and their extraordinary Spirit of Loyalty: But however, the Popular Rumour obtained, that all who departed from the Rigours of *Calvin* were *Arminians*, and all *Arminians* were the Inſtruments of Popery and Arbitrary Power. 1629.

A Convocation was called in concurrence with this Parliament to meet.

A Convocation called with the Parliament.

But nothing of Eccleſiaſtical concern was ſo much as moved in it, tho' Opportunity, and even Provocation offer'd, by the unhappy Controverſies in Religion then depending; and by the Examination and Cenſure of Books and Perſons in the Civil Aſſembly, which might have been thought as proper to fall under the Cognizance of this Eccleſiaſtical Body. But the Principle and Practice were then fix'd, that a Convocation began no Debates in Religion, without Inſtruction from the Biſhops and Licenſe from the King. And therefore not receiving ſuch Commiſſion to act in Spirituals, they kept only to their immemorial Right in Temporals, and granted five entire Subſidies to the King confirmed by Act of Parliament.

To do nothing but give their Money.

In the Intervals of Parliament and Convocation, the King purſued thoſe Methods that were Wiſe and Honourable. He ſet forth a Proclamation to ſuppreſs the offenſive Sermons of Dr. *Manwaring*, and therein declared, " That tho' the grounds were rightly laid to perſwade Obedience from Subjects to " their Soveraign, and that for Conſcience ſake: " yet in divers Paſſages, Inferences and Applications thereof, trenching upon the Laws of this " Land and Proceedings of Parliaments, whereof " he was ignorant, he ſo far err'd, that he had drawn " upon himſelf the juſt Cenſure and Sentence of the " High Court of Parliament, by whoſe Judgment " alſo that Book ſtands condemn'd. Wherefore being deſirous to remove Occaſions of Scandal, he " thought fit that theſe Sermons, in regard of " their Influences and Applications, be totally " ſuppreſs'd."

Proclamation againſt the Sermons of Dr. *Manwaring.*

It was an Error and Misfortune, that the Advancement of Dr. *Manwaring* was ſoon after contriv'd, that ſeem'd to make the Proclamation a Court Jeſt, and the Counſels of the Miniſtry to be little Myſteries of deceiving the People. (*a*)

Another Proclamation was iſſued to declare the King's Pleaſure for a vigorous Proceeding againſt Popiſh Recuſants, and for Directions to the King's Commiſſioners to ſuffer Recuſants convict to compound for no leſs than two parts of three of their Eſtates, which by Law were forfeited to the Crown. (*b*)

Proclamation againſt Papiſts.

A third Proclamation for diligent Search to be made for all Prieſts and Jeſuits, particularly for the Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, to Apprehend them and Commit them, &c. The Jeſuits taken at *Clerkenwel*, were from ſeveral Priſons remov'd to *Newgate*, in order to be convicted and condemned. The Privy-Council wrote to the Biſhop of *Ely* to prepare the Caſtle of *Wisbich* for the ſafe Cuſtody of Popiſh Priſoners; and ſent to require the Lord Mayor of *London*, to ſearch out all Recuſants within the City and Liberties thereof. So as the King appeared to act in perfect Compliance with the Senſe of the Parliament laſt ſitting.

Againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits.

But ſome Steps were taken, at which the diſcontented Party would be ſure to murmur: For Dr. *Laud* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, who was thought a Creature of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s, and ſtood

Promotions not Popular.

(*a*) See the Proclamation for the calling in, and ſuppreſſing two Sermons, Preached and Printed by *Roger Manwaring*, Doctor in Divinity, Intituled *Religion and Allegiance*. Given the xxiv. of *June*. reg. 4. 1628. Upon which, in a Week's time, Sir *Henry Spelman* wrote to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, dat. *Barbacan July* 1. 1628. I ſend you the Proclamation againſt Dr. *Manwaring*'s Sermons; but the King notwithſtanding hath (as it is credibly reported) releaſed him of all the Cenſure impos'd upon him by the Upper Houſe of Parliament, and this next Month he is to ſerve in Court. Letters of Archbiſhop *Uſher*. Fol. p. 398.

(*b*) See the Complaint of Mr. *Pym* of the No Purpoſe of this and other Proclamations againſt Popery, in *Creſo*'s Collect. of Proceed. 1628. 8*vo*. p. 85.

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1629. cenſur'd for an *Arminian* in the Commons Remonſtrance, was on *July* 15, tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of *London*, and thereby brought to a nearer acceſs to Court, and to a greater Influence upon the Church. Mr. *Mountague* was promoted to the See of *Chicheſter*,(a) and Dr. *Manwaring* to the good Rectory of *Stanford Rivers* in *Eſſex*, and to each of them was granted a Royal Pardon of all Errors heretofore committed by them, either in Speaking, Writing, or Printing, for which they could be any way liable to be hereafter queſtion'd. And as *Manwaring* had a Royal Favour to reverſe and ſweeten the late Sentence of his Majeſty's Proclamation againſt him: So *Mountague* had juſt contrary, a Proclamation to cenſure him immediately after the Letters Patent to promote him. For the King thought fit to call in that Author's Work, entitled *Appello Cæſarem*, and to declare "That out "of his Princely Care to maintain the Church, in "the Unity of the true Religion and the bond of "Peace, to prevent unneceſſary Diſputes, he had "lately cauſed the Articles of Religion to be Re-"printed, as a Rule for avoiding diverſities of Opi-"nions; and conſidering that a Book written by "*Richard Mountague*, now Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, en-"titled *Appello Cæſarem*, was the firſt Cauſe of thoſe "Diſputes and Differences, which ſince have much "troubled the Quiet of the Church; he would take "away this occaſion, by commanding all Perſons "that had any of thoſe Books in their hands, to de-"liver them to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, or if it "be in either of the Univerſities, to the Chancellor "and Vice-Chancellor thereof, who were command-"ed to ſuppreſs them."

Mountague made Biſhop of *Chicheſter.*

And yet his Book called in.

But this too was thought a falſe appearance of Policy, to prefer a Writer, and then to ſuppreſs the very Book for which the World thought him preferr'd. Others imputed it to a farther reach of making a ſhew of Impartiality; when about the ſame time the ſeveral Anſwers made to the *Appello Cæſarem* by Dr. *Featly*, Dr. *Goad*, Mr. *Ward*, Mr. *Burton*, Mr. *Yates*, Mr. *Wotton*, and *Francis Rous*, Eſq; were all in like manner ſuppreſs'd, and ſome of the Printers queſtioned in the High Commiſſion.

Character of *Arminians* and *Calviniſts*, from the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſt. of Rebel. *B.* 1. *p.* 71.

Theſe warm Contentions are thus judiciouſly ſtated by a Witneſs of thoſe Times. "Some Do-"ctrinal Points in Controverſie had been agitated "in the Pulpits with more warmth and reflections "than had uſed to be, and thence the Heat and A-"nimoſity encreaſed in Books *Pro* and *Con* upon the "ſame Arguments. Moſt of the Popular Preachers, "who had not look'd into the ancient Learning took "*Calvin*'s Word for it, and did all they could to "propagate his Opinions in thoſe Points: They "who had ſtudied more, and were better verſed in "the Antiquities of the Church, the Fathers, the "Councils, and the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, with "the ſame heat and paſſion in Preaching and Wri-"ting defended the contrary. The latter were cal-"led *Arminians*, tho' many of them had never read "a Word written by *Arminius*. Either Side defen-"ded and maintained the different Opinions as the "Doctrine of the Church of *England*; as the two "great Orders in the Church of *Rome*, the *Domini-*"*cans* and the *Franciſcans*, did at the ſame time, and "had many hundred Years before, with more vehe-"mence and uncharitableneſs, maintained the ſame "Opinions one againſt the other; either Party pro-"feſſing to adhere to the Doctrine of the Catholick "Church, which had been ever wiſer than to deter-"mine the Controverſie. And yet that Party here, "which could leaſt ſupport themſelves with Reaſon, "were very ſollicitous, according to the Ingenuity "they alway practiſe to advance any of their Pre-"tences, to have the People believe, that they who "held with *Arminius* did intend to introduce Popery.

"And truly the other ſide was no leſs willing to have "it thought, that all who adhered to *Calvin* in thoſe "Controverſies, did in their Hearts likewiſe adhere "to him with reference to the Diſcipline, and deſir'd "to change the Government of the Church, and to "ſet up the Diſcipline that he had eſtabliſhed at "*Geneva*; and ſo both Sides found ſuch reception "generally with the People, as they were inclin'd "to the Perſons. Whereas in truth, none of the "one ſide were at all inclin'd to Popery; and very "many of the other were moſt Affectionate to the "Peace and Proſperity of the Church, and very "Pious and Learned Men." 1629.

When the Parliament re-aſſembled on *Tueſday*, Jan. 20. 162$\frac{8}{9}$, the Fears and Jealouſies about Religion were ſo much in the Heads of the leading Men in the Houſe of Commons, that when the King ſent a Meſſage to them to conſider ſpeedily of a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage, they rejected the King's Deſire, and reſolv'd to proceed in the firſt place with Matters of Religion, and particularly againſt *Arminianiſm*: Upon which occaſion Mr. *Rous* ſpoke with moſt indecent Bitterneſs. —— *I deſire we may conſider the Encreaſe of* Arminianiſm: *an Error that makes the Grace of God lackey it after the Will of Man, that makes the Sheep to keep the Shepherd, and makes a Mortal Seed of an Immortal God: Yea, I deſire that we may look into the very Belly and Bowels of this* Trojan *Horſe, to ſee if there be not Men in it ready to open the Gates to* Romiſh *Tyranny and* Spaniſh *Monarchy: For an* Arminian *is the Spawn of a Papiſt*, &c.

Commons poſtpone all Matters to Religion.

On *Tueſday* Januar. 27. The Draught of a Remonſtrance concerning Religion in the laſt Seſſion, ſince delivered by the Clerk to the King, was now brought back to the Houſe by Mr. Secretary *Cook*, with a repeated Deſire from his Majeſty, that they would give the precedency to the Buſineſs of Tonnage and Poundage. But the Houſe again thought fit to prefer *Religion*; and upon this Debate Mr. *Pym* made a very eager Speech: *Two Diſeaſes there be* (ſaid he) *the one old the other new*; *the old* Popery, *the new* Arminianiſm, *&c.* And becauſe it had been objected in the Houſe, that they ought not to handle Queſtions touching Matters of Religion, which were proper for his Majeſty and a Convocation to determine, Mr. *Pym* made this Argument againſt the ſaid Objection. —— *It belongs to the Duty of Parliaments to eſtabliſh true Religion and to puniſh falſe; we muſt know what Parliaments have done formerly in Religion. Our Parliaments have confirmed General Councils: In the time of King* Henry VIII. *the Earl of* Eſſex *was condemned for countenancing Books of Hereſie. For the Convocation, it is but a Provincial Synod of* Canterbury, *and cannot bind the whole Kingdom. As for* York, *that is diſtant, and cannot do any thing to bind us or the Laws. For the High Commiſſion, it was derived from Parliament.*

Mr. *Pym* againſt Popery and *Arminianiſm.*

On *Wedneſday* Jan. 28. Upon another Meſſage from the King for diſpatch of Tonnage and Poundage, the Houſe again agreed to perſiſt in the Matters of Religion. And Sir *John Elliot* deliver'd himſelf in moſt provoking Language. —— *As to Popery and* Arminianiſm *our Faith and Religion is in Danger by it; for like an Inundation it doth break in at once upon us. It is ſaid, if there be any Difference in Opinion concerning the Interpretation of the* 39 *Articles, the Biſhops and the Clergy in Convocation have Power to diſpute it, and to order which way they pleaſe: and then for ought I know* Popery *and* Arminianiſm *may be introduc'd by them. — We ſee there are ſome among our Biſhops who are not Orthodox nor ſound in Religion as they ſhould be; witneſs the two Biſhops complained of the laſt Meeting of the Parliament*, &c. He put the Houſe into ſuch a ferment, that they made this ſolemn Proteſtation.

Sir *John Elliot* very free on the ſame Subject.

(a) See the Letter of Maſter *Mountague* to the Duke of *Buckingham* dat. *Petworth July* 29. 1628. thanking him for his Protection in the laſt Parliament, *&c. Cabala*. Fol. p. 116.

See an Account of the great Offence taken at the Preferment of Mr. *Mountague* to the See of *Chicheſter*, in *Crew's* Abſtract. p. 37.

1629.

Proteſtation of the Commons upon the Senſe of the 39 Articles.

"WE the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, "do claim, proteſt, and avow for Truth "the Senſe of the Articles of Religion, which were "eſtabliſhed by Parliament in the 13th Year of our "late Queen *Elizabeth*; which by the publick Acts "of the Church of *England*, and by the general and "current Expoſitions of the Writers of our Church "have been deliver'd unto Us. And we reject the "Senſe of the Jeſuits and *Arminians* and all others, "wherein they differ from us."

This Declaration upon the Senſe of the Articles, was of greater Latitude than any Interpreter had uſed in expounding of them: But it being drawn up thus large and dubious, it was the fitter for a Charm and Spell to affright and drive away ignorant People.

Commons inſiſt upon Redreſs of Grievances in Religion.

Soon after the Commons preſented a Declaration to the King, to juſtifie their Reſolutions of giving Precedency to Religion: Wherein they tell him, "That finding the extreme Dangers wherewith "their Religion is threatned, they think they can-"not, without Impiety to God, Diſloyalty to his "Majeſty, and Unthankfulneſs to thoſe from whom "they are put in Truſt, proceed to other Buſineſs, "till ſomething be done to ſecure them in this main "Point, which they prefer above their Lives, and "all earthly things whatever." The King anſwered, "As for the Cauſe of Delay in my Buſi-"neſs being *Religion*, there is none of you ſhall "have a greater Care for the true Preſervation of "it than my ſelf; which ſince it is confeſſed by "your Anſwer, you muſt either think I want Pow-"er (which cannot be) or that I am very ill coun-"ſelled, if it be in ſo much Danger as you affirm. "I muſt think it ſtrange, that this Buſineſs of *Re-"ligion* ſhould only be a Hinderer of my Affairs, "whereas I am certainly informed all other things "go according to their ordinary Courſe."

The King's Declaration about Preaching cenſur'd by the Commons

But the Spirit was now rais'd, and it was the Art of cunning Men to keep it up. And therefore on *Wedneſday* Feb. 4. the Houſe fell into Debate upon the King's Declaration publiſh'd in Print to prohibit Diſputing or Preaching one way or other in the Controverſies lately rais'd; and did conclude, that the main End of the Declaration was to ſuppreſs the Puritan Party, and give Liberty to the oppoſite Side. They conceiv'd, that Biſhop *Laud* and Biſhop *Mountague* had adviſed the King to that Declaration. They complain'd of the King's Pardon granted to the latter; and obſerved, that the Warrant to draw a Pardon was for him only: and yet the Attorney General had put in three others, Dr. *Coſens*, Dr. *Sibthorp*, and Dr. *Manwaring*. (*a*)

Thurſday Feb. 12. A Report was made from the Committee of *Religion* about ſolliciting and obtaining the Pardons lately mentioned. And 'tis obſervable, that the Hand of *Oliver Cromwel* was in this Religious Feud: He was one of this warm Committee, and informed the Houſe, that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* gave countenance to ſome Divines that preach'd flat Popery; and it was by his Means that *Manwaring* (who by Cenſure the laſt Parliament was diſabled from farther Preferment) was now advanc'd to a rich Living. *If theſe be the Steps* (ſaid he) *to Church Preferment, what are we ſhortly to expect?*

Bookſellers Petition.

It was the Artifice, or at leaſt the Countenance of this Committee, that brought in the Bookſellers and Printers of *London* with a Petition, complaining of the Reſtraint of Books written againſt *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, and the contrary Books allow'd by the only means of the Biſhop of *London*; and that Licenſing was now reſtrain'd to him and his Chaplains.

Friday Feb. 13. The Heats were more inflam'd, by an Order of the Houſe to examine the releaſing of the Jeſuits committed to *Newgate*, and the Stay of Proceedings againſt ſeveral Recuſants. And tho' fair Accounts were given of the King's Juſtice and Mercy in Execution of the Penal Laws; yet the Out-cry held on, and the firſt Proteſtation made in the Houſe juſt before Diſſolving, (while the Speaker was held in the Chair) was this.

Final Proteſtation of the Commons.

"Whoever ſhall bring in Innovation of Religi-"on, or by Favour or Countenance ſeek to extend "or introduce *Popery* or *Arminianiſm*, or other Opi-"nion, diſagreeing from the Truth and Orthodox "Church, ſhall be reputed a Capital Enemy to this "Kingdom and Commonwealth." (*b*)

Though there ſeems to have been more Reaſon for Diſſolving this Parliament than any other in this Reign before the *Long One*, (which unhappily could not be Diſſolv'd by the King) yet the leading Members, who were interrupted in their Schemes of Policy and Power, were enrag'd at being no longer capable to ſhew themſelves. They caſt the Odium of this Counſel upon the Biſhop of *London*, who was thereupon baited with Reflections and Libels. And it is indeed probable, that this Prelate join'd heartily in the Advice for Diſſolving this Parliament: for in his own Diary he obſerved, that *this Parliament ſought his Ruin:* and it was no doubt his Judgment, that they ſought the Ruin of the Church.

(*a*) Sir *Robert Philips* in a Speech complained of theſe four Pardons, and ſaid, If ever King of *England* was abuſed in his Mercy, it is our King. What Perſons are pardon'd? Even the greateſt Enemies to the Church and State, that were ſtanding under the Judgment of the Parliament, and they are pardoned between Parliaments.—— Mr. *Attorney General* examined upon it by Order of the Houſe, &c. *Crew*'s Proceedings, &c. 8*vo*. p. 54. and other Manuſcript Accounts of this Seſſion.

(*b*) This was ſomewhat owing to the many Innovations in the Cathedral Church of *Durham*, and to the unmerciful Proſecution of one of the Prebendaries who preach'd againſt them, the Reverend Mr. *Peter Smart*, who lived afterwards to prove before the Parliament; that being juſtly offended with their Innovations in the Communion-Table, Font, Candles, Pictures, Images, Copes, Singing, Veſtments, Geſtures, Prayers, Doctrines, and Speeches of Dr. *Coſin*, and other Alterations unlawfully introduced and practis'd in the ſaid Cathedral Church, he oppoſed the ſame, and in diſcharge of his Duty, Place and Calling he did upon *July* 27, 1628. being the Lord's-Day, preach in the ſaid Church againſt the ſame, reproving theſe Innovations and Innovators, and exhorted the People to keep themſelves from the Infections of them; in which Sermon there was nothing ſcandalous, nor diſagreeable to the Word of God, or the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*. That notwithſtanding the ſaid Dr. *Coſin*, both upon Mr. *Smart*'s *reading his Text, and going on in his Sermon ſuitable thereunto, very turbulently demean'd himſelf* in the ſaid Church; and *the Sermon being ended*, Mr. *Smart's* Troubles began, for there was not one Day ſet between his Preaching and his Puniſhment: for the ſaid Dr. *Coſin*, and *William James*, with others, the ſame Lord's-Day, did ſend a Warrant in the Nature of an Attachment, under the High Commiſſion Seal for that Province, by two Purſevants to convent him before them: Whereupon he perſonally appear'd and delivered to them the imperfect Notes of his Sermon, which were ſealed up, and He ordered to attend the next Day.—Afterward the ſaid Dean and Prebendaries, with *John Lively*, and Dr. *Cardell* were Informers, Proſecutors, and Judges, for ſix Months againſt the ſaid *Peter Smart* at *Durham* for the ſame, where they cenſur'd him by two Acts of Sequeſtration, and one of Suſpenſion.—And then unlawfully tranſmitted him to *London*, to anſwer in the High Commiſſion there for the ſame Cauſe.——Thence ſent back to the High Commiſſion at *York*; there fined Five hundred Pounds; committed him to Priſon; detained him under great Bonds; excommunicated him; ſequeſtred all his Eccleſiaſtical Livings; degraded him *ab omni gradu & dignitate clericali*, becauſe he did not recant and pay Coſts; by Colour of which Degradation, his Prebendſhip and Parſonage were both taken from him, and he kept in Priſon: By which heavy and unjuſt Oppreſſions, his Life hath been ſeveral times evidently endangered, and he and his Children loſt and ſpent above Fourteen thouſand Pounds of real Eſtate, whereby they were utterly undone. See Canterbury's *Cruelty by* Peter Smart. 1643, 4*to*.

Richard Hutchiſon's Singing Man and Organiſt of *Durham* being ſent for by the Parliament in 1628. to bear Witneſs of Innovations, in the Change of Ceremonies and Services brought into that Cathedral Church by the Dean and Chapter; the Parliament being diſſolved upon *Tueſday* the 16th of *March*, he left this in Writing, which he purpoſed to teſtifie upon his Oath, &c. *ib*. p. 25.

1629.

King's ſolemn Proteſtation.

His Majeſty, in his *Declaration of the Cauſes which moved him to Diſſolve this Parliament*, made this ſolemn Profeſſion, “We call God to Record, before “whom we ſtand, that it is and always hath been “our Heart's Deſire, to be found worthy of that “Title which we account the moſt glorious in all “our Crown, *Defender of the Faith.* Neither ſhall “we ever give way to the Authorizing of any thing “whereby any Innovation may ſteal or creep into “the Church; but to preſerve that Unity of Do“ctrine and Diſcipline, eſtabliſhed in the time of “Queen *Elizabeth*, whereby the Church of *England* “hath ſtood and flouriſhed ever ſince.

“And as we are careful to make up all Breaches “and Rents in Religion at home, ſo did we, by “our Proclamation and Commandment for the Ex“ecution of Laws againſt Prieſts and Popiſh Recu“ſants, fortifie all Ways and Approaches againſt “that foreign Enemy; which, if it have not ſuc“ceeded according to our Intention, we muſt lay “the Fault where it is, in the ſubordinate Officers, “and Miniſters in the Country, by whoſe Remiſ“neſs Jeſuits and Prieſts eſcape without Apprehen“ſion, and Recuſants, from thoſe Convictions and “Penalties which the Law and our Commandment “would have inflicted on them. For we do pro“feſs, that as it is our Duty, ſo it ſhall be our “Care, to command and direct well: but it is the “Part of others to perform the Miniſterial Office. “And when we have done our Office, we ſhall ac“count Our-ſelf, and all charitable Men will ac“count Us, innocent both to God and Men. And “thoſe that are negligent, we will eſteem as culpa“ble both to God and Us; and therefore will ex“pect that hereafter they give us a better Account. “—We do here profeſs to maintain the true Re“ligion and Doctrine eſtabliſhed in the Church of “*England*, without admitting or conniving at any “backſliding either to Popery or Schiſm.”

The People taught to be jealous of *Popery*.

But the diſcontented Members, upon their unwilling Return into the Country, made an Impreſſion of Unbelief to all that the King declared; and cauſed the popular Prejudices to ſwell ſo high, that for the future there could be no Decency in Worſhip without the Imputation of *Popery*; and no Reaſoning in Doctrine without the Reproach of *Arminianiſm*. And this created an Obſtruction and an Odium to all that the King and Biſhops could hereafter do, when very much was fit to be done. The prime Mover and Agent was Biſhop *Laud*, of whom it may be more proper to take a Character than to give it.

Lord *Clarendon*'s Character of Biſhop *Laud*.

“The “Duke had obſerv'd and diſcover'd that the Chan“nel in which the Church Promotions had for“merly run, had been liable to ſome Corruptions, “at leaſt to many Reproaches; and therefore had “committed the ſole Repreſentation of thoſe Af“fairs, and the Recommending to the Vacancies “which ſhould happen, to Dr. *Laud* then Biſhop of “*Bath* and *Wells*, and ſworn of the Privy Council. “And the King, after the Duke's Death, continu“ed that Truſt in the ſame Hands, infinitely to the “Benefit and Honour of the Church, tho' it may “be no leſs to the Prejudice of the poor Biſhop; “who, too ſecure in a good Conſcience, and moſt “ſincere worthy Intention (with which no Man “was ever more plentifully repleniſhed) thought “he could manage and diſcharge the Place and Of“fice of the greateſt Miniſter in the Court, with“out the leaſt Condeſcenſion to the Arts and Stra“tagems of the Court, and without any other “Friendſhip or Support, than what the Splendour “of a pious Life, and his unpoliſhed Integrity, “would reconcile to him: Which was an unſkilful “Meaſure in a Licentious Age, and may deceive “a good Man in the beſt Times that ſhall ſucceed; “which expoſed him to ſuch a Torrent of Adverſi“ty and Miſery, as we ſhall have too natural an “Occaſion to lament in the following Diſcourſe, in “which it will be more ſeaſonable to enlarge upon “his ſingular Abilities and immenſe Virtue.” 1629.

Remiſneſs of Abp. *Abbot* created the greater Difficulties to Bp. *Laud*.

By the Remiſneſs of Archbiſhop *Abbot* there had crept in a Contempt of Eccleſiaſtical Authority even among the Clergy themſelves. One *Huntley*, beneficed in *Kent*, had been required by the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* to preach at a Viſitation, which he wilfully declined to do: Afterwards the Archbiſhop by his Letters enjoin'd him to preach another Turn, which he again ſtubbornly omitted. For theſe Contempts he was conven'd before the High Commiſſion Court, and fin'd and committed to Priſon; and being upon a *Habeas Corpus* brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar, the Cauſe of his Commitment was return'd, *Default in his Canonical Obedience.* He was firſt Bailed, and afterwards diſcharged upon this Opinion of the Court, *That Breach of Canonical Obedience is an Offence puniſhable by the Ordinary by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures; and not by the Commiſſioners Eccleſiaſtical by Fine and Impriſonment.*

To reſtore the decayed Diſcipline of the Church, Biſhop *Laud* preſented to the King theſe good *Conſiderations for the better ſettling of the Church Government.* (a)

Conſiderations preſented to the King by Bp. *Laud*.

“That his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed,

“1. To command the Lords the Biſhops to their “ſeveral Sees, excepting thoſe which are in Atten“dance at Court.

“2. That none of them reſide upon his Land “or Leaſe that he hath purchaſed, or on his *Com“mendam*, if he hold any; but in one of his Epiſ“copal Houſes; and that he waſte not the Woods “where any are left.

“3. That they give Charge in their triennial “Viſitations and at other times, by themſelves “and the Archdeacons, that the Declaration for “ſettling the Queſtions in difference be ſtrictly ob“ſerved.

“4. That a ſpecial Charge be given them againſt “frequent and unworthy Ordinations.

“5. That a ſpecial Care be had over the Lecturers “in every Dioceſs, which by reaſon of their Pay “are the People's Creatures, and blow the Bellows “of their Sedition: For the abating of whoſe Pow“er, theſe ways may be taken.

“1. That the Afternoon Sermons in all Pariſhes “may be turned into Catechiſing by Queſtions and “Anſwers, according to an Order ſet out by King “*James* of bleſſed Memory. If this cannot be, “then.

“2. That every Biſhop ordain in his Dioceſs, “that every Lecturer do read Divine Service in his “Surplice before the Lecture.

“3. That where a Lecture is ſet up in a Market “Town, it be read by a Combination of grave and “orthodox Divines near adjoining.

“4. That if an Incorporation do maintain a Le“cturer, that he be not ſuffered to Preach, till he “take upon him Cure of Souls within that Incorpo“ration.

“5. That the Biſhop do countenance and encou“rage the grave orthodox Divines of his Clergy, “and gain them in the ſeveral Quarters of his Dio“ceſs to be preſent at ſuch Lecturers Sermons as are “near them; that ſo the Biſhop may have Know“ledge.

“6. That the Biſhop ſuffer none under Noblemen “and Men qualified by Law, to have any private “Chaplain in his Houſe.

“7. That his Majeſty may be graciouſly pleaſed, “that Men of Courage, Gravity, and Experience in “Government, be preferred to Biſhopricks.

“8. That *Emanuel* and *Sidney* Colleges in *Cam“bridge*, which are the Nurſeries of Puritaniſm, “may from time to time be provided of grave and “orthodox Men for their Governours.

(a) See *Ruſhworth*, ii. p. 7.

1629. "9. That his Majeſty's High Commiſſion be countenanced by the Preſence of ſome of his Majeſty's "Privy Council, ſo oft at leaſt as any Matter of "Moment is to be ſentenc'd.

"10. That ſome Courſe may be taken, that the "Judges may not ſend ſo many Prohibitions.

"11. That his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed once in half a Year to call for an Account of "all, or ſo many of theſe, as he in his Wiſdom "ſhall think fit.

"12. A Conſideration alſo to be had as to the general Feoffees, for Benefices and Impropriations; "and as to a new Authorizing of the Injunctions."

Theſe were indeed very excellent Heads of Intimation, and the putting many of them in Practice had a mighty Influence upon the Beauty and Honour of the Church; and muſt needs have had a much better effect, if the inveterate Prejudice of People had not infected theſe Times with an Iniquity ſoon eſtabliſhed by Cuſtom.

The King in his Heart againſt Popery. The King did what he could to make his Subjects ſenſible that Popery ſhould have no more favour out of Parliament than in it. And therefore he made a ſtrict Order in Council, that all *Engliſh* Papiſts going to the Houſes of Ambaſſadors to hear Maſs, ſhould be apprehended and proſecuted according to Law. (*a*)

Therefore proceeds againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits. And to ſhew the Sincerity of his Intentions, he declares, that he has begun already at his own Houſe, not permitting any to go to the Queen's Chapel but thoſe of the Queen's own Houſe, who are bound to attend upon her. Another Order of Council to the Attorney-General, that the Statute 3 *Jacobi* be put in Execution againſt Recuſants dwelling within ten Miles of *London*; and the Statute of Confinement, to be executed upon all Popiſh Lodgers within the City; and a Bill of Indictment to be exhibited againſt the Keeper of *New-Priſon*, for ſuffering Prieſts committed to his Cuſtody to walk abroad at their Pleaſure; and a Letter from the Council to the High Sheriff and Juſtices of Peace in *Northumberland*, to reprove them for their Remiſsneſs, and to require them to execute the Laws againſt Popiſh Recuſants without Partiality or Connivance; and a Proclamation dated *March* 24, 1628. for the Apprehenſion of *Richard Smith* a Popiſh Prieſt, calling himſelf the Biſhop of *Calcedon*; and an Order of the Lord-Mayor of *London* for a ſtrict Care in the better Obſervation of the Lord's Day, dated *Apr.* 20. 1629. And becauſe one of the moſt viſible Scandals of the Nation was the lamentable Decay of Churches, and the frequent Prohibitions that ſtayed the Proceſs in Eccleſiaſtical Courts for Repair of them; therefore his Majeſty, at *Hampton-Court*, Octob. 11. *Reg.* 5. ſet forth a *Proclamation for preventing the Decays of Churches and Chapels for the time to come:* Wherein he declares,

Proclamation for preventing the decay of Churches and Chapels. "THat having of late taken ſpecial notice of the "general decay and ruin of Pariſh Churches "in many Parts of this Kingdom; and that by Law "the ſame ought to be repaired and maintained at "the proper Charge of the Inhabitants, and others "having Land in thoſe Chapelries and Pariſhes reſpectively; who had wilfully neglected to Repair "the ſame, being conſecrated Places of God's Worſhip and Divine Service. His Majeſty doth therefore charge and command all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, that they take ſpecial care of the Repairing and Upholding the ſame from time to time, "and by themſelves and their Officers to take a "View and Survey of them, and to uſe the Power "of the Eccleſiaſtical Court for putting the ſame "in due Execution; and that the Judges be requir'd 1629. "not to interrupt this good Work by their too eaſy "granting of Prohibitions." (*b*)

King's Inſtructions to the two Archbiſhops. By the vigilant Zeal of Biſhop *Laud*, the *Conſiderations* which he had lately preſented to the King, were now formed into *Regal Inſtructions*, ſent to the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, by them to be tranſmitted to all the Biſhops within their reſpective Provinces. Thoſe for *Canterbury* were thus entitled, *Inſtructions for the moſt Reverend Father in God our right Truſty and right entirely beloved Counſellor* George *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *concerning certain Orders to be obſerved and put in execution by the ſeveral Biſhops in his Province.*

They differ in nothing from the *Conſiderations* before recited, excepting theſe Additional Particulars.

"That the Biſhops take ſpecial Care that Divine "Service be diligently frequented, as well for Prayers and Catechiſms as Sermons; and take a particular Note of all ſuch as abſent themſelves, as "Recuſants or otherwiſe.

"That every Biſhop, who by our Grace and Favour, and good Opinion of his Service, ſhall be "nominated by us to another Biſhoprick, ſhall "from that Day of Nomination not preſume to make "any Leaſe for three Lives, or twenty one Years "or concurrent Leaſe, or any ways to renew any "Eſtate, or cut any Wood or Timber, but merely "to receive the Rents due, and quit the Place. For "we think it a hateful Thing that any Man's leaving the Biſhoprick ſhould almoſt undo the Succeſſor. And if any Man ſhall preſume to break "this Order, we will refuſe our Royal Aſſent, and "keep him at the Place he hath ſo abuſed.

"And laſtly, We command you to give us an "Account every Year, the ſecond of *January*, of "the performance of theſe our Commands."

Nothing was more ſeaſonable and honourable than the laſt but one of theſe *Inſtructions.* For Tranſlations began now to be more frequent than in former Reigns; and ſome Biſhops upon the proſpect of Removal had been Sordid and Scandalous in leaving Places bare behind them. This muſt, however, be an Argument of the Innocence and Integrity of Biſhop *Laud*, who ſuggeſted this Advice, when he had been already removed from two Sees, and had a full view of being Tranſlated to another.

Bp. *Laud* zealous for executing of them. He was vigorous in providing for the ſtrict Execution of thoſe Royal Injunctions: And therefore he firſt cited all the Miniſters and Lecturers within the City and Suburbs of *London*, and made an affectionate Speech to them, exhorting them to obey his Majeſty's late Inſtructions, as founded on Religion and Juſtice, and adapted to the Honour and Intereſt of Church and Common-wealth, and diſlik'd by few but thoſe who had not weigh'd them, nor ſo much as ſeen them. After which he wrote an earneſt Letter (including a Letter to him from his Grace in Obedience to the King) to his ſeveral Archdeacons to preſs the Duty on them in their reſpective Viſitations. (*c*)

But there was now a warm Spirit of Diſaffection to the Court in many of the Inferiour Clergy; Mr. *Bernard*, Lecturer at St. *Sepulchre*'s Church in *London*, had on *January* 28. 1629. uſed this Expreſſion in Many of the inferiour Clergy diſaffected to the Court. his Prayer before Sermon: *Lord, open the Eyes of the Queen's Majeſty, that ſhe may ſee Jeſus Chriſt, whom ſhe hath pierced with her Infidelity, Superſtition and Idolatry.* For which being queſtion'd in the High Commiſſion, the Court declared, that the Saying was un-

(*a*) See a Letter from Sir *Henry Bourgchier* to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, dat. *London. March* 26. 1629.——Yeſterday at *Newgate* Seſſions, Father *Muskett*, your Grace's Old Acquaintance, was arraigned, and two other Prieſts, one of them an *Iriſh* man. They were all found guilty of Treaſon, and had Judgment accordingly. There were an hundred Recuſants preſented at the ſame time, &c. *Letters of Archbiſhop* Uſher, &c. p. 104.

(*b*) See the Proclamation printed at large in *Ruſhworth* ii. p. 28. and in the Annals of K. *James*, and K. *Charles* Fol. p. 370.

(*c*) See the Inſtructions given by *Thomas Paske*, Arch-deacon of *London*, to the Miniſters and Church-Wardens of the ſeveral Pariſhes within the City of *London*, concerning Lecturers, &c. in the Month of *January*, 1629. Printed Sheet.

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1629. adviſed and ſcandalous: but Mr. *Bernard* making an open and humble Submiſſion, the Court deſired the Biſhop of *London* to inform his Majeſty, and upon his Report the Offender was with great Mercy diſmiſt. Mr. *Charles Chancy* Miniſter of *Ware*, had likewiſe in a Sermon been bold to ſay, *That Idolatry was admitted into the Church; that the preaching of the Goſpel would be ſuppreſt; that there is much Atheiſm, Popery, Arminianiſm, and Hereſie crept into the Church:* For which intolerable Liberty he was brought into the High Commiſſion, and by Order of that Court the Cauſe was referred to the Biſhop of *London*, who enjoin'd him no other Penalty than a Latin Form of Submiſſion(*a*). And Mr. *Palmer*, a Lecturer at St. *Alphage* in *Canterbury*, was by the Archdeacon's Certificate found *to Preach without Licenſe; to read Prayers againſt the Miniſter's Will; to Catechiſe not according to Canon; to take upon him to declare the King's Mind in his Royal Inſtructions; never to uſe the Surplice; to have preached a factious Sermon in the Cathedral Church; and therein to have detracted from Divine Service; and ſo to have gained all factious Parties to be his Auditors.* For which the Commiſſioners had only enjoin'd him Silence, till being informed that the Archbiſhop had authoris'd him to Preach again, they then found a way to drive him from that City. This Seditious Ferment among ſome few of the Lower Clergy was too eaſie to be improv'd, when ſo many of the leading Gentry were pleaſed with it; and when the Archbiſhop himſelf in Jealouſie and Diſcontent conniv'd at it.

Popery in *Ireland*.

In *Ireland* the Apprehenſions of Popery were more dreadful and more juſt. The Popiſh Biſhops and Prieſts had held their publick Aſſemblies in all parts of that Kingdom, and exerciſed an open Juriſdiction: Convents were profeſſedly erected; and even in *Dublin* the Friers were enough to make a Riot. Upon a due Information of theſe Diſorders, a Letter was ſent from our Privy-Council, *January* 31. 1629. to the Lords Juſtices and Council of *Ireland*, with Thanks for ſuppreſſing the Seditious Riot moved by the Friers and their Adherents at *Dublin*; with Advice to reſtrain them by a due and ſeaſonable Execution of the Laws: ſpeedily to demoliſh the Houſe in *Dublin*, where the Archbiſhop and Mayor received the firſt Affront; and that other Houſes erected to the uſe of ſuperſtitious Societies be converted into Houſes of Correction, &c. (*b*)

There can be no doubt but the King was in Conſcience averſe to Popery; and whatever Favours were obtained for ſome of that inſolent Party, were all extorted from his Majeſty's good Nature, in compliance with an importunate Queen. When Judgment and Inclination could exert themſelves, the King always fell upon the proper Meaſures of eſtabliſhing the Church of *England* at home, and of ſupporting the Proteſtant Intereſt abroad. To this latter effect, he granted his Letters Patents given at *Weſtminſter* March 16. *Regn.* 5. "for a Collection to "be made thro'out *England* and *Wales* for the poor "exiled Miniſters of the *Palatinate*, and their Wives "and Children, being ſpoiled of all their Temporal "Eſtates, and expoſed to unexpreſſible Miſeries; "whoſe Caſe is the more to be deplored, becauſe "theſe Extremities fell upon them for their Since-"rity and Conſtancy in the true Religion." But here again ſome People catcht at an Offence, becauſe in the firſt Patent after the Words *Sincerity and Conſtancy in the true Religion*, it follow'd thus, *which we together with them do Profeſs, and which we are all bound in conſcience to maintain to the utmoſt of our Powers.* The Biſhop of *London* was diſſatisfied at the laſt Expreſſion, and prevailed with his Majeſty to have that firſt Patent cancell'd, and a new one drawn with omiſſion of that Clauſe. And though this Alteration was but cautious and ſtrictly proper, yet when diſcovered, there were not wanting thoſe Wits who could make a ſort of Popiſh Plot of it.

The King was for eſtabliſhing the Church and ſupporting the Proteſtant Intereſt.

1630. 6 *Car.* I.

To return to the Courſe of Civil Affairs from the beginning of the ſixth Year of this Reign 1630.

Death of *Will.* Earl of *Pembroke*.

On *April* 10. died a great Miniſter of State, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, Governour of *Portſmouth*, Knight of the Garter, Lord High Steward of the King's Houſhold, and Chancellour of the Univerſity of *Oxford*. He ſupp'd that Night with the Counteſs of *Bedford* at *Biſhopſgate*, and was more than ordinarily cheerful, it being his Birth-Day: After Supper he went home to *Bernard's Caſtle*, and being that Day Seventy Years of Age, he was boaſting of his Health and Strength, and ſaid, he would never truſt a Woman Propheteſs for the Lady *Davis's* ſake, who had told him he ſhould die upon that Day of his Birth. He went to Bed very well, and died of an Apoplexy before Morning.

Character of the Earl of Pembroke, by the Lord *Clarendon* in his Hiſt. of Rebel. b. I. p. 45.

His Character is thus given by the Lord *Clarendon*. *One the moſt univerſally Beloved and Eſteemed of any Man of that Age; and having a great Office in the Court, he made the Court it ſelf better eſteem'd and more reverenc'd in the Country: Well-bred, and of excellent Parts, and a graceful Speaker upon any Subject, having a good proportion of Learning, and a ready Wit to apply it, and enlarge upon it: Of a pleaſant and facetious Humour, and a Diſpoſition Affable, Generous and Magnificent. He was Maſter of a great Fortune from his Anceſtors, and had a great addition by his Wife; but all ſerv'd not his Expence, which was only limited by his great Mind and Occaſions to uſe it nobly. He lived many Years about the Court, before in it; and never by it: being rather regarded and eſteemed by King* James *than loved and favoured.* —— *He ſtood upon his own Feet without any other Support than of his proper Virtue and Merit.* —— *Exceedingly beloved in the Court, becauſe he never deſired to get that for himſelf which others laboured for, but was ſtill ready to promote the Pretences of worthy Men. And he was equally celebrated in the Country, for having received no Obligations from the Court, which might corrupt or ſway his Affections and Judgment.* —— *He was a great Lover of his Country, and of the Religion and Juſtice, which he believed could only ſupport it; and his Friendſhips were only with Men of thoſe Principles.* —— *Yet he was not without ſome Allay of Vice, and without being clouded with great Infirmities, which he had in too exorbitant a proportion.* —— *He died exceedingly lamented*, &c.

Project of raiſing Money.

By occaſion of the late Wars, and a want of Parliament Supply, the greateſt care of the Court muſt be how to advance the publick Revenue: To which effect the Lords of the Council adviſed the King to put forth a Proclamation; declaring his Pleaſure to

(*a*) One Extreme is often owing to another. Dr. *John Coſin*, Prebendary of *Durham*, was indicted at the General Aſſizes in *Durham* within this Year 1629. for introducing and practiſing ſeveral Innovations and Corruptions in the Cathedral Church of *Durham*, and for unſound Doctrine, and for impugning the King's Supremacy; particularly, he the ſaid Dr. *Coſin*, preaching in the ſaid Church, upon the Parable of the *Tares* ſaid; that *the Reformers of our Church, when they took away the Maſſe, took away or marr'd all Religion, and the whole Service of God; they called it a Reformation, but it was indeed a Deformation:* And that the Maſs was not ſo taken away, but that the *Preſence of Chriſt* ſtill remaineth; and that if the Reformation were otherwiſe, it were not a *Reformed* but a *Deformed* Religion. And that he meant of a *Corporal Preſence* was plain, for that he complained afterward in the ſaid Sermon, that *ſome had thruſt out the Preſence of Chriſt*; and he likewiſe ſaid, that in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, when Popery was put out, the *Reformation* was a *Deformation*; and inſtead of bringing in *Order*, they brought in *Ordure*. That the ſaid Dr. *Coſin* perſwading a Papiſt to come to Church, ſaid, that the Body of Chriſt was *ſubſtantially and really* in the Sacrament. And again at a publick Dinner, he ſaid, that the *King was not ſupreme Head of the Church in* England, *nor could be ſo called.* —— *Billa vera* was returned, but Proceedings ſtopt.

(*b*) The Lords Juſtices of *Ireland* being ſworn 26. *October*, 1629. did immediately direct, that the Papiſts ſhould be proſecuted for not coming to Church, and accordingly the Statute of 2. *Eliz*. was given in charge at the Aſſizes, but by Directions from *England*, that Proſecution was ſuperſeded. *Cox's Hiſtory of* Ireland. P. ii. p. 54.

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1630. confirm to his Subjects their defective Titles in Eſtates and Poſſeſſions (as well by colour of former Grants, as without any Grant from the Crown) and a Proclamation was accordingly iſſued *May* 27. to inform the People, that his Majeſty had renewed a Commiſſion to ſome Lords, Judges and Counſel learned, to ſell, grant and confirm to them all Poſſeſſions to which their Titles were any way defective, by making of ſuch Compoſition as the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhould approve and accept. Though this Method might have very well tended to the Quiet and Relief of the Subject in many dubious Tenures, which might be now made unqueſtionable Settlements: yet either the proceeding of the Commiſſioners in this Matter, or the natural Prejudice againſt raiſing Money out of Parliament, turned it into the popular Notion of a new Grievance and Oppreſſion.

Birth of Prince *Charles.*

On *May* 29. a little before One after Noon, the Queen was delivered of a Son, baptized *Charles* by the Lord Biſhop of *London*, who had the Honour to ſee him before he was an Hour old. The King rode publickly to St. *Paul*'s Church to give Thanks to God for the Queen's ſafe delivery of a Son: at which time a Star appeared in a clear Sky; ſeen and atteſted by very many Spectators. (*a*)

Libel in the *Star-Chamber.*

On the ſame Day a great Cauſe was brought to Hearing in the *Star-Chamber*, concerning a Diſcourſe entitled, *A Propoſition for his Majeſty's Service to bridle the Impertinency of Parliaments*; which had given ſo much Offence and Jealouſie about the time of the laſt Diſſolution, that the King order'd his Attorney-General to prefer an Information againſt the Earls of *Bedford*, *Clare* and *Somerſet*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Saint John*, and others, for ſpreading the ſaid Libel. The Earl of *Somerſet* by his Council pleaded, "That this Diſcourſe was either the ſame " that was ſhewed him in the time of his attendance " upon his late Majeſty King *James*, or had the " ſame things in it. And finding no cauſe of con- " cealing ſuch a former Project, and imagining it " to be of no Scandal to the preſent Government, " he had caſually imparted it to the Earls of *Bedford* " and *Clare*; who after peruſal thereof deliver'd this " Opinion of it at their next Meeting, that *it was* " *a phantaſtick Project of ſome Brain ſick Traveller, who* " *had made Collections of ſome Princes in* Italy, *and o-* " *ther Foreign States, no way ſuitable to the Govern-* " *ment of this Kingdom.*" And upon the Depoſitions of Sir *David Fowlis* it appear'd, that the very Original Manuſcript was pen'd by Sir *Robert Dudley* at *Florence*, and ſent over hither in the time of King *James* by one Mr. *Yates*, who ſent it in a Letter to the Deponent, and he deliver'd it to the Earl of *Somerſet*, and the Earl communicated it to the King. While this Cauſe was hearing in a great preſence of Nobility and Gentry, the King ſent Word to the Lord Keeper, "That in reſpect of the great Joy, upon " the Birth of his Son, he ſhould immediately order " the Proceedings to be ſtopp'd, and the Defendents " to be diſcharg'd." Accordingly the Keeper acquainted the Court with his Majeſty's ſpecial Command: Upon which, the ſaid Writing was ordered to be burnt as Seditious and Scandalous; and the Proceedings were taken off the File. And here, though the Project was prov'd to have been a private Eſſay in a former Reign, and in a Foreign Country: and tho' the ſtopping of Proceſs hereupon was a generous Act of Favour upon a proper Seaſon of publick Joy; yet thoſe Perſons who had the Art and the ill nature to turn every thing, as a Diſgrace and a Diſadvantage upon the Court, knew how to inſinuate, as if the King and the Miniſtry had really form'd that 1630.
Scheme againſt the uſe of future Parliaments; and therefore would not ſuffer it to be examin'd to the bottom.

Another Project for Money.

The urgent Neceſſity of Supplies, to be in ſame meaſure ſuitable to the King's Honour, and the very Nation's Support, muſt exerciſe the King's Council in finding out all poſſible Ways and Means to bring in Money. In order to this urgent End, the King ſent his Letters, dated *May* 13. to the Judges and Attorney-General, to frame and publiſh certain Orders for execution of the Office of Receiver and Collector of Fines and Forfeitures, erected by his late Father of bleſſed Memory, and by his preſent Majeſty confirm'd to *John Chamberlayn* his Majeſty's Phyſician, and *Edward Brown*, Eſq;. The Judges met and concluded, that the ſaid Letters Patents were both againſt Law and his Majeſty's Profit, and ſent an account of the Exceſſes and Irregularities in the ſaid Patent, in a Letter from all the Juſtices and Barons, directed ſeverally to the Lord Keeper and Lord Treaſurer. And though this did well demonſtrate the Integrity of the Judges, that they would never proſtitute an Opinion to the meer Intereſt of the King; and did as much vindicate his Majeſty's Honour, that he would inſiſt upon no Method (tho' begun by his Father) which the Judges of his Realm ſhould not pronounce to be ſtrictly Lawful; yet, however, this too was applied to the prejudice of the Court, as if they were purſuing Methods which the very Judges condemn'd for Arbitrary and Illegal.

Project of Knighthood.

Another Project was reaſſum'd about impoſing the Order of Knighthood, or requiring a Fine for Neglect of it, as founded upon an old Statute and cuſtomary Writs. The King ſet forth his Proclamation on *July* 6. that "Whereas he had formerly ſent " Writs to ſeveral Sheriffs for Summoning all that " had forty Pound Land or Rent yearly, to appear " at the day of his Coronation, and prepare them- " ſelves to receive the Order of Knighthood; he " had now eſtabliſh'd a Commiſſion to certain Lords " and others of his Privy Council, to treat and com- " pound with all thoſe who had made Default by " not taking the ſaid Order on them." Upon this the Nobility were ordered to compound before the Lords of the Council; and the Gentry before other Commiſſioners appointed in the ſeveral Counties. The Rate for Compoſition was commonly requir'd to be one third and a half of as much as the Perſons compounding were found rated in the Subſidy. But this too was grievouſly reſented as an Impoſition out of Parliament; ſo that many in all Parts neglected to appear, or refuſed to compound. This gave occaſion to new Summons, and to farther Proceſs; and the Iſſue in all Courts being in Favour and Confirmation of the King's Prerogative; this left upon ſome Spirits the deeper Impreſſion of Regret, that they were oppreſt againſt Law, and yet had no Law to relieve them.

London riotous.

Diſaffection and Sedition were ſo induſtriouſly fomented in the City of *London*, that upon *Friday* July 10, upon occaſion of an Arreſt made by the Sheriff's Officers in *Fleetſtreet*, a very tumultuous Riot was made upon it; and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and Train'd Bands, coming down to diſperſe the Mob, did for a while meet with open and violent oppoſition. Upon which, Proclamation was made to apprehend the Ringleaders, and in particular one Captain *Vaughan*, *Ward* an Enſign, and *Henry Stamford*: Several of them were ſoon after indict-

(*a*) On *May* 30. being *Sunday*, the King came to *Paul*'s Croſs, to give God Thanks for the Birth of his Son, where were preſented unto him theſe Verſes,

Rex ubi Paulinas acceſſit gratus ad aras,
Emicuit medio lucida ſtella polo.
Dic divina mihi tractans ænigmata cœli,
Hæc oriens nobis quid ſibi Stella velit.
Magnus in occiduo modo Princeps naſcitur orbe,
Moxq; ſub Eclipſi Regna Orientis erunt.

Mr. *Lilly* ſaith, it was not a new Star, but the Planet *Venus*, uſually ſeen in the Day time, and that there was an Eclipſe the *Monday* following. *Obſervations on the Life and Death of* K. Charles 4*to*. p. 93.

There is an Account of the Rites and Ceremonies uſed at the Chriſtening of the Prince on the 27th of *June* 1630. the Duke of *Lenox*, and Marqueſs of *Hamilton* being Godfathers; in MSS. *Harley* 61. *B*. 30.

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ed and convicted of Murders; and among the principal, *Stamford* was executed.

Prohibitions to Eccleſ. Courts.

Weſtminſter-hall was exerciſ'd with many ſingular Caſes, that ſerve much to expreſs the Diſpoſition of the Times. In *Eaſter-Term* Sir *Henry Martyn*, Dr. of Laws, and Judge of the Admiralty, made a great Complaint to the King againſt the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, for granting Prohibitions againſt his Court: And upon this Occaſion the Judges were called before the King, where they ſtoutly juſtified their Proceedings in thoſe Caſes to be according to Law, and from whence they could not depart by vertue of their Oaths.

Defended by the Judges.

About the next Term, the Feoffees in Truſt for the buying in of Impropriations to be beſtow'd upon preaching Miniſters, were brought into the Exchequer for breach of their Truſt in not augmenting poorer Vicarages, but giving arbitrary Penſions to Lecturers and diſaffected Preachers: Their Corporation was diſſolved, and their Fund and Stock adjudg'd to the King; of which we muſt take ſome farther notice in our view of Church Affairs.

Feoffment for buying in Impropriations diſſolv'd.

Nigh the ſame time, *Huntley*, a Miniſter in *Kent* before mentioned, having been cenſur'd and impriſon'd by the High Commiſſion Court, brought now his Action of falſe Impriſonment againſt the Keeper Mr. *Barker*, and ſome of the Commiſſioners by Name.

An Action brought againſt the High Commiſſioners.

The Attorney General moved, that the Action might lye againſt the Goaler only, and by no means againſt any of the Perſons in the High Commiſſion: but after long Debate, the Court ordered that two of the Commiſſioners ſhould Anſwer. The Biſhop of *London* made the King ſenſible, that the Authority of his High Commiſſion Court would fall to nothing, if the Judges of it muſt be now expos'd to perſonal Actions.

The King ſtops the Action.

Upon which the King ſent his Advocate Dr. *Ryves* to the Lord Chief Juſtice, requiring him to proceed no farther in that Cauſe till he had ſpoken with his Majeſty. The Chief Juſtice anſwer'd, *We receive the Meſſage*; and then conſulted with the Judges, and they came to this Reſolution, that *they conceived ſuch a Meſſage not to ſtand with their Oaths, which commanded an indefinite ſtay of a Cauſe between Party and Party, that might ſtop the Courſe of Juſtice ſo long as the King would.*

Stout Anſwer of Chief Juſtice and Judges.

And they farther declared the Doctor to be no fit Meſſenger, all Meſſages from the King to them being uſually by the Lord Keeper, or the Attorney General, in Cauſes relating to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. By the Court's Deſire, the Chief Juſtice acquainted the Lord Keeper, and the Biſhop of *London*, who both agreed that the Meſſage was miſtaken, and that the King's Mind was not to command a *Stop*, but to deſire as much *Slowneſs* as might ſtand with Juſtice. After this, upon the Importunity of the Commiſſioners, who would no longer act if thus expoſed to Suits at Common Law; the King aſſumed the Matter to himſelf, and ſending for the Judges, charg'd them with *expreſs Command, that they ſhould not put the Commiſſioners to anſwer.*

The King again interpoſes, to no purpoſe.

The Judges ſtoutly replied, that *they could not, without breach of their Oaths, perform that Command.* Afterwards the Matter was handled at the Council-Table in Preſence of the Judges; where, after long hearing, it was determin'd, that *the Judges had done their duty, and that the Commiſſioners ought to anſwer.* Toward the End of *Trinity-Term*, the Sickneſs encreaſing in *Southwark*, *Hobart*, *Stroud*, and *Valentine*, three of the late Members, impriſon'd in the *Marſhalſea*, ſued to the Judges of the *King's-Bench* to be removed to the *Gate-Houſe*, and were by Writ from the Court ſo removed; But Mr. *Selden*, being at the ſame time in the *Marſhalſea*, had forgot or omitted to make the like Application to the *King's-Bench* till the Term was over, and the Judges in the Circuit: After which he ſued to the Lord Treaſurer for the like favour of Removal, and by Warrant from his Lordſhip was accordingly ſo removed.

Proceedings againſt ſome of the late Members.

But in *Michaelmas Term* the Judges called the Marſhal for his Priſoner *Selden*; and he producing the Treaſurer's Warrant by the King's direction, they declared ſuch a Warrant to be Illegal, and ſent their Writ to remand the Priſoner back again to the *Marſhalſea*. In the *Hilary Term* following, the Attorney-General exhibited two ſeveral Informations againſt Sir *Miles Hobart*, Kt. and *William Stroud*, Eſq; (who by Writ from the *King's-Bench* had been remov'd from the *Marſhalſea* to the *Gate-Houſe*) for Eſcapes out of Priſon, proving that *Stroud* had reſided with a Keeper in his own Chambers at *Gray's-Inn*; and *Hobart* had continued with a Keeper at his Lodgings in *Fleet-ſtreet*. The Jury return'd their Verdicts ſeverally *not Guilty*: And the Judges reſolved, that *The Priſon of the King's Bench is not any local Priſon confined to one Place; but that every Place where any Perſon is by Authority of that Court reſtrained of his Liberty, is a Priſon.*

Honour of the King and his Judges.

Theſe ſeveral Caſes, and the Deciſion of them, do abundantly prove, that the preſent Sett of Judges were no ſervile Creatures of the Court; and that the King did not inſiſt upon their obſequious Compliance with him: but they gave their Judgments with Freedom and Courage, and the King acquieſced in their Opinion, tho' contrary to his own. (*a*)

Foreign Affairs.

We muſt now look over upon the Foreign Affairs of this Year. The King was in Honour and Good-nature earneſt to relieve his Siſter, and reſtore, if poſſible, the *Palatinate* to her Husband. In order to this, the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* was to carry over an Army of ſix thouſand Men, for aſſiſtance of the King of *Sweden*, to be employ'd againſt the *Imperialiſts* or any other Enemies, *for reſtoring our oppreſſed Friends in* Germany. And Articles of Agreement between *Guſtavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, and *James* Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, were ſigned *May* 31. 1630.

Expedition of Guſt. Adolphus King of Sweden.

Soon after, the King of *Sweden* croſſes the *Baltick* Sea with a Fleet; and declaring the Cauſes of his Expedition into *Germany*, he landed upon the Coaſt of *Pomeren* about the middle of *June*. To enable the Marqueſs *Hamilton* to raiſe and tranſport his Men, the King granted him a Leaſe of the Cuſtom of Wines in *Scotland* for ſixteen Years. Upon this Fund the Marqueſs levied his Men in *Scotland*: and toward Winter came back to the Court in *England* to receive the King's Order for their Embarkment. But here one *Mackay*, Lord *Ochiltry*, charg'd the Marqueſs with a treaſonable Deſign of Raiſing this new Army with an Intention when he was at the Head of them to ſet himſelf up as King of *Scotland*. The Lord Treaſurer *Weſton* encouraged this Suggeſtion, and preſs'd it home to the King; who told *Hamilton*, the next time he came into his Preſence, what an Accuſation was brought againſt him: but, ſays the King, *I don't believe it; and that the World may know I have a Confidence in your Loyalty, you ſhall lie in my Bed-chamber this Night.* And the Marqueſs did accordingly continue in the moſt intimate Acceſſes to the King, who hitherto had this Principle, Never to ſuſpect his Friends, and never to deſert them. (*b*)

At this time a Dyet was held at *Ratisbone* in *Germany*, to which an Ambaſſadour was ſent from the King of *Great Britain*, and another from the *Palſgrave*, to accommodate, if poſſible, the Reſtitution of the Palatinate.

Endeavours for Reſtitution of the Palatinate.

Sir *Robert Anſtruther*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, preſented his Maſter's ardent Requeſt to his Imperial Majeſty, " That having regard to

(*a*) There were ſome invidious and ſevere Proceedings in the Star-Chamber, particularly a Sentence given 27. *June*, 1630. againſt Dr. *Alexander Leighton* for writing and publiſhing a Seditious Pamphlet entituled, *An Appeal to the Parliament, or a Plea againſt Prelacy*; to ſtand in the Pillory, to have his Noſe ſlit, his Ears cropt, his Forehead branded, to pay ten thouſand Pounds, and to ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment. See his own Deſcription of his Troubles. 4*to*. 1646.

(*b*) During theſe Endeavours for the Recovery of the Palatinate, the King iſſued his Letters of Licenſe for a Collection of Charity and Benevolence, throughout *England* and *Wales*, toward the Maintenance of the exiled Miniſters of the Palatinate. Given at *Canterbury*, *Auguſt* 19. *reg.* 6. 1630.

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"the many Interceſſions of his late Father, and other Kings and Princes, he would remit the Diſpleaſure conceived againſt his Brother the Prince Elector, and recall the Proſcription iſſued out againſt him." It was only anſwered, "That the preſent Affairs in *Germany*, which occaſioned the Dyet, were ſo important, as not to admit of any foreign Debate; and yet, upon Opportunity and Leiſure, the King of *Great-Britain* ſhould receive ſuch Satisfaction as would be agreeable." This Anſwer was ſoon found to be a Complement: for the Emperour propoſed to the Dyet to paſs an Act, that the *Palſgrave* ſhould continue a baniſh'd Man, and that no Offers of Return ſhould be made to him. And many other of the Proteſtant Princes had their Lands confiſcated, and had other great Hardſhips impos'd upon them. Upon which the Dyet broke up on *Nov.* 3. leaving the Palatinate and the whole Proteſtant Intereſt in a more deſperate Condition. This made the Reformed Princes enter into Conſultation for their own Safety, and by a Letter from the Duke of *Saxony* to his Imperial Majeſty, they obtained Leave to hold a Dyet by themſelves at *Lipſick* on *Feb.* 8. following: where they laid open their Grievance to the Emperour; and upon Denial of their Requeſts, they entred into a League to redreſs themſelves. The Emperor put forth his Imperial *Ban* againſt them, but they ſupported their Cauſe and Courage by the Advances of the King of *Sweden*.

In the mean time, the King of *Spain* promiſing that he would improve his utmoſt Intereſt in the Emperour towards the Reſtoration of the Prince Elector, Articles of Peace were publiſhed *Dec.* 5. between the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*. So that now the King was delivered from two very expenſive and very ineffectual Wars, that had unhappily betrayed him to be ſomewhat too poor and weak both Abroad and Home.

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E. of *Caſtlehaven* Tried and Executed.

We paſs on to the 7 *Car.* 1631. when *Mervin* Lord *Audley*, Earl of *Caſtlehaven* in *Ireland*, having had 3 Indictments found againſt him at *Salisbury* Aſſizes for a Rape upon his own Wife, and for *Sodomy*, was tried by his Peers in *Weſtminſter-Hall* on *Apr.* 25. and being found guilty of thoſe abominable Sins, in the moſt aggravating ways of Commiſſion, he was ſentenc'd to Death, and ſoon after executed.

More little Projects for raiſing Money.

The Ways and Means of raiſing Money in the Intervals of Parliament, were thought as neceſſary to the King, as they were odious to the People: and the Neceſſity deſcended to little Arts, that were not for that reaſon leſs offenſive. An Office was now erected for the Sealing of Playing Cards; and the Duties hence ariſing were farm'd out to one *Henry Cagon*. The Maſter and Wardens of the Company of *Card-makers* made ſome Oppoſition to it, but ſubmitted to a Contract with the King that made the Profit anſwerable to the Project. A like Contract was made between his Majeſty and the *Dice-makers* of the City of *London*, to pay an allotted Proportion for every Bale of Dice. On *July* 27. by Order of the Privy Council, there came out Printed *Inſtructions for Muſters and Arms and the Uſe thereof*, upon Occaſion of the Train'd-Bands of ſeveral Counties being ordered to march to the See-Coaſts for Defence of the Kingdom: The Rates to be paid to the Muſter-maſter of each County were thought a Grievance, tho' grounded upon Precedent in the Reigns of K. *James* and Q. *Elizabeth*. Several Perſons refuſing to pay the Aſſeſſment, were ſent for up by Meſſengers to the Council-Table, where they moſt of them ſubmitted. But the Misfortune was, that under a Jealouſie of new Impoſitions, People were alarmed and affrighted at the calling for any old Cuſtom or Tribute.

Further to increaſe the Revenues of the Crown, Letters Patent were granted to erect a new Society or Body corporate, by the Name of *The Governour, Aſſiſtants, and Society of Soap-makers*. And all who did not come into this Corporation, were prohibited the Trade of Soap-boiling. This brought into the Exchequer ten thouſand Pounds by way of Advance, and eight Pounds a Tun for all Soap hereafter boiled. This was looked on as a Monopoly, and all other Trades began to be jealous of the like practiſing upon them.

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On *Monday* Aug. 22. the Lord-Keeper and Judges conſulted how to examine into the Truth of the late Charge againſt the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*. The Lord *Rea*, a *Scotch* Baron, impeach'd *Ramſey* and *Meldrum* for moving him beyond the Seas to join in this Conſpiracy: *Ramſey* denied the Fact, and offer'd to clear himſelf by Combat; and *Rea* accepting of the Challenge, the Judges now declared, 1. That it was an high and horrible Treaſon, if the Matter in the Examinations were found true. 2. That the Trial might be by an Appeal of Treaſon, after the manner of the Civil Law, the Judges not to intermeddle. Upon which Opinion, a Court of Chivalry was erected by Commiſſion under the Great Seal, dated *Novemb.* 24. And after very long and formal Proceedings, when the Parties were juſt ready for Combat, the King interpoſed; and to prevent the Duel, ſent them both Priſoners to the *Tower*.

Combat agreed between *Ramſey* and *Rea*.

Death of Sir *Nich. Hide*, Ch. Juſtice.

His Character.

On *Friday* Aug. 26. Sir *Nicholas Hide*, Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, died at his Houſe in *Hampſhire*; a Man of great Integrity, Widom, and Temper. He had this Character given him by Judge *Whitlock*; *Being made Chief Juſtice* 2 Car. *he lived in the Place with great Integrity and Uprightneſs, and with great Wiſdom and Temper, conſidering the Ticklishneſs of the Times. He would never undertake to the King, nor adventure to give him a reſolute Anſwer in any weighty buſineſs, when the Queſtion was of the Law; but he would pray that he might confer with his Brethren: and the King ever gave way to it.* This latter Acknowledgment from a Writer who was not partial to the King, is a great Argument that ſome following Opinions of the Judges in this Reign were not extorted by any Menace from their Royal Maſter.

Foreign Affairs.

As to our foreign Affairs this Year, the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* was early provided to tranſport his ſix thouſand Men to be employed in the Service of the King of *Sweden*; yet he could not ſet Sail with them before the 19th of *July*. He landed in *Pomeren* Aug. 2. where he ſtayed for the coming of ſix thouſand *Swedes*, to march with them through the Enemies Quarters to the King. But that Convoy failing, he loſt the Honour of being engaged in the Battle of *Lipſick*, which happen'd about a Month after, to the great Regret of himſelf and his Army.

Victory of the King of *Sweden*.

The King of *Sweden* in a Letter under his own hand, gave our King an account of his Victory obtained againſt *Tilly* the Imperial General, in the Battle before *Lipſick*. After this ſignal Defeat, he march'd on with little Oppoſition. In this Month of *September*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Kt. Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and one of the Privy Council, was ſent Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and other Princes and States of *Germany*, with command to impart his publick and private Inſtructions to the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, whom he met at *Wirtzburgh* in *October*; and was admitted to Audience of the King of *Sweden* on *January* 29. at *Frankfort*, where he earneſtly preſs'd, that his Majeſty would undertake the Reſtitution of the Elector Palatine, King of *Bohemia*, to his Eſtates and Dignity. The King anſwer'd, "That he could not do this without having War with *France* and *Bavaria*; nor could he undertake any ſuch War unleſs the King of *England* would enter into Alliance with him againſt the *Spaniards*." However it was concerted, that upon the King of *Bohemia*'s arrival at the *Swediſh* Camp, where he was ſpeedily expected, the Chancellor of the *Swedes* and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, ſhould enter into Treaty of this difficult Affair.

To reſume the Thread of Church Hiſtory for theſe two laſt Years. Decency and Order in Religion were continually ſuggeſted by the Biſhop of *London*, and as heartily approved by the King; who on *April* 6.

1630.

1631. 7 Car. I. 1630. publiſhed a Proclamation for the better ordering of thoſe who repair to the Court for the Cure of the Diſeaſe called the *King's-Evil*. At which Time a Form of Divine Service was uſed, the Goſpel from the 16th of St. *Mark*, *Jeſus appeared unto the Eleven*, &c. and from the firſt of St. *John*, *In the Beginning was the Word*, &c. when the King put the Angel about the Neck of the Party touch'd, theſe Words were repeated: *That Light was the true Light, which lighteth every Man that cometh into the World.* After this the Lord's-Prayer; then a Collect on behalf of the Diſeaſed, that they receiving Health may give Thanks to God, *&c.* Tho' there was nothing in this Matter but what was grave and regular; yet, thoſe who ſought for Offences, knew how to murmur about Superſtition and Will-worſhip.

Form of Healing.

Petition of the Clergy of *York* for a better Maintenance.

The Miniſters of the City of *York*, on *May* 24. made an Addreſs to the Archbiſhop of that Province, and to the Preſident of the *North*, for a more ample Allowance; they approv'd the Cauſe, and referr'd it to the Lords of the Privy-Council, who made an Order, directed to the Archbiſhop, the Preſident, the Mayor and Aldermen of *York*, to enter into ſerious Conſideration, how the Wants of thoſe Miniſters might be ſupplied, by levying an indifferent and competent Sum out of every Man's Houſe-rent as might not be burthenſome; that ſo the poor City Clergy, having their Maintenance augmented, might be enabled and encouraged to diſcharge their Duty. But tho' the Thing was highly reaſonable, and there were Precedents for it in the Cities of *London* and *Norwich*; yet this too made a Noiſe of Arbitrary Power and Illegal Impoſition. (*a*)

Caſe of Dr *Leighton*.

On *June* 4. the Cauſe of *Alexander Leighton*, D. D. a *Scot*, was heard in the *Star-chamber*. An Information had been exhibited againſt him, for framing and publiſhing a ſcandalous and ſeditious Book, entitled, *An Appeal to the Parliament, or a Plea againſt Prelacy*: Wherein he aſſerted, that *God's People were perſecuted in this Iſland*; that *the Prelates were Men of Blood*; that *their Prelacy was Antichriſtian and Satanical*; that *kneeling at the Sacrament was a Spawn of the Beaſt*; that *the Queen was a Daughter of* Heth; and many other inſolent and libellous Expreſſions. The Defendant confeſs'd the writing of the Book, and pleaded nothing but his good Intention of remonſtrating certain Grievances in Church and State, for the Parliament to redreſs them. The two Lord Chief Juſtices being preſent, delivered their Opinions, that they would have proceeded againſt him for Treaſon, if the Cauſe had come before them. And other Lords affirmed it to be his Majeſty's great Mercy and Goodneſs, that he was brought to receive the Cenſure of this Court, and not arraigned for a Traitor at another Bar.

Sentence againſt him.

Upon this Conviction and Confeſſion and Declaration of the Judges and Lords of the Council, he was ſentenced to a perpetual Impriſonment in the *Fleet*, and to a Fine of ten thouſand Pounds; to be degraded in the Eccleſiaſtical Court; to be then Pilloried and Whipp'd, to have his Ears cut off, his Noſe ſlit, and his Face branded. But waiting for the Penitence of the Offender, no Part of this Sentence was put in execution, till the Beginning of *November*; when being degraded on the 4th, he was to have had his corporal Puniſhment on the 10th of that Month: But he eſcaped out of Priſon the Evening before, and being ſoon after apprehended in *Bedfordſhire*, and brought back to the *Fleet*, he had the former Sentence fully executed on him. And tho' the Nature of the Crime, and the Obſtinacy of the Offender, and indeed the Neceſſity of ſuppreſſing the Spirit of Zealots, did ſufficiently require this Severity, yet it had the natural effect of moving Pity in the People, and of raiſing harder Thoughts againſt the Government.

His Eſcape.

Taken and Suffers.

Upon the Death of the Earl of *Pembroke* the Chancellorſhip of the Univerſity of *Oxford* was by great majority of Votes conferr'd upon Dr. *Laud* Biſhop of *London*, who was abſolutely the greateſt Patron of Learning and Religion, the greateſt Promoter of Diſcipline and Government, and the greateſt Benefactor to all publick Deſigns of Piety and Charity; and therefore the moſt fit for this Honour. The greatneſs of his Soul may be meaſur'd by theſe Projects, which he ſet down in *November* 1630, and he finiſh'd moſt of them, and at leaſt began all the reſt. 1631. 7 Car. I.

Great Deſigns of Biſhop *Laud*.

" 1. To build at St. *John*'s in *Oxford*, where I was
" bred up, for the good and ſafety of that College.
" 2. To overthrow the Feoffments, dangerous
" both to Church and State, going under the ſpeci-
" ous pretence of buying in Impropriations.
" 3. To procure K. *Charles* to give all Impropri-
" ations, yet remaining in the Crown within the
" Realm of *Ireland*, to that poor Church.
" 4. To ſet upon the Repair of St. *Paul*'s Church
" in *London*.
" 5. To collect and perfect the broken Statutes of
" the Univerſity of *Oxford*, which have lain in a
" confuſed heap ſome hundred Years.
" 6. To ſettle the Statutes of all the Cathedral
" Churches of the new Foundations, whoſe Sta-
" tutes are imperfect and not confirmed.
" 7. To annex for ever ſome ſettled *Commendams*;
" and thoſe if it may be *ſine curâ*, on all the ſmall
" Biſhopricks, for *Briſtol*, *Peterborough*, St. *Aſaph*,
" *Cheſter*, and *Oxford*.
" 8. To find a way to encreaſe the Stipends of
" poor Vicars.
" 9. To ſee the Tythes of *London* ſettled between
" the Clergy and City.
" 10. To ſet up a *Greek* Preſs in *London* and *Ox-*
" *ford*, for printing the Library Manuſcripts, and
" to get both Letters and Matrices.
" 11. To ſettle 80 *l.* a Year for ever out of Dr. *Fry-*
" *er*'s Land (after the Death of Dr. *John Fryer* the Son)
" upon the Fabrick of St. *Paul* toward the Repair till
" that be finiſhed, and to keep it in good State after.
" 12. To procure a large Charter for *Oxford*, to
" confirm their ancient Privileges, and obtain new
" for them, as large as thoſe of *Cambridge*, which
" they have got ſince *Henry* VIII, and *Oxford* have
" not.
" 13. To open the great Square at *Oxford* between
" St. *Maries* and the Schools, *Brazen-Noſe*, and *All-*
" *Souls*.
" 14. To ſettle an Hoſpital and Land in *Reading*
" of 100 *l.* a Year.
" 15. To erect an *Arabick* Lecture in *Oxford*, at
" leaſt for my time. [The Lecture began to be read
" *Aug.* 10. 1636. and ſettled for ever.]
" 16. To ſettle the Impropriation of the Vicarage
" of *Cudſden* on the Biſhop of *Oxford*. [This done
" *Apr.* 19. 1637. and the Houſe built by the new Bi-
" ſhop of *Oxford*, Dr. *John Bancroft*, ſettled for ever
" on that See.]
" 17. To get a Book in Vellom fairly written,
" containing the Records which are in the *Tower*,
" concerning the Clergy. [This Book done at his
" own Charge, and left in his Study at *Lambeth* for
" Poſterity, *June* 80. 1637. *ab Anno* 20 *Ed.* I. *ad*
" *Annum* 14 *Ed.* IV.
" 18. To procure a new Charter for the College
" near *Dublin*, and a Body of new Statutes to re-
" ctify that Government. [Done by him when
" Chancellour of that Univerſity.]
" 19. To obtain a Charter for the Town of
" *Reading*, and a *Mortmain*. [Done.]
" 20. If I live to ſee the Repair of St. *Paul*'s near
" an end, to move his Majeſty for a like Grant to-
" ward the buying in of Impropriations, that is
" made for St. *Paul*'s; and then I hope to buy in two
" a Year at leaſt."

Character of Bp. *Laud*.

Theſe excellent Deſigns ſhewed the Projector of them to have a greatneſs of Soul above the ordinary extent of Mankind: And his proſecuting moſt of

(*a*) See *Ruſhworth* Coll. ii. p. 48.

1631. 7 *Car.* I.

them to their full effect did prove that by a Conſtancy of Mind his Reſolutions (as far as poſſible) came up to his generous Attempts. A Prelate of his excellent Spirit might have had ſome Infirmities allowed and forgiven to him: And eſpecially becauſe without theſe Infirmities, he could have never had thoſe Virtues. For without a warmth of Temper, and ſome vehemence and impetus of Mind, he could never have ſupported himſelf in ſuch glorious Intentions, that drew infinite Difficulties and Dangers on him. A Man whom the World ſhould have called Wiſe, would never have engaged in ſuch vaſt Undertakings, or would at leaſt have timely receded from them.

Conſecration of *Creed Church* in *London.*

By this active zeal of doing Good out of the ordinary courſe of other Men, he raiſed Envy and Oppoſition in all he did. On the 16th of *Jan.* 1630. he conſecrated St. *Catherine Creed* Church in *London*; where obſerving all the Ceremonies of Reverence and Devotion, that could make ſuch an Office more Solemn and Sacred; he had on this occaſion the Charge of Innovation and Superſtition renewed upon him: and it was remember'd and objected at his Tryal; where he learnedly defended his Form of Conſecration, and proved it the ſame which Bp. *Andrews* had drawn up.

He promotes the Repair of St. *Paul's* Church.

He had ſet his Heart upon the Strength and Beauty of his own Cathedral: And to that pious End he obtained a Commiſſion under the Broad-Seal, dated *Apr.* 10. 1631. to authorize the Abps. of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Bp. of *London* and *Wincheſter*, all the Lds. of the Council, the Lords Ch. Juſtices, the Mayor and Aldermen, the Dean and Reſidentaries, to purſue this Work. And for the more effectual promoting of it, a Regiſter was appointed for the Subſcription of Benefactors; *Briefs* were iſſued forth to ſtir up Contributions; *Letters Monitory* were ſent from the Council-Table to ſeveral Juſtices in the Country; and theſe *Reſolutions* taken by a Committee to carry on the Buſineſs.

"1. That once a Year Certificates be made of the "Monies given, and the Donor's Names.

"2. That a Clerk of the Work be choſen, and a "Pay-Maſter and a Purveyor.

"3. The Work not to begin till there be 10000*l.* "in Bank.

"4. When the Scaffolds are up, and the Work "begun; 2 or 3 Cheſts to be ſet within the Church, "for receiving the Benevolences of well diſpoſed "Perſons to the ſaid Work."

And decent uſe of it.

And the Council Board by ſpecial Direction and Commiſſion from his Majeſty, took into conſideration *a Care as well for the Religious and Decent uſe of the Inſide as for repairing of the Outſide; and how to remove that Offence taken as well by Foreigners as thoſe of our own Nation, that in time of Divine Service, while the upper part of the Church is uſed for Praying and Preaching, the nether part of the Church is uſed as an Exchange for Men to meet in, to walk, talk, and diſcourſe of all Things:* Upon their Deliberation and Advice, his Majeſty publiſh'd his ſpecial Commands and Orders for the Reformation of Abuſes in Cathedral Churches, particularly that of St. *Paul* in *London*, lately begun.

Orders for the reforming Abuſes in Cathedral Churches.

"1. That no Man of what quality ſoever, ſhall "preſume to walk in the Iſles of the Quire, or in the "Body or Iſles of the Church, during the Time of di-"vine Service, or the celebration of the bleſſed Sacra-"ment, or Sermons, or any part of them; neither do "any Thing that may diſturb the Service of the Church "or diminiſh the Honour due to ſo holy a Place.

"2. That no Man preſume to profane the Church, "by the carriage of Burthens or Baskets, or any "Portage whatſoever.

"3. That all Parents and Maſters of Families do "ſtrictly forbid their Children and Servants to play "at any time in the Church, or any way miſdemean "themſelves in that Place, in time of divine Service "or otherwiſe. And if any Children or Servants be "found ſo doing, beſides the Puniſhment of the De-"linquents, their Parents and Maſters ſhall be ſub-"ject to ſuch Cenſures and Puniſhments as is "thought fit to be inflicted.

1631. 7 *Car.* I.

"Theſe Orders by command of his Majeſty now "publiſh'd, to the intent that no Man may hereafter "pretend Ignorance for his Excuſe in any of them."

Offences taken in the Repair of S. *Paul's*

No one could imagine that this new Structure of the principal Church in the chief City of the Kingdom could have met with any Exceptions to it, but from the profeſs'd Enemies of Piety and Charity and common Good. And yet it ſo happen'd, that by ſome Neceſſities or Overſights in the management of this Work, ſome Offences were taken, and grievous Complaints were made of them: For ſome Houſes and Shops adjoining to St. *Paul's* were thought fit to be demoliſhed, for the greater ſafety or beauty of the Fabrick: And tho' reaſonable Compenſation was made to the Owners, yet this was thought obtruding and extorting. Again, the Limits of the Church-yard were to be ſomewhat enlarged, and to be clear-ed from the Obſtruction and Encroachment of ſome Walls and Buildings; which (tho' with due Satisfaction to all Parties concerned) had a Show of waſte and depopulation. A Vault for Burial, belonging to the Pariſh of St. *Gregory's*, running too near the Sides of the Cathedral, and threatning the Foundations of it, was order'd to be fill'd up with Earth. Firſt a Wall of St. *Gregory's*, and then the whole Church it ſelf was found neceſſary to be pull'd down by Order of Council; and the Pariſhioners aſſigned to the Weſt-end of *Chriſt-Church*, even againſt the Conſent of that Pariſh. After all voluntary Contributions greater Supplies were ſtill wanting to carry on the vaſt Expence; and therefore to raiſe more Money, the Fines and Commutations in the High Commiſſion and Spiritual Courts, were commonly aſſign'd to this uſe; and this made Offenders murmur, as if their Penalties were impos'd only for a Tax to *Pauls.* In ſhort, this glorious Enterprize of Biſhop *Laud*, tho' it might have wip'd out all other Prejudice againſt him, yet it unhappily ſerv'd to foment the Paſſions of thoſe little angry People, who turned all the Marks of Generoſity and Magnificence into the Tokens of Pride and Ambition.

Factions in *Oxford.*

In *June* and *July* there were ſome diſorders in *Oxford* occaſioned by Mr. *Tho. Ford* of *Magdalen-Hall*, Mr. *Giles Thorn* of *Baliol* College, and Mr. *Giles Hodges* of *Exeter* College, who in their Sermons at St. *Mary's* had bitterly inveigh'd againſt the *Arminians* as *Pelagians* and Hereticks. This was thought a breach of the K's. *Inſtructions*, that had been publiſh'd to quiet theſe Controverſies; and therefore at the motion of the Chancellor Bp. *Laud*, they were cited as Offenders before the Vice-chancellor Dr. *Smith*, and charged with perturbation of the Peace, and violation of the King's Injunctions. They appeal'd from the Vice-chancellor to the two Proctors, Mr. *Bruch* and Mr. *Doughly*, who received their Appeals, and thereby obſtructed Juſtice in a Cauſe that did not ſtatutably come before them.

Appeal to the King.

The Vice-chancellor by Advice appeal'd to the King, who heard the Matter in Council at *Woodſtock* on *Tueſday* Aug. 23. where Sentence was, that the Three Preachers ſhould be expell'd the Univerſity; the two Proctors ſhould come into the Convocation-Houſe and there reſign their Office. And becauſe Dr. *Prideaux* Rector of *Exeter*, and Dr. *Wilkinſon* Principal of *Magdalen-hall*, did ſeem to countenance the Men and their Cauſe, they received a ſharp Admonition from the Council-Board. (*a*)

The Sentence on Offenders.

Mr. *Hodges* ſubmitting, was ordered,

"1. To make a publick Recantation Sermon in "St. *Mary's* Church, before the Univerſity, confeſ-

(*a*) See the King's Letters directed to the Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, for baniſhing the three Preachers, and turning out the two Proctors, and for haſtning the Delegates to make Statutes, for Cauſes of Appeal. Dat. *Woodſtock.* 26. *Aug.* 1631. Dr. *Johnſton's* Viſitat. Power. 4*to.* p. 249.

"ſing

1631. 7 *Car.* I. "ſing his great Offence in Preaching contrary to his "Majeſty's Declaration.

"2. To make a Submiſſion and Recantation in a "Form preſcrib'd, in the Convocation-Houſe, be- "fore the whole Aſſembly of the Doctors, Proctors, "Regent and *Non*-Regent Maſters, on his bended "Knees.

"3. In the ſaid Recantation to acknowledge, that "he fell upon the Delivery of thoſe Points, which by "his Majeſty's Royal Injunction were forbidden "him to meddle with; and particularly to confeſs, "that he let fall ſome Paſſages which might be ta- "ken to the Diſparagement of the Government of "the Church, in making Erroneous and Heretical "Opinions the way to Preferment; for which he "was to crave the Pardon of the Univerſity in ge- "neral, and more eſpecially of the moſt honourable "Chancellor."

But however juſt and ſeaſonable this Diſcipline was to reſtrain the Intemperance of forward Preachers, and to ſilence, if poſſible, thoſe dark and dangerous Diſputes; yet this too did not fail to be charg'd as a Partiality upon the Biſhop,(*a*) and as an Argument of his too potent Influence upon the King and Council.

Queſtions about the Liberties and Exemptions of the Clergy.

In *Michaelmas-Term* certain Queſtions were propoſed to the Judges concerning the Liberties and Exemptions of the Clergy.

1. *Whether Clergy-men were bound to find Watch or Ward Day or Night?* To this the Anſwer was deferr'd till the Judges had informed themſelves of the Practice in the Counties where they went their Circuit.

2. *Whether Clergy-men might be compelled to take Apprentices by the Statute of the Poor in* 43 Eliz.? They agreed that no Man was expreſly out of the Statute: but there was a diſcretion to be uſed in the Juſtices of Peace, to conſider where it was fit to put the Child to be kept; and where it was fitter to take Money toward the putting of it out.

Diſputes about obſerving the Lord's Day. Wakes, or Sunday Revels.

The obſervation of the Lord's-Day was now made a moſt unhappy Subject of Diſpute: Some Doctrines were advanced ſo Sabbatarian and *Jewiſh*, that the Rigours of the one Party gave occaſion to extreme Looſeneſs in another. The Liberties taken at *Wakes*, or annual Feaſts of Dedication of Churches, were grown to that exceſs in ſome Parts, that Judge *Richardſon* in a Circuit, made an Order to ſuppreſs them. This was thought intruding upon the Eccleſiaſtical Power; Bp. *Laud* complain'd to the King, and the Judge was reprov'd. Nothing made this Controverſy more unhappy, than that it gave occaſion for the *Book of Sports* to be hereafter mentioned.

1632. 8 *Car.* I. We are now to proſecute Civil Affairs from the beginning of 1632. 8 *Car.* The too great Reſort of the Nobility, Gentry, and dignified Clergy to the Court and City, and thereby leaving the Country deſtitute of Hoſpitality, and the other Benefits of Reſidence; was a good Reaſon for his Majeſty, by Proclamation, dated *June* 20. "To charge and com- "mand, that before the end of forty Days, all Lords, "Knights, Gentlemen, and Clerks, ſhould reſort to "the ſeveral Counties where they uſually reſided, "and there keep their Habitations and Hoſpitality, "except ſuch as were of his Majeſty's Council, or "bound to Attendance on the King or Queen, or "their Children." But the immediate Cauſe of this Diſmiſſion, was a Fear, that the Acceſs of People from infected Places in the Country, might again endanger the Town lately delivered from the Plague. And therefore another Proclamation was dated the ſame Day at *Greenwich*, "To inhibit the Reſort of "his Majeſty's People to the Court, for Cure of the "King's Evil, and to reſtrain the Acceſs of others "from infected Places."

Proclamation for Nobility and Gentry to reſort to the Country.

1632. 8 *Car.* I.

Information againſt the City of *London* for the Murder of Dr. *Lamb*.

Mr. Attorney General *Noy*, in the *Eaſter* Term, brought an Information in the *King's-Bench* againſt the Mayor and Commonalty of *London*, for that in *June* 1628, Dr. *John Lamb* was ſlain in a Tumult and Riot, and none of the Offenders taken, nor any Perſon known or indicted for that Felony. The Mayor and Commonalty appearing, confeſs'd the Offence, and ſubmitted themſelves to the Favour of the Court, and were Fined in 1500 Marks, as for a Tranſgreſſion in Common Law. But tho' the Proſecution was juſt, and Submiſſion made the Amercement as it were voluntary; yet the Diſgrace and the Loſs together left a ſore Place upon the Hearts of many of the Citizens, who began to hate the Court for bearing hard upon them.

Prynne publiſhes his *Hiſtrio-Maſtix*.

Mr. *William Prynne* now publiſh'd his *Hiſtrio-Maſtix*, or Book againſt Stage Plays, Licenſed by the Chaplain of Archbiſhop *Abbot*; wherein, with very profuſe Collections, he expoſed the Liberties of the Stage, and condemn'd the very Lawfulneſs of Acting. In his way of Writing he could not refrain from over-doing any Subject and from many Appearances of Railing. And becauſe the Court became now more addicted to theſe ludicrous Entertainments, and the Queen her ſelf was ſo fond of the Amuſement that ſhe had bore the Part of a Paſtoral in her own Royal Perſon; therefore this Treatiſe againſt Plays was ſuſpected to be levell'd againſt the Practice of the Court, and the Example of the Queen: And it was ſuppos'd an *Innuendo*, that in the Table of the Book this Reference was put, *Women Actors notorious Whores*, The Attorney-General proſecuted *Prynne* for this Libel in the *Star-Chamber*, where he was ſentenc'd to Impriſonment and other Penalties. The Misfortune was, that Biſhop *Laud* was the Inſtrument and Abetter of this Proceſs againſt the Book and the Author, by ſhewing the Book to the King, and pointing at the offenſive Parts of it; and then by employing Dr. *Heylin* to pick out all the virulent Paſſages, and give the ſevereſt Turn to them; and laſtly, by carrying thoſe Notes to the Attorney-General for matter of Information, and urging him earneſtly to proceed againſt the Author: Which tho' a Prelate might do with ſincere Intention to ſuppreſs Libelling, and to aſſert a Reſpect to crown'd Heads; yet it was looked upon, by ſome ſerious Men, as a giving countenance to the Licentiouſneſs and Prophaneneſs of the Stage, which ought rather to have been Reproved and Reſtrained by a Chriſtian Biſhop. (*b*)

Zeal of Bp. *Laud*.

Windebank made Secretary of State.

Mr. *Francis Windebank* (ſoon after Knighted) was made Secretary of State by the Intereſt of Biſhop *Laud*, who has thus enter'd it in his Diary, 1632, *June* 15. *Mr.* Francis Windebank, *my old Friend was ſworn Secretary of State; which Place I obtained for him of my gracious Maſter King* Charles. He proved ſo much a Creature of the Queens, and ſuch an Advocate and Patron of all ſuffering Prieſts and Jeſuits, that he got the Character of a Papiſt, and brought the greater Odium upon Biſhop *Laud*, who preferr'd him, and who for that Reaſon was to anſwer to the People for his good Behaviour. That which created

(*a*) See a Decree in Star-Chamber againſt *Beck*, and others, for libellous Words againſt a Miniſter, in *Mich.* Term. 1631. *Ruſhworth*, ii. Append. p. 40.

A great Prejudice was taken againſt ſome of Biſhop *Laud's* Church-men, by one of them profeſſing to dye in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; Dr. *Theodore Price*, Prebendary of *Wincheſter*, Subdean of *Weſtminſter*, where he dyed 15 *Decemb.* 1631. The Dean Dr. *John Williams* called together the Prebendaries, and inform'd them of the great Scandal given by their late Brother. Mr. *Prynne* ſoon after affirm'd, that this Man, very intimate with the Archbiſhop, and recommended ſpecially to the King by Him to be a *Welſh* Biſhop, in oppoſition to the E. of *Pembroke*, and his Chaplain *Griffith Williams*, ſoon after died a Reconciled Papiſt, and received extreme Unction from a Prieſt. It is ſtrange Partiality in the *Oxford Hiſtorian* to queſtion this Matter, when Archbiſhop *Laud* himſelf in his MSS. Notes upon that Relation given by Mr. *Prynne*, does by no means deny the Fact, but excuſes the uſing his Intereſt for him, and ſays, He was *more inward with another Biſhop, and who laboured his Preferment more than I.*

(*b*) The King ſent for Dr. *Peter Heylyn* to the Council-Table, *June* 27. 1632. and gave him Commands to read over the Book of Mr. *Prynne's*, call'd *Hiſtrio Maſtix*, and to Collect thence all ſuch Paſſages as were Scandalous, &c. *Vernon's Life of Heylyn.* p. 50.

1632. 8 *Car.* I. the more Envy, was the turning out an old Secretary, Sir *John Coke*, whoſe Age and Infirmities had indeed made him unfit for Buſineſs. (*a*)

Character of Sir *John Coke*, given by the Lord *Clarend.*

Take his Character from a Writer excelling in that way. "Sir *John Coke*, upon the Death of Sir "*Albert Moreton*, was, from being Maſter of Re"queſts, preferr'd to be Secretary of State. A Man "of a very narrow Education, and a narrower Na"ture; having continued long in the Univerſity of "*Cambridge*, where he had gotten Latin Learning "enough; and afterwards in the Country in the "Condition of a private Gentleman, till after he "was fifty Years of Age; when upon ſome Repu"tation he had for Induſtry and Diligence, he was "called to ſome painful Employment in the Office "of the Navy, which he diſcharged well, and after"wards to be Maſter of Requeſts, and then to be "Secretary of State, which he enjoyed to a great "Age: And was a Man rather unadorn'd with any "Parts of Vigour and Quickneſs, and unindow'd "with any notable Virtues, than notorious for any "weakneſs or defect of Underſtanding, or tranſport"ed with any vitious Inclinations, Appetite to Mo"ney only excepted. His Cardinal Perfection was "Induſtry, and his moſt eminent Infirmity Cove"touſneſs. His long Experience had informed him "well of the State and Affairs of *England*; but of "Foreign Tranſactions, or the common Intereſt of "Chriſtian Princes, he was entirely Undiſcerning "and Ignorant."

King had the Small-Pox.

Toward the end of *November*, the King was much indiſpoſed, and had the Small-Pox appearing on him, on *Sunday* Decem. 2. but the Diſeaſe was very gentle and ſafe, tho' ſo fatal to many of his Royal Poſterity.

State of *Ireland.*

Ireland, under the Government of Lords Juſtices, was under great Ferments and Diſtempers, owing chiefly to the potent Faction of the Papiſts; who had been too much conniv'd at and encouraged, and according to the Nature of thoſe Men, and that Religion, had turned all Favour into intolerable Inſolence. To reduce the Affairs of that Kingdom into better Peace and Order, the King ſent the Lord *Wentworth*, under the Title of Lord Deputy, upon good Experience of his Spirit of Diſcipline and Conduct, as Preſident of the *North*; where he had indeed carried ſome Things with extremity of Rigour, tho' perhaps no farther than the Neceſſity and Iniquity of Times requir'd. (*b*)

Foreign Affairs.

As to Foreign Affairs, we left Sir *Henry Vane* in an Embaſſy to the King of *Sweden*, at the Head of a marching Army, ſolliciting for the Reſtauration of the *Palſgrave* to his Dominions in the *Palatinate*. He had his laſt Audience about the middle of *July*, when that ſucceſsful Prince offer'd theſe hard Propoſals.

Offers of the King of *Sweden.*

"I. That the *Palſgrave* ſhould hold his Country as "a Donative of the King of *Sweden*.

"II. That he ſhould make no Martial Levies "without the *Swedes* conſent.

"III. That during this War he ſhould furniſh the "*Swedes* with ſo many thouſand Men upon his own "Pay.

1632. 8 *Car.* I.

"IV. That two of his chiefeſt Towns ſhould ſtand "Cautionaries for the performing of Covenants.

"V. That he ſhould make no League nor Article "with any other Prince without the *Swedes* conſent."

The Ambaſſador knew, that his Maſter and the *Palſgrave*, and all Mankind, would think theſe Terms diſhonourable; and therefore he expoſtulated with the King of *Sweden*, upon the hardſhip of them, in ſo much freedom of Speech, that they both parted in a Paſſion, and the Treaty broke off. The King of *England* perceiving his Forces not likely to be employ'd, as he deſigned them, for the Service of the *Palatinate*, wrote to the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* to make an Excuſe and return home: And ſent Letters to the King of *Sweden*, charging him with obſtructing a League between them, and ſo recalling his Ambaſſadour, who came away in the beginning of *November*, leaving Inſtructions with his Secretary Mr. *Curtius*, who ſtaid behind as his Majeſty's Agent with the King of *Sweden*. After this, the *Swediſh* Army paſs'd on with rapid Succeſs. *Tilly* had been often defeated, and at laſt wounded to Death; and Count *Wallanſtein* in great diſguſt for having been caſhier'd at the Diet of *Ratisbone*, had been now forc'd to be courted to re-accept the Office of *Generaliſſimo* of the Imperial Army. The deciding Battle was fought at *Lutzen* on *Novemb.* 6. 1632. wherein the King of *Sweden* was unfortunately ſlain; and yet his Death was ſo far from being a damp to his Army, that it incens'd them to Revenge, and they came off with Victory. The *Palſgrave*, or Prince Elector, much encouraged by the King of *Sweden* to hope for Right and Reſtitution, tho' no Conditions could be expreſsly made, died of an Infection taken at *Mentz*, on the 29th of the ſame Month. And *Wallenſtein* ſoon after being diſcover'd in a Conſpiracy, to make himſelf King of *Bohemia*, was murther'd in his Bed-Chamber. (*c*)

Battle of *Lutzen.* King of *Sweden* killed.

Muſcovites and *Poles.*

The Emperor of *Muſcovy* deſigning to regain the Town of *Smolensko* from the King of *Poland*, applied himſelf to the King of *England* for leave to raiſe two thouſand Men; who by conſent were accordingly raiſed, and Commanded by Colonel *Thomas Sanderſon*, who landed them at *Archangel* on the 6th of *Auguſt*, and march'd them to the Siege of *Smolensko*, where, upon a Pet of Honour, Colonel *Sanderſon* was baſely murder'd by Colonel *Leſley*; and this drew the *Scotch* and *Engliſh* into Parties of Revenge and Defence. The *Poles* took Advantage of this Mutiny and Diſtraction, and at that Juncture fell upon the *Muſcovite* with that Fury and Succeſs, that they made them quit the Siege and comply with diſhonourable Terms of Peace.

Earl of *Leiceſter* Ambaſſador to *Denmark.*

The Earl of *Leiceſter* was ſent Ambaſſadour to *Denmark*, to condole the Deceaſe of the Queen *Dowager*, and to demand the Dividend of a ſixth part of her Eſtate, as due to our King and his Siſter the Lady *Elizabeth*, in right of their Mother Queen *Anne*. But the King of *Denmark* pretended to a Debt from the Crown of *England*, and ſo one Demand was to ſatisfie the other. And in *December* the Earl of *Arundel* was by the King ſent over to his Siſter at the *Hague*, to condole the Loſs of her unfortu-

(*a*) After all, his honeſt Firmneſs againſt Popery was the main occaſion of his being turn'd out of his Place. That noble Foreigner *Andrew Habernfeld*, depos'd upon Oath, and ſent over in Writing, that Mr. Secretary *Cook* oppos'd the Popiſh Intereſt, and was a moſt bitter Hater of the Jeſuits, hindring their Acceſs to the King; he treated many of them according to their Deſerts; he diligently enquir'd into their Parties and Factions, by which means every Incitement breathing a Magnetical force to the Popiſh Party, was with him ineffectual; for nothing was of power enough to incline him to any Wickedneſs. Hereupon being made odious to the Patrons of the Conſpiracy, he was in continual Danger of being diſcharg'd from his Office; it was labour'd for three Years ſpace, and at laſt obtain'd. *Rome*'s *Maſter-Piece, with the Archbiſhop's Notes*; publiſht firſt by Mr. *Prynne*, and afterward by Mr. *Wharton*.

(*b*) See a Petition of the Recuſants in *Ireland* againſt the Exerciſe of Juriſdiction in the Spiritual Courts, *Febr.* 10. 1630. with an Anſwer of the Lords, Biſhops and Chancellors to the ſaid Articles of Grievance, and their Return made to the Royal Precept of Adviſing upon ſome moderate courſe in the Exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. *Prynne*'s Introduct. to Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Tryal. Fol. p. 106.

See the Excommunication publiſht by the Command of Tho*mas Fleming*, alias *Barnwell*, [titular] Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and Fryar of the Order of St. *Francis*, againſt *Paul Harris*, and Dr. *Peter Caddell*, Prieſts, for heir ſcandalous Proceedings, dat. 6. *March*, 1631. and the Defence of *Harris* &c. Printed 1632. 4*to*.

(*c*) See the *Death of the two Renowned* Kings of *Sweden*, and *Bohemia*, happening both in one and the ſame Year and Month, *viz.* in *November* 1632. publickly lamented in a Sermon held before a Princely, Noble and frequent Aſſembly in the High *Dutch* Congregation at the *Hague*, by M. *Frederick Schloer*, Miniſter of God's Word. Tranſlated out of the High-*Dutch* printed Copies. *London*, 1632. 4*to*.

nate Husband, and to invite her and her Children into *England*; But ſhe ſent an Excuſe for the preſent, as being too much immers'd in Sorrow, and not yet able to undertake the Journey.

1633. 9 *Car.* I.

The Year 1633. began with the King's Preparation for a Progreſs into *Scotland*, where he had been expected for the Solemnity of a Coronation ever ſince his Father's Death. His long Delay had been unkindly reſented in that Kingdom; and ſome Murmurs were given out, that *if the King did not think the Crown of* Scotland *worth his Journey thither, there might be ſome other way of diſpoſing of it*. (*a*)

K. goes to *Scotland* to be Crown'd.

To make this ſeaſonable Progreſs with more Pomp and Order, the King iſſued his Proclamation on the 4th of *May*, that competent Proviſions ſhould be made for his Royal Perſon and Attendants, in the ſeveral Parts of this Realm through which he was to paſs; and that the Prices of them ſhould be Aſſeſſed and Rated by the Clerk of the Market of the King's Houſhold. And the next Day, *May* 5. another Proclamation was publiſh'd for the better ordering his Majeſty's Court and Train in his Journey to *Scotland*, and his Return from thence. And then his Gueſts or Stays upon the Roard being appointed as to Time and Place, on *May* 13. his Majeſty ſet out from *London* with a noble Retinue of the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Arundel*, *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, *Holland*, Marqueſs *Hamilton*, Biſhop of *London*, and many other Perſons of Quality. He accepted of many noble Entertainments by the way; at *Welbeck* from the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, at *Raby* Caſtle from Sir *Henry Vane*, at *Durham* ſeveral Days by Biſhop *Moreton*, and at *Newcaſtle* from the Magiſtrates and Town. The King enter'd *Scotland* on the 12th of *June*, when immediately all his *Engliſh* Servants and Officers yielded up their Places of Attendance to the *Scots*, who were admitted to the ſame Titles and Duties.

His Retinue and Journey.

Enters *Edinborough*.

June 15. the King enter'd *Edinborough* in great State and Magnificence; and indeed the Pomp and Grandour of the *Scotch* Nobility, had ſo much Emulation and Profuſeneſs in it, that the Debts which they now contracted, did help to breed and foment the Seditions that ſoon after broke out. *June* 18. was the Coronation Day, which paſs'd with as much Solemnity and publick Joy as could poſſibly fill the Hearts of Prince and People: The Sermon was preach'd by Dr. *David Lindſey* Biſhop of *Brechin*, upon 1 *Kings* 1. 39. and the chief Ceremonies performed by Dr. *Spotſwood*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*.

His Coronation.

The Parliament began *June* 20. the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* preach'd, and the King made a very gracious Speech. Then the Lords and Members of the Articles being choſe, they prepared and preſented ſeveral Bills, which were paſs'd, agreeable to the King's Deſire, and the Parliament diſſolv'd on *Friday* June 28. the King returning toward *Berwick* on *Tueſday* July 16.

He returns.

Effect of this Progreſs.

In this Progreſs the King carried himſelf with great Prudence and Moderation, and yet many Things concurr'd to open a way for thoſe Commotions which afterward diſtracted both Kingdoms. For, *Firſt*, it did now appear, that the *Scotch* Noblemen, who had been greateſt Favourites in the *Engliſh* Court, had the leaſt Intereſt in their own Country: And that the Bounties thrown upon them by the King and his Father were not look'd upon as any Favour to the Nation, but as Obligations caſt away upon thoſe particular Men, who in being the more gracious with the King, were but the more ſuſpected to the People. *Secondly*, Some of the *Scotch* Nobility endeavour'd to make themſelves Popular by ſpeaking in Parliament againſt thoſe Things which were moſt grateful to his Majeſty; and in entring their Diſſent to ſome Acts; for which the King did openly diſcountenance ſeveral of them, and made them not forgive the King, becauſe they imagin'd the King would never forgive them. *Thirdly* Two or three Acts were paſſed, which did much leſſen the Authority of the great Men, and the Subjection and Dependence of their Tenants; which ſerv'd to incenſe the one, and to make the other more licentious. But *Fourthly*, the worſt of all was, the Fears and Jealouſies taken up by the Kirk Party: They were taught to be upon their Guard by the Biſhop of *London*'s waiting on the King; and they looked with a worſe Eye upon him, when they heard him preach in the Royal Chapel at *Edinborough*, chiefly on the Benefit of Conformity, and the Reverence due to the Ceremonies of the Church. They grew more and more angry, when the King during his Stay had erected and endowed an Epiſcopal See at *Edinborough*, and had promoted ſome of the Biſhops to principal Offices of State, and had committed the framing and compoſing of a Liturgy for the Church of *Scotland* to a ſelect Number of their Biſhops. Theſe ſofteſt Steps were with great Indignation exclaim'd upon, as a Project to make *Scotland* ſubject to all the Forms and Eſtabliſhments of *England*, which they pretended would make their Kingdom appear like a depending Province, and leave their Kirk deprived of all the Remainder of its own way of Reformation.

The King having come Poſt from *Berwick* in four Days, reach'd on *Saturday* July 20. to *Greenwich*, where the Queen kept her Court. *Aug*. 4. Archbiſhop *Abbot*, having been long dead to the Church, died at *Lambeth*. An honourable Author obſerves, that "He had ſate too many Years in that See, and had too great a Juriſdiction over the Church.—He had been promoted to *Canterbury* upon the never enough lamented Death of Dr. *Bancroft*, that Metropolitan who underſtood the Church excellently, and had almoſt reſcued it out of the Hands of the *Calvinian* Party, and very much ſubdued the unruly Spirit of the Nonconformiſts; countenanced Men of the greateſt Parts in Learning, and diſpoſed the Clergy to a more ſolid Courſe of Study than they had been accuſtomed to; and if he had lived would quickly have extinguiſhed all that Fire in *England* which had been kindled at *Geneva*; or if he had been ſucceeded by Biſhop *Andrews*, Biſhop *Overal*, or any Man who underſtood and loved the Church; that Infection would eaſily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be ſo eaſily expelled. But *Abbot* brought none of this Antidote with him, &c.— And though many other Biſhops plainly diſcern'd the Miſchiefs which daily broke in to the prejudice of Religion, and prevented it in their Dioceſſes as much as they could — yet that Temper in the Archbiſhop, whoſe Houſe was a Sanctuary to the moſt Eminent of that factious Party, and who Licenſed their moſt pernicious Writings, left his Succeſſor a very difficult Work to do, to reform and reduce a Church into Orders that had been ſo long neglected, and that was ſo ill filled with many weak and more wilful Church-men." (*b*)

Death of Abp. *Abbot*.

His Character by the Lord *Clarend*.

Bp. *Laud* ſucceeds to the See of *Cant*.

This Honour and this Difficulty were ſure to fall upon Biſhop *Laud*, who had in effect of late Years been Adminiſtrator of the Province, and therefore the firſt time he waited on the King, *Aug*. 6. His

(*a*) Murmurs were loud in *Scotland* among the Presbyterians or Kirk-Party. See their Grievances and Petitions concerning the diſordered State of the Reformed Kirk within this Realm of *Scotland*, preſented upon the 29th Day of *May*, 1633. by me Maſter *Thomas Hogge*, Miniſter of the Evangell in mine own Name, and in the name of Others of the Miniſtry likewiſe Grieved, to Sir *John Hay*, Clerk of Regiſter, to be preſented by him to ſuch as ought, according to the Order appointed, conſider them, that thereafter they may be preſented to his Majeſty and Eſtates which are to be aſſembled at the next enſuing Parliament. *Grievances of the Scots Kirk in* 1635. 12°. p. 4.

(*b*) And yet one of the laſt Acts of Juriſdiction in Archbiſhop *Abbot*, was an Act of Diſcipline to inforce Conformity even beyond the Rules of the Church. An Order and Injunction that the Pariſhioners of *Crayford*, in *Kent*, ſhould receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper Kneeling, at the Steps aſcending to the Communion Table. Dat. 8. *July* 1633. *Reg. Abbot* 3 F. 143.

Majeſty

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Majeſty received him with this Compellation, (*a*) *My Lord's Grace of* Canterbury, *you are very welcome*; and gave Order the ſame Day for the diſpatch of all neceſſary Forms for his Tranſlation, which was expedited and compleated by *Sept.* 19. The Day before, when he went firſt to *Lambeth*, the Ferry-boat that carried his Coach and Horſes and Servants ſunk to the bottom of the River, tho' without damage to the Men or Goods. He entred this Accident in his Diary as an obſervation of Omens, to which he was ſomewhat ſuperſtitiouſly addicted; yet rather from a Senſe of Religion and an awe of Providence, than from any Conceits of Fate or Chance. Upon his merited Acceſſion to this higheſt Seat in the Church, it may be proper to take the continuation of his Character.

Archbiſh. *Laud's* Character as continued by the Lord *Clar.*

"He was a Man of great Parts and very exemplary Virtues, allayed and diſcredited by "ſome unpopular natural Infirmities, the greateſt "of which was (beſides a haſty ſharp way of expreſſing himſelf) that he believed Innocence of "Heart and Integrity of Manners was a Guard "ſtrong enough to ſecure any Man in his Voyage "through this World, in what Company ſoever he "travell'd, and through what Ways ſoever he was "to paſs; and ſure never any Man was better ſupplied with that Proviſion.—— He was always maligned and perſecuted by thoſe who were of the "*Calvinian* Faction, which was then very powerful, "and who, according to their uſual Maxim and "Practice, call every Man they do not love, *Papiſt*: "and under this ſenſeleſs Appellation they created "him many Troubles and Vexations.—— When "he came into great Authority, it may be he retain'd too keen a Memory of thoſe who had ſo "unjuſtly and uncharitably perſecuted him before; "and I doubt was ſo far tranſported with the ſame "Paſſions he had reaſon to complain of in his Adverſaries, that as they accuſed him of *Popery* becauſe he had ſome doctrinal Opinions which they "liked not, though they were nothing allied to *Popery*; ſo he entertained too much Prejudice to "ſome Perſons, as if they were Enemies to the Diſcipline of the Church, becauſe they concurr'd with "*Calvin* in ſome Doctrinal Points when they abhorr'd his Diſcipline, and reverenc'd the Govern"ment of the Church, and pray'd for the Peace of "it with as much Zeal and Fervency as any in the "Kingdom, as they made manifeſt in their Lives, "and in their Sufferings with it, and for it."

Reformation of ſome Abuſes in Trading.

The King iſſued his Proclamations for preventing the Abuſes that did ariſe by the unorder'd retailing of Tobacco, and reduced the Vending of it to thoſe only who ſhould receive Licenſe ſo to do; and for the Uſe of the Bow and Pike together in Military Diſcipline, authorizing *William Neal* to inſtruct the *Train'd-Bands* in the Uſe of a Warlike Invention to that Purpoſe. And in *Michaelmas-Term*, upon Conſultation with the Judges, and Certificate of their Opinions, a Decree was made to confirm the Orders given by his Majeſty againſt Ingroſſing of Grain by Chandlers, and againſt many Exactions and Abuſes of Taverners, Victuallers, Bakers, Inn-keepers, and other Retailers of Proviſion: The Reformation whereof was as much a Relief to the Subject, as it was made a Benefit to the King: tho' the Offenders aggriev'd by it would have had it thought an Art only of advancing the King's Revenue. In *Hilary-Term*, Sir *David Foulis*, one of the Council of *York*, Deputy-Lieutenant and Juſtice of Peace, upon an Information in the *Star-Chamber*, for oppoſing his Majeſty's Service, and deterring his Subjects from making Fines for Knighthood, and traducing and affronting the Commiſſioners, was cenſur'd to be committed to the *Fleet*, to pay a Fine of five thouſand Pounds, and to acknowledge his Offences in ſeveral open Courts, and to be incapable of any Office, and to pay three thouſand Pounds to the Lord *Wentworth*.

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Sir *David Foulis* proſecuted.

Mr. *Will. Prynne*.

In the ſame Term, Mr. *William Prynne* was proſecuted in the ſame Court, for compiling and printing a Libellous Volume, entitled *Hiſtrio-Maſtix*, againſt Plays, Maſques, Dancings, *&c.* And being ſufficiently Convicted of many foul and ſlanderous Reflections in it, he was ſentenced to have his Book burnt in the moſt publick manner, to be himſelf put from the Bar, and made for ever uncapable of his Profeſſion; to be excluded from the Society of *Lincolns-Inn*, and degraded in *Oxford*, and ſtand in the Pillory in *Weſtminſter* and *Cheapſide*, and loſe both his Ears, one in each place, with a Paper on his Head, declaring his Offence to be an *Infamous Libel againſt both their Majeſties, the State, and the Government*; and to pay a Fine of five thouſand Pounds, and to ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment. Theſe Proſecutions and Penalties in the *Star-chamber*, were thought to exceed the Proportion of the Crimes, by thoſe eſpecially who favoured the Committers of them: And this Terror ſerv'd but to increaſe the Averſion againſt that Court, and the principal Aſſeſſors of it. (*b*)

Maſque by the Inns of Court.

It was a ſofter Anſwer to Mr. *Prynne*'s Book againſt Plays and Actings, that about the beginning of *November*, to congratulate the King's Return, and divert his Royal Conſort, the four Inns of Court, by ſome of their principal Members, offer'd a ſplendid Maſque to be perform'd by their Societies jointly, as an Expreſſion of their Love and Duty to their Majeſties. The Offer was very graciouſly accepted; and upon Conſult and Order of the Benchers, was very nobly perform'd at *White-hall* on *Shrove-Tueſday*, February the 18th, and again at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, where the King, Queen, and Court, were magnificently entertain'd by the City.

State of *Ireland*.

In *Ireland* great Confuſions began to be compos'd by the vigilant and active Lord Deputy *Thomas* Viſcount *Wentworth*, who wrote a Letter to his Majeſty dated *January* 22. 1633. wherein he adviſes the Calling of a Parliament, and ſuggeſts the Ways and Means of a Parliamentary Supply to make up the Revenue, which within a Year would fall ſhort twenty thouſand Pounds Sterling, and to diſcharge a Debt upon the Crown of fourſcore thouſand Pounds, and to ſupport the Army; with *Propoſitions* for the Peace and Intereſt of his Majeſty's Affairs, and *Conſiderations* for the better Government of the Church and Clergy in that Kingdom: Wherein he preſcribed, and afterward purſued ſuch Meaſures as ſhewed him to be an expert Soldier, an able Stateſman, and a good Chriſtian.

There was nothing remarkable in foreign Affairs, becauſe the King was at Peace with all States and Princes: and the Thoughts of reſtoring the Palatinate ſeemed at preſent to die with the Prince Ele-

(*a*) There is an Orig. Letter of King *Charles* to Biſhop *Laud* upon his Tranſlation, to keep up the Dignity and Grandeur of the See of *Cant.*——We have given Order for your Tranſlation to the See of *Cant.* and we think it fit for the upholding of the Honour and Government of the ſaid Church, hereby to require you in the Form of your Tranſlation, to uſe all ſuch Ceremonies and Offices, and to carry yourſelf with the ſame State and Dignity, and to aſſume ſuch Privileges and Pre-eminencies, as your Predeceſſors in that See have uſed and enjoyed heretofore.—— At *Denmark* Houſe this 8th of *Septemb.* in the 9th Year of our Reign. 1633. MSS. *Collect. Teniſon.* Fol. Vol. I. p. 225.

(*b*) Eſpecially when amongſt the Severities exercis'd upon ſome Proteſtant Subjects, ſo many Pardons and Indulgencies were granted to Popiſh Offenders; as within this one Year 1633. A Warrant of the Lord Chief Juſtice *Richardſon* for ſtaying of Proſecution againſt *John Broughton*, a *Roman* Prieſt, by Direction of his Majeſty to him and the reſt of the Judges. Dat. 4. *June* 1633. *Prynne*'s *Royal Favourite*, p. 27.

Warrant of Mr. Secretary *Windebanks* to the Keeper of the New Priſon to releaſe *Henry Moore*, committed for a Prieſt. Dat. *Weſtm.* 1. *Decemb.* 1633. Ib.

An Order of Council for diſcharging *Robert Hayes* from his Impriſonment for Recuſancy upon his Petition, recommended to the Board by the Queen's Majeſty. Dat. *Whitehall.* 18 *Decemb.* 1633.

And I have ſeen a Memorand. of the then Lord Keeper, dated 11th of *July*, 1633. in theſe Words, *Recuſants many convicted, but the Richeſt eſcape unconvicted.* MSS. Coll. *Teniſon.* Vol. I. p. 221.

ctor,

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ſtor. But to countenance his Son and Heir, the young Prince, his Majeſty beſtow'd on him the Honour of a Garter, and he was by Proxy inſtall'd *Novemb.* 6.

State of Religion. 1632.

To review the State of Religion for theſe two laſt Years. *Arminianiſm* was thrown for an odious Name upon thoſe Divines who had the greateſt Reputation for Learning, and were moſt conſidered in the Church Preferments. This Reſpect of the Court paid to them, created them more Envy and Hatred than the bare Opinions charg'd upon them could poſſibly have done. And for theſe Political Reaſons, more than for any Merit of the Cauſe, the Popularity went moſt on the *Calvinian* Side; and many Preachers who inclin'd to pleaſe the People, took a zealous Freedom to reflect upon the Tenets called *Arminian*, and upon the Profeſſors of them. This Liberty was Penal, as a Tranſgreſſion of his Majeſty's Injunctions; and Biſhop *Laud* never failed the Opportunities of making an Example of every ſuch bold Preacher.

Noiſe againſt *Arminianiſm.*

Sermon of Mr. *Barnard.*

Mr. *Nathaniel Barnard*, Lecturer of St. *Sepulchre*'s in *London*, had preach'd at St. *Mary*'s in *Cambridge*, upon 1 *Samuel* 4. 21. *The Glory is departed from Iſrael*, &c. in which he tragically complain'd of *Pelagian* Errors brought into the Doctrine of our Church, with ſuperſtitious Inventions of Men; to the Authors whereof he prayed for Converſion or Deſtruction, *&c.* For which he was queſtion'd in the High Commiſſion, and was enjoin'd a Form of Recantation; which he refuſing to ſubmit to, he was ſuſpended from his Office, fined a thouſand Pounds, condemned in Coſts, and committed to Priſon. (*a*)

Church Preferments.

The great Care of Biſhop *Laud* was to recommend ſuch Perſons to the Dignities of the Church as he thought to be Men of the greateſt Probity and Publick Spirit. Under this View, he got Dr. *Curl* to be Tranſlated from the See of *Bath* and *Wells* to that of *Wincheſter*, and Dr. *Pierce* to be promoted to *Bath* and *Wells*; Dr. *Auguſtine Lindſey* to the See of *Peterborough*; Dr. *Robert Wright* to be Tranſlated from *Briſtol* to *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; and with a more particular Affection, as his Diary expreſſes, *July* 10. 1632. *Dr.* Juxon, *the Dean of* Worceſter, *at my Suit ſworn Clerk of his Majeſty's Cloſet, that I might have One that I might truſt near his Majeſty, if I grew weak or infirm, as I muſt have a time.*

Cauſe againſt the Feoffees for Impropriations.

The Cauſe againſt the Feoffees for buying in of Impropriations, as Inſtruments of the *Puritan* Faction to divide and deſtroy the Church, was now brought by Information into the *Exchequer*; where the Attorney-General ſet forth, that the ſaid Feoffees had purchaſed divers Rectories, Tithes, *&c.* under a Pretence of augmenting poor Vicarages, but had not employ'd them according to ſuch pious Uſes, according to the true Intention of the Donors. The Defendants made Anſwer, that they believed Impropriations in the Poſſeſſion of Lay-men, not employ'd for the Maintenance of Preachers, to be a great Damage to the Church of *England*; and therefore, that the Purchaſing thereof for the Maintenance of Divine Service and Preaching, was a pious Work: and that the Donors and Benefactors had not ſpecially aſſign'd the Endowment of perpetual Vicars, but intended the Maintenance of Preachers, and ſuch other good Uſes, as the Defendants ſhould think meet; and that they had converted the Money to ſuch Uſes, according to the beſt of their Diſcretion. The Court gave Judgment, That the Defendants had uſurped upon the King's Regality, and of their own Authority had made themſelves a Body or Society; that they had purchaſed divers Impropriations, but never reſtored one of them to the Church; that by diſpoſing the Profits to Lecturers and Miniſters, they had drawn a Dependency of the Clergy upon them, and introduced many Novelties of dangerous Conſequences. The Court did forbear to proceed to Puniſhment, becauſe his Majeſty had determin'd a Criminal Proceſs againſt them in the *Star-Chamber*.

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Proſecution of Mr. *Sherfield.*

In *February* this Year, *Henry Sherfield*, Eſq; Bencher of *Lincolns-Inn*, and Recorder of *Sarum*, was inform'd againſt in the *Star-Chamber*, for taking down the painted Glaſs from a Window in St. *Edmund*'s Church in *Salisbury*; for which he was ſentenc'd to a Fine of five hundred Pounds, to be remov'd from the Recorderſhip of that City, to make a publick Acknowledgment of his Fault, and to be bound to his good Behaviour. This ſhew'd the Puritanical Humour of being now offended with thoſe Ornaments which had ſtood unblamable ever ſince the Reformation. And yet theſe Cenſures upon the Heat and Indiſcretion of forward Menders, did but encreaſe the Rumour of favouring Superſtition and Idolatry. (*b*)

Upon Complaints made concerning Ales and Revels upon the Wakes or Dedication-Sundays in *Somerſetſhire*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Richardſon* and Baron *Denham*, in their Circuit in that County, had made this Order.

Order of Aſſizes againſt Wakes and Revels.

"WHereas divers Orders have been made heretofore, by Judges of the Aſſize, for the ſuppreſſing of all Ales and Revels, the ſame Order is now confirmed at the Aſſizes, and again order'd by the Court, in regard of the infinite number of Inconveniencies daily ariſing by means of Revels, that ſuch *Revels*, *Church-Ales*, *Clerk-Ales*, and all other *Publick-Ales*, be henceforth utterly ſuppreſſed; and to the End this may be obſerv'd, it is farther Order'd, that the Clerk of the Aſſizes ſhall leave Copies hereof with the Miniſter of every Pariſh within his ſeveral Hundred, and ſhall give a Note under his Hand, that he ſhall publiſh it Yearly, within the Pariſh, the firſt *Sunday* in *February*, and likewiſe the two *Sundays* before *Eaſter* yearly."

The Abp. offended.

The Archbiſhop did well apprehend, that this Proceeding of the Judges in an Eccleſiaſtical Affair, and impoſing an Order upon the Miniſters to publiſh, without conſent or knowledge of the Biſhop, might grow into greater Encroachments upon the Authority of the Church, and make the Diſcipline of it depend upon the Pleaſure of the Lay Magiſtrates. Under this Concern, he complains to the King of this Irregularity of the Judges; and writes to the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, for a full Account how the Feaſts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly called *Wakes*, were obſerved in thoſe Parts; and to know whether the Diſorders of them might not be prevented by the Care of the Juſtices of Peace, without abrogating the Feaſts themſelves; which if decently kept up might encourage neighbourly Meeting, and a ſeaſonable Recreation of the People. The Biſhop return'd Anſwer, *That the ancient Cuſtom of thoſe Feaſts was Laudable and Innocent*; *that the late Suppreſſion was very unacceptable*; *and the Reſtitution of them would be grateful to the Clergy, Gentry, and Common People.* Upon this Report and farther Enquiries, the Lord Chief

(*a*) See *Ruſhworth.* ii. p. 140.

See the Recantation and Submiſſion of Mr. *Robert Rainsford* for certain *Arminian* Tenets maintained by him in a Sermon preach'd at St. *Mary*'s Church in *Oxford*, on *Aug.* 12. ſolemnly made *Aug.* 21. 1632. *Prynne Cant. Doom.* p. 511.

(*b*) And Notice was taken that the Papiſts eſcap'd legal Puniſhment, while the Puritans were under arbitrary Proſecutions. The King granted his Warrant to the Keeper of the *Clinke*, to diſcharge *Matthew Willſon*, a *Roman* Prieſt, at the Requeſt of the Queen Dowager of *France*, and to deliver him to Monſieur *Biſcarat*, to depart out of the Kingdom in his Company. Given at *Weſtm.* 24. *Jan.* *Reg.* 7. Another Warrant of the ſame Date for the diſcharge of Mr. *John Plansford* another Rom. Prieſt. —— A Warrant from Lords of the Council to the Keeper of the *Clinke*, to diſcharge *Jaſper Loberie*, a Popiſh Prieſt. Dat. *Whitehall.* 15 *June*, 1632. —— Mr. Secretary *Windebank*'s Warrant to the Keeper of the *Clinke* for releaſing of *William Walter*, charged for Recuſancy, and for ſuſpicion of being a Prieſt, to go abroad at the Queen's Majeſty's deſire. Dat. 9. *Octob.* 1632.

Juſtice

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Juſtice was Reprov'd at the Council Table, and commanded to revoke his Order; which he did at the next Aſſizes, but with ſo much Reſerve and Regret, that it look'd like a Penance impoſed, and like declaring the Will and Pleaſure of the King, againſt his own Conſcience. This Revocation however well intended, was thought the giving Countenance to Miſpending and Profaning of the Lord's-Day. And many devout People were ſo much offended at it, that from being Serious they grew Preciſe, and condemned all the cuſtomary Sports and Diverſions upon *Sundays* (which after Divine Service had been long practis'd without ſcruple) as now abſolutely unlawful. This one Extreme of the Puritans put the Government upon another more unhappy.

Makes the Order be revers'd.

Unhappy allowance of Sports on the Lord's Day.

It was remember'd, that when the like rigorous Notions of a Sabbath began to obtain, in the Reign of King *James*, he in his Princely Wiſdom publiſh'd a Declaration, *To all his Loving Subjects, concerning lawful Sports to be uſed upon* Sundays *after Evening Prayers ended, and upon Holidays.* Wherein he declares, "That in his late Progreſs through *Lancaſhire* "he did rebuke ſome Puritans and preciſe People, "and took Order that the like unlawful Carriage "ſhould not be uſed by any of them hereafter, in "the prohibiting and unlawful puniſhing of his "good People, for uſing their lawful Recreations "and honeſt Exerciſes upon *Sundays*, and other Holidays, after the Afternoon Sermon or Service—— "which cannot but produce two Evils, the one the "hindring the Converſion of many Papiſts, whom "their Prieſt will take occaſion hereby to vex, perſwading them that no honeſt Mirth or Recreation "is lawful or tolerable in Religion;——the "other, that this Prohibition barreth the common and meaner ſort of People from uſing ſuch "Exerciſes, as may make their Bodies more able for War, when his Majeſty or his Succeſſors "ſhall have occaſion to uſe them.——The "King's expreſs Pleaſure therefore is, That the "Laws of this Kingdom, and Canons of the Church, "be well obſerved; and that no lawful Recreation ſhall be barred to his Good People, which "ſhall not tend to the breach of the aforeſaid Laws "and Canons of the Church.—— That after the "end of Divine Service, his good People be not "diſturbed, letted or diſcouraged, from any lawful Recreation; ſuch as Dancing, either Men or "Women, Archery for Men, Leaping, Vaulting, "or any ſuch harmleſs Recreation.——But "withal, his Majeſty doth here account ſtill as "prohibited, all unlawful Games to be uſed upon *Sundays*, as Bear and Bull-Baitings, Interludes, "and Bowling. And likewiſe bars from this Benefit and Liberty all ſuch known Recuſants, either "Men or Women, as will abſtain from coming to "Church, or Divine Service, and to all, that tho' "conform in Religion are not preſent in the Church "at the Service of God, before their going to the "ſaid Recreations.—— He doth likewiſe ſtrictly command, that every Perſon ſhall reſort to his "own Pariſh Church to hear Divine Service, and "each Pariſh by it ſelf to uſe the ſaid Recreation "after Divine Service.——And his Pleaſure is, "that this his Declaration ſhall be publiſh'd, by "Order from the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, through all "the Pariſh Churches, and that both the Judges of "the Circuits, and the Juſtices of the Peace, be informed thereof. Given at the Mannor of *Greenwich* "the 24th Day of *May*, in the 16th Year of his "Majeſty's Reign, of *England*, &c. and of *Scotland* "the 51ſt. 1618."

Declaration of King *James* for lawful Sports.

Declaration of K. Charles.

The King and Council thought fit to renew and confirm this Declaration, and therefore a like Declaration was now drawn, which gives an account of the occaſion taken by King *James*, and then recites his ſaid Declaration at large, and concludes thus:

"Now, out of a like pious Care for the Service of God, and for ſuppreſſion of any Humours "that oppoſe Truth, and for the Eaſe, Comfort "and Recreation of his well-deſerving People, his "Majeſty doth ratifie and publiſh this his bleſſed "Father's Declaration, the rather becauſe of late in "ſome Counties of this Kingdom, his Majeſty finds "that under pretence of taking away Abuſes, "there hath been a general Forbidding, not only "of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feaſts of the "Dedication of the Churches, commonly called "Wakes. Now his Majeſty's expreſs Will and "Pleaſure is, that theſe Feaſts with others ſhall "be obſerved, and that his Juſtices of the Peace, "in their ſeveral Diviſions ſhall look to it, both "that all Diſorders there may be prevented or puniſhed; and that all neighbourhood and freedom "with Manlike and lawful Exerciſes be uſed. And "his Majeſty farther commands all Juſtices of Aſſize in their ſeveral Circuits to ſee, that no Man "do trouble or moleſt any of his Loyal or Dutiful "People, in or for their lawful Recreations, having "firſt done their Duty to God, and continuing in "Obedience to his Majeſty's Laws. And for this his "Majeſty commands all his Judges, Juſtices of the "Peace, as well within Liberties as without, Mayors, "Bailiffs, Conſtables and other Officers, to take notice of, and to ſee obſerved, as they tender his Diſpleaſure. And doth farther Will, that publication "of this his Command be made, by Order from the "Biſhops, through all the Pariſh Churches of their "ſeveral Dioceſſes reſpectively. Given at our Palace of *Weſtminſter* the Eighteenth Day of *October*, "in the ninth Year of our Reign."

Ill Effects of this Declaration.

Nothing more proves the Diverſity of Times than the different Operation that the ſame Act ſhall have upon the one and the other. This Declaration in the Reign of King *James* was generally thought more than Innocent, even ſeaſonable and popular. But now under King *Charles* it was reſented by many ſober People as worſe than needleſs, as even Irreligious and Prophane. Great Numbers of People could not endure to hear *it*, and ſeveral Miniſters refuſed to read it: And this one Thing, tho' founded upon ſo late a Precedent, drew on more prejudice againſt the King and the Archbiſhop, than any other Part of the publick Adminiſtration. It had been more happy to have timely conſidered the Pulſe and Temper of the People: For it ſeems the Political Phyſick in one Age may be Poiſon in another.

State of Religion in *Scotland*.

Lord *Clarendon's* Hiſt. Rebel. B. 1. p. 63.

The State of Religion in *Scotland*, had ſo great an influence on Publick Affairs; that it will be proper here to repreſent it, in the Words of a profound Judge in Matters of Church and State. "The King "was always the moſt punctual Obſerver of all Decency in his Devotion, and the ſtricteſt promoter "of the Ceremonies of the Church; and believing "in his Soul the Church of *England* to be inſtituted "the neareſt to the Practice of the Apoſtles, and the "beſt for the propagation and advancement of Chriſtian Religion of any Church in the World, he had "the higheſt diſlike and prejudice to that Part of his "own Subjects, who were againſt the Government "eſtabliſh'd, and did always look upon them as a "very dangerous and ſeditious People. This Temper and Diſpoſition in *England* lurk'd with wonderful Secrecy: In *Scotland*, indeed, it cover'd the "whole Nation, ſo that though there were Biſhops "in Name, the whole Juriſdiction, and they themſelves, were upon the Matter ſubject to an Aſſembly, which was purely Presbyterian; no Form of "Religion in Practice; no Liturgy, nor the leaſt "Appearance of any Beauty of Holineſs.—— "Yet the King's own Chapel at *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, "had ſtill been maintained with the Comelineſs of "the Cathedral Service, and all other Decencies: "And the whole Nation ſeem'd in the Time of King "*James* well inclin'd to receive the Liturgy of the "Church of *England*, which that King exceedingly "deſired, and was confident of bringing the Work to "paſs; however, upon ſome extraordinary Junctures he thought it neceſſary to ſuſpend the Proſecution. The King his Son propoſed nothing

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"more to himſelf, than to unite his three Kingdoms in one Form of God's Worſhip and publick Devotions; and there is great Reaſon to believe that in his Journey into *Scotland* to be crown'd, he carried this Reſolution with him.——And many wiſe Men were then, and are ſtill of Opinion, that if the King had then propoſed the Liturgy of the Church of *Eng.* to have been receiv'd and practis'd by that Nation, it would have been ſubmitted to without Oppoſition.—— But there were Obſtructions that diverted the King; yet the party that was averſe from the Thing, and abhorr'd any thought of Conformity, could not have been powerful enough to have ſtop'd the Progreſs of it. The Miſchief was, that they who moſt deſired it, and were moſt concern'd to promote it, were the Men who uſed all their Credit to divert the preſent attempting it; and the Biſhops themſelves applied all their Counſels ſecretly to have the Matter more maturely conſidered.—— The great Objection was, that the *Engliſh* Liturgy without Alterations would be dangerous to impoſe upon a jealous People, who, had been long afraid of *Scotland* being reduc'd as a Province to *England*, and made ſubject to their Laws and Government.—— This made a deep Impreſſion on his Majeſty, and ſo he committed the framing and compoſing ſuch a Liturgy as would moſt probably be acceptable to that People, to a ſelect Number of the Biſhops there, who were very able and willing to undertake it."

Archbp. *Laud* concern'd for Uniformity in *Scotland*.

While this was in agitation, Archbiſhop *Laud*, moſt truly zealous in this Work of Uniformity, kept a conſtant Correſpondence with the *Scotch* Biſhops, and directed and encourag'd them to proceed, with ſuch an Air of Authority, and in ſuch Terms of Preſcribing; that even this was a pretence to carry on the Prejudice, that a *Scotch* Liturgy ſhould be ſtill dictated and impoſed from *England*. And it was made another Advantage of the like Suſpicions; that while a Liturgy and Canons were under a due deliberation in *Scotland*, the King was thought to interpoſe with too much haſte, by ſending *Articles of Conformity for the better ordering of Divine Service in his Chapel Royal in* Scotland, certified to the Lords of the Privy Council to be executed with Diligence and Care, dated the 8th of *October* 1633. with a ſufficient Intimation, that this was a Patern of the intended Reformation to all Cathedrals, Pariſh Churches and Chapels in *Scotland*. This more and more fill'd the Heads of a People that mightily affected to be free and independent.

Ld. *Clarendon's* Hiſt. Rebel.
People in *England* jealous of Alterations tho' to the better.

A like Jealouſie againſt any Alterations prevail'd too much in *England*. "The Remiſsneſs of *Abbot*, and of other Biſhops by his Example, had introduced, or at leaſt conniv'd at a Negligence that gave great ſcandal to the Church, and no doubt offended very many pious Men. The People took ſo little Care of the Churches, and the Parſons as little of the Chancels, ſuffering them to be kept ſo indecently and ſlovenly, as they would not have endured in the ordinary Offices of their own Houſes; the Rain and the Wind to infeſt them, and the Sacraments themſelves to be adminiſtred where the People had moſt Mind to receive them. This prophane Liberty and Uncleanlineſs, Archbiſhop *Laud* reſolv'd to reform with all expedition, requiring the other Biſhops to concur with him in ſo pious a Work; and the Work ſure was very grateful to all Men of Devotion: yet I know not how, the Proſecution of it with too much affection of expence it may be, or with too much paſſion between the Miniſters and Pariſhioners, raiſed an Evil Spirit towards the Church, which the Enemies of it took much Advantage of, as ſoon as they had an opportunity to make the worſt of it."

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Placing the Communion-Table.

The Archbp. had obſerv'd, that placing the Communion-Table in the Body of the Church, or at the entrance only of the Chancel, was not only an impediment of the Church, in obſtructing the Paſſage of the People; nor only a proſtitution of the Table to other ordinary and ſordid Uſes; but that it made the Chancel look like a uſeleſs Building, fit only for Schooling and Pariſh Meeting, tho' originally deſign'd for the moſt ſolemn Office of Religion. To redeem theſe Places from Prophaneneſs, and reſtore them to the primitive Uſe of the holy Sacrament; the Archbiſhop uſed his utmoſt diligence to remove the Communion-Table from the Body of the Church, and fix it at the upper end of the Chancel, and ſecure it from the approach of Dogs, and all ſervile Uſes, by railing it in, and obliging the People to come up to thoſe Rails, to receive the Sacrament in more Decency and Order. This now, however regular and agreeable to devout Perſons, was thought a Grievance in many Pariſhes, more on the account of Trouble and Expence, than upon any other Scruple. Theſe Murmurs were artificially improv'd into the cries of Innovation, Superſtition and Popery it ſelf. *The Archbiſhop guided purely by his Zeal and Reverence for the Place of God's Service, and by the Canons and Injunctions of the Church, with the Cuſtom obſerv'd in the King's Chapel, and in moſt Cathedral Churches, without conſidering the long Intermiſſion and Diſcontinuance in many other Places, proſecuted this Affair more paſſionately than was fit for the Seaſon, and had Prejudice againſt thoſe, who out of Fear or Foreſight, or not underſtanding the Thing, had not the ſame Warmth to promote it.* Ld. Clarendon.

Great oppoſition given to the Abp.

The firſt oppoſition and diſturbance in this Matter, was in the Pariſh of St. *Gregory's*, *London*, where the Dean and Chapter of St. *Paul's*, as Ordinaries, had appointed the Communion-Table to be remov'd from the middle of the Chancel to the upper end, in ſuch manner as it ſtandeth in the ſaid Cathedral and Mother-Church. Some few of the Pariſhioners did complain of this Act by Appeal to the Dean of Arches, where they had Advocates to plead, that the Book of Common-Prayer, and the 82d Canon did give Liberty to place the Communion-Table where it may ſtand with moſt fitneſs and convenience, which a general Cuſtom had determined to be in the Body of the Church, or toward the Bottom of the Chancel. This Queſtion was brought before his Majeſty in Council, *Nov.* 3. 1633. where an Order was made, *That his Majeſty having heard particular Relation made by the Council of both Parties, of all the Carriage and Proceeding in this Cauſe, was pleaſed to declare his diſlike of all Innovation and receding from ancient Conſtitutions, granted upon juſt and warrantable Reaſons, eſpecially in Matters concerning Eccleſiaſtical Order and Government, knowing how eaſily Men are drawn to affect Novelties, and how ſoon weak Judgments in ſuch Caſes may be overtaken and abuſed. That the Cathedral Mother-Church, was a fit Example by which all other Churches depending thereon ought to be guided; and if a few Pariſhioners might have their Wills in affecting a difference from it, this might give too much ſubject of Diſcourſe and Diſputes. As to what concerns the Liberty given by the Common-Prayer Book or Canon, for placing the Table with moſt convenience; ſuch Liberty is not to be ſo underſtood, as if it were left to the diſcretion of the Pariſh, much leſs to the particular fancy of any humourous Perſon, but to the Judgment of the Ordinary, to whoſe Place and Function it doth properly belong to give direction in that Point, both for the Thing it ſelf, and for the time when, and how long, as he may find Cauſe. Upon which Conſideration, his Majeſty declares, that he well approved and confirmed the Act of the ſaid Ordinary, and did require it to be confirmed by the Dean of the Arches, if the Pariſhioners ſhould proceed in their Appeal.* (a)

Caſe of St. *Gregory's*.

(a) There be in the Manuſcript Collections left by Achbiſhop *Tenniſon* three or four Papers written upon this Occaſion.
1. Reaſons why the Communion-Table in every Church ſhould be ſet cloſe under the *Eaſt* Window, or Wall, with the Ends *North* and *South*, and be rail'd in.
2. The Arguments uſed againſt placing the Communion-Table Altar wiſe in the Caſe of *Clarke*, &c. *contra Harte*, *paroch.* St. *Gregor*. *London*, Upon the Order of King and Council, that the Table ſhould ſtand at the *Eaſt* End of the Chancel. 3. *Nov.* 1633.
3. The Reaſons given by the Church-Wardens of *Beckington* in *Somerſetſhire*, for their refuſal to remove the Communion-Table from the Place it now ſtandeth in, and hath ſtood ſince the Reformation.

1633. 9 *Car.* I. Whether it was Policy to intereſt the King and Council in ſo ſmall an Affair of Church Diſcipline, that might have been ſufficiently determined in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, without ſeeming to interrupt the Proceſs, or to preſcribe the Sentence of them, is not hard to judge. But this Application is very obvious, that the Governours of the Church ought to keep up their Juriſdiction to the utmoſt bounds of Law, and to maintain an even and regular practice of all decent Ceremonies, and orderly Reverence in Divine Service: Or otherwiſe, if they recede into Neglect and Indifference, this may breed firſt a Contempt and then a diſuſage in the People, and that by degrees may ſettle into ſuch a Cuſtom of Rudeneſs and Diſreſpect to ſacred things; that thoſe of their Succeſſors, who ſhall labour to reſtore the good old Ways, ſhall bear the odium of Change and Innovation. This was the Caſe of Archbiſhop *Laud*, and of thoſe Prelates who aſſiſted in the reforming many Corruptions crept in of later times.

Cure of Ordination. One other great Abuſe was the eaſy Ordination of young Divines, who often came into the Church with no affection to it, only to be domeſtick Chaplains in Malecontent Families, or to be forward Preachers in Popular Lectures, with no inclination to a regular Cure of Souls. To prevent this growing Miſchief, the Archbiſhop procured a wiſe Injunction from the King, given at *Weſtminſter* September 19. 1633. *for the ſtrict Obſervation of ſuch Canons of the Church as concern thoſe that are to take Orders in their ſeveral times; more eſpecially of keeping that particular Canon which enjoins, that no Man be made a Prieſt or a* Canonical Titles. *Miniſter without a Title; and that nothing ſhall be reputed a Title to enable a Man for Orders, but that which is ſo by the ancient courſe of the Church and the Canon Law, ſo far forth as that Law is received in this Church of* England. The Archbiſhop communicated this Royal Injunction to his Comprovincial Biſhops, and declared to them what ſhould be a Canonical Title:

"1. A Preſentation to ſome Eccleſiaſtical Preferment.

"2. A Certificate undoubted, that he is provided of ſome vacant Church.

"3. A grant of a Petty Canon's Place, or the like Office, in a Cathedral or Collegiate Church.

"4. A Fellowſhip, or Right of a Fellowſhip, in ſome College in *Oxford* or *Cambridge*.

"5. The being Conduct or Chaplain in ſome College in *Oxford* or *Cambridge*.

"6. The being Maſter of Arts of five Years ſtanding, living at his own Charge in either of the Univerſities.

"7. The Intention of the Biſhop that ordains, ſhortly to admit him to ſome Benefice or Curate's Place then void."

Theſe Rules were a very ſeaſonable Reſtraint from the promiſcuous and bold intruding into Orders, and for that very Reaſon were an Offence to many young Students, to ſome of the Nobility, and to ſeveral Corporations, becauſe no Lecture in a populous Place, and no Chaplainſhip to a great Family were any longer allowed to be a ſufficient Title.

1634. 10 *Car.* I. To carry on the Series of Civil Affairs for the Year 1634. 10 *Car.*

The narrow Seas were at this time infeſted with Pirates of all the neighbour Nations, and the *Dutch* Dominion of the Seas aſſerted. began to challenge ſuch a Right of Fiſhery, as would have robb'd the King of that Dominion, which had been alway claim'd and exerciſed by his Royal Anceſtors. To carry on this new Pretenſion, they encouraged their learned *Grotius* to aſſert their free Uſe of Shipping, in a Treatiſe ſtiled *Mare Liberum*; anſwer'd, and ſufficiently refuted, by our excellent Antiquary Mr. *Selden*, in his *Mare Clauſum*, of which the Materials had been formerly thrown together at the motion of King *James*, and were now put in Order, and within a Twelve Month publiſhed at the command of King *Charles*. But this Controverſie was not likely to be determined in Paper: Therefore to ſhew a juſt concern for the Honour and Safety of the Nation, the King on *May* 5. publiſhed two ſeveral Proclamations. 1634. 10 *Car.* I. In the firſt declaring his Royal Will and Pleaſure, "That no Mariner or Sea-faring Men, Shipwright or Ship-Carpenter, whatſoever, being his Majeſty's Subjects, ſhould without the King's Licenſe, or the Licenſe of the Admiral of *England*, enter, or attempt, or go about to enter into the Service of any foreign Prince or State, or be employed out of this Realm in any Sea-Service whatſoever, unleſs it were in the King's own Service, or of ſome of his Subjects. And if any at this time be in the Service of any Foreign Prince, that they forthwith return under a great Penalty." Proclamations in Marine Affairs. In the other of the ſame date, he declares his farther Pleaſure concerning "the Flags to be employed for his Royal Navy, as well as for the Ships of his Subjects of *South* and *North-Britain*; and conceiving it meet for the Honour of the King's own Ships in his Navy Royal, and of ſuch other Ships as are, or ſhall be employed, in the King's immediate Service, that the ſame be by their Flags diſtinguiſh'd from the Ships of any other of his Subjects; doth therefore prohibit and forbid, that none of the Subjects of any of his Nations and Kingdoms, ſhall from henceforth preſume to carry the Union Flag in the Main-top, or other part of any of his Ships, that is St. *George*'s Croſs and St. *Andrew*'s Croſs joined together; but that the ſame Union Flag be ſtill reſerved as an Ornament proper to the King's own Ships, and Ships in his immediate Service and Pay, and none others. And his Majeſty's farther Will and Pleaſure is, that all other Ships of his Subjects of *England* or *South-Britain* bearing Flags, ſhall from henceforth carry the Red Croſs, commonly called St. *George*'s Croſs; and alſo that all the other Ships of the King's Subjects of *Scotland*, ſhould from henceforth carry the White Croſs, commonly called St. *Andrew*'s Croſs."

But the great Difficulty was how to raiſe Money for fitting out a Navy ſufficient to guard the Seas; as Neceſſity ſeem'd now to require not only againſt the encroachments of the *Dutch*, but againſt the growing Inſolence of the *Turkiſh* and *Algerine* Pirates. Ship Money projected by Mr. *Noy*. By degrees a Project was fram'd out of ancient Records by Mr. Attorney General *Noy*, to impoſe upon every Sea-Port and Place of Merchandiſe the finding ſuch a number of Ships and Men, in proportion to their Wealth and Trade, or to compound with Commiſſioners at ſuch a rate. The firſt Writ for this Tax called Ship-Money was dated the 20th of *October*, beginning with the City of *London* in this Form:

First Writ for Ship-Money. Carolus Rex, *&c. To the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of our City of* London, *and to the Sheriffs of the ſame City, and good Men in the ſaid City and in the Liberties, and Members of the ſame, Greeting*;

"BEcauſe we are given to underſtand that certain Thieves, Pirates and Robbers of the Sea, as well *Turks*, Enemies of the Chriſtian Name, as others, being gathered together, wickedly taking by Force, and ſpoiling the Ships and Goods and Merchandizes, not only of our Subjects but alſo of the Subjects of our Friends in the Sea, which hath been accuſtomed anciently to be defended by the *Engliſh* Nation; and the ſame at their Pleaſure have carried away, delivering the Men in the ſame to miſerable Captivity. And foraſmuch as we ſee them daily preparing all manner of Shipping further to moleſt our Merchants, and to grieve the Kingdom, unleſs Remedy be not ſooner apply'd, and their Endeavours be not more timely met withal; alſo the Dangers conſider'd, which on every ſide in theſe Times of War do hang over our Heads, that it behoveth us and our Subjects, to haſten the Defence of the Sea and Kingdom with all Expedition or Speed that we can: We willing, by the help of God, chiefly to provide for the Defence of the Kingdom, Safe-

" guard

1634. " guard of the Sea, Security of our Subjects, ſafe
10 *Car.* I. " Conduct of Ships and Merchandizes to our Kingdom of *England* coming, and from the ſame Kingdom to foreign Parts paſſing: Foraſmuch as we and " our Progenitors Kings of *England*, have been always heretofore Maſters of the aforeſaid Sea, and " it would be very irkſome unto us, if that Princely Honour in our times ſhould be loſt, or in any " Thing diminiſhed. And although that Charge of " Defence, which concerneth all Men ought to be " ſupported by all, as by the Laws and Cuſtoms of " the Kingdom of *England* hath been accuſtomed " to be done: Notwithſtanding, we conſidering, " that you conſtituted in the Sea-Coaſts, to whom " by Sea as well great Dangers are imminent, and " who by the ſame do get more plentiful Gains, for " Defence of the Sea, and Conſervation of our " Princely Honour in that behalf, according to the " Duty of your Allegiance againſt ſuch Attempts, " are chiefly bound to ſet to your helping Hand: " We command, firmly enjoining you the aforeſaid " Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens, and Sheriffs " of the ſaid City, and the good Men in the ſame " City and in the Liberties, and Members of the " ſame, in the Faith and Allegiance wherein ye are " bound unto us, and as ye do love us and our Honour, and under the Forfeiture of all which ye can " forfeit to us, that ye cauſe to be prepared and " brought to the Port of *Portſmouth*, before the firſt " Day of *March* now next enſuing, one Ship of War " of the Burthen of Nine hundred Tons, with Three " hundred and fifty Men at the leaſt, as well Maſters " as very able and expert ſkilful Mariners; one other Ship of War of the Burthen of Eight hundred " Tons, with Two hundred and ſixty Men at the " leaſt, as well ſkilful Maſters as very able and expert " Mariners; Four other Ships of War, every of " them of the Burthen of Five hundred Tons, and " every of them with two hundred Men at the leaſt, " as well expert Maſters as very able and ſkilful " Mariners; and one other Ship of War of the Burthen of Three hundred Tons, with a hundred and " fifty Men, as well expert Maſters as very able and " ſkilful Mariners. And alſo every of the ſaid Ships " with Ordnance, as well greater as leſſer, Gun-powder and Spears and Weapons, and other neceſſary Arms ſufficient for War, and with double Tackling and with Victuals, until the ſaid firſt of *March* " competent for ſo many Men, and from that time " for twenty ſix Weeks at your Charges, as well in " Victuals as Men's Wages, and other things neceſſary for War, during that Time, upon defence of " the Sea in our Service in command of the Admiral of the Sea, to whom we ſhall commit the cuſtody of the Sea, before the aforeſaid firſt Day of " *March*, and as he on our behalf, ſhall command " them to continue, ſo that they may be there the " ſame Day at the fartheſt, to go from thence with " our Ships, and the Ships of other faithful Subjects, " for the ſafeguard of the Sea, and defence of you " and yours, and repulſe and vanquiſhing of whomſoever buſying themſelves to moleſt or trouble upon the Sea our Merchants, and other Subjects and " faithful People coming into our Dominions for " cauſe of Merchandize, or from thence returning to " their own Countries. Alſo we have aſſigned you " the aforeſaid Mayor and Aldermen, of the City " aforeſaid, or any thirteen or more of you, within " thirty Days after the Receipt of this Writ, to Aſſeſs all Men in the ſaid City, and in the Liberties, " and Members of the ſame, and the Landholders in " the ſame, not having a Ship, or any Part of the " aforeſaid Ships, nor ſerving in the ſame, to contribute to the Expences, about the neceſſary Proviſion of the Premiſſes, and to Aſſeſs and lay upon " the aforeſaid City, with the Liberties and Members thereof, *viz.* upon every of them according " to their Eſtates and Subſtances, and the Portion " aſſeſſed upon them, to nominate and appoint " Collectors in this behalf. Alſo we have aſſigned " you the aforeſaid Mayor, and alſo the Sheriffs " of the City aforeſaid, to levy the Portions ſo as " aforeſaid aſſeſſed upon the aforeſaid Men and Landholders, and every of them in the aforeſaid City, " with the Liberties and Members of the ſame, by " Diſtreſs and other due Means, and to commit to " Priſon all thoſe whom you ſhall find Rebellious, " and contrary in the Premiſſes, there to remain until " we ſhall give further Order for their delivery. " And moreover we command you, that about the " Premiſſes ye diligently attend, and do and execute " thoſe things with effect, upon peril that ſhall fall " thereon; but we will not that under colour of our " aforeſaid Command, more ſhould be levied of the " ſaid Men, than ſhall ſuffice for the neceſſary Expences of the Premiſſes; or that any who have levied Money for Contribution, to raiſe the aforeſaid " Charges, ſhould by him detain the ſame, or any " part thereof, or ſhould preſume by any manner of " colour to appropriate the ſame to other uſes. Willing, that if more than may be ſufficient ſhall be " collected, the ſame may be paid out among the " Contributors, for the rate of the part to them belonging. Witneſs, my ſelf, at *Weſtminſter* the 20th " Day of *October*, in the 10th Year of our Reign."

This Writ was read in a Common Council held at *Guild-Hall* Dec. 2. where the Matter gave a general Diſguſt, and brought out this Reſolution upon it. *This Court, after due and ſerious conſideration taken of the Premiſſes, conceiving that by their ancient Liberties, Charters, and Acts of Parliament, they ought to be freed and diſcharged of thoſe things which by the ſaid Writ are required by them to be done, doth order and agree, That the Draught of a Petition touching the ſaid Buſineſs, this Day read to this Court, ſhall be engroſſed, and with all dutiful reſpect for and on this City's behalf, humbly preſented to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.*

The Writ read in Common Council.

Which Petition was drawn up, and preſented in this Form:

Petition of the City of *London* againſt Ship-Money.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The Humble Petition of your faithful Subjects, the Mayor and Commonalty, and Citizens of your City of London, *moſt humbly ſhewing;*

" THat where your Majeſty by Writ bearing " *teſte* 20. *Octob.* laſt, commanded your Petitioners, at their Charge, to provide ſeven Ships of " War furniſhed with Men, Victual, and all Warlike Proviſions, to be at *Portſmouth* by the firſt of " *March* next, and to continue from thence by the " ſpace of twenty ſix Weeks in your Majeſty's Service, upon the Defence of the Seas, and other " Cauſes in the ſaid Writ contained.

" Your Petitioners do in all ſubmiſſive Humbleneſs, and with acknowledgment of your ſacred " Majeſty's many Favours unto your ſaid City, inform your Majeſty that they conceive, that by " ancient Privileges, Grants, and Acts of Parliament (which they are ready humbly to ſhew " forth) they are exempt and are to be freed from " that Charge. And do moſt humbly pray,

" That your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed, " That the Petitioners, with your Princely Grace " and Favour, may enjoy the ſaid Privileges and " Exemptions, and be freed from providing of the " ſaid Ships and Proviſions.

And they ſhall pray, &c."

This Petition ſeem'd to have no other effect, but only to expreſs a Diſſent, when there muſt follow a Compliance. And the Example of Submiſſion, however extorted from the City of *London*, would have its ſure and certain influence upon all inferiour Places. The legal Right of this Aid was not yet diſputed in any Court of Juſtice, but it created a general Offence and Odium. The Nobility and Gentry had reaſon to be jealous of any Methods of raiſing Money out of Parliament: The Merchants and Traders had the Grievance of thinking the whole Burden caſt

General Offence taken at Ship Money.

1634. 10 *Car.* I.

upon them: The Clergy could not at firſt obtain an Exemption from their conſiderable ſhare in it(*a*); and the Country Farmers thought it little leſs than ſeizing their Corn and Cattel to be ſent on Shipboard. The Murmurs were indeed ſo univerſal, and ſo artificially improv'd by the Enemies of the Court, that they look'd upon the Death of the Projector to be a Judgment ſent upon his Head. Mr. Attorney-General *Noy* departed this Life *Auguſt* 9. His Character is thus drawn by one that underſtood him well:

Character of Mr. Att. Gen. *Noy*. Lord *Clarendon* Hiſt. of the Rebellion *B.* 1. *p.* 57.

"Mr. *Noy*, upon the great Fame of his Ability and "Learning (and he was very Able and Learned) "was by great Induſtry and Importunity from Court, "perſwaded to accept that Place, for which all "other Men labour'd (being the beſt for Profit, that "Profeſſion is capable of) and ſo he ſuffered him- "ſelf to be made the King's Attorney General. "The Court made no Impreſſion upon his Manners, "upon his Mind it did: and though he wore about "him an affected Moroſity, which made him un- "apt to flatter other Men; yet even that Moroſity "and Pride rendred him the moſt liable to be groſsly "flatter'd himſelf that can be imagined. And by this "means the great Perſons, who ſteer'd the publick "Affairs, by admiring his Parts and extolling his "Judgment as behind his back, wrought upon him "by degrees for the eminency of the Service, to be "an Inſtrument in all their Deſigns; thinking that "he could not give a clearer Teſtimony, that his "Knowledge in the Law was greater than all other "Mens, than by making that Law which all other "Men believed not to be ſo. So he moulded, "framed and purſued the odious and crying Pro- "ject of Soap; and with his own Hand drew and "prepared the Writ for Ship-Money, both which "will be the laſting Monuments of his Fame. In "a Word, he was an unanſwerable Inſtance how "neceſſary a good Education and Knowledge of "Men is to make a Wiſe Man, at leaſt a Man fit "for Buſineſs."

Sir *John Banks* made Attorney General. Sir *John Finch* Ch. Juſtice of Common-Pleas.

On the Death of Mr. *Noy*, Sir *John Banks* was conſtituted Attorney-General by Patent, dated *Sept.* 27. 10 *Car.* And Sir *Robert Heath* being without Reaſon given, removed from the honour of Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, Sir *John Finch* was advanced to that honour. *Great were the Diſcourſes what the occaſion ſhould be of that ſudden Advancement. But four Days after the Writ for Ship-Money coming forth, it was conceived by common Diſcourſe, that he was to be Inſtrumental to advance that Buſineſs.* His Concern in this invidious Matter is thus repreſented by the Lord *Clarendon*.

His Character.

"Sir *John Finch* had much that the other "(Mr *Noy*) wanted, but nothing that the other had. "Having led a free Life in a reſtrained Fortune, "and having ſet up upon the ſtock of a good Wit, "and natural Parts, without the ſuperſtructure of "much Knowledge in the Profeſſion by which he "was to grow; he was willing to uſe thoſe Wea- "pons in which he had moſt Skill, and ſo (being "not unſeen in the Affections of the Court, but not "having Reputation enough to guide or reform them) "he took up Ship-Money where Mr. *Noy* left it; and "being a Judge carried it up to that Pinnacle, from "whence he almoſt broke his own Neck; having "in his Journey thither, had too much Influence on "his Brethren, to induce them to concur in a Judg- "ment they had all cauſe to repent."

The King importun'd by the Queen to favour the Papiſts.

By the Intereſt of the Queen, the King was too often prevailed upon to grant Letters of Grace and Favour in behalf of the Papiſts, and to direct his Precepts to the Courts of Juſtice to ſtay all Proceedings againſt them, upon Indictment, Preſentment or Information for Recuſancy (*b*). And even after their Conviction, Letters of Protection were ſent by the Secretary of State to the Judges of the Court, that their Penalties and Fines ſhould not be eſtreated into the *Exchequer*. Many of the Privy Council were indeed ſuſpected to be inclining to Popery, and ſome of them died of the *Romiſh* Religion: as the Lord *Cottington*, and the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, which latter died at the end of this Year, *March* 13, and left the Character to be beſtow'd on him.

Character of the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*.

"Sir *Richard Weſton* had been advanced to the "*White-Staff*, into the Office of Lord High Treaſurer "of *England*, ſome Months before the Death of the "Duke of *Buckingham*; and had in that ſhort time "ſo much diſobliged him, at leaſt diſappointed his "expectation, that many who were privy to the "Duke's moſt ſecret Purpoſes, did believe, that if "he had out-liv'd that Voyage in which he was "engaged, he would have remov'd him and made "another Treaſurer. —— He was a Gentleman of "very ancient Extraction by Father and Mother; "his Education had been very good amongſt Books "and Men. After ſome Years Study of the Law in "the *Middle-Temple*, he travelled into foreign Parts, "and at an Age fit to make Obſervations and Refle- "ctions; out of which, that which is commonly "call'd Experience, is conſtituted. After this he "betook himſelf to the Court, and liv'd there ſome "Years at that diſtance, and with that awe, as was "agreeable to the Modeſty of the Age, when Men were "ſome time before they were known; and well known "before they were preferr'd, or durſt pretend to it. "——When made Lord Treaſurer, he did indeed "appear on the ſudden wonderfully elated, and ſo "far threw off his old Affectation too to pleaſe ſome "very much, and to diſpleaſe none, in which Art "he had excell'd; that in few Months after the "Duke's Death, he found himſelf to ſucceed him "in the publick Diſpleaſure, and in the Malice of "his Enemies, without ſucceeding him in his Cre- "dit at Court, or in the Affection of any conſidera- "ble Dependents. And yet though he was not ſu- "periour to all other Men in the Affection, or rather "Reſignation of the King, ſo that he might diſpenſe "Favours and Diſfavours according to his own Ele- "ction; he had a full ſhare in his Maſter's Eſteem, "who look'd upon him as a wiſe and able Servant, "and worthy of the Truſt he repoſed in him.—— "The King's Revenue had been very looſely mana- "ged during the late Years, and might by Induſtry "and Order have been eaſily improved; and no Man "better underſtood what Method was neceſſary to- "wards that good Husbandry, than he.——No Man "had greater Ambition to make his Family great, or "ſtronger Deſigns to leave a great Fortune to it. "Yet his Expences were ſo prodigious, eſpecially in "his Houſe, that all the Ways he uſed for Supply, "which were all that occurr'd, could not ſerve his "Turn; inſomuch that he contracted ſo great Debts "(the anxiety whereof he pretended broke his Mind, "and reſtrained that Attention and Induſtry, which "was neceſſary for the due execution of his Office) "that the King was pleaſed twice to pay his Debts; "at leaſt towards it, to disburſe 40000 *l.* in ready "Money out of his Exchequer.——He was of an im- "perious Nature, and nothing wary in diſobliging "and provoking other Men, and had too much Cou- "rage in offending and incenſing them: But after ha- "ving offended and incenſed them, he was of ſo unhap- "py a Feminine Temper, that he was always in a "terrible Fright and Apprehenſion of them. —— "He quickly loſt the Character of a bold, ſtout and

(*a*) In the Inſtructions and Directions given by the Lords of the Council for the Aſſeſſing and Levying of Ship Money; the 4th Article requires, that Albeit his Majeſty is reſolved to maintain all the due Privileges of the Clergy which they have enjoyed in the time of his Royal Predeceſſor, yet it is agreed at the preſent, to Tax and Aſſeſs them as the reſt of his Majeſty's Subject.

(*b*) An Order of Seſſions in the County of *Middleſex*, to ſtay all Proceedings againſt a Popiſh Recuſant, *upon ſpecial Directions given by his Majeſty*, and ſignified in a Letter to the Lord Chief Juſtice, 17 *Apr.* 1634. with ſeveral other Orders made in divers Seſſions of Goal Delivery, to ſtop all Proceedings againſt Popiſh Recuſants, in *Obedience to his Majeſty*'s *Pleaſure*. *Prynne*'s *Royal Favourite*. 4to. p. 10, 11.

The King's Letter of Grace to Captain *John Read*, an active Papiſt, to protect him from all Indictment, Preſentment, Information, or Suit, for or concerning Recuſancy. Given under our Signet, 13. *Jul.* *Reg.* 10. 1634.

" magna-

1634. 10 *Car.* I. "magnanimous Man, which he had been long reputed to be in worſe times: And in his moſt proſperous Seaſon, fell under the Reproach of being a Man of big Looks, and of a mean and abject Spirit.—To conclude, all the Honours the King conferr'd upon him (as he made him a Baron, then an Earl and Knight of the Garter, and above this, gave a young beautiful Lady nearly Allied to his Majeſty, and to the Crown of *Scotland*, in Marriage to his Eldeſt Son) could not make him think himſelf great enough: Nor could all the King's Bounties, nor his own large Acceſſions raiſe a Fortune to his Heir; but after ſix or eight Years ſpent in outward Opulency, and inward Murmur and Trouble that it was not greater; after vaſt Sums of Money and great Wealth gotten, and rather conſum'd than enjoy'd; without any Senſe or Delight in ſo great Proſperity, with the agony that it was no greater, he died unlamented by any; bitterly mention'd by moſt who never pretended to love him; and ſeverely cenſur'd and complain'd of by thoſe, who expected moſt from him, and deſerved beſt of him; and left a numerous Family, which was in a ſhort time worn out, and yet outlived the Fortune he left behind him."

Death of Sir *Edw. Cook.*

In *September*, this ſame Year, died the eminent and long Abdicated Judge Sir *Edward Cook*, who having made himſelf obnoxious to the Court, was the more Popular in the Country, and the more an Oracle in the Houſe of Commons. There is an account given by one of his Poſterity: "That upon his Death-bed Sir *Francis Windebank*, *Laud's* old Friend, by an Order of Council, came to Search for ſeditious and dangerous Papers; by Virtue whereof he took Sir *Edward Cook's* Comment upon *Littleton*, and the Hiſtory of his Life before it, written with his own Hand; his Comment upon *Magna Charta* &c. the Pleas of the Crown, and Juriſdiction of Courts, and his 11th and 12th Reports in Manuſcript, and (as this Writer thinks) 51 other Manuſcripts, with the Laſt Will of Sir *Edward*; wherein he had for ſeveral Years been making Proviſions for his younger Grand-Children. The Books and Papers were kept till ſeven Years after, when one of Sir *Edward's* Sons in 1641. mov'd the Houſe of Commons, that the Books and Papers taken by Sir *Francis Windebank*, might be delivered to Sir *Robert Cook*, Heir of Sir *Edward*; which the King was pleaſed to grant, and ſuch as could be found were delivered: but Sir *Edward's* Will was never heard of more to this Day." (*a*)

Detection of four Reigns by *Rog. Cook.* ſub Ann. 1634.

Seditions in *Scotland.*

There was a Spirit of Diſcontent in *Scotland*, that could yet ſhew it ſelf in no other way but in Murmurs and ſeditious Reports. By the impulſe of this Spirit there was now publiſhed a Pamphlet properly called *The Libel*, which reflected on the King's Proceedings in the laſt Parliament, charging his Majeſty with gaining of Votes by undue means, for obtaining an Act to paſs for wearing of Whites, *&c.* The Lords of the Council found out the Author to be one *Hagg*, who eſcaped and went beyond Seas; but on farther Enquiry, the Lord *Balmerino* was found to have the principal Hand in it, who was Apprehended, Try'd and Condemn'd, for *Læſe Majeſty*; but the King was graciouſly pleaſed to reſtore him to his Life, Honour and Eſtate. His Father, Secretary to King *James*, had fell under the like Sentence, and received the like Pardon: So that Gratitude ſhould have been as Hereditary to this Family, as were their Crimes and the Remiſſion of them.

1634. 10 *Car.* I.

State of *Ireland.*

Ireland under the active Government of the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, had a Parliament called to conſider of Ways and Means to maintain the Army, and to diſcharge a Debt of eighty thouſand Pounds, which the Crown had there contracted. By the Courage and Prudence of the Lord Deputy, theſe ends were obtained, and three Subſidies were granted. And in a concurrent Convocation, there was a Canon paſs'd, *Of the Agreement of the Church of* England *and* Ireland *in the Profeſſion of the ſame Chriſtian Faith*, by receiving and approving the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and the whole Clergy in Convocation holden at *London*, *Anno Dom.* 1562. Which was charg'd as an *Arminian* Project upon the Deputy and his Chaplain Dr. *Bramhall*, when the Primate *Uſher* and other *Calviniſts* perceived, that the thus admitting the 39 Articles of the Church of *England* had repealed and excluded the Articles of the Church of *Ireland*, eſtabliſhed *Anno* 1615. wherein the Nine Articles of *Lambeth* determining the Predeſtinarian Doctrines, and many other *Calvinian* Rigours, were aſſerted and received. (*b*)

Foreign Affairs.

Abroad there was nothing ſo remarkable as the ſignal Victory obtained by the *Imperialiſts* againſt the *Swedes*, who had got Poſſeſſion of almoſt half *Germany*; and under the Command of *Guſtavus Horn* and Duke *Bernard*, attack'd the *Imperial* Army near *Nordlingen* on *Sept.* 6. commanded by the Duke of *Lorrain* and *John de Wert*, ſupported by the Cardinal *Infanto*, who had marched from *Milan* thro' *Switzerland* with the old *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Troops. The Victory was abſolute on the *Imperial* Side; the *Swedes* loſt all their Cannon and Baggage, and above 10000 Men; and of their two Generals Duke *Bernard* was Wounded, and the brave *Guſtavus Horn* was taken Priſoner. Our *Engliſh* Court had no great Concern for this Action, having an Alliance with both Parties, tho' no very right Underſtanding with either of them. The great Miniſter of *Sweden*, Chancellor *Oxenſtiern*, had this Year ſent his eldeſt Son as Ambaſſador into *England*; but either wanting proper Credentials from the Queen of *Sweden*, Regent in her Son's Minority, or making hard Propoſals for aſſiſting the Prince *Elector* againſt the Emperor, he was ſo much ſlighted and diſobliged, that he left *England* in diſcontent, and made ſuch a Report of his Uſage to his Father, that he and his Family ſo reſented this Affront as never to forgive the King.

State of Religion. 1634.

As to the Affairs of Religion in this Year 1634. Abp. *Laud*, who had ſet his Heart, where his Conſcience did direct him, upon an Uniformity of Worſhip through his whole Province, was offended at the Practice of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches here allow'd, and thought their ſeparate Service was an Example and Encouragement to our own Diſſenting Brethren. He was reſolv'd therefore, if poſſible, to bring them to a Conformity with the Church of *England*. And having for this Purpoſe the Advice and Aſſiſtance of the Privy-Council, in a Viſitation at the beginning of this Year, he tender'd theſe three Articles to the *French* Congregation in *Canterbury*, and to the two *Dutch* Congregations in *Sandwich* and *Maidſtone*, Apr. 14. 1634. 1. *What Liturgy do you uſe? or whether you have not the* Dutch *or* French *Liturgy in uſe?* 2. *Of how many Deſcents, for the moſt part, they were born Subjects?* 3. *Whether ſuch as were born Subjects would conform to the Church of* England? They look'd upon themſelves as tolerated and exempted from ordinary Juriſdiction, and accordingly put in their Pleas of Right, and with

Archbiſh. *Laud* labours to bring the *French* & *Dutch* Proteſtants to Uniformity.

(*a*) In the MSS. Collections left by Archbiſhop *Teniſon*, there is an Original Paper, intituled, A Note of ſuch Things as were found in a Trunk of Sir *Edward Coke*, taken from *Pepys* his Servant, brought to *Baggſhot* by his Majeſty's Commandment, to be there broken up by his Majeſty. 9th *September*, 1634.

1. A Catalogue of Sir *Edward Coke's* Papers that by Warrant from the Council were brought to *Whitehall*, wherein his Majeſty's Pleaſure is to be known which of them ſhall be retained there.

2. ——— A black Buckram Bag of the Proceedings againſt Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *Brooks*, the Prieſts *Watſon*, and *Copley*, and others, &c.

(*b*) See an Account of this Convocation in *Ireland* receiving the *Engliſh* Articles as given by Dr. *Bernard*, then a Member of the Lower Houſe, in his *Judgment of Archbiſhop* Uſher. 8*vo.* p. 116.

See the Converſion of the *Iriſh* Papiſts, taken into Conſideration by the Convocation now aſſembled; in *Richardſon Converſ. of* Ireland, p. 25.

a *Salvo*

1634. 10 *Car.* I.

a *Salvo* to it, by conſent of their ſeveral Churches, they prepared theſe Anſwers to be deliver'd on the 5th of *May*: 1. "That they had that Liturgy "which all the Churches of the *French* Tongue "(both in *France*, and in the United Provinces of "the *States*) have had ſince the bleſſed Reformati- "on, and which their Churches refuged here have "had this ſixty or ſeventy Years, or more: That "the *Engliſh* Liturgy was Tranſlated into *French*, "but that they uſed it not; and, that they know "not whether it be Tranſlated into *Dutch* or not. "2. That the greateſt part of the Heads of the Fa- "milies were not born here, but about a third part, "becauſe that the greateſt part of the old ones were "Strangers born, and many others are newly come "over within a few Years. 3. They deſire to be "excuſed from giving any Anſwer to the third Ar- "ticle, becauſe of the Maintenance of their Mini- "ſtry and Relief of their Poor, which would be "obſtructed by any Diviſion of their Members."

They put in a *Declinator*.

But before theſe Anſwers were put in, they conſulted the *Cœtus* of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches in *London*; where, by the Influence no doubt of ſome of our own Nonconformiſts, they adviſ'd their Brethren to ſuppreſs thoſe *Anſwers*, and to preſent their *Declinator*, or a Plea of Privileges and Challenge of Exemption granted them by King *Edw.* 6. and confirm'd by ſeveral Acts of Council in the following Reigns. (*a*)

Abp. ſends Injunctions.

This incenſed the Abp. and confirm'd him in the Reſolution of taking away their Liberty of Separation. And therefore he ſent down theſe Injunctions to *Canterbury*, deliver'd *Dec.* 19. with time of Conformity allow'd to *March* 1.

"*Firſt*, That all the Natives of the *Dutch* and "*Walloon* Congregations in his Grace's Dioceſs, "ſhould repair to their ſeveral Pariſh Churches of "thoſe ſeveral Pariſhes where they inhabited, to "hear Divine Service and Sermons, and perform all "Duties and Payments required in that behalf.

"*Second*, That the Miniſters and all other of the "*Dutch* and *Walloon* Congregations, which were not "Natives, and born Subjects to the King's Majeſty, "that ſhould come over to them, might have and "uſe their own Diſcipline, as formerly they have "done; yet it was thought fit that the *Engliſh* Li- "turgy ſhould be Tranſlated into *French* and *Dutch* "for the better fitting their Children to the *Engliſh* "Government."

They would not obey.

Theſe Injunctions might have been thought the more reaſonable, becauſe the laſt (which was indeed qualified by the King in Council) did not intrench upon their Liberty as Foreigners, but claim'd their Obedience only as native Subjects; and rather provided for a Conformity of the Children, than of the preſent Parents. But the innate Ambition of keeping themſelves up as a diſtinct Tribe of Strangers, and the Honour of not letting their Families recede from the Example of their Heads and Governours; and above all, the Countenance and Inſtigation given to them by the Puritan Faction, and even by many ſober Church-men who were jealous of the Zeal of Archbiſhop *Laud*, made them reject and oppoſe theſe Injunctions, in ſeveral Remonſtrances and Petitions. To all which the Archbiſhop

Abp.'s Reſolution.

anſwer'd to this effect: *That his Majeſty was reſolved the Injunctions ſhould be obey'd by all the Natives after the firſt Deſcent, who might continue in their former ways; but all of the ſecond Deſcent, born here in* England, *ſhould reſort to their ſeveral Pariſh Churches. He doubted not but they themſelves, or their Poſterity, would have cauſe to thank both the State and the Church for this care taken of them. But if they refuſed, he muſt then proceed againſt the Natives according to the Laws and Canons Eccleſiaſtical.*

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This good Endeavour of the Archbiſhop was afterward, in the beginning of his Troubles, ſeverely charg'd upon him: and at his Trial it made up a twelfth original Article againſt him, in theſe Words:

This made an Article againſt him.

He hath traiterouſly endeavoured to cauſe Diviſion and Diſcord between the Church of England, *and other Reformed Churches; and to that end hath ſuppreſſed and abrogated the Privileges and Immunities which have been by his Majeſty, and his Royal Anceſtors, granted to the* French *and* Dutch *Churches in this Kingdom: and divers other ways hath expreſſed his Malice and Diſaffection to thoſe Churches.*

His own Vindication.

And yet in the Pleadings againſt him upon that 12th Article, "What is the Reaſon (ſays the Abp.) "why here's nothing urg'd againſt me about abro- "gating the Immunities and Privileges of the *French* "and *Dutch* Churches, which fill the Body of this "Article? Why, I conceive, there may be two "Reaſons of it: One, becauſe there was taken by "Mr. *Pryme*, among other Papers for my Defence, "a Letter under Queen *Elizabeth*'s own hand, to "the Lord *Pawlet* Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, then Lord "Treaſurer, in which ſhe expreſſes her Willingneſs "that thoſe Strangers diſtreſſed in and for point of "Conſcience, ſhould have Succour and free Enter- "tainment, but ſhould conform themſelves to the "*Engliſh* Liturgy, and have that tranſlated into their "own Language: And they knew I would call to "have this Letter produced, proved, and read: "And had this Letter been ſtood unto, they had "never been able to do the Church of *England* half "the Harm they have ſince done. The *Other* was, "becauſe they found by their own Search againſt "me, that all which I did concerning thoſe Churches "was with this Moderation, that All thoſe of "their ſeveral Congregations in *London*, *Canterbury*, "*Sandwich*, *Norwich*, or elſewhere, which were of "the ſecond Deſcent, and born in *England*, ſhould "repair to their ſeveral Pariſh Churches, and con- "form themſelves to the Doctrine, Diſcipline, and "Liturgy of the Church of *England*, and not live "continually in an open Separation, as if they were "an *Iſrael* in *Egypt*, to the great Diſtraction of the "Natives of this Kingdom, and the aſſiſting of that "Schiſm which is now broke forth. And as this "was with great Moderation, ſo was it with the "joint Approbation of his Majeſty and the Lords "of his Council, upon the Reaſons openly given "and debated. And all this before I proceeded to "do any thing: as appears *apud Acta*."

The Abp. reforming *Engliſh* Factories.

The Archbiſhop was farther concern'd in ſettling the regular Worſhip of the Church of *England* in our Factories beyond the Seas; for which he had obtained an Order from the Council Table, dated *Octob.* 1. 1633. enjoining a ſtrict Obſervation of the *Engliſh* Liturgy and Rites and Ceremonies. Which not being much regarded by the Merchants, the Archbiſhop now preſented to the Council ſome *Propoſitions concerning* Engliſh *Preachers employ'd in Foreign Parts.* And wrote a Letter to the Factory at *Delf*, dated *June* 17. 1634. letting them know, "That it was "his Majeſty's expreſs Command, that both they "and all Merchants reſiding in thoſe Parts beyond "the Seas, ſhould conform themſelves to the Do- "ctrine, Diſcipline and Worſhip ſettled in the "Church of *England*."

The Defalcations of the legal Proviſion made for the Parochial Clergy of *London*, was found to be a cauſe of unable and unworthy Miniſters in that City, and the greater Encouragement to Lecturers and Preachers depending on the People. Wherefore, in

(*a*) See, A Relation of the Troubles of the Foreign Churches in *Kent.* 4to. p. 6.

The great Objection was, that while Foreign Proteſtants were ſo hardly dealt with, the Papiſts had their open Houſes and Chapels in the midſt of *London*. The Plot diſcover'd by *Habernfeld* in 1640. made it known, that Captain *Read*, a Secular Jeſuit, had a Houſe in *Long-Acre*, with a publick Chapel, and daily Maſſes. And that the Lord *Gage*, a Jeſuit Prieſt, had a Palace in *Queen-ſtreet*, within which was a Monaſtery, wherein forty Nuns were maintained. And that the Secular Jeſuits had bought that whole Street, to reduce it into a Quadrangle, where a Jeſuitical College was tacitly built, in hopes it might be openly finiſh'd in ſhort time. See *Rome*'s *Maſter-Piece*, &c.

May,

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Petition of the London Clergy for better Maintenance.

May 1634. the Parſons and Vicars in the City of *London* preſented a Petition to his Majeſty, humbly ſhewing, "That the Benefices in *London* were a hundred Years ſince very great: That a Decree now in force provided 2 *s.* 9 *d.* to be paid upon every Pound Rent without fraud: That notwithſtanding they were now very poor and mean, many of them not worth 40 *l. per Ann.* That the Petitioners have not independent Maintenance, and for want thereof are daily thruſt upon dangerous and great Inconveniences: That they are not able to diſcover the true Value of the Rents, becauſe the Landlords make double Leaſes or Proviſo's of Colluſion. And the Lord Mayor being their ordinary Judge, they have no Ability or Leiſure to proſecute and appeal to the Lord Keeper: And therefore beg, that it may pleaſe the great Patron of the Church, his Royal Majeſty, to take into his Princely Conſideration theſe Preſſures and Grievances of his poor Clergy of *London* for Redreſs thereof."

Referr'd to Commiſſioners.

This Petition was by the King referr'd to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Keeper, the Earl Marſhal, the Biſhop of *London*, the Lord *Cottington*, Secretary *Windebank*, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Richardſon*, or any five or three of them, whereof the Archbiſhop to be one. While they were endeavouring to ſettle the diſputed Tithes, ſeveral Citizens petition'd the King and Council againſt their manner of Proceeding, which came to ſeveral Hearings, *November* the 5th, 16th, and 23d: and being again taken into Conſideration *December* the 15th and *January* the 18th, it was agreed between the Clergy and City mutually to ſubmit the ſaid Differences to be arbitrated and ſettled by his Majeſty. But even the King was afraid to make any abſolute Deciſion againſt the Inclinations of the People.

This objected to Abp. *Laud.*

On the 4th Day of the Archbiſhop's Trial, *The buſineſs of the Tithe in* London (ſays he) *was raiſed up in Judgment againſt me —— I had been much to blame, having been Biſhop of* London, *ſhould I have had other Thoughts: For their Caſe is very hard, all their Offerings being ſhrunk away into nothing but a poor* Eaſter-Book. *The Miniſters of* London *had often petitioned about ſome Relief long before my time; and I did then, and do ſtill think it moſt juſt they ſhould have it: for they are now under the Task-Maſters of* Egypt; *the Tale of Brick muſt be made, they muſt Preach twice a* Sunday, *get Straw where they can: And yet I never thought of any thing contrary to Law, had all been done which I deſired; for that was no more, than that the Citizens would voluntarily yield to ſome reaſonable Addition, where Right and Need appeared: And this I am ſure nor did nor could croſs with the Act of Parliament concerning the Tithes of* London.

Metropolit. Viſitation.

The Archbiſhop held a Metropolitical Viſitation through his whole Province by his Vicar-General Sir *Nathaniel Brent:* And upon Articles of Enquiry, a great many Defects and Abuſes were reform'd, as to the Fabrick of Churches and the Ornaments of them, and the decent Habit of the Clergy, who in the Country parts had almoſt loſt that apparent diſtinction of their Order. Whence we find Sir *Nathaniel Brent* giving this Admonition to the Clergy of the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, on *Aug.* 11. 1634. that *All who wanted Canonical Cloaks, commonly called* Prieſts Cloaks, *ſhould provide themſelves before* Allhallowtide *next, on pain of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures.*

But the Zeal and publick Spirit of Archbiſhop *Laud* will beſt appear from the annual Accounts of his Province ſent to the King. In that of 1633. he certifies his Majeſty, "That, according to his Royal Commands, he does here, upon the ſecond of *Jan.* 1633. *Comput. Anglic.* preſent his Account of both the Dioceſs and Province of *Canterbury* concerning all thoſe Church Affairs which were contained within his Majeſty's moſt gracious Declaration and Inſtructions. And firſt, for his own Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, he heard of many things amiſs; but as yet his time had been ſo ſhort, that he had no certain Knowledge of any thing fit to certifie.

Annual Account of his Province for 1633.

Canter.

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London.

"For the Biſhoprick of *London*, the now Biſhop had not received Complaint againſt any of his Clergy ſince his coming to that See, which was ſince *Michaelmas* laſt. For the former part of the Year he was himſelf Biſhop, and had then left Mr. *Nathaniel Ward* under the Cenſure of Excommunication for refuſing to ſubſcribe to the Articles; had convented Mr. *John Beadle* Rector of *Barnſton* in *Eſſex*, for omitting ſome parts of Divine Service, and had diſmiſs'd him with Canonical Admonition only; and that he found Mr. *John Davenport* Vicar of St. *Stephen Coleman-ſtreet* (whom he had uſed with all Moderation) had now reſigned his Vicarage, and declared his Judgment againſt Conformity.

Bath and *Wells.*

"For *Bath* and *Wells*, he found the Biſhop had in his late Viſitation taken a great deal of pains to ſee all his Majeſty's Inſtructions obſerved: and particularly had put down divers Lecturers in Market Towns which were beneficed Men in other Biſhops Dioceſſes; and had ſent up a Liſt of *Romiſh* Recuſants.

Rocheſter.

"In the Dioceſs of *Rocheſter*, the Town of *Mawling*, and that whole Deanry, were very much out of order; but the Archdeacon, by my Lord the Biſhop's Command, had ſettled them; that the Biſhop complained that the Cathedral Church ſuffer'd much for want of Glaſs in the Windows, and the Church-yard lay very undecently, and the Gates down; and that he had no Power to remedy theſe things, becauſe the Dean and Chapter refuſed to be viſited by him, upon pretence that the Statutes were not confirmed under the Broad Seal. [To which the King wrote this Poſtill in the Margin] *This muſt be remedied one way or other, concerning which I expect a particular Account of you.*

Peterborough.

"Concerning *Peterborough* Dioceſs, whereas his Majeſty's Inſtructions required that Lecturers ſhould turn their Afternoon Sermons into Catechiſing; ſome Parſons and Vicars made a queſtion, whether they were bound to that Order, becauſe Lecturers only are named.

Coventry and *Lichfield.*

"As to *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, the Biſhop complain'd that the Peculiars of his Dioceſs (wherein he had no Power) were much out of Order: that he had ſuppreſſed a ſeditious Lecture at *Repon*, and divers monthly Lectures, with a Faſt and a Moderator; as alſo the *Running Lecture*, ſo called, becauſe the Lecturer went from Village to Village; ordain'd, as they ſaid, to illuminate the dark Corners of that Dioceſs. [To which the King noted in the Margin] *If there be dark Corners in this Dioceſs, it were fit a true Light ſhould illuminate it, and not this that is falſe and uncertain.*

S. *David's.*

"My Lord of *St. David's* was now reſident in his Dioceſs, and would take care to whom he gave holy Orders; had ſuſpended a Lecturer for his Inconformity, and found but few *Romiſh* Recuſants.

S. *Aſaph.*

"In *St. Aſaph* all was exceeding well, ſave only that the Number and Boldneſs of ſome *Romiſh* Recuſants increaſed much in many Places; and was encouraged by the ſuperſtitious and frequent concourſe of that Party to *Holy Well*, long complain'd of without remedy.

Landaff.

"The Biſhop of *Landaff* had certified, that he had not one refractory Nonconformiſt, or Schiſmatical Miniſter, within his Dioceſs; but two Lecturers, and they both licenſed Preachers.

Lincoln.

"The Biſhop of *Lincoln* had ſignified, that the Company of *Mercers* in *London*, truſted with the Gift of one Mr. *Fiſhburn*, had ſet up a Lecturer in *Huntingdon*, to be retained or removed, without any relation to Biſhop or Archbiſhop. His moſt humble Suit to his Majeſty is, that no Lay-man whatſoever, and leaſt of all Companies or Corporations, ſhould have power to put in or

put

1634. 10 Car. I. " put out any Lecturer, or other Miniſter. [To which his Majeſty remark'd in the Margin] *Certainly I cannot hold fit, that any Lay Perſon or Corporation whatſoever ſhould have the Power theſe Men take to themſelves: For I will have no Prieſt have any neceſſity of a Lay Dependency. Wherefore I command you to ſhew me the way to overthrow this, and to hinder the performance in time to all ſuch Intentions.*

" That all the Biſhops above-mention'd did agree, that all other Things in his ſacred Majeſty's Inſtructions contained, were carefully obſerv'd; and particularly that of avoiding factious meddling with the prohibited Queſtions.

" From the reſt of the Biſhops he had not yet receiv'd any Certificate. And ſo he humbly ſubmitted this his Certificate ſubſcrib'd *W. CANT.*

Annual Account of the Prov. of *Canterb.* 1634. The ſecond yearly Account of his Province was for 1634. wherein he firſt repreſents to his Majeſty,

" That he had this Year, partly by his Vicar-General, and partly by the Dean of the Arches, viſited ſeven Dioceſſes, beginning at his own Metropolitical Church of *Canterbury*. That he found in his own Dioceſs, (eſpecially about *Aſhford* ſide) divers profeſſed Separatiſts, with whom he ſhould take Order. That he conceived the *Dutch* Churches in *Canterbury* and *Sandwich* were great Nurſeries of Inconformity, of which he had already complained to his Majeſty and the Council-board, and had humbly deſired, that they, both of the *French*, *Italian*, and *Dutch* Congregations, which were born Subjects, might not be ſuffer'd any longer to live in ſuch a Separation both from Church and State." [The King remark'd in the Margin] *Put me in mind of this at ſome convenient time, when I am at Council, and I ſhall redreſs it.*

" For *Rocheſter*, he found no eminent thing amiſs, but the Biſhop himſelf fell into a Palſie.

" For *Saliſbury*, he found the Biſhop had taken a great deal of care about his Majeſty's Inſtructions, and had cauſed Copies of them to be ſent to moſt of the Miniſters. The greateſt part of *Wiltſhire* was overgrown with the Humours of thoſe Men who do not conform: That the Cathedral of *Saliſbury* was much peſter'd with Seats, which he had given Order to remove, and hoped his Majeſty would approve, as well as he did at *York* and *Durham*, and add the Royal Power, if his own be not ſufficient.

" For *Briſtol*, he found in his Viſitation that the Biſhop had taken very good Pains and Care. And ſome Clergy-men in *Dorſetſhire*, who gave great Cauſe of Suſpicion, had quitted themſelves in a better manner than was expected: tho' all was not right in thoſe Parts.

" Concerning *Bath* and *Wells*, all his Majeſty's Inſtructions were punctually obſerved, and the Lectures read, not by any particular factious Perſons, but by a Company of learned neighbouring Miniſters, every way conformable to the Church.

" For *Exeter*, he muſt do my Lord Biſhop this Right, that for his Majeſty's Inſtructions, they had been carefully obſerved: but a great Diviſion was between Dean and Chapter; and another great Difference between the Dean and Chapter and the City, about burial within the Church-yard of the Cathedral.

" As for *Lincoln*, that greateſt Dioceſs in the Kingdom, had been viſited this Year. And his Viſitors found *Bedfordſhire*, for the bigneſs, moſt tainted of any part of the Dioceſs. Many *Anabaptiſts* were in *Lincoln* it ſelf, their Leader one *Johnſon* a Baker. In divers parts the Clergy and Laity exceſſively given to Drunkenneſs. The Town of *Boſton*, a great Nurſery of Inconformity, was, ſince the calling ſome of the Magiſtrates into the High Commiſſion, become very orderly; but the Town of *Louth* ſomewhat to blame. At *Kenſworth* in *Hertfordſhire*, and ſome other Places, many gadded from their own Churches by Troops after other Miniſters. The Cathedral of the Dioceſs was not well ordered either for Reparation or Ornaments. For *Eaton* College, the Provoſt Sir *Hen. Wotton*, had carried himſelf very worthily. 1634. 10 Car. I.

" Thus far concerning the Dioceſſes which he had viſited this Year; in all which he found one great Complaint, and very fit to be redreſſed. The general Grievance of the poor Vicars, that their Stipends are ſcarce able to feed and cloath them; and which was worſe, the Vicars in great Market-Towns, where the People are very many, were for the moſt part worſt provided for. He humbly thanks his Majeſty ſome Good had of late been done for them; and he ſhould purſue all juſt and fair ways to give them relief, humbly beſeeching his Majeſty's gracious Aſſiſtance.

" For *Wincheſter*, he found his Majeſty's Inſtructions well obſerved, ſave only that in two Pariſhes the Biſhop found ſome Defect about Catechizing in the Afternoon, which ſhould be remedied. There were divers obſtinate Recuſants in thoſe Parts.

" The Biſhop of *London* had viſited his Dioceſs this Year; the City and *Middleſex* in Perſon, the reſt by his Chancellour. Divers Complaints about Inconformity to the Church Diſcipline; but the Proofs came home only againſt four, three Curates and a Vicar: The Vicar and two Curates had ſubmitted, the third was ſuſpended.

" For *Norwich*, the Biſhop had certified that he had put down ſome Lectures, where factious Men performed them; had heard complaint of Mr. *Ward* of *Ipſwich*, for ſome Words utter'd in Sermons, for which he was now called into the High-Commiſſion; that he had ſuſpended one *Enoch Grey* for unſound Doctrine; and that he had made two wandring Preachers run out of his Dioceſs.

" The Biſhop of *Ely* had certified, that all the Royal Injunctions for the good of the Church had been carefully obſerved, and that he would have a watchful Eye concerning all Lecturers.

" For St. *David's*, the Biſhop was now gone and ſettled in his Dioceſs, whence he had not been abſent two Months theſe two Years; that his Lordſhip complained grievouſly (and not without cauſe) that divers Impropriators in thoſe Parts have either pulled down the Chancels, or ſuffered them to fall, or left them ſo open and cold, that the People in thoſe Mountainous parts muſt endure a great deal of hardſhip.

" The Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* profeſſed he had little to return, they were not troubled with Inconformity; but heartily wiſhes, they might be as well acquitted from Superſtition and Profaneneſs.

" The Biſhop of *Landaff* had certified, that this laſt Year he viſited in Perſon, and found *William Erbury*, Vicar of St. *Mary's* in *Cardiff*, and *Walter Cradock* his Curate, very Schiſmatical Preachers: that he hath given the Vicar a Judicial Admonition, and had ſuſpended the Curate, and taken away his Licenſe to ſerve the Cure.

" The Biſhop of *Gloceſter* certified, that he is forced to Ordain ſome very mean Miniſters in his Dioceſs to ſupply Cures as mean. He hath put down ſome Lecturers, and ſet up other ſome, which he conceives he did without offence, being done upon different occaſions." [The King noted in the Margin,] *I muſt be ſatisfied that the Occaſions were very neceſſary, otherwiſe he ſhall anſwer it.*

Hereford, the Biſhoprick was void.

" *Oxford*, the Biſhop was very careful, had, according to his promiſe made unto his Majeſty, built a Houſe at *Cuddeſden*, held in *Commendam*; which Houſe he deſired might be annexed to the See of *Oxford*.

" My Lord of *Chicheſter* had certified All very well in his Dioceſs; ſave only in the Eaſt Part, ſome Puritan Juſtices of the Peace had awed ſome of the Clergy into like Opinions with themſelves.

" The Biſhop of *Peterborough* had viſited his Dioceſs this laſt Year; and begun ſo well to look to

" all

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1 Car. I.

“ all good Orders, that he hoped things would go “ very well there.

“ That he had received no Account from the Bps. “ of *Worceſter*, *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and *Bangor*.”

So I humbly ſubmit my Certificate.

W. CANT.

The good Application of Ship Money.

By the Fund of Ship-money (which was not mingled with the other Treaſure or Accounts in the Exchequer, but was kept as a ſeparate Bank for the Navy) the King was enabled to ſet out a Fleet of Forty Men of War under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſey* Admiral, and twenty Sail more under the Earl of *Eſſex* Vice-Admiral, for ſecuring of the Narrow Seas, and aſſerting the Dominion of them. And indeed the conſiderable Increaſe of the *French* Navy, and their late building ſeveral greater Ships, and threatning the Sea Ports in *Flanders*, together with the Progreſs which the *Hollanders* had now made in their Attempts of Fiſhing upon our Coaſts, and the great Improvements of Piracy made by the *Algerines* and other Rovers, who now infeſted the very Chanel; were a great Argument for the Neceſſity of ſetting out a Fleet, which under preſent Circumſtances could not be done without an extraordinary Aid. To make this Aid more ample and more continual, it was found expedient to enlarge the Extent of it; and whereas in the former Year the Writs were directed to Maritime Places only, it was now reſolv'd to bring in all Counties of the Kingdom to ſome proportionable ſhare. And accordingly *Inſtructions* and *Directions* were prepared by the Lords of the Council, to be ſent with the Writs to the reſpective Sheriffs, to inform them, “ That his Majeſty, for “ his own Honour, and the ancient Renown of the “ Nation, and the common Safety of his People, “ had iſſued the like Writs to all Counties, Cities, “ and Towns through the whole Kingdom; that “ for due Execution hereof, they ſhould firſt ſettle “ the general Aſſeſſment on the whole County, and “ then ſubdivide the particular Charge on each Hundred and Pariſh: Not to aſſeſs poor Cottages; “ nor Rent of Houſes, but with regard to the Ability of the Inhabitants; to take Diſtreſſes upon “ ſuch as refuſe to pay; to collect with ſpeed, and “ pay the Money to the Treaſurer of the Navy.”

The Demand of Ship-Money enlarg'd.

Lord Keeper's Charge for Ship-Money.

To promote the Execution of theſe Writs, *Thomas* Lord *Coventry*, Lord Keeper, deliver'd a Charge in his Majeſty's Name to all the Judges of *England*, in the *Star-Chamber*, June 17. concluding with this Affair of the Navy; “ That his Majeſty, out of his “ great Wiſdom, had found it expedient to ſet a “ Fleet to Sea, and reſolv'd to add a greater Strength, “ and muſt therefore ſend out new Writs for the “ Preparation of a greater Fleet next Year, not only to the Maritime Towns, but to all the Kingdom “ beſides. That therefore his Majeſty did require “ and command them, that in their Charges at the “ Aſſizes, and in all other Places, they ſhould take “ an occaſion to let the People know how careful “ and zealous his Majeſty was to preſerve his own “ Honour, this Kingdom, and the Dominion of the “ Sea, and to ſecure both Sea and Land by a powerful Fleet, that Foreign Nations might ſee, that “ *England* is both able and ready to keep it ſelf and “ all its Rights; and to let them know farther, how “ juſt it was, that his Majeſty ſhould require this “ for their Defence, and with what Chearfulneſs “ they ought and were bound in Duty to contribute unto it.”

Ship-Money grows more odious.

Theſe Charges at the County Aſſizes (however proper and juſt to promulge Orders before the Execution of them) did but alarm the Country, and make 'em feel the Burden before it touch'd em. What was before thought a particular Proviſion to be made by particular Ports for their own immediate Safety, was now found to be intended for a National Tax, and therefore the more odious for want of an Authority of Parliament. And though the Load it ſelf was not heavy, for the yearly Income was at height computed to be not above 236000 *l.* which was not fully 20000 *l.* a Month through the whole Kingdom; yet the making it a univerſal Aid, and the aſſeſſing and collecting it in the Parliamentary Methods, gave it much the greater Air of Grievance and Oppreſſion. This is certain, that if Ship-Money had been rais'd with Appearance of voluntary Contribution (as the Royal Loan was) and not by rated Impoſition, it had made leſs Noiſe, and might have produced as high Effects: Or if while turn'd into a neceſſary Aid, it had been in good time communicated to a Parliament, while the King and his Friends might have had Intereſt to juſtifie the paſt Neceſſity, and to authorize the Continuance or Intermiſſion by the Legiſlative Power; then the People of *England* would have been eaſie and quiet, who will never, by any means, endure the extorting of Taxes from them without their own Conſent in Parliament.

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More Projects for Money.

But beſides this extraordinary Aid of *Ship-Money*, which was not ſufficient for the meer Occaſions of the Navy; the King's Neceſſities urg'd him to many other Projects of ſupporting and improving his Revenues: as, By erecting an Office for giving Licence by the King, or by ſix of the Privy Council, to any Subject departing out of the King's Dominions, by Proclamation *July* 21. And by granting to *Robert Leſley*, Eſq; the Profits of the Office erected for receiving the Forfeitures incurred by profane Swearers and Curſers, by Proclamation *July* 26. And by fixing a Letter Office for *England* and *Scotland*, and appointing *Thomas Witherings* Eſq; to be Poſt-Maſter, and commanding that no Letters ſhould be otherwiſe carried, except by common known Carriers, or by a particular Meſſenger, as by Proclamation *July* 1. And by renewing a Commiſſion to ſome Lords and others, to Sell, Grant, and Confirm to the People their defective Eſtates, Poſſeſſions and Titles, as by Proclamation *Aug.* 24. And by inflicting Penalties on exceſſive Carriages that were to the Deſtruction of the Highways, and on Hackney-Coaches diſturbing the Streets of the City, and by other Ways and Means, which however lawful, and how much ſoever for the Benefit of the Subject as well as of the Prince, yet all theſe, at this juncture, were look'd on with a jealous Eye, as Inventions how to maintain the King without a Parliament.

Yet our Dangers from abroad were very imminent, and might well juſtifie ſome extraordinary Proviſions. For, the *Hollanders* had made a League with the *French* againſt the *Spaniards*, by which a *French* Army was to invade *Flanders* by Land, and to attempt *Dunkirk*, while a *Dutch* Fleet were to attend, and aſſiſt at Sea. And poſſibly the Deſign had been effected, if the Terror of our *Engliſh* Navy had not quickly perſwaded the *Dutch* to draw off their Ships, and return home.

Prince Elector comes into England.

In *November*, *Charles* Prince Elector came over to ſollicit his Royal Uncle to promote his Reſtoration; and in the Month after came his younger Brother Prince *Rupert*, who were received with great Civilities; and their Cauſe ſeem'd to look ſomewhat better by the Concluſion of a Peace at *Prague*, whereby at leaſt the Proteſtants were reſtor'd to their Liberties and Profeſſion, as ſettled in the Year 1627.

Birth of the Princeſs Elizabeth.

In *Decem.* the Queen was brought to Bed of a 2d Daughter, named *Elizabeth*, to congratulate this new Acceſſion of Happineſs to the Court, the States of *Holland* ſent hither a ſolemn Ambaſſy, with a noble Preſent of Amber-greaſe, *China*-Baſons, a Clock, the Workmanſhip of *Rudolphus* the Emperor, and ſome exquiſite Pieces of Painting.

State of Religion. 1635.

As to Church Affairs; A Liturgy and Book of Canons for the Church of *Scotland*, by the Advice of Biſhop *Laud*, had been committed to ſome Biſhops of *Scotland*, who ſent a Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, dated *April* 2. 1635. brought hither by the Biſhop of *Roſs*, wherein they acquainted his Grace, that *they all wiſh a full Conformity in the Churches, but his Grace knew that this muſt be the Work of Time.*

1635. 11 Car. I. *They had made a farther Progreſs than could have been expected, and hoped ſtill to go farther, if it ſhould pleaſe God to continue his Grace in Health and Life.* The Liturgy was not yet finiſh'd, but the Book of Canons was by the King referred to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London*, and after their Approbation, it was confirmed by Royal Authority, under the Great Seal 23d of *May*, and ſent back to be enforced in the nature of Royal Injunctions. But the *Scotch* quarrel'd with them, and raiſed ſo many Objections againſt them, that they could never grow into a ſettled Uſe and Practice. Farther Advice was ſent in a Letter of Archbiſhop *Laud* to the Abp. of St. *Andrew*'s, dated *November* 10. 1635. *That for all the Buſineſs of that Church in future, they were immutably to hold this Rule, that they were privately to acquaint the Earl of* Traquair *with every Matter, before it was propoſed in Publick; and that the Earl had aſſured the King in his Preſence, that he will ſtrictly obſerve a good Correſpondence with them, and faithfully do all good Offices for the Church, according to the Commands he ſhould receive from the King; which mutual Relation between the Earl of* Traquair *and them was to be kept very ſecret. And in another Letter he adviſes the ſaid Archbiſhop of St.* Andrew's, *that the King was much diſpleaſed with the Biſhop of* Aberdeen, *for allowing a publick Faſt thro' his Dioceſs to be kept upon the Lord's-Day; expreſſing his Majeſty's Will, that no Biſhops ſhould there preſume to command or ſuffer any Faſt to be kept on that Day, or on any other, without the ſpecial Leave and Command of the King; and that if the Canons were not already printed, they ſhould make a Canon purpoſely againſt this unworthy Cuſtom.* Which Advices and Orders, however juſt and ſeaſonable, raiſed ſome uneaſie Jealouſies, even among the *Scotch* Biſhops themſelves, as if they interfer'd with the Liberty of their National Church; and were more eſpecially offenſive to the People, who hated to receive Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline from *England*, and eſpecially from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſeemed to them by this means to affect a *Britiſh* Primacy.

Scotch Liturgy.

Injunctions to the Church of *Winchester*.

The Archbiſhop might have expected leſs Envy within his own Province, where he carried on his Metropolitical Viſitation with great Zeal for Uniformity: In which, by his Vicar General, Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, he gave theſe Injunctions *June* 19. to the Cathedral Church of *Wincheſter*, "That the Dean "and Chapter ſhould provide four Copes; ſhould "bow at their coming in and going out of the "Quire; ſhould read the Epiſtles and Goſpels at "the Altar; and in greater Feſtivals ſhould read the "Divine Service by turns in their own Perſons"(*a*)." 1635. 11 Car. I. And the like Orders were preſcribed to other Cathedrals, which however fit and decent in themſelves, and now more eſpecially ſeaſonable, becauſe of the Diſorders and various Abuſes crept in by the connivance of late Governours: Yet by a great part of the Laity and Clergy not uſed to any ſtanding Rules, they were look'd on as Innovations and perfect Impoſitions.

Preaching againſt Innovations.

And unleſs the Regulation could be evenly carried on, and perfectly eſtabliſh'd, it would be ſure to give advantage to the Puritans, who waited for Complaints of Innovation: And many of the *Calviniſtical* Divines ſhewed a high Spirit of Impatience. In *November* Mr. *Samuel Ward*, a Miniſter in *Ipſwich*, preach'd againſt Bowing at the Name of *Jeſus*, and againſt the King's *Book of Sports*, and ſaid, *The Church of* England *was ready to ring Changes in Religion, and the Goſpel ſtood on Tiptoe, as ready to be gone.* For this he was Cenſured in the High Commiſſion, Suſpended, and enjoyn'd a publick Recantation; which he refuſing was committed to Priſon. And Mr. *Chancey*, Miniſter of *Ware* in *Hertfordſhire*, for oppoſing the making of a Rail about the Communion Table in that Church, and calling it an *Innovation and Snare to Men's Conſciences*, was brought into the High Commiſſion, and cenſur'd for Contempt of Eccleſiaſtical Government, and made a ſolemn Recantation; after which the Archbiſhop diſmiſs'd him with a ſevere Admonition. (*b*)

Diſpoſal of Church Preferments.

That which created Archbiſhop *Laud* the greater Envy was, his Intereſt in diſpoſing of moſt of the Preferments in Church and State. Of which the two great Inſtances this Year, were the promoting of Dr *Roger Manwaring*, ſo obnoxious to former Parliaments, to the See of St. *David*'s, Feb. 28. and procuring the great Office of Lord-Treaſurer for *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*; who though he had Abilities for it, and an Integrity that his Enemies could never queſtion, yet his Education and Order made it a moſt invidious Honour to him: The Nobility thought themſelves injur'd; and moſt of the Courtiers had their peculiar Indignation. Archbiſhop *Laud* enters it thus in his Diary; 1635. *March* 6. William Juxon, *Lord Biſhop of* London, *made Lord High-Treaſurer of* England; *no Church Man had it ſince* Henry VII. *time. I pray God bleſs him to carry it ſo, that the Church may have Honour, and the King and the State Service and Contentment by it. And now if the Church will not hold up themſelves, under God, I can do no more.* (*c*)

(*a*) In the MSS. Collections left by Archbiſhop *Teniſon*, is the Original Paper of *Articles* miniſtred by the moſt Reverend Father in God, *William*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Cant.* his Grace, &c. to the Maſter, Warden, Fellows, and others, of the College of St. *Mary*, near the City of *Wincheſter*, in his Grace's Metropol. Viſitation. *Anno* 1635.

(*b*) See the Submiſſion and Recantation of Mr. *William Hobbs*, Fellow of *Trinity* College in *Oxford*, for preaching againſt falling from Grace, and reflecting upon the Party call'd *Arminians*. 25th *January*, 1634-5. *Ruſhworth* ii. p. 283.

2. The Account given by Mr. *Cornelius Burgeſs*, of his preaching a Latin Sermon before the *London* Miniſters at St. *Alphage* Church in 1635. for which he was brought into the High Commiſſion Court, &c. *No Sacrilege, &c.* 4*to.* 1660. c. 4.

3. Suſpenſion of Mr. *Thomas Willſon*, Miniſter of *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, and Mr. *Edmund Staunton*, of *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, and many others, for not reading the *Book of Sports*.

(*c*) One of the great Offences taken by wiſe and good Men was the new Attempt of reconciling the Church of *England* to the Church of *Rome*; in order whereunto, one *Chriſtopher Davenport*, an *Engliſh Franciſcan* Frier, under the Name of *Franciſcus de Sancta Clara*, publiſht a Book, intituled, *Deus, Natura, Gratia, &c. Adjicitur Paraphraſtica Expoſitio Articulorum Confeſſionis Anglicanæ.* The Deſign was to accommodate the Articles of the Church of *England* to the Senſe of the Church of *Rome*, for the eaſier Reconciliation of the two Churches. The Book was confidently Dedicated to the King, and was ſaid to have been directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. It was at leaſt an Article objected againſt him, that for the Advancement of Popery and Superſtition in this Realm, the ſaid Archbiſhop had wittingly and willingly received, harboured, and relieved divers Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, and namely, one called *Sancta Clara*, alias *Davenport*, a dangerous Perſon, and *Franciſcan* Frier, who hath written a Popiſh and Seditious Book, intituled, *Deus, Natura, Gratia, &c.* wherein the 39 Articles of the Church of *England*, eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, are much traduced and ſcandalized; the ſaid Archbiſhop having had divers Conferences with him, while he was Writing the ſaid Book.——The Archbiſhop does not ſeem to deny his Acquaintance with the Man, nor with the Deſign of this Book, but was rather afraid the Book would not anſwer the Deſign. Said he, I never ſaw that *Franciſcan* Frier in my life, to the utmoſt of my Memory, above four times or five at moſt. He was firſt brought to me by Dr. *Lindſell*. I did fear he would never expound the Articles, ſo as the Church of *England* might have cauſe to thank him for it.

The beſt Obſervations on this Matter were made by Mr. *Rous* in a Speech againſt Dr. *Coſin*, *March* 16. 1640.——A ſecond way by which this Army of Prieſts advanceth this Popiſh Deſign, is the way of Treaty. This hath been acted both by Writings and Conference. *Sancta Clara* himſelf ſaith, *Doctiſſimi eorum quibuſcunq; egi*, ſo it ſeems they have had Conference together. And *Sancta Clara*, on his part, labours to bring the Articles of our Church to Popery, and ſome of our Side labour to meet him in the way. We have a Teſtimony, that the great Archprieſt himſelf hath ſaid, *It were no hard Matter to make a Reconciliation, if a wiſe Man had the handling of it.* But I verily believe, as the State of Papacy ſtands, a far wiſer Man than he cannot reconcile us without the loſs of our Religion. For the Pope being faſtned to his Errors, even by his Chair of Inerrability, he ſits ſtill unmoved; and ſo we cannot meet, except we come wholly to him. A Man ſtanding in a Boat tied to a Rock, when he draws the Rope, doth not draw the Rock to the Boat, but the Boat to the Rock. And *Sancta Clara* doth in this ſomewhat honeſtly confeſs it; for he ſaith, he dealt in this way of Treaty, not to draw the Church to the Proteſtants, but the Proteſtants to the Church.

The

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The whole State of other Church Affairs is beſt repreſented in this Account of his Province, ſent by the Archbiſhop to the King.

Archbiſhop's Account of his Province. 1635.

"ACcording to your Royal Commands, I do here upon the 2d of *January* 1635. *Comput. Anglic.* preſent my Account, both for the Dioceſs and Province of *Canterbury*, concerning all thoſe Church Affairs, which are contained in your Majeſty's moſt gracious Inſtructions, publiſhed out of your moſt princely and religious Care to preſerve Unity in Orthodox Doctrine, and Conformity to Government within this your Church of *England*.

"And, firſt, for my own Dioceſs, I humbly repreſent to your Majeſty, that there are yet very many refractory Perſons to the Government of the Church of *England*, about *Maidſtone* and *Aſhford*, and ſome other Parts; the Infection being ſpread by one *Brewer*, and continued and increaſed by one *Turner*. They have been both cenſur'd in the High-Commiſſion Court ſome Years ſince; but the hurt which they have done is ſo deeply rooted, as that it is not poſſible to be plucked up on the ſuddain. But I muſt crave time to work it off by little and little.

"I have, according to your Majeſty's Commands, required Obedience to my Injunctions, ſent to the *French* and *Dutch* Churches at *Canterbury*, *Maidſtone* and *Sandwich*; and albeit they made ſome ſhew of Conformity, yet I do not find they have yielded ſuch Obedience as is required, and was order'd with your Majeſty's Conſent and Approbation: So that I fear I ſhall be driven to a quicker Proceeding with them.

"The Cathedral Church begins to be in very good Order: And I have almoſt finiſhed their Statutes; which being once perfected will (*mutatis mutandis*) be a ſufficient Direction for the making of the Statutes for the other Cathedrals of the new Erection, which in King *Henry* VIIIth's time had either none left or none confirmed; and thoſe which are, in many things not Canonical. All which Statutes your Majeſty hath given Power to Me, with others, under the Broad-Seal of *England*, to alter or make new as we ſhall find cauſe. And ſo ſoon as theſe Statutes for the Church of *Canterbury* are made ready, I ſhall humbly ſubmit them to your Majeſty for confirmation.

"There is one Mr. *Walker* of St. *John*'s the Evangeliſt, who hath all his time been but a diſorderly and peeviſh Man; and now of late hath very frowardly preached againſt the Lord Biſhop of *Ely*'s Book concerning the Lord's-Day, ſet out by Authority. But upon a Canonical Admonition given him to deſiſt, he hath hitherto recollected himſelf, and I hope will be adviſed.

London.

"For the Dioceſs of *London*, I find my Lord the Biſhop hath been very careful for all that concerns his own Perſon. But three of his Archdeacons have made no return at all to him; ſo that he can certifie nothing but what hath come to his Knowledge without their help. There have been convented in this Dioceſs Dr. *Stoughton* of *Aldermanbury*, Mr. *Simpſon* Curate and Lecturer of St. *Margaret*'s *New-Fiſh-ſtreet*, Mr. *Andrew Moline* Curate, Lecturer of St. *Swithin*, Mr. *John Goodwin* Vicar of St. *Stephen Coleman-ſtreet*, and Mr. *Viner* Lecturer of St. *Lawrence* in the *Old-Jury*, for breach of the Canons of the Church in Sermons, or Practice, or both. But becauſe all them promiſed Amendment for the future, and Submiſſion to the Church in all Things, my Lord very moderately forbore farther Proceeding againſt them.

"There were likewiſe convented Mr. *Sparrowhawke* Curate and Lecturer at St. *Mary Woolchurch*, for preaching againſt the Canon for bowing at the Name of *Jeſus*; who becauſe he willfully perſiſted is ſuſpended from Preaching in that Dioceſs. As alſo one Mr. *John Wood* a wild turbulent Preacher, and formerly cenſur'd in the High Commiſſion Court. But his Lordſhip forbore Mr. *White* of *Knightsbridge*, for that his Cauſe is at this preſent depending in the Court aforeſaid.

Lincoln.

"Concerning the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, my Lord the Biſhop returns this Information, that he hath viſited the ſame this Year all over in Perſon, which he conceives no Predeceſſor of his hath done theſe hundred Years: And that he finds ſo much good done thereby, beyond that which his Chancellors uſe to do when they go the Viſitation; that he is ſorry he hath not done it heretofore, in ſo many Years as he hath been Biſhop.

"He farther certifies, that he hath prevailed beyond Expectation for the augmenting of four or five ſmall Vicarages; and conceives (as your Majeſty may be pleaſed to remember I have often told you upon my own Experience) that it is a Work very neceſſary and fit to be done, and moſt worthy of your Majeſty's Royal Care and Conſideration.

"For Conformity his Lordſhip profeſſeth, that in that large Dioceſs he knoweth but one unconformable Man, and that is one *Lindhall*, who is in the High-Commiſſion Court and ready for Sentence.

Bath and *Wells*.

"My Lord the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* certifies, that his Dioceſs is in very good Order and Obedience. That there is not a ſingle Lecture in any Town Corporate, but grave Divines preach by courſe; and that he hath changed the Afternoon Sermons into Catechiſing by Queſtion and Anſwer in all Pariſhes.

"His Lordſhip farther certifies, that no Man hath been preſented unto him ſince his laſt Certificate, for any Breach of the Canons of the Church, or your Majeſty's Inſtructions; and that he hath received no notice of any increaſe of Men Popiſhly affected, beyond the Number mentioned in his laſt Certificate.

Norwich.

"The Biſhop of this See died almoſt half a Year ſince, and had ſent in no Certificate. But I find by my Viſitation there this preſent Year, that the whole Dioceſs is much out of Order, and more at *Ipſwich* and *Yarmouth* than at *Norwich* it ſelf. But I hope my Lord that now is will take care of it, and he ſhall want no Aſſiſtance that I can give him.

"Mr. *Samuel Ward* Preacher at *Ipſwich* was cenſured this laſt Term in the High-Commiſſion Court, for preaching in diſgrace of the Common-Prayer Book, and other like groſs Miſdemeanours.

Oxon. Sarum, Ely, Chicheſt. St. Aſaph, Briſtol.

"Theſe ſix Biſhops reſpectively make their Anſwer, that in their own Perſons they have obſerved all your Majeſty's Inſtructions; and that they find all their Clergy very conformable, no one of them inſtancing in any Particular to the contrary.

Landaff.

"In this Dioceſs the Biſhop found in his Triennial Viſitation the former Year two noted Schiſmaticks, *Wroth* and *Erbury*, that led away many ſimple People after them. And finding that they wilfully perſiſted in their Schiſmatical Courſe, he hath carefully preferr'd Articles againſt them in the High-Commiſſion Court; where, when the Cauſe is ready for Hearing, they ſhall receive according to the Merits of it.

Hereford.

"Concerning this Dioceſs your Majeſty knows that this late Biſhop's Reſidence upon the Place was neceſſarily hindred by his Attendance upon your Majeſty's Perſon, as Clerk of the Cloſet. But he hath been very careful for the obſervance of all your Inſtructions, and particularly for catechizing the Youth; as alſo for not letting of any thing into Lives, to the prejudice of his Succeſſor, in which he hath done exceeding well: And I have by your Majeſty's Command laid a ſtrict charge upon his Succeſſor, to look to thoſe particular Leaſes which he hath made ſtay of, that they may be reduced into Years, for the good of that See which abundantly needs it.

1635. 11 *Car.* I.

Winton.

“ My Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter* certifies, that “ there is all Peace and Order in his Dioceſs; and “ that himſelf and his Clergy have duly obey'd your “ Majeſty's Inſtructions: But he informs, that in the “ Pariſh of *Avington* in *Hampſhire*, one *Unguyon* an “ Eſquire, is preſented for a new Recuſant, as alſo “ three others, whereof two are in *Southwark*.

Peterborough, Rochester, Exeter.

“ Theſe three Biſhops for their ſeveral Dioceſſes “ reſpectively make return, that all Obedience is “ yielded to every of your Majeſty's Inſtructions.

St. *David's.*

“ The late Biſhop of St. *David*'s (now of *Hereford*) “ hath in his time of Reſidence taken a great deal “ of Pains in that See, and hath cauſed two to be “ queſtion'd in the High Commiſſion, and ſuſpended “ one *Roberts* a Lecturer, for Inconformity. Three “ or four others which were Suſpended he hath re- “ leaſed upon hope given of their Obedience to the “ Church, and hath abſolutely deprived two for their “ exceeding ſcandalous Life. He complains much, “ and ſurely with Cauſe enough, that there are few “ Miniſters in thoſe poor and remote Places, that “ are able to Preach and Inſtruct the People.

“ My Lord the Biſhop informs, that that County “ is very full of Impropriations, which makes the “ Miniſters poor; and their Poverty makes them “ fall upon Popular and Factious Courſes. I doubt “ this is too true, but it is a Miſchief hard to cure “ in this Kingdom; yet I have taken all the care I “ can, and ſhall continue ſo to do.

“ From the reſt of the Biſhops of my Province, “ I have received no Certificate this Year, *viz.* “ *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, *Worceſter*, *Bangor*.

So I humbly ſubmit this my Certificate.

W. CANT.

1636. 12 *Car.* I.

To proceed to the Year 1636. It began with a Plague, that broke forth in the uſual Seat of Infection among the Butchers in the Row leading from *Aldgate* to *White-Chapel*. Upon which his Majeſty by Proclamation dated *April* 22. provided, That *whereas in the time of the laſt Plague there were divers good Orders publiſhed with Rules preſervative and Directions againſt the Infection; the ſaid Orders, Rules, and Medicines, ſhould be again now publiſhed and renewed.* And by another Proclamation, dated *May* 27, *The King's Majeſty finding that the Infection of the Plague is at this preſent ſcattered and diſperſed in the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *hath thought fit to Adjourn ſome part of* Trinity-Term *next from the ſecond Return thereof to the laſt Return of the ſame.* This publick Calamity reign'd the whole Summer and Autumn, till his Majeſty by Proclamation dated *October* 18. commanded a general Faſt to be weekly obſerved throughout the Realm of *England*, *by reaſon of the heavy Judgment of God in his preſent Viſitation in the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and divers other parts of the Kingdom at this time with the Peſtilence.* In the Book of Prayers preſcribed for this Faſt, a Paſſage in a former Collect reflecting on the Abuſe of Faſting by thinking it meritorious, was now left out. This Omiſſion was made an Article againſt the Archbiſhop at his Tryal; to which he pleaded, “ That the Alteration was made not by himſelf, “ but by him that had the ordering of that Book “ for the Preſs: Yet he approved the Reaſon given “ for it, and that without any the leaſt Approbati- “ on of Merit. For in this Age and Kingdom, when “ and where ſet Faſtings of the Church are cried “ down, there can be little fear of that erroneous “ Opinion of placing any Merit in Faſting.”

The Abp. charged with an Omiſſion in a Form of Prayer.

King's Care of the Fleet.

The King's great Care was to have a good Fleet at Sea, to raiſe his Honour abroad, and preſerve the Peace at home, by letting his Subjects ſee a juſt and wiſe Diſpoſal of the Ship-Money. To give countenance to theſe Naval Deſigns, his Majeſty in Council *March* 26. taking into conſideration a Book lately publiſhed by *John Selden* Eſq; intituled *Mare Clauſum*, written by the King's Command, which he had done with great Induſtry, Learning, and Judgment, and hath aſſerted the Right of the Crown of *England* to the Dominion of the *Britiſh* Seas; the King requires one of the ſaid Books to be kept in the Council Cheſt, another in the Court of Exchequer, and a third in the Court of Admiralty, as faithful and ſtrong Evidence to the Dominion of the *Britiſh* Sea. And on *April* 15. the King farther expreſs'd his Pleaſure, that whereas the ſaid Book had been Printed beyond Sea, and to the ſaid Impreſſion more was added than what was therein Printed at firſt, and the Name of the City of *London* was falſely put for the Place of the Impreſſion; no Perſon ſhould import, publiſh, or ſet to ſale, any of the ſaid Books of the ſaid foreign Edition, either in *Latin* or *Engliſh*. This was an Encouragement not only to Learning, but to the Naval Expedition of this Year, when the King prepared for it by a Proclamation dated *May* 10, which renew'd an Order of K. *James*, whereby “ All Perſons, of what Nation or Quality “ ſoever, being not his natural born Subjects, were “ reſtrained from Fiſhing upon any of the Coaſts “ and Seas of *Great-Britain*, *Ireland*, and the reſt of “ the Iſles adjacent, without Licenſe firſt obtained “ from the King or his Commiſſioners. And his “ Majeſty now farther declares, that his Reſolution “ is, to keep ſuch a competent Strength of Shipping “ upon his Seas, as may (by God's *Bleſſing*) be “ ſufficient both to hinder ſuch farther Encroach- “ ment upon his Regalities, and aſſiſt and protect “ thoſe his good Friends and Allies, who ſhall hence- “ forth, by virtue of his Licences firſt obtained, “ endeavour to take the benefit of Fiſhing upon “ his Coaſts and Seas in the Places accuſtomed.”

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Reſpect paid to Mr. *Selden's Mare Clauſum.*

A good Fleet.

Accordingly the King appeared this Year with a formidable Armado in the Narrow Seas, *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland* being Admiral, who with ſixty Sail under his Command ſet out from the *Downs* toward the North, where the *Dutch* Buſſes were Fiſhing upon our Coaſts: The Admiral requiring them to forbear, they ſeem'd indiſpoſed to it; upon which, he fired at them: Some of them were taken, others ſunk, and the reſt fled. The *Dutch* immediately hereupon prevail'd with the Admiral to mediate with the King that they might by his Permiſſion go on this Summer to fiſh upon the Coaſts, and agreed to give the King for this Year thirty thouſand Pounds, which was paid accordingly: And the *States* expreſſed their Willingneſs to obtain a Grant from the King, for his Permiſſion of their Veſſels to fiſh for the time to come, paying a yearly Tribute.

Diſperſes the *Dutch* Fiſhers.

Continual Murmurs againſt Ship-Money.

Yet all this honourable Diſpoſal of the Ship-Money, and good Effects of it, could not reconcile the People of *England* to a new Tax levied without an Act of Parliament. Murmurs and a general Senſe of Oppreſſion went through the Kingdom. In *London*, one *Richard Chambers*, Merchant, had peremptorily refuſed to pay, for which he had been committed to Priſon by Sir *Edward Bromfield* Lord Mayor, againſt whom he commenc'd a Suit for Treſpaſs and falſe Impriſonment; which Caſe was to be argued in this *Trinity Term*: But Sir *Robert Berkley*, one of the Juſtices of the Court of *King's-Bench*, would not ſuffer the Point of Legality of Ship-Money to be argued by *Chambers*'s Council; declaring openly in Court, “ That there was a *Rule of Law* “ and a *Rule of Government*, and that many things “ which might not be done by the Rule of Law, “ might be done by the Rule of Government.” But this Diſtinction was thought new and dangerous; and this ſilencing a Cauſe, made People the more to ſuſpect the Merits of it.

Arbitrary Judgment.

The City of *London* would not yield.

The City of *London*, who had moſt Ability, and indeed moſt Reaſon to bear the Burden, betrayed ſo much Averſion to it, that the Lords of the Privy-Council wrote to them to adviſe their Submiſſion: but they met with ſuch a ſtout Return, that their Lordſhips were forced to write again on *Auguſt* 8. to inform the Lord-Mayor and Court, that “ They

“ had

1636. 12 *Car.* I. "had received by ſome of the Aldermen a Denial in "Name of the City, to their late Letter for the "ſetting forth of Shipping, and Excuſes had been "ſince made upon the like occaſion; which they "could not impute to any thing but want of Duty; "and therefore in his Majeſty's Name, and by his "Commandment, their Lordſhips require them to "ſee the Directions of their Letter performed upon "their Allegiance, and as they will anſwer the con-"trary at their Perils." When the City perceived they could not ſhake off the Burden, they deſired however a Mitigation of it; and therefore on *Auguſt* [illegible] they preſented a Petition, deſiring an Abatement of the twenty Ships rated upon the City unto ten Ships, and two Pinnaces. But this too was denied in a manner that made the Denial more grievous; for Mr. Secretary *Cook*, by Order of the Privy Council, told them, "That the former Command-"ment was neceſſary, and the Charge upon them "was not immoderate; that Petitions and Pleadings "againſt ſuch Commandment were not to be recei-"ved: And whereas they mentioned Precedents, "they ſhould know, that the Precedents of former "Times were *Obedience* and not *Direction*; that "there were alſo Precedents of the Puniſhment of "thoſe that diſobey'd his Majeſty's Commandments "ſignified by the Board in the caſe of the Preſervati-"on of the State." This Anſwer might extort a Submiſſion, but it could not give a Satisfaction. (*a*)

And therefore the King took a more plauſible Method to ſuffer the Legality of this Tax to be decided by the Judges, putting this Caſe to them in Letters dated *Febr.* 2. *Regn.* 12.

Carolus Rex.

Caſe put to the Judges.

When the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in danger, whether may not the King by Writ, under the Great Seal of England, *command all the Subjects of our Kingdom, at their Charge, to provide and furniſh ſuch Number of Ships, with Men, Victuals, and Munition, and for ſuch time as we ſhall think fit, for the Defence and Safeguard of the Kingdom from ſuch Danger and Peril, and by Law compel the doing thereof in caſe of Refuſal or Refractorineſs? And whether, in ſuch a caſe, is not the King the ſole Judge both of the Danger, and when and how the ſame is to be prevented and avoided?*

To which the Judges returned this Opinion.

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

Judges Anſwer.

We have according to your Majeſty's Command, every Man by himſelf, and all of us together, taken into ſerious conſideration the Caſe and Queſtion ſigned by your Majeſty, and incloſed in your Royal Letter; and we are of Opinion, that when the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the Kingdom in Danger, your Majeſty may by Writ, under the Great Seal of England, *command all your Subjects of this your Kingdom, at their charge to provide and furniſh ſuch a number of Ships with Men, Victuals and Munition: and for ſuch time as your Majeſty ſhall think fit for the defence and ſafeguard of this Kingdom from ſuch Danger and Peril; and that by Law your Majeſty may compel the doing thereof in caſe of Refuſal or Refractorineſs. And we are alſo of Opinion, that in ſuch Caſe your Majeſty is the ſole Judge, both of the Danger, and when, and how the ſame is to be prevented and avoided.*

John Bramſton,	George Crook,
John Finch,	Thomas Trevor,
Humph. Davenport,	George Vernon,
John Denham,	Francis Crawley,
Richard Hutton,	Robert Berkley,
William Jones,	Richard Weſton.

Tho' this Judgment ſolemnly delivered might juſtifie the King, yet it could not acquit the Judges themſelves, who were by many ſuſpected in this Caſe, rather to make Law than to pronounce it; and to have been tempted or aw'd into this extrajudicial Opinion. A Suſpicion that encreaſed the more, becauſe ſome of them betray'd a Surprize to hear their Reſolution openly read by the Lord Keeper in the Court of *Star-Chamber*, Feb. 14. as if they had meant to deliver it for the private Satisfaction of the King and Council, not for the Knowledge of the whole Nation; and becauſe two of them, *Hutton* and *Crook*, did afterward, in the Caſe of *Hampden*, recede in effect from their own Subſcription. 1636. 12 *Car.* I. Judges cenſur'd for their Opinion.

The Influence and Effect of this ſtated Opinion may be delivered in theſe Words of the Lord *Clarendon*. Lord *Clarendon's* Opinion of Ship-Money.

"It is notoriouſly known, that Preſſure was born "with much more cheerfulneſs before the Judgment "for the King, than ever it was afterward; Men "before pleaſing themſelves with doing ſomewhat "for the King's Service, as a Teſtimony of their Af-"fection, which they were not bound to do.—— "But when they heard this demanded in a Court of "Law as a Right, and found it by ſworn Judges "of the Law adjudged ſo, upon ſuch Grounds and "Reaſons as every ſtander by was able to ſwear was "not Law, and ſo had loſt the Pleaſure and Delight "of being kind and dutiful to the King; and inſtead "of giving were required to pay, and by a Logick "that left no Man any Thing which he might call "his own: They no more looked upon it as the "Caſe of one Man, but the Caſe of the Kingdom; "nor as an Impoſition laid upon them by the King, "but by the Judges, which they thought themſelves "bound in Conſcience to the publick Juſtice not "to ſubmit to. —— The Damage and Miſchief "cannot be expreſſed, that the Crown and State ſuſ-"tained by the deſerved Reproach and Infamy "that attended the Judges by being made uſe of in "this and like Arts of Power, there being no poſſi-"bility to preſerve the Dignity, Reverence and E-"ſtimation of the Laws themſelves, but by the In-"tegrity and Innocency of the Judges, &c."

It was a leſs invidious Opinion which the ſame Judges had delivered in the Caſe of *Burton* and *Baſtwicke*, who had been ſo fierce in their Libels againſt the Government, that it was conſider'd by the King's Council how to draw them into an Arraignment of High-Treaſon. For which purpoſe there was a meeting of the Judges at *Serjeant's-Inn*, before whom the King's Council laboured to prove, that divers Paſſages in the Books of the ſaid Authors did amount to High-Treaſon. But when the Council withdrew, the Judges in Debate among themſelves, came to theſe Reſolutions.

Reſolutions of the Judges in Caſe of *Burton* and *Baſtwicke*.

1. *That if there were any Thing in the Books that amounted to Treaſon, no Indictment could be found good for Treaſon, unleſs it was grounded upon the Statute of* 25 Ed. III. *either for compaſſing the King's Death, or imagining the ſame, or elſe for levying of War.*

2. *That if any Man ſeditiouſly, maliciouſly and of purpoſe to raiſe Rebellion, and to incite Rebellion, did take Arms to reduce the Courſe of Government of the State, either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, and thereby to compaſs the King's Deſtruction, this was Treaſon.*

3. *That ſuch Indictment was to be framed upon the ſaid Statute of* 25 Ed. III.

This Reſolution being delivered by the Lord Chief Juſtice to the King and Council, had this regular effect, that the ſaid Offenders were not Indicted of High-Treaſon, but proſecuted in a ſofter manner, tho' afterward thought ſevere and arbitrary.

(*a*) See an humble Remonſtrance againſt the Tax of Ship-Money lately impoſed, laying open the Illegality, Injuſtice, Abuſes, and Inconveniencies thereof. Written by *William Prynne*, Eſq; *Anno* 1636. during his Impriſonment in the *Tower* of *London*. Printed 1643. 4*to*.

It

1636. It was another unhappineſs to the Government, 12 *Car.* I. that for want of Parliamentary Supplies ſuited to the occaſional exigencies of Affairs, they were driven upon new Projects for Money, which however fair and juſt in themſelves, were thought but Inventions to make Parliaments the leſs frequent and the leſs ſignificant. Among theſe Projects, one was to erect a Court of Enquiry after Depopulations made by the converſion of Arable Lands to Paſture, ſince the 10th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, by which Commiſſion there was brought into the Exchequer above 30000 *l.* Another Project was, the granting Letters for the ſurveying and ſealing of a Reel, and other Standards to be uſed by all Clothiers and Workers in Cloth and Yarn: with other ways and means by enlarging the Powers of prizing of Wines; by prohibiting the Importation of Gun-powder, and requiring all Subjects to be ſupplied out of his Majeſty's Store-Houſes only.

New Projects for Money.

Foreign Affairs. As to foreign Affairs, *Ferdinando* the ſecond, Emperor of *Germany*, finding in himſelf a decay of Health, began to think of ſettling the Succeſſion of the Empire; and ſo called a Dyet to meet at *Ratisbon* in the middle of *September*, where the *French* managed an Intrigue for promoting the Elector of *Bavaria*; but the *Poland* Ambaſſador prevailed for *Ferdinand* the Emperor's Son, already King of *Hungary*, to be elected King of the *Romans*, on *Decem.* 22. who ſucceeded his Father dying in *Feb.* 15. Our King upon the News of this Change, ſent *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, Earl Marſhal of *England*, his Ambaſſador to the new Emperor *Ferdinand* III. to repreſent the Condition of the *Palſgrave* now in the *Engliſh* Court, and to ſollicite the Reſtitution of his Patrimony. The Emperor anſwer'd, that he made no doubt in time it might be conſidered for enjoying the *Lower Palatinate*; but for the other, it concerned the Duke of *Bavaria* with whom Conſultation muſt be had on that Affair. Upon ſuch Conſult, *Bavaria* anſwer'd like a Soldier, *That what he had won by the Sword he would maintain by the ſame Power.* After which, our Ambaſſador ſo far reſented the Slights and Indignities put upon him, that he came away without taking leave; and made ſuch a Report to the King, that he ſhewed his Diſpleaſure with the Imperial Agent: which more and more obſtructed the King's Endeavours of reſtoring his Nephew.

Pope's Nuncio's. At the latter End of this Year, Seignior *Gregorio Panzani*, the Pope's Nuncio in *England*, and Major *Bret*, our *Engliſh* Agent at *Rome* from the Queen, being diſcharged from their Negotiations (*a*). Seignior *Gregorio Con* a *Scot*, was appointed by the Pope to ſucceed *Panzani* as his Nuncio; and Sir *William Hamilton* a *Scot*, was ſent hence Ledger to *Rome*, where Cardinal *Barberini* was made Patron and Protector of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Nations (*b*). All which ſerv'd but to foment the Fears and Jealouſies of Popery. 1635. 12 *Car.* I.

Which brings us to the State of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs for this preſent Year 1636. As to the Liturgy deſign'd for *Scotland*, upon the 19th of *April* the King thus expreſs'd his Pleaſure. State of Religion.

Charles Rex.

I Gave the Archbiſhop of Canterbury *command to make the Alterations expreſſed in this Book, and to fit a Liturgy for the Church of* Scotland; *and wherefoever they ſhall differ from another Book ſigned by us at* Hampton-Court, *September* 28. 1634. *Our pleaſure is to have theſe followed rather than the former, unleſs the Archbiſhop of* St. Andrew's, *and his Brethren who are upon the Place, ſhall ſee apparent Reaſon to the contrary.* King's Order for Scotch Liturgy.

Archbiſhop *Laud* ſent an Account of this to *Wederbourne* Biſhop of *Dunblain*, and Dean of the Royal Chapel at *Edinburgh*. But there were ſtill found ſome Defects and Errors in this new Liturgy, that required Alteration. And therefore on *October* 18. the King directed his further Inſtructions to the Abps. and Biſhops of *Scotland*, "That they ſhould take "care; 1. That the Proclamation to be made for "authorizing the Service-Book ſhould not derogate "in any thing from his Royal Prerogative. 2. That "in their Kalendar they ſhould keep ſuch Catholick "Saints as were in the *Engliſh*, with ſuch other "Saints as were moſt peculiar to that Kingdom. "3. That in their Book of Ordination in giving Orders to Presbyters, they ſhould keep the Words "of the *Engliſh* Book without change: *Receive the* "*Holy Ghoſt*, &c. 4. That they ſhould inſert among the Leſſons ordinarily to be read in the Service, out of the Book of *Wiſdom*, the firſt, ſecond, "third, fourth, fifth and ſixth Chapters; and out "of the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus* the firſt, ſecond, fifth, "eighth, thirty fifth, and forty ninth Chapters. "5. That every Biſhop within his Family twice a "Day cauſe the Service to be read; and that all "the Archbiſhops and Biſhops make all Univerſities "and Colleges within their Dioceſſes to uſe daily "twice a Day the Service. 6. That the Preface to "the Book of Common-Prayer, ſign'd by his Ma- Farther Inſtructions.

(*a*) Seignior *Greg. Panzani*, L. L. D. with the Pope's Brief, and Letters from Cardinal *Barberini*, had arrived at *London* 25th *December*, 1634. where he ſaluted the Queen, and afterwards the King alſo, who received and treated him with much Kindneſs, telling him that he was very welcome, &c. He did alſo deſire Conference with the Archbiſhop of *Cant.* but was put off, &c. He much applied himſelf to Secretary *Windebanke*, and the Lord *Cotington*, &c.——*The Pope's Nuncio's, or the Negotiation of Seignior* Panzani, *Seignior* Con, &c. 1643. 4*to.*

(*b*) The ſecret Negotiations of Mr. *Con*, Papal Legate in *England*, are beſt told by Information upon Oath in Writing, by unqueſtioned Evidence, *Andrew ab Habernfeld*, at the *Hague*, in *Sept.* 1640. which he had from a good Man who had been bred and born in the Popiſh Religion, and had ſpent many Years in Eccleſiaſtical Dignities; till at length being found fit for the preſent Expedition, by the Advice and Command of Cardinal *Barberini*, he was adjoined to the aſſiſtance of Maſter *Con*, and was found diligent in that Office.——To promote their Cauſe, there was a Society erected at *Rome*, under the Title of the *Congregation for Propagating the Faith*, under the Pope, and Cardinal *Barberini*, the Pope's Deputy; that the chief Patron of this Society at *London* was Maſter *Cuneus*, or *Con*, the Pope's Legate, who took care of the Buſineſs, and into whoſe Boſom the ſeveral Tools employ'd did pour all their Intelligences every Week. He was the general Inſtrument of that comb'n'd Society: He ſet upon the chief Men of the Kingdom, and left nothing unattempted to corrupt them all, and bring them over to the Popiſh Intereſt; he tried them with various Baits and Allurements; nay, he ſought to delude the King himſelf with little Preſents of Pictures, Antiquities, Idols, and other Vanities brought from *Rome*, which yet prevail'd nothing with the King. He entred into Familiarity with the King, and was even importun'd and employ'd by his Majeſty in the Cauſe of the *Palatinate*, wherein he deceiv'd him. He mov'd every Stone to gain over the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, depending upon the Offer he had to make him; for he had a Command to offer his Grace a Cardinal's Cap in the Name of the Pope of *Rome*, and even to court him with ſome larger Promiſes, if poſſible, to corrupt his Sincerity.——When he underſtood that as to the Archbiſhop's part he did but labour in vain, then his Malice, and that of the whole Society was inflam'd, and they preſently began to lay Plots and Snares how to take the Archbiſhop together with the King. Nay, Judgment was given againſt the King's Perſon, becauſe they hoped for nothing from Him to promote the Papal Religion; and eſpecially becauſe he had expreſs'd himſelf to be of this Opinion, *That every One might be ſav'd in his own Religion, ſo he were an honeſt and pious Man.* ——*Con* himſelf ſhew'd often to me in a boaſting manner, an *Indian* Nut ſtufft with the acuteſt Poyſon prepared for the King, as a like Poyſon had been practis'd on his Father, &c. See *Rome's Maſter-Piece, with the Archbiſhop's Notes*, &c. ——The ſaid Legate uſeth a threefold Character or Cypher, in one he Correſponds with all his Fellow Nuncio's, in another with Cardinal *Barberini* only, and uſes a third in communicating the moſt important Secrets. Whatever he receives Weekly from the Society, or other Spies, he puts up together in one Pacquet, Directed to Monſieur *Stravio*, Archdeacon of *Cambray*, by whom they are forwarded to *Rome*.

The ſame Evidence depoſed, that upon the Offence taken by the *Scottiſh* Com. Prayer Book, in that heat a certain *Scottiſh* Earl *Maxfield* was ſent into *Scotland* by the Popiſh Party, with whom two other *Scots* Earls, both Papiſts, did correſpond. His Buſineſs was to ſtir up the People into Inſurrections, and rub the Sore of Grievances, &c.——The ſaid *Andrew Habernfeld* was a Nobleman of *Bohemia*.

"jeſty's

1636. Car. I. jeſty's Hand, and the Proclamation for authorizing the ſame, ſhould be printed and inſerted in the Book of Common-Prayer."

According to theſe *Inſtructions* and the ſeveral *Corrections*, the *Scotiſh* Liturgy was at laſt finiſhed, and ratified and confirmed by his Majeſty's Royal Declaration, dated at *Edin.* 20 Dec. *Regn.* 12.1636.

Offence taken at the *Scotch* Liturgy.

The great Offence was, that this Liturgy was impoſed by the Civil Power, without being preſented to the Kirk, or tendered to any approbation of the general Aſſembly, as had been done in the Reſtitution of the Epiſcopal Government, and Introduction of the five Articles of *Perth.* Yet this omiſſion was not owing to Archbiſhop *Laud*, but it proceeded from the *Scotch* Biſhops, who dared not truſt the majority of the Clergy, or venture the reception or refuſal of it to a general Vote of the Aſſembly. And indeed this method of enjoining by Civil Authority, without calling in the Church Repreſentative, had been the practice of Reformation in the Church of *England*, where King *Edward* VI. and Queen *Elizabeth*, in fitting and enjoining their ſeveral Liturgies, had acted by their Sovereign Right of Supremacy, not ſubmitting the Books to Convocation, becauſe they could not then depend upon the conſent of the Clergy ſo much Popiſhly affected. Another main Objection among the *Scots* to the Liturgy was, that it was ſo very near the *Engliſh* Book, as to look like a diminution of the Liberties of their own Kirk; and yet had ſeveral Alterations from the *Engliſh*, that were all for the worſe, and tended more to Superſtition. Theſe and other Cenſures paſſed upon the Book were induſtriouſly improved by the Preachers, and fomented ſuch a prejudice among the People, that we muſt expect to hear of the unhappy effects of it.

Abp. of *Canterbury* claims a Power of viſiting the Univerſities.

There was another load of Envy drawn upon the well-meaning Archbiſhop, by his claiming the Right of viſiting the two Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, Jure Metropolitico. Both thoſe learned Bodies denied his Claim, and pleaded they were ſubject only to Royal Viſitation. The Cauſe came to a Hearing before the King and Council at *Hampton-Court*, June 21. where Sir *John Banks*, Attorney-General, argued for the Archbiſhop's Right againſt the Royal Prerogative; and Mr. *Gardiner*, Recorder of *London*, pleaded their Subjection only to Royal Power, in behalf of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, as Serjeant *Thin* did in behalf of *Oxford.* The King himſelf argued for the Archbiſhop, and at laſt gave Judgment for him, i. e. *againſt his own Crown and Dignity*, as moſt People underſtood it. (a)

Moſt of the other Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of any Moment are contained in the Archbiſhop's account of his Province to the King for this Year 1636.

" *May it pleaſe your Sacred Majeſty*,

Abp's Account of his Province.

"According to your Royal Commands expreſs'd in your late Inſtructions for the good of the Church, I do here moſt humbly preſent my yearly Account for my Dioceſs and Province of *Canterbury* for this laſt Year, ended at *Chriſtmas* 1636.

Canterbury.

"And firſt for my own Dioceſs, I have every Year acquainted your Majeſty, and ſo muſt do now, that there are ſtill about *Aſhford* and *Egerton* divers *Browniſts*, and other Separatiſts: But they are ſo very mean and poor People, that we know not what to do with them. They are ſaid to be Diſciples of one *Turner* and *Fenner*, who were long ſince Apprehended and Impriſoned, by Order of your Majeſty's High-Commiſſion Court. But how this part came to be ſo infected with ſuch a humour of Separation, I know not, unleſs it were by too much connivance at their firſt beginning: Neither do I ſee any Remedy like to be, unleſs ſome of their chief Seducers be driven to abjure the Kingdom, which muſt be done by the Judges at the Common-Law, but is not in our Power."

The King wrote thus in the Margin, *C. R. Inform me of the Particulars, and I ſhall command the Judges to make them Abjure.*

1636. 12 Car. I.

"I have received Information from my Officers, that the *Walloons*, and other Strangers in my Dioceſs, eſpecially at *Canterbury*, do come orderly to their Pariſh Churches, and there receive the Sacraments, and Marry, &c. according to my Injunctions, with that Limitation which your Majeſty allowed.

"There have been heretofore many in *Canterbury* that were not conformable to Church Diſcipline, and would not kneel at the Communion; but they are all now very conformable, as I hear expreſly by my Officers; and there is no falling away of any to Recuſancy.

"There hath been a Cuſtom, that ſome Miniſters thereabouts have, under divers pretences, lived for the moſt part at *Canterbury*, and gone ſeldom to their Benefices; which hath given a double Scandal, both by their abſence from their ſeveral Cures, and by keeping too much Company, and that not in the beſt manner. I have ſeen this remedied in all ſave only one Man; and if he do not preſently conform, I have taken Order for his Suſpenſion.

"In the Dioceſs of *London*, I find that my Lord the Biſhop there (now by your Majeſty's Grace and Favour Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*) hath very carefully obſerved thoſe Inſtructions which belong to his own Perſon. And for the Dioceſs, his Lordſhip informs me of three great Miſdemeanours; the one committed by Dr. *Cornelius Burgeſs*, who in a Latin Sermon before the Clergy of *London*, utter'd divers inſolent Paſſages againſt the Biſhops and Government of the Church; and refuſed to give his Lordſhip a Copy of the Sermon; ſo there was a neceſſity of calling him into the High-Commiſſion-Court, which is done.

"The ſecond Miſdemeanour is of one Mr. *Wharton* a Miniſter in *Eſſex*; who in a Sermon at *Chelmesford*, uttered many unfit and ſome ſcurrilous things. But for this he hath been convented, and received a Canonical Admonition; and upon his Sorrow and Submiſſion any farther Cenſure is forborn.

"The third Miſdemeanour which my Lord complains of, is the late ſpreading and diſperſing of ſome factious and malitious Pamphlets againſt the Biſhops and Government of the Church of *England.* And my Lord farther certifies, that he hath reaſonable ground to perſwade him, that thoſe libellous Pamphlets have been contrived or abetted, and diſperſed by ſome of the Clergy of his Dioceſs; and therefore deſires me to uſe the Authority of the High-Commiſſion, for the farther diſcovery of this notorious Practice, to prevent the Miſchiefs which will otherwiſe enſue upon the Government of the Church. This, God willing, I ſhall ſee performed. But if the High-Commiſſion ſhall not have Power enough, becauſe one of thoſe Libels contains ſeditious Matter in it, and that which is very little ſhort of Treaſon, (if any thing at all) then I humbly crave leave to add this to my Lord Treaſurer's Motion, and humbly to deſire, that your Majeſty will call it into a higher Court if you find cauſe: ſince I ſee no likelihood but that theſe Troubles in the Church, if they be permitted, will break out into ſome Sedition in the Common-wealth. [To which the King anſwered in the Margin, *C. R. What the High-Commiſſion cannot do in this, I ſhall ſupply, as I ſhall find cauſe, in a more powerful way.*]

"My Viſitation is yet depending for this Dioceſs; and by reaſon of the Sickneſs, I could not with ſafety hold it, nor think it fit to gather ſo much People together; but God willing, I ſhall perform that Duty ſo ſoon as conveniently I may, and then

(a) See *Reg. Laud.* MS. F. 246. and *Johnſton's* Viſitatorial Power, 4to. p. 252.

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1636. 12 *Car.* I. "certify your Majeſty at the next Return, what ſhall come under mine own view.

Wincheſter. "In this Dioceſs, I find by my Lord's Report from his Officers, that there are divers Recuſants in ſeveral parts of the Country; and that ſome of them have been ſeduced away from the Church of *England* within theſe two or three Years.

"For all things elſe I receive no complaint thence, ſave only of three or four Miniſters that are negligent in Catechizing, and obſerve it not at all, or but in the *Lent* only. But I ſhall call upon the Biſhop to ſee this remedied, and to be as vigilant as he can againſt any farther encreaſe of Recuſants.

Bath and *Wells.* "From *Bath* and *Wells*, I have received a very good and happy Certificate, both that all your Majeſty's Inſtructions have been exactly performed throughout that whole Dioceſs; and that by God's Bleſſing, and the well-ordering of Church Affairs, there have been fewer Popiſh Recuſants preſented than formerly, and that the number of them is much decreaſed. And this I cannot but highly approve to your Majeſty, if there be not fewer preſented, either by the over-awing of them which ſhould preſent, or ſome cunning in thoſe which would not be preſented.

Norwich. "For this Dioceſs my Lord hath given me in a very careful and punctual Account, very large, and in all Particulars very conſiderable; and I ſhall return it to your Majeſty as brief as I can reduce it. And firſt, he hath for this Summer, but by your Majeſty's leave, lived (from both his Epiſcopal Houſes) in *Ipſwich*, partly becauſe he was informed, that that ſide of his Dioceſs did moſt need his preſence, and he found it ſo; and partly becauſe his Chapel at his Houſe in *Norwich* was poſſeſſed by the *French* Congregation, and ſo the Biſhoprick left deſtitute: But he hath given them warning to provide themſelves elſewhere by *Eaſter* next.

"His Lordſhip found a general defect of Catechizing quite thro' his Dioceſs, but hath ſettled it. And in *Norwich*, where there are 34 Churches, there was no Sermon in the *Sunday* Morning ſave only in four, but all put off to the Afternoon, and ſo no Catechizing: But now he hath ordered that there ſhall be a Sermon every Morning, and Catechizing in the Afternoon in every Church.

"For Lectures they abounded in *Suffolk*, and many ſet up by private Gentlemen, even without ſo much as the knowledge of the Ordinary, and without any due obſervation of the Canons, or the Diſcipline of the Church. Divers of theſe his Lordſhip hath carefully regulated according to Order, and eſpecially in St. *Edmund*'s-*Bury*, and with their very good Content, and ſuſpended no Lecturer of whom he might obtain Conformity; and at *Ipſwich* it was not unknown unto them, that now Mr. *Ward* ſtands cenſured in the High Commiſſion and obeys not: Yet the Biſhop was ready to have allowed them another, if they would have ſought him; but they reſolve to have Mr. *Ward* or none, and that (as is conceived) in deſpite of the Cenſure of the Court.

"At *Yarmouth*, where there was great Diviſion heretofore for many Years, their Lecturer being cenſur'd in the High-Commiſſion, about 2 Years ſince went into *New England*, ſince which time there hath been no Lecture, and very much Peace in the Town, and all Eccleſiaſtical Orders well obſerved: But in *Norwich* one Mr. *Bridge*, rather than he would conform, hath left his Lecture and two Cures and is gone into *Holland*. [The King writes in the Margin, *Let him go, we are well rid of him.*] The Lecturers in the Country generally obſerving no Church Orders at all: And yet the Biſhop hath carried it with that Temper, and upon their promiſe, and his hopes of Conformity, he hath inhibited but three in *Norfolk*, and as many in *Suffolk*, of which one is no Graduate, and hath been a common Stage-Player. 1636. 12 C.

"His Lordſhip craves direction what he ſhall do with ſuch Scholars (ſome in Holy Orders and ſome not) as Knights and private Gentlemen keep in their Houſes, under pretence to teach their Children; as alſo with ſome Divines that are Beneficed in Towns, or near, but live in Gentlemens Houſes. For my part, I think it very fit the beneficed Men were punctually commanded to reſide upon their Cures; and for the reſt, your Majeſty's Inſtructions allow none to keep Chaplains but ſuch as are qualified by Law. All which, notwithſtanding, I moſt humbly ſubmit (as the Biſhop doth) to your Majeſty's Judgment. [The King wrote thus, *I approve your Judgment in this, I only add, that care muſt be taken, that even thoſe qualified by Law keep none but conformable Men.*]

"For Recuſants, whereas formerly there were wont to be but two or three preſented, his Lordſhip hath cauſed above 40 to be Indicted in (*a*) *Norwich* at the laſt Seſſions; and at the Aſſizes in *Suffolk* he delivered a Liſt of ſuch as were preſented upon the Oath of the Church-wardens to the Lord Chief Juſtice, and his Lordſhip to the Grand-Jury: But they ſlighted it, pretending the Biſhop's Certificate to be no Evidence. But the true reaſon is conceived to be, becauſe he had alſo inſerted ſuch as had been preſented to him for Recuſant Separatiſts, as well as Recuſant *Romaniſts*. [The King wrote in the Margin, *Biſhops Certificates in this Caſe muſt be moſt unqueſtionable Evidence.*]

"His Ldp's care hath been ſuch, as that tho' there are about 1500 Clergy in that Dioceſs, and many Diſorders; yet there are not thirty Excommunicated or Suſpended; whereof ſome are for contumacy, and will not yet ſubmit; ſome for obſtinate denial to publiſh your Majeſty's Declaration; and ſome for contemning all the Orders and Rites of the Church, and intruding themſelves without Licence from the Ordinary, for many Years together.

"Laſt of all he found, that one half of the Churches in his Dioceſs, had not a Clerk able to read and anſwer the Miniſter in Divine Service; by which means the People were wholly diſuſed from joining with the Prieſt, and in many Places from ſo much as ſaying *Amen*. But concerning this his Lordſhip hath ſtrictly enjoined a Reformation.

"If this Account, given by my Lord of *Norwich*, be true, as I believe it is (and ought to believe it, till it can be diſproved) he hath deſerved very well of the Church of *England*, and hath been very ill rewarded for it. His humble Suit to your Majeſty is, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed in your own good time to hear the Complaints that have been made againſt him, that he may not be overborn by an outcry for doing Service. [The King anſwers, *His Suit is granted, and aſſuredly his negative Conſequence ſhall follow.*]

"In the Dioceſs of *Oxon*, I find all your Majeſty's Inſtructions carefully obeyed; and there is but one Lecture in the whole Dioceſs, and that is read at *Henly* upon *Thames* by ſome Miniſters of the Dioceſs, conformable Men, and allowed by the Biſhop. *Oxford.*

"His Lordſhip hath alſo called upon divers Recuſants; but upon their being queſtioned, they

(*a*) Among the new Proſelytes to Popery who multiplied every Year, was Sir *Kenelm Digby*, beyond the Seas, from whence he wrote a Letter to Archbiſhop *Laud*, giving the Reaſons that reſolved him to enter again the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, in which he had been Born and Bred. The Abp. gave him a ſerious and kind Anſwer, wherein he rather exceeds in Softneſs, condoling the Loſs of ſo great a Man, and telling him, he had acquainted his Majeſty with it, who gave a great deal of very good Expreſſion concerning him, and was not a little ſorry to loſe the Service of ſo able a Subject. Dat. *Lambeth, March* 27. 1636. *Hiſt. of Troub. of Archbiſhop Laud.* Fol. p. 610.

"pleaded

1637. 13 Car. I. “pleaded an Exemption from his Authority under your Majeſty's Great-Seal. [The King ſubjoined, *If this be not upon compoſition, I underſtand it not.*]

Ely. “From my Lord of *Ely* I have received a very fair Account, that his Dioceſs is very orderly and obedient; inſomuch, that he hath not any thing of note to acquaint me with.

Lincoln. “My Lord in his Certificate mentions two Particulars fit for your Majeſty's knowledge. The firſt is, that one of his Clergy in *Bedfordſhire*, a Learned and Pious Man, as he ſaith, ſet up a Stone upon Pillars of Brick for his Communion Table, believing it to have been the Altar-Stone. And becauſe this appeared to be but a Grave-Stone, and for avoiding of farther Rumours in that Country among the preciſer ſort, his Lordſhip cauſed it to be quietly removed, and the ancient Communion Table placed in the room of it: but did not farther queſtion the Party, becauſe they found him a harmleſs Man, and otherwiſe a deſerver. But how deſerving ſoever he be, I muſt judge it a very bold part in him to attempt this without the Knowledge and Approbation of his Ordinary. [Over againſt this the King wrote the following Note, *This may prove a bold part in the Biſhop, and the poor Prieſt in no Fault, as the other Day his Information proved, concerning the Ship Buſineſs at the Council Board; therefore examine this farther.*]

“The ſecond is, that there are riſen ſome Differences in the Southern parts of his Dioceſs, about the Miniſters urging the People to receive at the Rails, which his Lordſhip, ſaith he, hath procured to be placed about the Holy Table, and the People in ſome Places refuſing ſo to do. Now becauſe this is not regulated by any Canon of the Church, his Lordſhip is an humble Suitor, that he may have direction therein. And truly, I think, for this Particular, the People will beſt be won by the Decency of the thing it ſelf; and that I ſuppoſe may be compaſſed in a ſhort time. But if your Majeſty ſhall think it fit that a quicker way be held, I ſhall humbly ſubmit. [The King ſubjoin'd, *Try your way for ſome time.*]

Sarum. “From the Lord Biſhop of this Dioceſs I have received no Particular; but in General thus; that all your Majeſty's Inſtructions are now obſerved there without repugnance, for ought either Chancellour, or any other Officer of his hath informed him.

Worceſter. “My Lord the Biſhop of this See certifies, that your Majeſty's Inſtructions are carefully obſerved, and that there are only two Lecturers in the City of *Worceſter*, both very conformable, and that they ſhall not longer continue than they are ſo; and that the one of them preaches on *Sundays* in the Afternoons, after Catechizing and Service in the Pariſh Churches, and ending before Evening Prayers in the Cathedral.

“I may not here forbear to acquaint your Majeſty, that this *Sunday* Lecture was ever wont to be in the Cathedral; and that it is removed becauſe the City would ſuffer no Prebendary to have it. And Evening Prayers in their Pariſh Churches muſt needs begin betimes, and their Catechizing be ſhort, and the Prayers at the Cathedral begin very late if this Lecture can begin and end in the Space between. But if it can be ſo fitted, I think the Dean and Chapter will not complain of the remove of the Lecture to a Pariſh Church.

Exon, Chicheſter, Peterborough. “For theſe three Dioceſſes, my Lords the Biſhops certifie that all your Majeſty's Inſtructions are carefully obſerv'd; neither do any of them mention any thing amiſs in the general, either for Doctrine or Diſcipline. Only the Biſhop of *Exeter* hath ſent me up two Copies of the late Libel, intituled, *News from* Ipſwich, which were ſent thither to a Stationer with blank Covers.

Hereford. “Theſe five Dioceſſes following I have viſited this Year, by my Vicar-General and other Commiſſioners: And for *Hereford* I find not many things amiſs, tho' the after-change of the Bp. there, which hath of late happen'd, hath done no good among them. But ſome pretenſions there are to certain Cuſtoms, which, I conceive, were better broke than kept: And I ſhall do my beſt to reform them, as I have opportunity, and humbly beg your Majeſty's Aſſiſtance if I want Power. [C. R. *Which ye ſhall not want if you need.*]

“For St. *David*'s, the Biſhop is now there, and S. *David*'s will take the beſt care he can to ſee all things in Order. But there is one *Matthews* the Vicar of *Penmayn*, that preaches againſt the keeping of all Holidays, with divers others as fond or prophane Opinions. The Biſhop hath inhibited him, and if that do not ſerve, I ſhall call him into the High-Commiſſion Court.

“Baronet *Rudde* is in this Dioceſs, the Son of a late Biſhop there, who is a ſober Gentleman: he hath built him a Chapel, and deſires the Biſhop to Conſecrate it. But his Lordſhip finding one of your Majeſty's Inſtructions to be, that none ſhould keep a Chaplain in his Houſe, but ſuch as are qualified by Law, which he conceives a Baronet is not, hath hitherto forborn to Conſecrate this Chapel, as being to be of ſmall uſe without a Chaplain, and humbly craves Direction herein what he ſhall do. I humbly propoſe to your Majeſty, whether conſidering the Charge this Gentleman hath been at, and the ill Ways which many of them there have to Church, it may not be fit to Conſecrate this Chapel, and then that he may have a Licence to uſe the Miniſter of the Pariſh, or any other lawfully in Orders: Always provided, that he uſe this Chapel but at times of ſome neceſſity, not making himſelf or his Family ſtrangers to the Mother-Church; and that there be a Clauſe expreſſed in the Licence for recalling thereof upon any Abuſe there committed; and that this Licence be taken either from the Biſhop under his Seal, or from the Archbiſhop of the Province. [C. R. *Since he hath been at the Charge, and hath ſo good Teſtimony, let him have his Deſire with thoſe Reſtrictions mentioned.*]

“For *Landaff*, there is very little found amiſs; *Landaff.* only the Biſhop complains, that whereas Mr. *Wroth* and Mr. *Erbury* are in the High-Commiſſion for their Schiſmatical Proceedings; the ſlow Proſecution there againſt them, makes both them perſiſt in their By-ways, and their Followers judge them faultleſs. But for this I humbly preſent to your Majeſty this Anſwer, that now the loſs of two Terms by reaſon of the Sickneſs, hath caſt the Proceedings of that Court, as well as of others, behind hand: And there is no Remedy where all things elſe ſtay as well as it.

“In the Dioceſs of St. *Aſaph*, there is no Com- S. *Aſ.* plaint but the uſual, that there is great reſort of Recuſants to *Holy-Well*; and that this Summer the Lady *Falkland* and her Company came as Pilgrims thither; who were the more obſerv'd, becauſe they travelled on Foot; they diſſembled neither their Quality nor their Errand: And this Boldneſs of theirs is of very ill conſtruction among your Majeſty's People. My humble Suit to your Majeſty is, that whereas I complained of this in open Council in your Majeſty's Preſence, you would now be graciouſly pleaſed, that the Order then reſolved on for her Confinement may be put in execution. [C. R. *It is done.*]

“For *Bangor*, I find that Catechiſing was quite *Bangor.* out of uſe in thoſe remote Parts (the more the pity;) but the Biſhop is now in hope to do much good, and ſees ſome Reformation in that Particular already. And I would ſay for this and the other Dioceſſes in *Wales*, that much more good might be done there in a Church way, if they were not overborn by the Proceedings of the Court of the Marches there. And this preſent Year in this Dioceſs of *Bangor*, my Commiſſioners for my Metropolitical Viſitation there complain unto me, that the Power which belongs to my Place,

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"hath been in them very much wronged and impeached by that Court. And I do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, in your own good time, to give this my Cauſe a Hearing, if it take not a fair end without that trouble. [C. R. *I doubt not but by the Grace of God, to agree theſe Differences by my hearing of them.*]

Rocheſter, Glouceſter and *Briſtol.*

"For *Rocheſter*, the Biſhop (God comfort him) is very ill of a Palſie, and that I fear hath made him forget his Account. Neither hath the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* ſent me any, but why I know not; and for *Briſtol* that See is void.

Coventry and *Lichfield.*

"For this Dioceſs, I have likewiſe received no Account: But I fear, that whereas the Biſhop was lately complained of to your Majeſty for making waſte of the poor Woods there remaining, he is not over-willing to give an Account of that Particular, nor of the groſs Abuſe committed in the Cathedral Church by the Lady *Davis*, who I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, may be ſo reſtrained as that ſhe may have no more Power to commit ſuch horrible Prophanations.

"And ſo I moſt humbly ſubmit this my yearly Account of my Province of *Canterbury* to your Majeſty's Princely Wiſdom."

W. CANT.

[C. R. *For the Biſhop of* Glouceſter, *and* Coventry *and* Lichfield, *I muſt know why they have not made other Account.* Whitehall *the* 21*ſt of* February, 1637.]

Many Families transport themſelves to the *Weſt-Indies.*

Some of the Schiſmatical and factious Spirits, having been ſeverely proſecuted in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, began to think of taking Refuge in our Foreign Plantations, where their Trade and Humour in Religion might be free to themſelves, till the number of the Families thus Tranſported began to raiſe the Jealouſie of the State, as fearing thoſe Parts of *America* wherein they propoſed to ſettle, might be ſuch a Receptacle of diſaffected People, as in time to ſet up both for an Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Independence.

A Proclamation to reſtrain them.

Hence *April* 30. a Proclamation was iſſued forth to reſtrain the diſorderly tranſporting his Majeſty's Subjects to the Plantations within the parts of *America*, without a Licence from his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, *becauſe of the many idle and refractory Humours, whoſe only or principal end was to live without the reach of Authority.* And on *May* 1. an Order was made in Council, "That the Lord Treaſurer of *England* ſhould take ſpeedy and effectual courſe for the ſtay of eight Ships, now in the River of *Thames*, prepared to go for *New-England*; and ſhould likewiſe give Order for the putting on Land all the Paſſengers and Proviſions therein intended for that Voyage." And becauſe ſome of the Clergy under Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures were willing to accept of the ſame Protection and Refuge, therefore another Warrant from the Council was directed to the Lord Admiral "To ſtop all Miniſters unconformable to the Diſcipline and Ceremonies of the Church, who frequently tranſport themſelves to the *Summer-Iſlands*, and other his Majeſty's Plantations abroad; and that no Clergy Man ſhould be ſuffered to go over without Approbation of the Lords Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London*."

This a Grievance.

Now tho' there might ſeem a ſufficient Reaſon of State in theſe Prohibitions, yet they increaſed the Murmurs and Complaints of the People thus reſtrained, and raiſed the Cries of a double Perſecution, to be vexed at home, and not ſuffered to ſeek Peace or Refuge abroad. And there was certainly this unhappy conſequence, that ſome of the principal Refugees holding *New-England* a Plantation by Patent from the King, drew hither ſuch a Tribe and Colony of their own, that they caſt off all Subjection to the old *Engliſh* Church, and their Poſterity are not yet reconciled.

Caſe of *Baſtwick, Burton* & *Prynne.*

In *Trinity* Term came on the remarkable Cauſe in *Star-Chamber*, upon Information of the King's Attorney-General, against *John Baſtwick*, M. D. *Henry Burton*, B. D. and *William Prynne* Bariſter at Law; for writing and publiſhing Seditious, Schiſmatical and Libellous Books againſt the Hierarchy of the Church, and to the Scandal of the Government. The Defendants prepared their Anſwers; but their Council refuſing to ſign them, the Court would not receive them, but ordered that each Perſon ſhould be proceeded againſt *pro confeſſo*. It was the leſs hardſhip that their Council ſhould decline ſigning thoſe Anſwers which the Parties had drawn up with their own Hands, if we reflect on the want of Temper and Diſcretion in all thoſe Men; and that in Doctor *Baſtwick*'s Anſwer there were theſe Paſſages, *The Prelates are Invaders of the King's Prerogative Royal, Contemners and Deſpiſers of the Holy Scriptures, Advancers of Popery, Superſtition, Idolatry and Profaneneſs; they abuſe the King's Authority to the Oppreſſion of his Loyal Subjects, and therein expreſs great Cruelty, Tyranny and Injuſtice; and in the execution of this impious Performance, they ſhew neither Wit, Honeſty nor Temperature; nor are they Servants of God or the King, (as they ought to be indeed) but of the Devil*, &c.

Intemperate Men.

Sentence of the Court too ſevere.

The Sentence of the Court was a Fine of 5000 *l.* upon each Delinquent to the King, with Pillory and Loſs of Ears, and the very Remainder of Ears: After which Suffering, they were committed cloſe Priſoners, one to the Caſtle of *Lanceſton* in *Cornwal*, another to the Caſtle of *Lancaſter*, and a third to *Carnarvan* Caſtle in *Wales*; from whence they were afterward remov'd to remote Iſlands, and no Acceſs of Friends allow'd to them. And here, tho' the Inſolence of theſe Men was very great, their Puniſhment was thought extremely to exceed it. Some moderate Penalties might have left them under the Neglect of being bold and impudent Writers. But theſe terrible Blows upon them, raiſed them in the eyes of the People into the Reputation of Sufferers and Confeſſors for the beſt of Cauſes, Religion, Liberty, and Property.

Lord *Clarendon*'s Opinion.

The Lord *Clarendon* delivers a wiſe and true Opinion of theſe Men, and their Proſecution. "They were three Perſons moſt notorious for their declared Malice againſt the Government of the Church by Biſhops, in their ſeveral Books and Writings, which they had publiſhed to corrupt the People, with Circumſtances very ſcandalous, and in Language very ſcurrilous and impudent; which all Men thought deſerved very exemplary Puniſhment: They were of the three ſeveral Profeſſions which had the moſt Influence upon the People, a Divine, a Common Lawyer, and a Doctor of Phyſick; none of them of Intereſt, or any Eſteem with the worthy part of their ſeveral Profeſſions, having been formerly all look'd upon under Characters of Reproach: yet when they were All ſentenced, and for the execution of that Sentence brought out to be puniſh'd as common and ſignal Rogues, expoſed upon Scaffolds to have their Ears cut off, and their Faces and Foreheads branded with hot Irons (as the pooreſt and moſt mechanick Malefactors uſed to be, when they were not able to redeem themſelves by any Fine for their Treſpaſſes, or to ſatisfie any Damages for the Scandals they had raiſed againſt the good Name and Reputation of others) Men began no more to conſider their Manners, but the Men; and each Profeſſion, with Anger and Indignation enough, thought their Education, and Degrees, and Quality, would have ſecured them from ſuch infamous Judgments, and treaſured up Wrath for the time to come."

Diſcontents in *Scotland* more inflam'd.

The popular Diſcontents in *Scotland* were much greater, and ſeem'd owing to theſe Reaſons. Since the Acceſſion of King *James* to the Crown of *England*, they ſeem'd to have the Name of Monarchy without a ſingle Perſon; they thought their Prince a ſort of Priſoner in another Kingdom, and their chief Nobility were run away after him: ſo as they had in effect no Court, no Money, no Trade, and therefore no poſſible Content. This (beſide the original Prejudices from their way of Reformation)

made

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made them now the more averſe to Epiſcopacy and Forms of Prayer, becauſe they were the Rites of the Church of *England*, from which they were to preſerve themſelves diſtinct and independent. Under theſe jealous Inclinations they had been alarm'd with King *James*'s obtaining an Act for a publick Liturgy in a General Aſſembly at *Aberdeen* 1616, and ſome Concluſions agreeable to the *Engliſh* Church in another Aſſembly at *Perth* 1618, and the bringing their Biſhops to be conſecrated by *Engliſh* Prelates in 1610, and the inſtituting at that time a High Commiſſion in that Kingdom for the ordering of Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; and an Abſolution given in *England* to the Marqueſs of *Huntley*, who ſtood excommunicate in *Scotland*; and an Article paſs'd in Parliament 1617, that *Whatſoever his Majeſty ſhould determine in the external Government of the Church, with the Advice of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and a competent Number of the Miniſtry, ſhould have the Strength of a Law.* Theſe Advances toward the Conſtitution of the Church of *England* in the former Reign, however juſt and reaſonable, had made the People more and more averſe to the Church and Court of *England*. Under theſe popular Fears and Jealouſies, the King being in *Scotland* 1633, had committed it to the Care of ſome of the Biſhops there, to provide a Book of Canons and a Liturgy for that Kingdom, to be tranſmitted to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other *Engliſh* Biſhops, and after their Approbation, to be confirmed and enjoined by the King (*a*).

Book of Canons for *Scotland*.

The Book of *Canons*, which ſhould have followed the Liturgy (becauſe referring to the Rites and Ceremonies required by it) came prepoſterouſly out before it in 1635, and had many invidious Things in it, ſuch as a Declaration of the unlimited Power, and full perſonal Supremacy, of their Kings; that all Biſhops and Clergy-men ſhould bequeath ſomewhat to the Church; that no Presbyter ſhould reveal any Thing received in Confeſſion; and other Proviſo's very new and odious to the common People, becauſe they could not underſtand 'em. This Diſpoſition of Things and Perſons made it an ill Seaſon for the Reception of the Liturgy that was to be now ſent among them; after it had been compiled in *Scotland*, and peruſed and amended by three Biſhops in *England*, and confirmed by the King, and now publiſhed with his Majeſty's Reaſons for enjoining of it, and with Inſtructions to the Biſhops of that Kingdom to proceed with Moderation and Patience in obtaining the good Effects of it.

Firſt Reading of the Common-Prayer in *Scotland*.

Eaſter-day in this Year had been appointed for the firſt Reading of this Service: but either upon better Conſideration of the *Engliſh* Court, or rather a ſly Deſign of the *Scotch* Miniſtry, it was deferred to the 23d of *July*; on which Day it was begun to be read in the chief Church of St. *Giles*' in *Edinburgh*: But immediately the People fell into Clamours and Confuſion, crying out, (*b*) *a Pope, a Pope, Antichriſt, Antichriſt, ſtane him, ſtane him*, meaning the Dean of *Edinburgh*, then reading in the Desk, habited in a Surplice.

Tumult in the Church.

The Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, who was to preach that Day, ſtept into the Pulpit, and attempted to appeaſe the Tumult; but a Stool was thrown at his Head, diverted by the Hand of one preſent. The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and other Lords, could have no Influence on the Mob, till the Provoſt, Bailiffs, and City-Magiſtrates, did with ſome difficulty thruſt out of the Church the chief of the Mutineers, and ſhut the Church Doors againſt them. After which the Dean read the Service, tho' grievouſly interrupted by the Rable, who ſtood knocking at the Doors, and threw in Stones at the Windows, and betrayed all the Fury of an enraged Multitude. The Lords of the Council complained to the King of this Diſorder, and ſpared not to lay the blame of it upon the Biſhops, whoſe late Advances in Power and Revenue, with their Zeal to purſue all Directions from the *Engliſh* Court, had help'd to make them the more odious to the Commonalty, and indeed the more envied and fear'd by the Nobility and Gentry. Theſe Commotions, tho' inhibited by ſeveral Proclamations, and reſtrained as far as poſſible by the Civil Power, frequently returned with greater Noiſe and Numbers, till they ended at laſt in that Conſpiracy of a *Solemn League and Covenant*, that was the one great Occaſion of the Civil War.

The ſame Spirit was working hard in *England*; where, to fall under the Diſpleaſure of the King and the Archbiſhop, was enough to make a Popular Man. This was the Caſe of *Williams* Bp. of *Lincoln*, who having highly offended the King, and continually oppoſed Abp. *Laud*, was the greater Favourite of the Country, and eſpecially of the Puritan Faction; for which Reaſon, and for his Speaking and Writing with a ſingular Freedom, many Reſolutions had been taken at Court to put ſome publick Rebuke upon him.

Caſe of Bp. *Williams*.

Information had been given in the Court of *Star-Chamber*, by Sir *John Lamb* and Dr. *Sibthorp*, "That "the ſaid Biſhop did give them great Diſcouragement in their Proceedings in the Eccleſiaſtical "Courts againſt the Puritans; and that the Biſhop "asked Sir *John Lamb*, What kind of People thoſe "Puritans were of whom he complain'd? and whether they did not pay the Loan-Money? To which "Sir *John* anſwered, that they did indeed conform "in that Point, and paid their Money; but nevertheleſs they were Puritans, not conformable to "the Church. To which the Biſhop replied, If "they pay their Monies ſo readily to the King, the "Puritans are the King's beſt Subjects: And I am "ſure (ſaid the Biſhop) the Puritans will carry "all at laſt." But as to this Information, either the Matter was thought too frivolous, or even ſuch a poor Story wanted ſufficient Teſtimony to ſupport it: And therefore the Attorney-General let fall this firſt Bill, and preferred a ſecond againſt him for *Tampering with the King's Witneſſes*; and upon that Iſſue the Cauſe came to Hearing on *July* 11. and held nine Days debate, with a great Concourſe of People who pitied the Biſhop, as a Man mark'd out for a ſacrifice to the Court; and had the greater Veneration for him, when they found the Penalty ſo much exceeding the Offence, as ten thouſand Pounds Fine to the King's Majeſty, and a thouſand Marks to Sir *John Mounſon*, Suſpenſion from all Office and Benefice, and Impriſonment in the *Tower* during the King's pleaſure. All which was executed without any Mitigation, till at laſt he was releas'd and reſtor'd to pleaſe the People in the times of Danger. But neither the People, nor he himſelf, could forget, or heartily forgive, the Severities uſed to him.

Information againſt him.

Hearing.

Sentence.

Another Perſon who now gained Popularity by his Sufferings, was *John Hampden* Eſq; of the County of *Bucks*; who refuſing to pay the *Quota* of Ship-

Caſe of *J. Hampden*, Eſq;

(*a*) See the Inſtructions from his ſacred Majeſty to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops of *Scotland*, for amending and compleating the Service Book for that Church. Given at *New-Market*, 18 *Octob.* 1636. in *Ruſhworth* ii. p. 344.

By the King, A Proclamation for the authorizing of the Book of Common-Prayer to be uſed throughout the Realm of *Scotland*. Given at *Edinburgh* 20. *Decemb.* 1636. *Nichols*'s Preface to Comment. on Common-Prayer. *Fol.*

(*b*) Mr. *Sam. Johnſon* writes thus in his *Notes on the Paſtoral Letter*: After a World of Arbitrary Proceedings, the Common-Prayer Book was ſent down into *Scotland*; where the King had no more Right to ſend it, than into the *Mogul*'s Country; but it was under a Pretence of Uniformity, when there was nothing leſs meant, for it varied from ours, and was nearer the Original Maſs-Book out of which it was taken. No, the Deſign was to enter them of the King's Religion, and then they might have had a new Edition of their Common-Prayer Book the next Year; and then the Reaſon of Uniformity holding alike in both Kingdoms, ours ought to be like theirs. But the old Herb Woman at *Edinburgh* put an End to that Game, for hearing the Archbiſhop, who watched the Rubrick, directing him that Read, to read the Collect for the Day: She made a groſs Miſtake, and cryed, *The Diel Collick in the Wemb of thee*, and withal threw her Cricket Stool at his Head, which gave a Beginning to the War in *Scotland*.

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Money aſſeſs'd upon him, had a *Scire Facias* brought againſt him *Teſt.* 22. *Maii* 13 *Car.* and the Caſe was argued in the *Exchequer* Chamber from *Novem.* 6. to *Decem.* 18. by *Oliver St. John* Eſq; of *Lincolns-Inn*, and *Robert Holborn* Eſq; of *Lincolns-Inn*, for the Defendant; and on the King's ſide by Sir *Edward Littleton* Sollicitor-General, and Sir *John Banks* Attorney-General. In fine, Judgment was given againſt Mr. *Hampden*; but it being thought the Prepoſſeſſion of the Judges more than the Reſult of the Arguments, it did Mr. *Hampden* no Hurt, and the King no Service. The Lord *Clarendon* paſſes this juſt Reflection on it. " After the continued Receipt of " Ship-Money for about four Years together, it was " at laſt (upon the Refuſal of a private Gentleman " to pay twenty or thirty Shillings as his Share) " with great Solemnity publickly argued before all " the Judges of *England* in the *Exchequer* Chamber, " and by much the major part of them the King's " Right to Impoſe aſſerted, and the Tax adjudged " lawful: Which Judgment proved of more Advan- " tage and Credit to the Gentleman condemned " (Mr. *Hampden*) than to the King's Service."

Foreign Affairs.

No foreign Affairs of this Year had any Influence on *England*, ſave that the Prince Elector, and his Brother Prince *Rupert* departed from our Court *June* 26. for *Holland*; where getting together a ſmall Army, they march'd into *Weſtphalia*, and beſieged *Lingea*, but were fought by the Imperial General *Haliſfeld*, and received a perfect Defeat, two thouſand ſlain, Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Craven* taken Priſoners, and the Elector himſelf very hardly eſcaping.

State of Religion 1637.

As to the Eccleſiaſtical Matters of this Year: The Proceedings in the Spiritual Courts, not only againſt open Separatiſts and profeſs'd Puritans, but even againſt many true Members of the Church that did not come up to new Meaſures, were ſo ſtrict and ſevere, that it gave occaſion to ſtrike at the Juriſdiction of thoſe Courts, and to plead that they were held illegally, becauſe not kept by Patent under the Broad-Seal, and becauſe the Proceſſes were not in the King's Name. Theſe Objections being publickly made in the *Star-Chamber*, an Order was there made to have the Opinion of the Judges in this Caſe; who returned the following Certificate into the *Star-Chamber*, dated *primo Julii* 1637.

Juriſdiction of Eccleſiaſtical Courts queſtioned.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

• Opinion of the Judges.

ACcording to your Lordſhip's Order made in his Majeſty's Court of Star-Chamber *the 12th of* May *laſt, we have taken Conſideration of the Particulars wherein our Opinions are required by the ſaid Order, aad we have all agreed;*

That Proceſſes may iſſue out of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts in the Name of Biſhops; And that a Patent under the Great Seal is not neceſſary for the keeping of the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Courts, or for the enabling of Citations, Suſpenſions, Excommunications, or other Cenſures of the Church: And that it is not neceſſary that Summons, Citations, or other Proceſſes Eccleſiaſtical in the ſaid Courts, or Inſtitutions or Inductions to Benefices, or Correction of Eccleſiaſtical Offences by Cenſure in thoſe Courts, be in the King's Name, or with the Stile of the King, or under the King's Seal, or that their Seals of Office have in them the King's Arms: And that the Statute of primo Edwardi ſexti cap. 2. *which enacted the contrary, is not now in force.*

We are alſo of Opinion, That the Biſhops, Archdeacons, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, may keep their Viſitations, as uſually they have done, without Commiſſion under the Great Seal of England *ſo to do.*

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John Bramſton,	George Crook,
John Finch,	Thomas Trevor,
Humph. Davenport,	George Vernon,
John Denham,	Francis Crawley,
Richard Hutton,	Robert Berkley,
William Jones,	Richard Weſton.

This Certificate was enrolled in the Courts of *Exchequer*, *King's-Bench*, and *Common-Pleas*; and regiſtred in the Courts of *High-Commiſſion* and *Star-Chamber*. And then the King iſſued a Proclamation dated *Auguſt* 18. in the 13th Year of his Reign, that " Whereas in ſome of the libellous Books and Pamphlets lately publiſhed, the moſt Reverend Fathers " in God the Lords Archbiſhops and Biſhops of this " Realm are ſaid to have uſurped upon his Maje- " ſty's Prerogative Royal, and to have proceeded in " the *High Commiſſion* and other Eccleſiaſtical Courts " contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm: " Therefore his Royal Majeſty hath thought fit, " with Advice of his Council, that a publick De- " claration of theſe the Opinions and Reſolutions " of his Reverend and Learned Judges, being agree- " able to the Judgment and Reſolutions of former " Times, ſhould be made known to all his Subjects, " as well to vindicate the Legal Proceedings of his " Eccleſiaſtical Courts and Miniſters from the un- " juſt and ſcandalous Imputation of invading or in- " trenching on his Royal Prerogative, as to ſettle " the Minds and ſtop the Mouths of all unquiet " Spirits, that for the future they preſume not to " cenſure his Eccleſiaſtical Courts or Miniſters in " theſe their juſt and warranted Proceedings. And " hereof his Majeſty admoniſheth all his Subjects to " take warning, as they ſhall anſwer the contrary " at their Perils."

King's Proclamation to aſſert the Legality of holding Eccleſiaſt. Courts.

Another Popular Outcry againſt Archbiſhop *Laud* and the Biſhops directed by him, was Innovation in Matters of Religion; few People being willing to diſtinguiſh between arbitrary Alterations and the reſtoring an antecedent Decency and Order: (*a*) Which latter was undoubtedly the good Archbiſhop's Meaning. This Charge, and the Vindication from it, will beſt appear from Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Speech at the Cenſure of *Baſtwick*, *Burton*, and *Prynne*; in which the Archbiſhop recites the ſeveral Inſtances of Innovation that his Adverſaries had objected to him, and anſwers them with great Strength and Candour.

Charge of Innovation.

The firſt Innovation was, that *the laſt Year's Faſt was enjoined to be without Sermons in* London, *the Suburbs, and other infected Places, contrary to the Orders for other faſts in former times.* To which the Archbiſhop anſwered, That it was ſo concluded at the Council-Table, by reaſon that infected Perſons, known in their own Pariſhes, might not take occaſion on thoſe by-days to run to other Churches.

" The ſecond Innovation was, *That* Wedneſday " *was appointed for the Faſt-Day, and that this was done* " *with this Intention, by the Example of this Faſt with-* " *out Preaching; to ſuppreſs all the* Wedneſday *Lectures* " *in* London. To which it was anſwered, that *Wed-* " *neſday* was a uſual Day of Faſt, yet the Prelates " named not the Day, but the Lord-Keeper who had " no Intention of ſuppreſſing *Wedneſdays* Lectures; " nor was one of them yet ſuppreſt.

(*a*) As Chancellor of *Oxford*, he was very apprehenſive of the Attempts and Succeſſes of the Jeſuits, in ſeducing of young Scholars, and ſending them beyond the Seas. He endors'd the Copy of a Letter thus. *My Letter to the Vice-Chancellor or (Dr.* Frewen) *for Watchfulneſs againſt Jeſuits.* Feb. 7.—You had need be very careful of the Univerſity; for while none of you think of it, the Jeſuits and their Inſtruments are buſie thereabouts. And at this preſent, they have ſeduced a young Youth of *Exeter* College. I have forgotten his Name, but it begins with a *W.* [in the Margin his Name is *Weale*] and the young Organiſt of St. *John*'s, who ſlipt away while the Preſident was at *Sarum*. I have granted an Attachment againſt them, if they can light upon them before they take Shipping, as alſo againſt *Cherriton*, for that I hear is his Name who ſeduced them. You had need be very careful in theſe Buſineſſes, for elſe we ſhall very deſervedly hear of it.—— *W. Cant. Lambeth Feb.* 7. 1638. Hiſtory of Troubles, and Tryal of Archbiſhop *Laud*. *Fol. p.* 610.

So likewiſe in another Letter to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Bayly* dat. *Aug.* 29. 1637. he charged him to make diſcovery of the unworthy practices, for the ſeducing of Youths in that Univerſity, by lurking Jeſuits.

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"The third Innovation was, *That the Prayer for ſeaſonable Weather was purged out of this laſt Faſt-Book, which was one cauſe of Shipwrecks and tempeſtuous Weather.* Anſwered, when the Book was ſet out, the Weather was very ſeaſonable. And it was not the Cuſtom of the Church, nor fit in it ſelf, to pray for ſeaſonable Weather when we have it, but when we want it.

"The Fourth Innovation was, that there *was one very uſeful Collect left out, and a Clauſe omitted in another.* Anſwer, the Abp. and Biſhops under the King had Power to put in or leave out whatever they thought fit for the preſent Occaſion; provided nothing were done contrary to the Doctrine or Diſcipline of the Church of *England*. And there were ſpecial Reaſons at that time to omit the ſaid Collect and Clauſe.

"The Fifth Innovation was, that *in the ſixth Order for the Faſt, there was a Paſſage left out concerning the Abuſe of Faſting in relation to merit.* Anſwer, that in this Age and Kingdom, there was little Opinion of Meriting by Faſting, rather a Contempt and Scorn upon it.

"The Sixth Innovation was, that *the Lady* Elizabeth, *and her Princely Children were daſhed out of the new Collect, whereas they were in the Collect of the former Book.* Anſwer, they were left out of the Collect in latter Editions of the Common-Prayer Book, as well as in the Book for the Faſt, and this by the King's Command.

"The Seventh Innovation was, that *theſe Words* [who art the Father of thine Elect and of their Seed] *are changed in the Preface of that Collect, which is for the Prince and the King's Children. And that this was done by the Prelates to exclude the King's Children out of the Number of God's Elect, which was intolerable Impiety and horrid Treaſon.* The Archbiſhop anſwers, that this Alteration was made in his Predeceſſor's time, and that by his Majeſty's ſpecial Direction.

"The Eighth Innovation was, *That in the Epiſtle the* Sunday *before* Eaſter, *the Prelates have put out* IN *and made it* AT *the Name of Jeſus every Knee ſhall bow; which Alteration is directly againſt the Act of Parliament.* Anſwered, in the new Tranſlation of King *James*, and even in the *Geneva* Bible, printed 1557, it is *at the Name*, &c.

"The Ninth Innovation was, that *two Places are changed in the Prayers ſet forth for the fifth of* November, *and ordered to be read by Act of Parliament. The firſt place changed thus* [Root out that *Babyloniſh* and Antichriſtian Sect which ſay of *Jeruſalem*, &c.] *into this form of Words* [Root out that *Babyloniſh* and Antichriſtian Sect of them which ſay, &c.] *The ſecond place went thus in the old* [Cut off theſe workers of Iniquity, whoſe Religion is Rebellion.] *But in the Book printed* 1635, *'tis thus altered,* [Cut off thoſe Workers of Iniquity, who turn Religion into Rebellion.] Anſwer, the Book was never order'd to be read by Act of Parliament; the Act only commanded Prayers and Thankſgivings, but the Form was left to the Church. The Alteration of both thoſe Phraſes was by the King's Warrant, without the Archbiſhops moving for it, and there were very good Reaſons for ſoftning thoſe Expreſſions.

"The Tenth Innovation was, That *the Prayer for the Navy is left out of the late Book for the Faſt.* Anſwer, with good Reaſon; becauſe the King had then no declared Enemy, nor had he any Navy at Sea.

"The Eleventh Innovation, *The reading of the ſecond Service at the Communion Table or the Altar.* Anſwer, it was on the ancient Cuſtom alter'd of late by the Emiſſaries of the Faction; and it is agreeable to the Rubrick of the Common-Prayer.

"A Twelfth Innovation, *Bowing or doing Reverence at firſt coming into the Church, or at nearer approaches to the Holy Table; wherein People muſt worſhip the Table, or God knows what.* Anſwer, it is a decent Act of bodily Worſhip, intended to God alone, and of ancient practice.

"A Thirteenth Innovation, *The placing of the Holy Table Altar-wiſe at the upper End of the Chancel, ſetting it North and South, and placing a Rail before it, which was done to advance and uſher in Popery.* Anſwer, this is agreeable to the Practice and Command and Canon of the Church of *England*: Having been ſo in the Royal Chapels, and divers Cathedrals ever ſince the Reformation.

"The Fourteenth and laſt Innovation was ſaid to be, that *the Prelates to juſtifie their Proceedings, have forged a new Article of Religion brought from* Rome *(which gives them full power to alter the Doctrine and Diſcipline of our Church at a Blow) and have foiſted it into the beginning of the twentieth Article*; [The Church hath Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in matter of Faith.] *a Forgery fit to be examined, and deeply cenſured; for it is not to be found in the* Latin *or* Engliſh *Articles of* Ed. VI. *or Queen* Elizabeth. Anſwer, a heavy Charge, but utterly falſe: For this Affirmative Clauſe of the Churches Power is expreſly in the printed and in the original Copy of the Articles agreed on 1563. left out indeed in the printed Articles of 1571. *Latin* and *Engliſh*, which could not be done without the malicious Cunning of the oppoſite Faction; for in the Copy to which the Lower-Houſe of Convocation ſubſcribed in 1571. the Clauſe is inſerted, and in moſt Editions ſince that time. Therefore (ſaid the Archbiſhop) I do here openly in the *Star-Chamber*, charge upon that Pure Sect this foul Corruption of falſifying the Articles of the Church of *England*, let them take it off as they can."

Force of Prejudice and Faction.

This Account ſumms up all the ſtrength of the Popular Objections againſt the Archbiſhop and Biſhops for their Inclination and Attempts toward Superſtitious Innovations. And when we conſider how poor and frivolous they are, it is a Subject of Wonder how the Leaders of the Faction could improve Feathers and Flies into ſuch dreadful Monſters, and affright People with Shadows as effectually as with the moſt real and ſubſtantial Beings. But ſuch is the Art of Managers in an ill Cauſe; to raiſe Apparitions that terrifie more than living Bodies: And ſuch is the Infirmity of the lower part of Mankind, that they ſooner believe their Imagination than their Eyes; and to apprehend an Evil makes a deeper impreſſion than the very feeling of it. 'Tis certain Archbiſhop *Laud* and his Brethren meant nothing but Decency and Uniformity; but then indeed they preſſed them with more Zeal than the things deſerved, while not expreſly enjoin'd; and this contending for them with vehemence made People ſuſpect a dangerous deſign in them: ſoft and ſlower Meaſures might have done. We have ſince ſeen moſt of thoſe Externals introduc'd and quietly eſtabliſh'd into Cuſtom; becauſe they have been recommended rather than enforc'd, and Men without impoſition have been allowed to receive them.

Abp. *Laud* an utter Enemy to Popery.

Nay, Archbiſhop *Laud* was ſo far from the deſigns of Popery, that he was at this time the great Obſtructer of it (*a*): The Bigotry of the Queen for her *French* Religion, and the King's entire Affection for her, had gained the Papiſts ſuch an influence at Court, that they began to be inſolent and very aſſuming; and they would have triumph'd more in their Strength and Number, if the good Abp. had not interpos'd; and at the very Council-Table took the courage to uſe what he himſelf in his Diary calls *free Speech to the King, concerning the encreaſing of the* Roman *Party, the freedom of* Denmark *Houſe, the Carriage of Mr.* Walter Mountague *and Sir* Toby Mathew: And

(*a*) See a Letter from Archbiſhop *Laud* to Sir *Kenelm Digby*, earneſtly expoſtulating with him for his Defection from the Church of *England*. Dated *March* 27. 1636. in *Wharton's* Hiſt. of Archbiſhop *Laud*. *Fol. p.* 612.

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ſays he, *the Queen was acquainted with all that I ſaid that very Night, and highly diſpleaſed, and ſo continues.* It is ſaid farther by a Writer of good credit, that "the Archbiſhop preſented a Roll to the King of all the Queen's Officers and other Courtiers, who countenanced and promoted Popery; to which the King profeſſed, that he had it in his Mind to have referred the Conſideration thereof to the Board from his own Obſervation, and commanded them all to ſee it reformed." This bold Integrity of the Archbiſhop had a good Effect, for on *December* 20. the King iſſued out a Proclamation to ſignify, how

Sanderſon's Reign of K. Charles p. 220.

Proclamation againſt Popery.

"Finding of late that ſome of his natural born Subjects have abuſed his Majeſty's Princely Goodneſs, through the Eaſe which they enjoy under his gracious and mild Government, by withdrawing ſundry of his Subjects to the *Roman* Superſtition, and to forſake the Church of *England*; and likewiſe by reſorting to Maſſes and Service celebrated according to the Rites of the Church of *Rome*, expreſly contrary to the Law of this Realm: for Prevention whereof for the time to come, and for Preſervation of Religion as it is eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, which his Majeſty is reſolved conſtantly to maintain; the King therefore hath thought fit to ſet forth this Declaration of his Royal Will and Pleaſure, and doth expreſly command all Perſons, Clerks, and Laicks, that they from henceforth forbear to attempt to withdraw any the King's Subjects from the Religion that is now profeſſed. And the King doth declare, That if any of the *Roman* Party ſhall from henceforth give Scandal by celebrating or hearing of any Maſs or Maſſes, that then his Majeſty will cauſe to be put in Execution againſt ſuch contumacious Perſons, thoſe Penalties which by the Laws are inflicted."

The King heartily averſe to Popery.

This Proclamation, tho' occaſioned by the generous Freedom of Abp. *Laud*, was agreeable to the Opinion and voluntary Inclinations of the King himſelf. Of whom the Lord *Clarendon* gives this juſt Character: "The King was always the moſt punctual Obſerver of all Decency in his Devotion, and the ſtricteſt Promoter of the Ceremonies of the Church, as believing in his Soul the Church of *England* to be inſtituted the neareſt to the Practice of the Apoſtles, and the beſt for the Propagation and Advancement of Chriſtian Religion, of any Church in the World. And on the other hand, no Man was more averſe from the *Romiſh* Church than he was, nor better underſtood the Motives of their Separation from us, and Animoſity againſt us."

Abp's Account of his Prov. 1637.

The remaining State of Church Affairs for this Year is beſt ſhewn in this Account of his Province given by the Abp. to the King.

"*May it pleaſe your moſt gracious Majeſty,*

"According to your Commands in your Inſtructions publiſhed for the Good of the Clergy, and my bounden Duty, I here preſent my annual Account for the Province of *Canterbury* for the Year laſt paſt, 1637.

"And firſt to begin with my own Dioceſs: I muſt give your Majeſty to underſtand, that at and about *Aſhford* in *Kent*, the Separatiſts continue to hold their Conventicles, notwithſtanding the Excommunication of ſo many of them as have been diſcovered. They are all of the poorer ſort, very ſimple, ſo that I am utterly to ſeek what to do with them. Two or three of their principal Ringleaders, *Brewer*, *Fenner*, and *Turner*, have long been in Priſon; and it was once thought fit to proceed againſt them by the Statute for Abjuration: But I do much doubt, they are ſo ignorantly wilful, that they will return into the Kingdom, and do a great deal more hurt, before they will again be taken. And not long ſince *Brewer* ſlipt out of Priſon, and went to *Rocheſter* and other Parts of *Kent*, and held Conventicles, and put a great many ſimple People, eſpecially Women, into great Diſtempers againſt the Church. He is taken again, and was called before the High Commiſſion, where he ſtood ſilent, but in ſuch a jeering ſcornful manner, as I ſcarce ever ſaw the like: So in Priſon he remains." [To which the King put this Note] *Keep thoſe particular Perſons faſt until ye think what to do with the reſt.*

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"In the Church-yard of the ſame Town a Butcher's Slaughter-houſe opened, to the great Annoyance of that Place; which I have commanded ſhould be remedied, and the Door ſhut up.

"At *Biddenden* I have ſuſpended *Richard Warren* the School-maſter, for refuſing the Oath of Allegiance and of Canonical Obedience, and to Subſcribe to the Articles. Beſides, this preciſe Man will read nothing but Divinity to his Scholars; no not ſo much as the Grammar Rules, unleſs *Mars*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, and *Pol*, *Ædepol*, may be blotted out.

"The Strangers in *Canterbury* do not ſo much reſort to their Pariſh-Churches as formerly they did, at my firſt giving of my Injunctions. But Viſiting this Year, I have given a publick and ſtrict Charge that the Delinquents be preſented and puniſhed if they do not their Duty in that behalf.

"There is one dwelling in *Addiſham*, a married Man, called by the Name of *Thomas Jordan*: He was formerly called *Thomas Mounton*, becauſe he was found in the Church-porch in Swadling-Cloaths; left there, in all likelihood, by his Mother, who was ſome Beggar or Strumpet. It is believed he was never Chriſtened: I have therefore given Order that he ſhall be Chriſtened with that Caution which is preſcribed in the Book of *Common-Prayer* where the Baptiſm is doubtful.

"About *Sittingborn* there are more Recuſants than in any other part of my Dioceſs: And the Lady *Roper* Dowager is thought to be a great means of the increaſe of them. But I have given ſtrict Charge that they be carefully preſented according to Law.

"There is ſtill a Remainder of Schiſmaticks in *Egerton*, and the Pariſhes adjacent: But they are as mean People as thoſe about *Aſhford*; and I am as much to ſeek what to do with them.

London.

"My Lord Treaſurer complains, that he hath little Aſſiſtance of his Arch-deacons; and I believe it to be true: and ſhall therefore, if your Majeſty think fit, cauſe Letters to be written to them to awake them to their Duties. [C. R. *It is moſt fit.*]

"His Lordſhip likewiſe complains of ſome inconformable Men, *&c.*"

1638.

Diſtractions in Scotland.

The Year 1638. was taken up with the Diſtractions in *Scotland*, which toward the end of the former Year were grown ſo formidable, that in *January* his Majeſty ſent the Earl of *Roxborough*, Lord Privy Seal to *Scotland*, with certain Inſtructions to the Council, who were to meet at *Dalkeith*, to conſider of the diſordered Affairs of that Kingdom. The Council were ſo oppreſſed with Crowds of People, and daily Inſults of them, that at *Sterling*, on *Febr.* 19. they iſſued a Proclamation for diſperſing the dangerous Tumults there aſſembled, and to aſſure the King's Subjects of his Majeſty's Sincerity toward the Religion eſtabliſhed in that Kingdom. But on the Publication of it, ſeveral of the Noblemen, Barons, Miniſters, and Burgers, ſet out a Proteſtation againſt it, and inſiſted that, "1. They might have immediate Recourſe to their ſacred Sovereign, to preſent their Grievances. 2. That the Archbiſhops and Biſhops Parties complained upon, ſhould not be reputed or eſteemed lawful Judges to ſit in any Judicatory upon any of the Supplicants. 3. That no Act or Proclamation paſs'd in Preſence of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhould be any ways prejudicial to them. 4. That neither They nor their Adherents ſhould incur any

Proteſtation.

Dan-

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" Danger in Life or Lands, nor any other Pains, " for not obſerving Acts, Books, Canons, *&c.* in- " troduced without General Aſſemblies or Acts of " Parliament. 5. That the Inconveniences falling " out upon preſſing the Innovations, ſhould not be " imputed to them, who ſought only for Reforma- " tion. 6. That their Requeſts proceeding from " Conſcience, and a due Reſpect to his Majeſty's " Honour, called only for Redreſs of their preſ- " ſing Grievances." (*a*)

Tables in *Edinburgh.* After this Proteſtation, they erected a great number of *Tables* (as they call'd them) in *Edinburgh*; Four Principals, One of the Nobility, Another of the Gentry, a Third of the Boroughs, and a Fourth of the Miniſters; with ſubordinate Tables of the Gentry, according to their ſeveral Shires. Theſe diſtinct Tables or Committees did conſult of what they thought fit to be propounded at the General Table, which conſiſted of ſeveral Commiſſioners choſen from the four principal Tables. And in theſe Cabals they proceeded in Framing and Subſcribing of their *Covenant*, under this Title; The

Solemn League and Covenant. Confeſſion of Faith of the Kirk of *Scotland*, Subſcribed at firſt by the King's Majeſty and his Houſhold in the Year of God 1580; thereafter by Perſons of all Ranks in the Year 1581, by Ordinance of the Lords of the Secret Council, and Acts of the General *Aſſembly*: Subſcribed again by all ſorts of Perſons in the Year 1590, by a new Ordinance of Council, at the Deſire of the General Aſſembly: with a General Band for Maintenance of the true Religion and the King's Perſon; and now Subſcribed in the Year 1638, by us Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes, Miniſters, and Commons, under ſubſcribing: Together with our Reſolution and Promiſes for the Cauſes after ſpecified, to maintain the ſaid true Religion and the King's Majeſty, according to the Confeſſion aforeſaid, and Acts of Parliament, the Tenure whereof here followeth.

W*E All and every one of us under-written do proteſt, that after long and due Examination of our own Conſciences in Matters of true and falſe Religion, we are now throughly reſolved of the Truth by the Word and Spirit of God*, &c.

Miſchiefs of it. This ſolemn League and Covenant was indeed the Band of Iniquity that confederated all the Malecontents in both Kingdoms into a Civil War. The King's Declaration calls it, *The firſt Dung which from theſe Stables was thrown upon the face of Authority and Government, that lewd Covenant and ſeditious Band annexed to it.* This Teſt grew ſo very Popular, that it was ſworn to by Multitudes at *Edinburgh* in *February*, and ſent away through all the Country to be Subſcribed, according to that Example. The Council, alarm'd at the Heats of the People, appointed a ſolemn Meeting on *March* 1. at *Sterling*. But when the Day came, the Lord Chancellour ſent his Excuſe, and the reſt of the Biſhops, except *Brechin*, declined to come. However, the Lords of the Council agreed upon Inſtructions to Sir *John Hamilton*, to go to the King and acquaint him with Proceedings, and to declare their Opinion, that *the Cauſes of the general Combuſtions in that Country, were the Fears apprehended of Innovation by occaſion of the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and High Commiſſion. And therefore his Majeſty may pleaſe to declare, that he will take Trial of his Subjects Grievances, and in the mean time not preſs or urge them therewith.* Theſe Inſtructions given by the whole Council, were ſeconded by a private Letter to the King ſigned by *Traquair* and *Roxborough*, ſignifying, that *the general Combuſtion was come to ſuch a height, and daily like to encreaſe more and more, that they ſaw no probability of Force or Power to repreſs the Fury, except his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, by ſome Act of his own, to ſecure them from that which they ſeem'd ſo much to apprehend by the In-bringing of the Books of* Common-Prayer *and* Canons. (*b*) 1638. 14 *Car.* I.

And indeed it ſeems probable, that if the King had firſt broke the Storm by that free Compliance to it, he might have made things quiet enough to have gain'd leiſure for a firmer Peace and Settlement. But the Denial of one Requeſt, made them improve into continual new Wants and Deſires; till the Granting at laſt of what was at firſt Refus'd, was thought to be their own Victory, not the King's Conceſſion; and therefore did but fluſh them into more and more Demands of Satisfaction. It ſeems a ſtanding Policy for Princes to gratifie the firſt Petitions for Redreſs of any Grievance, or upon Denial once made to juſtifie that Denial; for, when Subjects find they can extort Favours, they know not when to deſiſt from extorting of them.

Upon Sir *John Hamilton*'s coming to *Whitehall*, and communicating his Buſineſs, his Majeſty conſulted with a ſelect Council, and reſolved to ſend (*c*) Marqueſs *Hamilton* as High Commiſſioner to *Scotland*, for the Service of quieting the Fury of the People. On *May* 7. Letters were ſent into *Scotland* to give notice of taking theſe Meaſures; and on *May* 16. the Marqueſs received his Inſtructions, and his Commiſſion on *May* 20. and began his Journey *May* 26. Coming to *Berwick* June 3. the Earl of *Roxborough* met him, and told him the People would not be pacified without the Covenant allowed to them, Articles of *Perth* annulled, Service-Book and Canons aboliſhed, and Epiſcopacy limited, all to be done in a General Aſſembly and Parliament to be ſuddenly called. The Marqueſs could not think it honourable to come ſo ſoon to any Terms; ſo with very ſmall Attendance he came firſt to *Dalkeith*, and thence, upon Supplication of the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, to the King's Palace at *Hally-Rood-Houſe*, where he offer'd to the Covenanters theſe two Propoſitions: 1. *What they ſhould expect to hear in the King's Name for accommodating their Grievances?* 2. *What might be expected from them for returning to their former Obedience, eſpecially in renouncing and delivering up their late Covenant?* To which they would give no other Anſwer, but that the only Method of Satisfaction muſt be a General Aſſembly and Parliament. And thereupon they put themſelves into ſuch a poſture of Defence, that the High Commiſſioner, to avoid Impriſonment in his Palace, was glad to retire to *Dalkeith*, and to ſend to the King for new Inſtructions. Upon which Terrors, his Majeſty order'd him to publiſh his Royal Declaration, that *He would neither now nor hereafter preſs the Practice of the Service-Book, or Canons, or any thing of that nature, but in ſuch a fair and legal way as ſhould ſatisfie all his loving Subjects* (*d.*) *And for the High Commiſſion, he would ſo rectifie it, that it ſhould never impugn the Laws, nor be any Grievance.* Theſe Promiſes could give no Satisfaction;

Marqueſs of *Hamilton* ſent High Commiſſioner into *Scotland.*

He offers Terms of their Submiſſion.

They refuſe.

The King forc'd to comply.

(*a*) The Copy of a Letter from the Lords of the Privy-Council in *Scotland* unto the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, upon the aſſembling of the People for oppoſing the New Service-Book. ——The Reaſons given againſt receiving it.—— The Proteſtation made by the Noblemen againſt it, at *Sterling*, 9 *Febr.* 1637. &c. in MSS. *Harley*, 60. C. 3.

(*b*) See Articles for the preſent Peace of the Kirk and Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſent by the Covenanters, as an Addreſs, to the *Scots* Lords in the *Engliſh* Court. Dat. 28 *Apr.* 1638.

The Complaints and Grievances of the Biſhops of *Scotland*, ——and other Acts and Deeds recited in the *Memoirs of Hamilton*. Fol. p. 39, 41, &c.

(*c*) It is but a melancholy Story, told upon Oath by *Andrew ab Habernfeld* to Sir *William Boſwell*, to be communicated to the King, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in *September*, 1640. that in Commotions of *Scotland*, the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* was often ſent hither in the King's Name, and to interpoſe the Royal Authority, toward mitigating the Heats of the People, and came as often back again to no purpoſe. For his Chaplain at that time repaired to his [*i. e.* a Popiſh Cabal in *London*] and communicated ſome things in private with Maſter *Con*, a *Scot*, the Pope's Legate. I askt him one Day in jeſt, *Whether the* Jews *could agree with the* Samaritans? Maſter *Con* anſwered, *I wiſh all Miniſters were ſuch as he is.*

(*d*) Dr. *Plume*, in the Life of Biſhop *Hacket*, tells us, his Lordſhip often wiſht that the Service-Book had never been ſent into *Scotland*, which he would often bewail in the Words of his Learned Friend Mr. *Selden*, *Liturgia infœliciſſime ad Scotiam miſſa.*

but

1638. 14 *Car*.I. but on *June* 28. they anſwered them with a very bold Proteſtation, that they expected a more gracious and ſatisfactory Anſwer, and would in the mean time adhere to their Confeſſion of Faith and ſolemn Covenant. The Marqueſs finding little hopes of Accommodation, propoſed to go into *England*, and fetch more immediate Inſtructions from the King. He began his Journey on *July* 6. and coming directly to Court, he gave a full Account of the Condition of that Kingdom, and of the Strength and Rage of the Covenanters, and of the Fears and Inconſtancy of many of the ſecret Council: And therefore, under theſe Difficulties, he adviſed the King to renew the Confeſſion of Faith ratified in Parliament 1567, and to enlarge his Inſtructions for the indicting a free General Aſſembly, and for diſcharging the Uſe of the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and the Practice of the High Commiſſion. With theſe Powers, and with Letters and Declarations of the King, the Marqueſs comes back to *Edinburgh* on *Aug*. 10. where he found things in a much worſe poſture than he had left them: for, the Covenanters had come to publick Reſolutions, "That "they would have a General Aſſembly, that the "Biſhops ſhould have no Vote in it, that Epiſco-"pacy ſhould be aboliſhed, the Articles of *Perth* "condemned, and all Perſons, under pain of Ex-"communication, ſhould take the Covenant." The Marqueſs endeavoured to convince them, that the Royal Anſwer which he had brought was full of Grace and Goodneſs; and to aſſure them, that immediately upon their Return to Obedience, he would indict an Aſſembly and Parliament. He found them ſo refractory, and ſo preſſing upon him, that on *Auguſt* 20. he deſired twenty Days time to go again to Court, and bring a fuller Anſwer from his Majeſty: and on *Auguſt* 25. went toward *London*, carrying with him Articles of Advice offer'd to the King by three Lords on whoſe Fidelity he moſt depended, *Traquair*, *Roxborough*, and *Southesk*, who propoſed to diſcharge the Service-Book, Canons, and High Commiſſion; to forbear preſſing the five Articles of *Perth*; to revive the Confeſſion of Faith with a Covenant as ſign'd by King *James*, and ſo upon the Word of a King to pardon what was paſt. The Marqueſs at Court urged the King to the like Compliance, and obtained new Inſtructions dated *Sept*. 9. to impower him to do all that was ſo adviſed.

Marqueſs of *Hamilton* comes back to give the King an Account.

Returns to *Scotland*.

Finds things worſe.

Goes away again to *England*.

Prevails with the King for greater Conceſſions.

On *Sept*. 17. the Marqueſs came back to *Haly-Rood-Houſe*; and being attended by the Heads of the Covenanters on *Sept*. 21. he told them, the King had granted them all that they deſired, and more alſo, a free Aſſembly and Parliament, which ſhould be immediately indicted. Upon this gracious Condeſcenſion, they could not but ſeem to be ſatisfied, and yet reſolved to quarrel on; therefore they preſſed the Marqueſs to deſiſt from renewing the Confeſſion of Faith, pretending this would diſſatisfie a great many of their Party. But the Marqueſs calling a Council, found it carried by Vote, that the Confeſſion of Faith ſhould be preſently ſigned, the Proclamation of Grace publiſhed, and a General Aſſembly to meet at *Glaſcow* 21. *Nov*. and a Parliament at *Edinburgh* 15. *May* following. The Epiſcopal Party foreſaw they ſhould be run down in the General Aſſembly, and therefore preſſed the Marqueſs to prorogue it, who referred the Matter to his Majeſty: the King ſaid his Reputation was concern'd in keeping the Day, and he would by no means alter it. The Covenanters being thus aſſured of their time, boldly moved the High Commiſſioner for a Warrant to cite the Biſhops to appear before the Aſſembly. The Marqueſs declining this, they addreſs'd themſelves to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, who gave Warrant for a Summons ſtuff'd with the moſt abominable Scandals, citing the Biſhops as guilty of Hereſie, Simony, Perjury, Inceſt, Adultery, Fornication, Breach of Sabbath, *&c*.

The *Scots* never to be ſatisfied.

The Marqueſs went toward *Glaſcow* on *Nov*. 16. and required the King's Advocate to prepare himſelf there to defend Epiſcopacy to be according to the Laws of *Scotland*: but his Anſwer was, that *it went againſt his Conſcience ſo to do*; and therefore he was prevail'd with not to go. So potent was the Faction, that the King's neareſt Miniſters and Officers were drawn into it. 1638. 14 *Car*.I.

The K.'s Advocate would not defend Epiſcopacy.

The General Aſſembly began on the Day appointed *Novemb*. 21. where the Marqueſs ſitting as King's Commiſſioner on a raiſed Seat, with his Aſſeſſors about him, order'd his Commiſſion to be read dated at *Oatland* July 29. and the King's Letter to the Aſſembly, dated at *Whitehall* Oct. 29. and then made a Speech to wipe off the Aſperſions caſt upon the King, and to give Aſſurances of their Religion and Liberties: and then tender'd the Paper containing his Majeſty's gracious Conceſſions to them. Then Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* was choſen Moderator, and Mr. *Archibald Johnſon* Clerk Regiſter. The Biſhops cited to the Aſſembly put in their *Declinator*, which was read *Nov*. 27. the Marqueſs in a Speech recommending the Neceſſity of it, and the Strength of the Reaſons contained in it. But the *Moderator*, in return, deplored the hardneſs of the Biſhops hearts; and one of the Clerks of the Seſſion thunder'd out a verbal Proteſtation, that *they would purſue their Libel againſt the Biſhops as long as they had Lives and Fortunes*. The Marqueſs ſeeing their inſolent Demeanour, declares to the Lords of the Council *Nov*. 28. his Reſolution to diſſolve the Aſſembly: and accordingly the ſame Day he went to the Church where they ſat, and after a long Speech againſt the Illegality and Nullity of their Proceedings, he concluded with Diſſolving the Aſſembly in his Majeſty's Name, and diſcharging their farther Proceedings under pain of Treaſon. The *Moderator* and the Earl of *Rothes* made Anſwer, that *they were ſorry he left them, but their Conſciences bore them witneſs they had hitherto done nothing amiſs, and therefore would not deſert the Work of the Lord*. Accordingly they form'd *A Proteſtation of the General Aſſembly of the Church of* Scotland, *made in the high Kirk and at the Market Croſs of* Glaſcow, *Nov*. 29. 1638. wherein they declared for a *freedom of uninterrupted Sitting*; and for his Majeſty to *contramand*, was *to prejudge the Prerogative of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Liberties of the Kirk*. So they continued Sitting, and went impetuouſly on, to declare ſix former General Aſſemblies to be null and void; to condemn all *Arminian* Tenets, without defining what they were; to deprive the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and the Biſhops of *Galloway* and *Brechin*, &c. to aboliſh Epiſcopal Government, as inconſiſtent with the Law and Church of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and many other extravagant and vile things. The King publiſhed a Declaration againſt their illegal Proceedings, dated *Decemb*. 8. to which the Aſſembly made a long Proteſtation *Decemb*. 18. and ſet up now for a Sovereign Independent Power.

General Aſſembly meets.

High Commiſſioner diſſolves the General Aſſembly.

But they will not be Diſſolved.

Hamilton, the King's Commiſſioner, ſeeing no hopes in Clemency and Reaſon, had ſent Advice to his Majeſty, that there could be no ways to reduce that Country to Obedience, but by ſending a Fleet of Ships to lie in the *Frith*, and block up their Trade, and then to follow with a Royal Army. Theſe Meaſures were approv'd in Council, and Reſolutions taken that the King ſhould go in Perſon, and the Nobility attend him at *York* by the firſt Day of *April* next enſuing.

No hopes of reducing the *Scots* but by Force of Arms.

If we now ſtand to look back on the Cauſes of this *Scotch* Rebellion, it might be enough to aſcribe it to the implacable Spirit of Presbytery: This alone was the Beginning of Troubles, but the Progreſs and Succeſs of them found a great many other Springs and Wheels: The importunate Zeal of many of the *Scotch* Biſhops in ſeverely executing all Orders receiv'd from the *Engliſh* Court, and obſequiouſly ſubmitting to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* as if he had been their own Metropolitan; which raiſed the Jealouſie and Indignation of a great part of the Clergy and Laity of that Kingdom. Then

Cauſes of the *Scotch* Rebellion.

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the Civil Grievances of Poverty, and Decay of Trade, and ſome late Advances in the Exerciſe of Regal Power, made the Nobility and Gentry ſomewhat cooler and more indifferent for the King and his Miniſters; chuſing as it were to ſtand by and connive at the Covenant and Aſſembly, hoping it would bring on the Opportunities of regaining what they thought their former Liberties. Next, the Popiſh Emiſſaries had certainly a buſie hand in this Work of Rebellion: They found the King and Abp. of *Canterbury* as much their Adverſaries, as the oppoſite Faction charg'd them to be their Friends; they had no Hopes but in troubled Waters, and ſome new Revolution. And then in *England* there were many Perſons griev'd and diſcontented, ſome Miniſters depriv'd or otherwiſe cenſur'd; many of the common People ſtrictly proſecuted; a few of the Gentry Fined and Impriſon'd: And in ſhort, all manner of Perſons diſobliged by the Court or the Church, took Pleaſure in the remote Proſpects of Revenge, and blew up thoſe Coals they ſaw kindling in the *North*. And finally, One great Advantage to the growing Faction was the Irreſolution and Indifference, not to ſay Treachery, of the King's Council and Miniſtry in *Scotland*: *Traquair* the Lord Treaſurer, and for a long time the prime Miniſter, was not a right Friend to the Biſhops; and even *Hamilton* himſelf was thought by the Covenanters to be the Son of a *Gude Mother*.

Queen Mother comes over to *England*.

But to return to the *Engliſh* Affairs of this Year, we find little elſe remarkable; in *October*, *Mary de Medices* the Queen Mother of *France*, by Invitation of the Queen her Daughter, came over into *England* for Pleaſure and Protection. The Archbiſhop enter'd it thus in his Diary: *Oct.* 19. *News was brought to us as we ſat in the* Star-Chamber, *that the Queen-Mother of* France *was landed at* Harwich: *Many and great Apprehenſions upon this Buſineſs.*" For indeed the *Engliſh* People hated her, or ſuſpected her for her own, for her Churches, for her Country's, for her Daughter's ſake; and having ſhifted her Reſidence in other Courts, upon Calamities and Troubles which ſtill purſued her, they thought it her Fate to carry along Misfortunes with her, and ſo dreaded her as an ill-aboding Meteor, wherever ſhe appeared. (*a*)

Prince Elector.

The Prince Elector, after his defeat in *Weſtphalia*, was adviſed by the Prince of *Orange*, to apply himſelf again to his Unkle the King of *England*, to put him in a condition of purſuing the means of his Reſtauration: The King told him the Difficulty of his own Affairs in *Scotland* would not at preſent allow him to furniſh him with any Supplies; and therefore all he could now do was to recommend him to the *French* Ambaſſador, who undertook to make an Intereſt for him with his Maſter and with Cardinal *Richlieu*. While this was in agitation, the Prince in *November* paſſed thro' *France* in diſguiſe, for a nearer Paſſage to the *Swediſh* Army; but in *Lions* he was diſcovered and arreſted, and kept long a Priſoner of State, till his hopes for this Year were entirely defeated.

Death of the Lord-Keeper *Coventry*.

There was ſome Alteration at Court by the Loſs of the Lord *Coventry* Lord-Keeper, who died at *Durham*-Houſe in the *Strand*, 14 *Jan.* 163$\frac{8}{9}$. This *Thomas Coventry*, bred in the *Inner-Temple*, gained a Reputation in the Law to be Recorder of *London*, and in 14 *Jac.* to be the King's Sollicitor; and being then Knighted, he was in the Year following made Attorney General. And in 1 *Car.* Novemb. 1. was advanced to the Office of the Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal of *England*, and 4 *Car.* Apr. 10. was made a Baron of the Realm, by the Title of Lord *Coventry* of *Ailesborough Com. Wigorn.* Hear his Character from the Lord *Clarendon*. "He enjoy'd his Place with a "univerſal Reputation (and ſure Juſtice was never "better adminiſter'd) for the ſpace of about ſixteen "Years. He knew the Temper, Diſpoſition and "Genius of the Kingdom moſt exactly; ſaw their "Spirits grow every Day more Sturdy, Inquiſitive "and Impatient: and therefore naturally abhorred "all Innovations, which he foreſaw would produce "ruinous Effects: Yet many who ſtood at a di"ſtance, thought that he was not active and ſtout "enough in oppoſing thoſe Innovations.——Sel"dom known to ſpeak in Matters of State,—— "though in his Nature he had not only a firm Gra"vity, but a Severity and even ſome Moroſity; yet it "was ſo happily tempered, and his Courteſie and "Affability towards all Men ſo tranſcendent, and "ſo much without affectation that it marvellouſly "recommended him to all Men of all Degrees; and "he was look'd upon as an excellent Courtier, "without receeding from the native Simplicity of "his own Manners. He had, in the plain way of "ſpeaking and delivery, without much ornament "of Elocution, a ſtrange Power of making himſelf "believed, the only juſtifiable Deſign of Elo"quence. ——— He held Diſſimulation to be the "worſt of Lying.—— But then this happy Temper, "and theſe good Faculties, rather preſerv'd him "from having many Enemies, and ſupplied him with "ſome Well-wiſhers, than furniſhed him with any "faſt and unſhaken Friends; who are always pro"cured in Courts by more Ardour and more vehe"ment Profeſſions and Applications than he would "ſuffer himſelf to be intangled with.—— He re"tired within himſelf as much as he could, and "ſtood upon his Defence, without making deſpe"rate Sallies againſt growing Miſchiefs, which he "knew well he had no Power to hinder, and which "might probably end in his own Ruine. To con"clude, his Security conſiſted very much in having "but little Credit with the King; and he died in "a Seaſon moſt opportune, in which a wiſe Man "would have pray'd to have finiſh'd his Courſe, and "which, in truth, crowned his other ſignal Proſpe"rity in the World."

1638. 14 *Car.* I.

His Character.

State of Religion, 1638.

The Church Affairs of this Year were the leſs conſiderable, becauſe the impending Storms in *Scotland* made the Archbiſhop and Biſhops more tender and reſerved in their Proceedings here at home; wiſely reſolving not to irritate the Faction here while it was there ſo turbulent and ſtrong.

Wiſdom of Abp. *Laud*.

The Archbiſhop to open the Eyes of thoſe who looked on him as a Papiſt, and to juſtifie the King from the like Slanders, did now enlarge and reprint his *Conference with* Fiſher *the Jeſuite*, and preſented it to the King, *Feb.* 10. He interpoſed in the *Scotch* Tumults as far as poſſible to ſuppreſs them, and kept a conſtant Correſpondence with the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*; and when he ſaw things muſt come to a Rupture, he was forward in procuring an Order of Council, directed to the two Archbiſhops *Jan.* 29. by which they were required to *Write their ſeveral Letters to the Lords Biſhops in their reſpective Provinces, forthwith to conveen before them all the Clergy of Ability in their Dioceſſes, and to incite them by ſuch Ways and Means as ſhould be thought beſt by their Lordſhips, to aid and aſſiſt his Majeſty with their ſpeedy and liberal Contributions and otherwiſe, for defence of his Royal Perſon and Kingdom.* And in purſuance of theſe Directions the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* wrote to his ſeveral Suffragans, to preſs them, that *in Caſe of ſo great Danger, both to the State and Church of* England, *they and their Clergy would contribute toward the raiſing of ſuch an Army, as by God's Bleſſing and his Majeſty's Care might ſecure this Church and Kingdom from all intended Violence*; and hopes every

(*a*) Hence Mr. *Lilly*, in his Treatiſe of *Monarchy*, 4*to*.*p*.93. obſerv'd, the Queen Mother of *France*, Widow of *Henry* IV. and Mother to our Queen, landed in *England*, and came unto *London*, 21 *Octob.* She was very meanly accompanied, and few of Quality attending her. The King moſt humanely and generouſly receives her, tho' all Men were extremely againſt it; for it was obſerved, that where ever this miſerable old Queen came, there followed immediately after Her Plague, War, or Famine.

1638. 14 Car. I.

Man will give at the leaſt after the Proportion of 3 s. 10. d. *in the Pound, of the Valuation of his Preferment in the King's Book.*

The Money raiſed by the Clergy on this occaſion came to a very great Sum. The Dioceſs of *Norwich* where the Clergy have the meaneſt Proviſion, raiſed above two thouſand Pounds. And yet as every Thing gives Offence to angry People, ſo this Method had Objections made to it: Some pretended it an arbitrary Impoſition on the Clergy, tho' it was only by way of free Benevolence; others ſaid it was a Price paid by the Church-Men for Perſecution and the Blood of the Brethren; and ſome graver Folks ſeeing the Zeal of the Clergy to promote the Expedition into *Scotland*, began to think it a Religious War. (*a*)

Abp's Account of his Province 1638.

In the Archbiſhop's Account of his Province to the King for the Year 1638. we'll take out this State of his own Dioceſs of *Canterbury.*

" *May it pleaſe your moſt ſacred Majeſty,*

" TO begin with my ſelf and my own Dioceſs, I have been careful to obey all your Majeſty's particular Inſtructions, both for the reſiding upon my Houſes and preſerving of my Woods, &c.

" There was one *Bedle* a Miniſter of *Eſſex* came into this Dioceſs, and at *Harbledown* near *Canterbury*, (the Curate there being dead) preached very diſorderly three Hours together at a time, and got himſelf many ignorant Followers. But ſo ſoon as ever he was enquired after by my Officers, he fled the Country; and I purpoſe, God willing, to ſpeak with the Chancellour of *London* concerning him.

" I do not find that there are either any increaſe or decreaſe of Papiſts or Puritans in the Dioceſs: But the Separatiſts about *Aſhford* are very buſie, miſerably poor, and out of that bold againſt all Church-cenſure; ſo that without ſome temporal Aſſiſtance from the Judges, we know not what to do; and this I have often and humbly repreſented: Yet two notorious Separatiſts being called in queſtion are fled the Country, and one of them broke Priſon.—— [C. R. *Demand their* (*i. e.* the Judges) *help, and if they refuſe, I ſhall make them aſſiſt you.*]

" At *Tenterden* ſome People are ſomewhat refractory; but the Archdeacon aſſures me, he hath great hope to reduce them; which I ſhall be glad of. The Strangers at *Canterbury* do reaſonably well obey my Injunctions for coming to our Churches; and I ſhall give them all Encouragement holding it fitting to keep a moderate hand with them."

1638. 14 Car. I.

1639. 15 Car. I.

Royal Army to march into Scotland.

To ſuppreſs the *Scotch* Rebellion, in the beginning of this Spring the King had got together an Army of near ſix thouſand Horſe, and about that Number of Foot, well diſciplined, under experienc'd Officers. The Earl of *Arundel* (*b*) was made General, the Earl of *Eſſex* Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of *Holland* General of the Horſe. On *March* the 27th, his Coronation-day, the King began his Journey Northward, and in three Days came to *York*, with a glorious Attendance of Nobility and Gentry, ſummon'd in to ſerve the King. It look'd more like the Pomp and Parade of an Eaſtern Prince, than the Expedition of an *Engliſh* Monarch. The Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, "If there had been none in the March but Soldiers, it is moſt probable that a noble Peace would have quickly enſu'd, even without fighting; but the Progreſs was more illuſtrious than the March, and the Soldiers were the leaſt part of the Army." The Earl of *Eſſex* had been ſent before with a Party of Horſe and Foot to poſſeſs himſelf of *Berwick*, which he enter'd without Oppoſition: And had he march'd on to *Edinburgh*, followed and ſupported by the Remainder of the *Engliſh* Army, the War had been ſoon ended; for the *Scots* had not three thouſand Men together, and as yet wanted Arms and Unity. "But it was the fatal Misfortune of the King, which proceeded from the Excellency of his Nature, and his Tenderneſs of Blood, that he deferr'd ſo long his Reſolution of uſing his Arms; and after he had taken that Reſolution, that it was not proſecuted with more Vigour." And yet ſuch was the Advice of the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, who by Letters to the King dated at *Dublin April* 1. 1639. acquainted his Majeſty, that he had Shipp'd off five hundred *Iriſh* to be put into *Carliſle*; and concludes, *As to my poor Judgment your Majeſty hath no more to do this Summer, but to ſecure* Berwick *and* Carliſle *by ſtrong Garriſons, to exerciſe your Army in the Knowledge of their Arms, prevent their Incurſion into your Kingdom of* England, *and by all means to avoid fighting this Year.* (*c*)

(*a*) See Order of the Lords of the Council directed to the two Archbiſhops, to be communicated to their Suffragan Biſhops, for conveening the Clergy of each Dioceſs, and inciting them to aid and aſſiſt his Majeſty in the War with *Scotland.* Dat. *January* 31. 1638. with the Letter of Archbiſhop *Laud* to his Suffragans on that Occaſion, of the ſame Date. Heylin's *Life of Archbiſhop* Laud. *Fol.* p. 357.

The Forwardneſs of the Queen and Papiſts on this Occaſion gave ſome Aſſiſtance, but no Advantage to the King. See 1. The Queen's Letter to promote Contributions among the Roman Catholicks, to aſſiſt his Majeſty againſt the *Scots.* dat. *Whitehall* 17. *April* 1639.—— 2. A Letter of *Walter Mountague* and Sir *Kenelm Digby*, to ſome of the principal Catholicks, to excite their cheerful Aſſiſtance of his Majeſty. 3. A Letter from the Aſſembly of Papiſts in *London*, to the Popiſh Clergy and People in every Shire. Dat. *London*, *April* 1639. 4. The Complaints and Proceedings in this Matter before a Committee of the Commons, in *November* 1640. *Ruſhworth* iii. p. 160. to 169. Prynne's *Royal Favourite* p. 57.

(*b*) The Earl of *Arundel*'s Lady was a furious Papiſt: in the Plot diſcovered by *Andrew ab Habernfeld*, ſhe is repreſented as a ſtrenuous She-Champion of the Popiſh Religion, bending all her Endeavours for the introducing of it. Whatever ſhe hears at Court, ſecretly or openly, of Words or Actions, She imparts to the Pope's Legate, with whom ſhe convers'd at leaſt three times a Day, ſometimes in *Arundel* Houſe, or at Court, or at *Tart-hall.* The Earl called to *Rome* about three Years ſince, ought to go in this Year 1640, to conſult there, no doubt of ſecret Affairs, relating to the Grand Deſign. By his Gifts and Encouragements, the Jeſuits attend their Maſſes. At *Greenwich*, at the Expence of this Earl, a School for Girls, which is in effect a Nunnery; for the young Miſſes there, when grown up, are ſent over into ſeveral Monaſteries beyond the Seas.

(*c*) See *Laws and Ordinances of War*, for the better Government of his Majeſty's Army Royal in the preſent Expedition for the Northern Parts, and ſafety of the Kingdom. Imprinted at *Newcaſtle.* 1639. 4*to.*

A Prayer for the King's Majeſty in the Northern Expedition againſt the *Scots*, 1639. Beginning, *O Eternal God and merciful Father*, &c. Prynne's *Breviate of Archbiſhop* Laud. *Fol.* p. 32.

In the Diſcovery made upou Oath by *Andrew ab Habernfeld*, it is depoſed, that about this time, there arrived at *London* from Cardinal *Richlieu*, one Mr. *Thomas Chamberlain*, his Chaplain and Almoner, by Birth a *Scot*, who was to aſſiſt the Society or Cabal of Papiſts in *London* (held under the direction of the Pope's Legate Mr. *Con* a *Scotch*-man) who was to leave nothing unattempted to inflame the People of *Scotland* againſt the Government, for which Service he had the Promiſe of a Biſhoprick, and therefore ſtaid with them four Months, to be able to carry over the better News at his Return into *France.* See Rome's *Maſter Piece*, publiſh'd by Mr. *Prynne*, and again by Mr. *Wharton.*

That one of the chief Conſpirators was Sir *Toby Matthew*, an Archbiſhop's Son, a Convert, and Bigot to the Church of *Rome.* A Jeſuit Prieſt, of the Order of Politicians, one of the chief Leaders, a moſt vigilant Man, to whom his own Bed was never ſo dear, that he would reſt his Head thereon, but refreſh himſelf with Sleep in his Chair for an Hour or two: Neither Day nor Night ſparing his Intriegues and continual Machinations. A Man extremely miſchievous, and the very Plague of the King and Kingdom of *England.* A moſt impudent Fellow, who frequented all Feaſts and Entertainments, invited or not invited. Never quiet, always in Action, and perpetual Motion. He thruſt himſelf into all Converſations with his Superiours; preſſing familiar Conferences, to fiſh out the Minds of Men, whatever he can thence obſerve, tending to the Intereſt or Prejudice of the conſpiring Party, he communicates to the Pope's Legate: The more ſecret Myſteries he writes to the Pope or Cardinal *Barberini.* In ſhort, he ſcrews himſelf into every Society; no Word can be ſpoken but what he lays hold on, and accommodates to the Service of his Party. In the mean time, whatever he has fiſhed out, he puts into a ſtated Account, and every Summer carries it to the general *Conſiſtory* of the Jeſuits, which ſecretly meets together in *Wales*, where he is an acceptable Gueſt. There Councils and Reſolutions are privately taken, as moſt adapted to the Convulſion of the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil State of both Kingdoms.

The

1639. 15 *Car*. I.

Fury of the Covenanters.

The Covenanters, tho' not daring to approach the Borders, had ſhewn their Power and Will at a ſafer diſtance: They forced the Earl of *Traquair* to ſurrender *Dalkeith* to them, and carried thence the *Regalia* in triumph to *Edinborough*, and ſoon after ſeized the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, a place of great ſtrength, and much greater Importance, becauſe deſigned for the landing of the *Iriſh* Forces as Occaſions ſhould call for 'em: And then the King's Forces near *Aberdeen* were beaten and diſperſed by *Monroe*, and *Aberdeen* taken, with great ſtore of Arms, Ammunition, and Treaſure, ſent thither for the King's Uſe and Service.

A Proteſtation of not correſponding with them.

While the King was at *York* there was ſuch a Conflux of People, and ſuch a multitude of *Scots* among them, that it gave Matter of Offence and Jealouſie to the King's Council; who thereupon reſolv'd, *That a ſhort Proteſtation ſhould be drawn, in which all Men ſhould profeſs their Loyalty and Obedience to his Majeſty, and diſclaim and renounce the having any Intelligence, or holding any Correſpondence with the Rebels.* The *Scots* who were moſt ſuſpected took the Proteſtation without ſcruple: but when it came to the *Engliſh* Nobility, the Lords *Say* and *Brook* poſitively refus'd it in the King's own Preſence; for which they were at firſt a while reſtrain'd, and then diſmiſs'd and ſent home. This Perverſeneſs and open Affront to the King ſo mildly paſs'd by, gave Advantage to the King's Enemies in his own Court; who perhaps did him more Miſchief than thoſe in the Field. "Indeed (ſays the Lord *Clarendon*) if the King himſelf had ſtay'd at *London*, or which had been the next beſt, kept his Court and reſided at *York*, and ſent the Army on their proper Errand, and left the Matter of the War wholly to them, in all humane Reaſon his Enemies had been ſpeedily ſubdued, and that Kingdom reduced to their Obedience."

Refuſed by ſome *Engliſh* Lords.

While the King reſided here at *York*, the *Scots*, in craft, ſent Letters and Petitions to his Majeſty, pretending, "Their Loyal Hearts had ill Fortune, and that they deſired nothing but to be admitted into the Preſence of their gracious Soveraign, to lay their Grievances at his Royal Feet, and leave the Determination of them entirely to his own Wiſdom and Pleaſure." By which they gain'd their Ends of Time and Popularity, and even Pity from their Enemies. But all the while their Preparations were ſo encreaſing, that the King thought it neceſſary to March toward the Borders of *Scotland*, by *New-Caſtle*, to *Berwick*, where the General had the Army drawn up in Battalia, and the King march'd at the Head of them, till near the *Tweed*, two Miles Weſt from *Berwick*, in an open Field called the *Berks*, the King encamp'd, and lodg'd in his Tent with the Army.

The King marches to the Borders.

May 30. the King had Intelligence that General *Leſley*, with about 6000 of the *Scotch* Army, was Quarter'd at *Dunce*, a Town about ſeven Miles diſtant from the *Engliſh* Camp: Next day the Earl of *Holland* march'd thither with a Body of 3000 Horſe and 2000 Foot; and coming thither, he found the *Scots* drawn up on the ſide of a Hill, where the Front could be only in view, with great Herds of Cattel at a diſtance upon the Hills on either ſide; a Stratagem of *Leſley*, to make the Appearance of a formidable Body, when there were not above 3000 Men, and they very ill arm'd, moſt Country Fellows brought thus together for a Shew. The Earl of *Holland*, who by ill Accidents had his Foot and Artillery three or four Miles behind, was ſo frighted with the Apparition of the *Scotch* Army, that he ſent Orders to his Foot not to advance, and made his Retreat toward them, and ſo moſt ingloriouſly came back to the King's Camp; with another Misfortune of having quarrel'd in the March with the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, which afterward produc'd a Challenge.

Policy of *Leſley*.

This mock Attempt was ſeconded by another of no better Conduct or Succeſs: for on *Sunday June* 2. Information was brought that the *Scots* were in their Quarters at *Kelſey*, about ſix Miles diſtance, being not above 1500 Men: whereupon it was reſolved in a Council of War to ſend a Detachment toward 'em. So the next day *June* 3. the Earl of *Holland*, with a Body of 2000 Horſe and 2000 Foot marched again over the *Tweed* toward *Kelſey*, and came with his Horſe within ſight of the Enemy, while the Foot were ſtill three Miles behind. The *Scots* ſent a Trumpeter, and immediately drew up their Forces to ſo much Advantage and Surprize, that the *Engliſh* General again retreated to his Foot, and ſo quietly return'd once more to the Camp. Theſe two Sallies of Bravery, as if only to ſhew and then to diſappear, gave a great Diſcouragement to the King's Army, by keeping them from the Glory and the Reward of Action; and made the *Scots* more daring, when they ſaw it was likely to be no worſe than the Jeſt of a War.

Earl of *Holland* inglorious.

Upon this Apprehenſion of their own Safety, the Covenanters from *Edinburgh* wrote three diſſembling Letters to the three Generals, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Earl of *Holland*; all to deſire their Interceſſion with the King for Peace and Protection to them; and all ſo adapted to the Humours of thoſe great Men, that at laſt the Earls of *Arundel* and *Holland* began to incline and adviſe to Accommodation.

Diſſembling of the *Scots*.

Fleet not ſucceſsful.

The Expedition at Sea, under the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, came to the like no Effect: The Fleet entred the *Frith* on *May* 1. and caſt Anchor in *Leith-Road*, where the Marqueſs landed ſome Forces only to grow Sick, and ſo to be ſhipp'd again. He ſpent his time in a fruitleſs Correſpondence with the Earl of *Rothes*, one of the chief Malecontents, and in frequent Viſits from his Mother, a very zealous Woman for the Covenant and Kirk, and from his Brother-in-law the Ld *Lindſey*; who told him, they would ſooner lay down their Lives than recede from the demand of their juſt Rights and Liberties, for the Defence whereof they had an Army of 25000 Men. This moved the Marqueſs to poſſeſs the King of the Dangers of farther Hoſtility: So that indeed all things conſpired to loſe the Opportunity of Honour and Succeſs in this Royal Expedition. The Generals and Admiral were indifferent, and rather complaiſant in the Matter; the common Soldiers and Seamen were ſick and weary of the Mock-ſhow; the Courtiers and Council of the King thought it wiſer not to carry things to extremity, while there could be any hopes of Submiſſion. And in my Ld *Clarendon*'s Opinion, *It was ſuſpected and believed, by thoſe who ſtood neareſt, that his Majeſty himſelf had in truth never any purpoſe to make the War in Blood; but believed that by ſhewing an Army to them, which was able to force them to any Conditions, they would have begged Pardon for the Conteſt they had made, and ſo he ſhould have ſettled the Church, and all things elſe according to his Pleaſure: And ſure he might have done ſo had he had but State Skill, and been conſtant to his own Intereſt, and poſitive in denying their inſolent Demands.*

A Mock War.

Treaty and Pacification.

This Diſpoſition in the King and his Miniſters encouraged the *Scots* to ſome Petitions and Addreſſes; which meeting with civil and ſoft Anſwers, a Treaty was agreed on *June* 8. and Articles of Pacification ſign'd *June* 18. with a Declaration of the King for Pardon and Peace, upon disbanding the *Scotch* Forces, and delivering up his Majeſty's Forts and Ammunition. *The King's Army was preſently disbanded, and the* Scots *returned to* Edinburgh *with all they deſired; having gotten many more Friends in* England *than they had before, kept all their Officers, and as many of their Men as they thought fit in pay; and proſecuted all thoſe who had not ſhewed the ſame Zeal in their Covenant, and enter'd a publick Proteſtation againſt the Biſhops,* &c. *So that by the time the King came to* London, *it appeared plainly, that the Army was disbanded without any Peace made, and the* Scots *in equal Inclination, and in more Reputation, to affront his Majeſty than ever.* —— *The Miſchief that befel the King from this wonderful Atonement cannot be expreſſed, nor was it ever diſcourſed what*

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prevailed over his Majeſty to bring it ſo wofully to paſs: All Men were aſhamed who had contributed to it.

Earl of *Traquair* made High Commiſſioner.

An Aſſembly and Parliament were to meet in *Scotland* before the end of *Aug.* and the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* was again deſign'd to be his Majeſty's High-Commiſſioner, but he earneſtly excuſed himſelf; upon which the King was forced to employ the Earl of *Traquair*, and ſigned his Inſtructions at *Berwick* on *July* 27. and taking Poſt the next Day came to *London* Auguſt 1.

Earl of *Eſſex* diſgrac'd.

The Factions and Animoſities at Court were now greater than ever. The Earl of *Eſſex*, who had merited very well throughout the whole Affair, and had never made a falſe ſtep in Action or Council, was diſcharged in the Croud without ordinary Ceremony, and was ſoon after denied the Command of the Foreſt of *Needwood*, which lay at his very Door, and would have been ſo agreeable, that the Denial made the deeper impreſſion.

Earl of *Newcaſtle* diſguſted.

The Earl of *Newcaſtle* Governour to the Prince, who at his own Charge had brought in a brave Troop of Horſe againſt the *Scots*, had been ſo affronted in the Order of March by the Earl of *Holland*, that he ſent him now a Challenge; and the King upon notice was forced to interpoſe his Authority, not to the ſatisfaction of either Party. The Marqueſs of *Hamilton* was more and more afraid of his Countrymen, and enter'd upon dark Deſigns that made him ſuſpected on all ſides. The Lieutenant of *Ireland*, newly made Earl of *Strafford*, oppoſed the Queen in ſome of her Court Intrigues, and offended her ſo much, that ſhe declared a moſt unſeaſonable Diſpleaſure againſt him. Sir *Henry Vane* (of whom the Lord Deputy had a contempt and deteſtation) was grown to be the Queen's creature, and by her ſole (*a*) Intereſt was now made Secretary of State, in the room of Sir *John Cook*, who for a Sacrifice to the Murmurs of the Court for the late impolitick Treaty, was put out of his Office on a pretence that he had omitted the Writing of what he ought to have done, and inſerted ſomewhat he ought not to have done.

Lord *Clarendon's* Character of Sir *John Cook.*

He was now near fourſcore Years of Age, and *One for whom no Body cared, rather unendowed with any parts of Vigour and Quickneſs, and unendowed with any notable Virtues, than notorious for any weakneſs or defect of Underſtanding, or tranſported with any vitious Inclinations, Appetite to Money only excepted. His Cardinal Perfection was Induſtry, and his moſt eminent Infirmity Covetouſneſs. His long Experience had informed him well of the State and Affairs of* England; *but of Foreign Tranſactions, or the common Intereſt of Chriſtian Princes, he was entirely undiſcerning and ignorant.*

Scotch Aſſembly and Parliament.

In *Auguſt* the Aſſembly and Parliament met at *Edinburgh*, and were both ſo aſſuming that the Earl of *Traquair* not able to keep to his Inſtructions, prorogued the Parliament to *November* 14. But the Covenanters proteſted againſt the legality of Prorogation without conſent of Parliament, and ſent away the Earl of *Dunfermling* and the Lord *Loudon* as their Deputies to the King at *Whitehall*, who refuſed them Audience, and in diſdain commanded them home, becauſe they came without Warrant from his Commiſſioner. After this, they ſent another Petition to his Majeſty by one *Cunningham*, deſiring permiſſion to ſend ſome of their Number for their own Vindication; which his Majeſty granting, the Lords *Loudon* and *Dunfermling* were again ſent up; who behaved themſelves like the Miniſters of a Foreign State, had their Audience with a ſolemn Speech, put in their Articles of Requeſt, and when referred for an Anſwer to a Committee of Council, they refuſed to go, alledging that they had Order and Inſtruction to treat with none but his Majeſty himſelf.

1639. 15 Car. I.

Scots inſolent at Home and Abroad.

They carried it the more high upon the continual Encouragements they received from their Brethren in *Scotland*, who, upon the Honour of making War and Peace with their King, were grown more conſiderable at Home and Abroad. At *Home*, where the People were ſo fluſh'd with the hopes of what was to be done for them, that their Lives and Fortunes were now at their Leaders Service; and the Tide ſo ſtrong that moſt of the King's Privy-Council and great Miniſters fell into the Faction, and among others the Earl of *Argyle*, who had the greateſt Obligations imaginable to the King, and yet on the ſuddain became his greateſt Enemy. *Abroad*, where they enter'd Correſpondence with *Holland*, and obtained Credit for Arms and Ammunition; and were raiſing Men in *Germany* and *Sweden*, and had eſpecial countenance in *France*, from whence Cardinal *Richlieu* ſent an Agent privately to *Edinburgh*, to foment their Rebellion, as the moſt effectual curb to *Engliſh* Monarchy: And received another Agent from them, who ſollicited Supplies and communicated Counſels, and eſtabliſhed a Correſpondence with the *French* King himſelf: For a Letter was intercepted endorſed *Au Roy*, ſubſcribed by the Lords *Rothes*, *Montroſe*, *Montgomery*, *Leſley*, *Marre*, *Loudon*, *Forreſter*, wrote in *French*, to ſignify their addreſſing to his Majeſty as the Refuge and Sanctuary of afflicted Princes and States, moſt humbly beſeeching him to give Faith and Credit to Mr. *Colvil*, whom they had ſent to repreſent the Candour and Ingenuity of their Proceedings, and to aſſure themſelves of an Aſſiſtance equal to his wonted Clemency.

Letter of the *Scots* to the *Fr.* King.

This intercepted Letter was brought to the Council at *Whitehall*, while one of the Subſcribers, *Loudon*, was here negotiating the Cauſe of his Brethren; who being examined upon it, refuſed to give any other Anſwer, than *That it was writ before the Agreement, and thereupon reſerved and never ſent; that if he had committed any Offence, he ought to be queſtioned for it in* Scotland *and not in* England; *and inſiſting upon his ſafe Conduct demanded his Liberty to return.* But this Treaſon and inſolent excuſe of it raiſed ſuch a juſt abhorrence in the King's Council, that the Ld *Loudon* and *Colvil* (who was then apprehended in *London*) were both committed to the *Tower*; and had they been brought to a ſpeedy Trial, it might have ſtruck Terror into the *Scots*, and made their Rebellion more abominable to all the World.

Engliſh Parliament called.

But the King was mild and dilatory, and hoped a ſlow and ſure Expedient would be to call an *Engliſh* Parliament, which had been now intermitted near twelve Years. So in *December* the King directed the Lord-Keeper to iſſue out Writs for the Meeting of a

(*a*) In the Popiſh Cabal againſt the King and Church, held in *London*, under the Preſidency of the Pope's Legate Seignior *Con* a *Scot*, aſſiſted by Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Chaplain Mr. *Thomas Chamberlain* a *Scot*, was Captain *Read* a *Scot*, of whom it was depoſed upon Oath, and tranſmitted in Writing to the King and Archbiſhop in 1640. that Captain *Read* a *Scot*, dwelling in *Long-acre* near the *Angel* Tavern, was a ſecular Jeſuit, who for performing a deteſtable Office (that of perverting a Miniſter of the Church of *England* by ſweetning Incitements to Popery, with his whole Family, and thereupon marrying his Daughter) did for his Reward obtain a Rent or Impoſt upon Butter, to be paid by the Country Farmer, obtained for him of the King by ſome of the chief of that Society. In his Houſe the Buſineſs of the whole Plot was tranſacted, where the Society held their daily Meetings, to manage their Conſpiracy againſt the King and the Archbiſhop, and the whole Kingdom. And on a Poſt Day, or Foreign Mail, they met there in greater Numbers; for then all the Spies and ſecret Agents did aſſemble, and in common Conſult did communicate what every one had fiſhed out that Week; and then, to be without ſuſpicion, they ſent away their Minutes by Sir *Toby Matthew*, or by *Read* himſelf to the Pope's Legate *Con*, who made them up into a Packet, and tranſmitted it to *Rome*. With the ſame Capt. *Read* are depoſited the Letters brought from *Rome*, under feigned Names, which by him are deliver'd out to the Perſons they are deſigned for, he well knowing who they are. Upon the ſame occaſion, Letters are brought hither under the Cover of Father *Philips* (tho' he knows nothing of them) to be diſtributed in like manner. There is in this Houſe a Popiſh Chapel, wherein a Jeſuit officiates, and reſides there.

This Captain *Read* was one of thoſe Popiſh Conſpirators who confederated with the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham*, and others, to plot an univerſal Rebellion, Surprizal and Maſſacre of all the Proteſtants in that Kingdom; he was afterward taken in the Field in actual Rebellion in *Ireland*, and brought over and committed Priſoner to the *Tower* of *London*, &c. *Prynne*'s *Rome's Maſter-piece.*

Parlia-

1639. 15 *Car*.I. Parliament on the third of *April* next enſuing; not doubting but his Parliament would expreſs a very ſharp Senſe of the *Scots* Inſolence, and provide Remedies for Peace and Subjection. To prepare them the better, within a Month of the Seſſion, the King publiſhed a large *Declaration concerning his Proceedings with his Subjects in* Scotland, *ſince the Pacification in the Camp near* Berwick.

K.'s Declaration.

Affairs in *Ireland*.

Such was the Reſult of this Year in relation to *Scotland*: As to *Ireland*, there was an unhappy Quarrel between *Wentworth* Lord-Deputy and *Loftus* Lord Chancellour, which produc'd a Complaint and a Hearing at the Council-Board *Nov*. 26. 1639. where his Majeſty and Council juſtified the Conduct of the Ld. Deputy, and cenſur'd the Lord *Loftus* as unfit to hold the Office of Lord-Chancellour of that Kingdom. The Lord-Deputy was then himſelf in the *Engliſh* Court, and appeared in greater Favour with the King, who took him into his moſt ſecret Counſels, and gave him extraordinary marks of Favour, creating him Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and Knight of the Garter. He was a Man of extraordinary Abilities, and of moſt faithful Affection to the King: He ſaw now the Neceſſity of reducing the *Scots* by Force of Arms, and did all that was poſſible to promote another Expedition againſt them. In the Subſcription of a Loan at the Council-Board for that Service, he began firſt, and for Example ſubſcribed 20000 *l*. He returned to *Dublin March* 18. (*a*) at the end of this Year, and met the Parliament which he had before ſummon'd; and for the King's Supply obtained from them four entire Subſidies; and in the Preamble of the Act had publick Thanks given to the King for *providing and placing over them ſo Juſt, Wiſe, Vigilant and Profitable a Governour*, &c. (*b*)

Spaniſh Fleet.

About the middle of *September*, there appeared upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts an unexpected Fleet from *Spain*, conſiſting of above ſeventy Sail of Ships, commanded by Don *Antonio D'oquendo*. The *Dutch* Fleet of not above twenty five Sail ſet upon them, and forced them into the *Downs*, where the *Spaniards* expected to be ſafe under the King of *England*'s Protection: For both Parties being our Allies, it was thought a Law of Nations, that our Shores and Harbours ſhould be a Refuge to protect the Weaker; but at laſt *Van-Trump* the *Dutch* Admiral, fell upon the *Spaniards* without the Ceremony of asking leave, and burnt, and ſunk and drove on ſhore a great part of their Navy. This, tho' not juſtified at Court, upon the Rules of Honour, was yet pleaſing enough to the common People, who hated the appearance of a *Spaniſh* Armado, and had indeed Reaſons to ſuſpect their Deſign: For tho' they pretended only to carry Recruits and Money to *Dunkirk*; yet that alone did not require ſo many Ships or Men. The Expedition did ſeem to be meant for ſome greater purpoſe; and by ſome Evidences ſince recovered, it is plain the Project was much the ſame with that in eighty eight. And in the beginning of the following Parliament a Book was produc'd in the Houſe of Commons, containing, that *The Papiſts ſhould fiſh in troubled Waters whilſt the King was at War with the* Scots, *with Prayers in it for the Holy Martyrs that ſuffered in the Fleet ſent againſt the Hereticks in* England, *Anno* 1639. (*c*)

State of Religion 1639.

As to the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Year, Abp. *Laud* was wiſely conſidering how, if poſſible, to appeaſe the Religious Feuds in *Scotland*. To which purpoſe, he took Order for tranſlating the *Scottiſh* Liturgy into the *Latin* Tongue, and drew up an Apology to be publiſhed with it, to give Satisfaction to the learned World of the excellency of the Book, and of the Piety and Juſtice of the King in enjoining the uſe of it. This Work was finiſhed, but the Diſtemper of the times hinder'd the publication of it. Next, he conſidered how to aſſert the Rights of Epiſcopacy, which with ſo much violence had been voted down in the Aſſemblies of the Kirk, and even one of the Biſhops frighted into an (*d*) Abjuration of his Order; he therefore recommended to Biſhop *Hall* of *Exeter*, the drawing up *A Defence of the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy*; who accordingly applied himſelf to that Work, and ſent the Abp. the Model of it in theſe two Propoſitions, 1. *That Epiſcopacy is a lawful, moſt antient, holy and divine Inſtitution (as it is joined with imparity and ſuperiority of Juriſdiction) and therefore where it hath through God's Providence obtained, cannot by any humane Power be abdicated, without a manifeſt Violation of God's Ordinance.* 2. *That the Presbyterian Government, however vindicated under the glorious Names of Chriſt's Kingdom and Ordinance, hath no true Footing either in Scripture or the Practice of the Church in all Ages from Chriſt's time to the preſent; and that howſoever it may be of uſe in ſome Cities, or Territories, wherein Epiſcopal Government through Iniquity of Times cannot be had; yet to obtrude it upon a Church otherwiſe ſettled under an acknowledged Monarchy is utterly incongruous and unjuſtifiable.* Theſe Propoſitions were attended with ſeveral *Poſtulata*, as, 1. *That Government which was of Apoſtolical Inſtitution cannot be denied to be of Divine Right.* 2. *Not only that Government which was directly commanded and enacted, but alſo that which was practiſed and recommended by the Apoſtles to the Church, muſt juſtly paſs for an Apoſtolical Inſtitution*, &c.

Bp. *Hall* employ'd to defend Epiſcopacy.

Model of his Work.

The Archbiſhop read over the projected Scheme, and freely offered his own Thoughts in ſuggeſting ſome Amendments, in theſe Words: "You ſay that "*Epiſcopacy is an ancient, holy and divine Inſtitution*; "it muſt needs be ancient and holy, if divine. Would "it not be more full went it thus? So ancient as that "it is of divine Inſtitution. Next you define Epiſ"copacy by being joined with *Imparity and Superio"rity of Juriſdiction*, but this ſeems ſhort; for every "Archpresb's or Archd's Place is ſo.—— I draw the "Superiority not from the Juriſdiction which is at"tributed to Biſhops *Jure Poſitivo* in their Audience "of Eccleſiaſtical Matters, but from that which is "Intrinſical and Original in the Power of Excom"munication: Again, You ſay, that *where Epiſco"pacy hath obtained, it cannot be abdicated without vi"olation of God's Ordinance.* This Propoſition I con"ceive is *inter minus habentes*, for never was there "any Church yet where it hath not obtained.—— "In your ſecond Head you grant, that *the Presbyte"rian Government may be of uſe where Epiſcopacy may "not be had.* Pray conſider, Whether this Conceſ"ſion be not needleſs here, and in it ſelf of a dan"gerous Conſequence? *&c.* Concerning your *Po"ſtulata*, I ſhall pray you to allow me the like free"dom; among which the two firſt are true, but as "expreſs'd too reſtrictive: For Epiſcopacy is not "ſo to be aſſerted unto Apoſtolical Inſtitution as to "bar it from looking higher, and from fetching it "materially and originally, in the Ground and In"tention of it, from Chriſt himſelf, tho' perhaps "the Apoſtles formaliz'd it, *&c.*" The Learned and Pious Biſhop ſubmitted to theſe Cenſures and Advices, and ſoon after publiſhed his Book un-

(*a*) Sir *Toby Matthew*, a very induſtrious Papiſt, made a Voyage with the Lord Deputy into *Ireland*, to ſtir up the Papiſts there to contribute Men, Arms, and Moneys, to ſubdue the *Scottiſh* Covenanters. *Prynne*'s *Rome*'s *Maſter-piece*.

(*b*) Yet the Papiſts in *Ireland* were very buſie and full of hopes. See a Letter to a Catholick Peer in *Ireland*, how he may ſecure the City of *Dublin* againſt the Proteſtants, at a prefixed time appointed. Dat. *London*. *Febr*. 12. 1629. Subſcribed T. *White*, in *Foxes and Firebrands*. P. II p. 82.

(*c*) See *Fiery Jeſuits*. 1667. 4*to*. p. 118. *Prynne*'s *Royal Favourite*. p. 59. *Ruſhworth* ii. p. 374. The Book was prov'd to be written by a Papiſt, one Copy whereof *Thomas Chaude* receiving from a Popiſh Woman in *Redriffe*, deliver'd to Sheriff *Warner*, as he atteſted in the Houſe of Commons, *Nov*. 40. 1640.

(*d*) Even two of them. See the Recantation and humble Submiſſion of two ancient Prelates of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſubſcribed by their own Hands, and ſent to the General Aſſembly; 1. by *Alexander Lindſey*, Biſhop of *Dunkell*, 24 *Jan*. 1639. 2. by *George Graham*, Biſhop of *Orkney*. Dat. 11 *Febr*. 1639. abjuring the Office and all pretended Juriſdiction. Printed in 1641. 4*to*.

1639. 15 *Car.* I. der the Title of *Epiſcopacy by Divine Right*, and defended it with incomparable Strength and Temper againſt all the Attacks of a Club of Writers. This peaceable Prelate moved the Archbiſhop by Letter, *Sept.* 28. 1639. to mediate with the King for calling a General Synod of the whole three Kingdoms, wherein all the Reverend Biſhops and chief of the Learned and Dignified Clergy, and the Profeſſors and ſome other eminent Doctors of all the Univerſities, might be aſſembled to paſs their Judgment (after free and full Examination) of thoſe Schiſmatical Points determined thus proudly and raſhly by our *Northern Neighbours*, &c. The Archbiſhop ſeems to have received this Propoſal with good Approbation of it; but the growing Confuſion of the Times would not allow any ſuch Practice. (*a*)

Puritans in *England* encourag'd by the *Scots.* The Puritanical Spirit in *England* was much animated by the Storms in *Scotland*, and took this Advantage to exert their unconformable Humour. This gave occaſion to the Archbiſhop to complain to the King in his Account of this Year, that theſe were *broken Times*; that *many who were brought to good Order, are now of late fallen off*, &c. And it was this ſame Diſtraction of the Times that gave Encouragement to Mr. *Bagſhaw* of the *Middle Temple* to begin his Readings *Feb.* 24. on the Statute 25 *Edw.*III. *cap.* 7. and to ſtate theſe Queſtions; 1. *Whether it be a good Act of Parliament without the Aſſent of the Lords Spiritual?* which he held Affirmatively. 2. *Whether any beneficed Clerk were capable of Temporal Juriſdiction at the time of making that Law?* which he held in the Negative. 3. *Whether a Biſhop, without calling a Synod, have Power, as Dioceſan, to convict an Heretick?* which he maintained alſo in the Negative. The Noiſe of this coming to the Archbiſhop's Ears, he informed the King; who order'd the Lord Keeper to interdict his farther Reading. (*b*)

Bagſhaw's Reading.

State of the Dioceſs of *Canterbury.* The State of the Dioceſs of *Canterbury* is thus repreſented in the Archbiſhop's Account of his Province. "The great thing which is amiſs there, and "beyond my Power to remedy, is the Stiffneſs of "divers Anabaptiſts and Separatiſts from the Church "of *England*, eſpecially in and about the Parts near "*Aſhford*. And I do not find, either by my own "Experience, or by any Advice from my Officers, "that this is like to be remedied, unleſs the Statute "concerning Abjuration of your Kingdom, or ſome "other way, by the Power of the Temporal Law "or State, be thought upon. But how fit that may "be to be done for the preſent, eſpecially in theſe "broken Times, I humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty's "Wiſdom, having often complained of this before. "[C. R. *It were not amiſs to ſpeak with the Keeper* "*about this.*]"

"Many that were brought to good Order for receiving of the Holy Communion where the Rails "ſtand before the Table, are now of late fall'n off, "and refuſe to come up thither to receive: but this, "God willing, I ſhall take care of, and order as "well as I can, and with as much ſpeed. And the "ſame is now commonly fall'n out in divers other "Dioceſſes. There was, about half a Year ſince, "one that pretended himſelf a Miniſter, who got "many Followers in *Sandwich*, and ſome neighbouring Pariſhes; but at laſt was found to have gone "under three Names, *Enoch*, *Swan*, and *Grey*, and "in as ſeveral Habits, of a Miniſter, an ordinary "Lay-man, and a Royſter. And this being diſcovered, he fled the Country before any of my Officers could lay hold on him. Upon this occaſion I have commanded my Commiſſary and Archdeacon to give Charge, in my Name, to all Parſons and Vicars of my Dioceſs, that they ſuffer "no Man to preach in their Cures, but ſuch as for "whom they will anſwer, as well otherwiſe as for "the point of Conformity; which, I hope, will "prevent the like Abuſe hereafter."

1640. 16 *Car.* I. Call of a new Parliament. The Reſolutions for a Parliament had been taken on the 5th of *December* laſt; and it was obſervable, that the firſt Movers to it were the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*. And at the ſame time in Council, as the Archbiſhop words it in his Diary, *a Reſolution was voted at the Board, to aſſiſt the King in extraordinary ways, if the Parliament ſhould prove peeviſh and refuſe.* Which tho' meant only of Loans and voluntary Contributions, yet was afterward interpreted a Deſign of the moſt arbitrary Power. 'Tis certain, as the Reſolution was never executed, ſo it had been happier if never made: Perhaps the Parliament had ſate longer to diſpatch the ordinary Aid, if the King had not too much depended on theſe extraordinary Supplies.

Unhappy Reſolution for extraordinary Supplies.

An Army againſt *Scotland*. Before the Opening of the Parliament, the King had begun his raiſing an Army to reduce *Scotland*; of which Army the Earl of *Northumberland* was made General, the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant-General, and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horſe. So that none of the Generals, and few of the chief Officers, who had been employed before, were now made uſe of; which gave a Diſtaſte, and an ill blood, very prejudicial to the publick Intereſt.

Parliament meets. On *Monday* April 13. the Parliament opened, and the King ſpoke thus to them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech. *There was never a King that had a more great and weighty Cauſe to call his People together than my ſelf: I will not trouble you with the Particulars; I have informed my Lord Keeper, and command him to ſpeak, and deſire your Attention.*

Lord Keeper's Speech. After which Sir *John Finch*, Lord Keeper, delivered a long Harangue, in an Eloquence peculiar to the Times, or to himſelf. —— Says he, "His Majeſty's Kingly Reſolutions are ſeated in the Ark "of his ſacred Breaſt, and it were a Preſumption of "too high a nature, for any *Uzzah*, uncall'd, to "touch it: Yet his Majeſty is now pleaſed to lay "by the ſhining Beams of Majeſty, as *Phœbus* did "to *Phaeton*, that the diſtance between Soveraignty "and Subjection ſhould not bar you of that filial "freedom of Acceſs to his Perſon and Counſels; "only let us beware how, with the Son of *Clymene*, "we aim not at the guiding of the Chariot; as if "that were the only Teſtimony of Fatherly Affection: and let us ever remember, that though the "King ſometimes lays by the Beams and Rays of "Majeſty, he never lays by Majeſty it ſelf."

The Senſe of what he told them in glorious Words was to this effect; *That his Majeſty was reſolv'd to reduce his diſaffected Subjects in* Scotland; *that he would by no means admit their Mediation; but before they entred on any other Debates, he expected their immediate Aid, and afterward would give them time for conſidering of any juſt Grievances to be heard and redreſs'd.*

Then the King ſpoke thus:

The King reſumes his Speech. *My Lords*, "You ſhall ſee he hath ſpoken nothing hyperbolically, or nothing but what I ſhall "make good one way or other. And becauſe he did "mention a Letter by my Subjects in *Scotland*, who "did ſeek to draw in foreign Power for Aid, here "is the original Letter, which I ſhall command "him to read unto you. And becauſe it may touch "a Neighbour of mine, whom I will ſay nothing of "but that which is juſt, (God forbid I ſhould) "for my part I think it was never accepted by "him: Indeed it was a Letter to the *French* King, "but I know not that ever he had it: for by chance "I intercepted it, as it was going unto him: and

(*a*) See *Prynne's Cant. Doom.* p. 229.

(*b*) There was near the ſame time publiſhed, *An Argument of* Nicholas Fuller, *of* Gray's-Inn, *Eſq*; *in the Caſe of* Thomas Lad *and* Richard Manſell, *of* Ipſwich, *his Clients*; proving, that the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners have no power by their Commiſſion to Impriſon or to Fine any of his Majeſty's Subjects, or to put them to the Oath *ex officio.* 4to.

"there-

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" therefore I hope you will underſtand me right in " that."

After the Lord-Keeper had read the original Letter, and a Tranſlation of it, and had firſt made a Remark on the Superſcription of it, the King added,

" Of theſe Gentlemen that have ſet their Hands " to this Letter, here is one: And I believe you " would think it very ſtrange if I ſhould not lay " him faſt: And therefore I have ſigned a Warrant " to lay him cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*.

" *My Lords*,

" I think (but that I will not ſay poſitively, be- " cauſe I will not ſay any thing here but what I " am ſure of) I think I have the Gentleman that " ſhould have carried the Letter faſt enough; but " I know not, I may be miſtaken."

Mr. Serjeant *Glanvil* choſen Speaker.

The Commons returning to their Houſe, choſe Mr. Serjeant *Glanvil* for their Speaker; who being preſented to the King on *Wedneſday* Apr. 15. made a dutiful and proper Speech, and was approved and confirm'd by his Majeſty.

Grievances.

April. 16. the Commons deſired the Lords to move his Majeſty to appoint a Faſt. Then ſeveral Petitions were read complaining of Ship-Money, Projects, Monopolies, Star-Chamber, High Commiſſion-Courts, *&c.* then *Harbottle Grimſton*, Eſq; ſpoke upon the Subject of Grievances, arguing, That *the Dangers at Home were greater than thoſe from Abroad*; *and the Diſeaſes and Diſtempers in our Bodies Politick were grown to that height, that they prayed for and importun'd a Cure.* Then Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* ſpoke againſt the diſcontinuance of Parliaments, and that *during this vacation of thoſe Meetings, many Diſorders had been committed, which muſt be now ſet right, to vindicate God in his Religion, the King in his Honour, and the Common-wealth in its gaſping Extremities.*

Mr. *Pym*'s Speech.

April 17. The Commons fell again upon the Debate of Grievances, and Mr. *Pym* made an elaborate Speech againſt them, reducing them to three Heads. " 1. Thoſe Grievances which during theſe eleven " Years Interval of Parliaments were againſt the Li- " berties and Privileges of Parliament. 2. Innova- " tions in Matters of Religion. 3. Grievances a- " gainſt the Propriety of our Goods." Concluding with this Propoſal; " For the Remedy of theſe Grie- " vances, I adviſe to preſent them to the Houſe of " Peers, that they may join with us to go to the " King, and pray that theſe Grievances, being clear " in Fact, may be voted; if any thing in the Vote " be ſtuck upon, that it may be debated and drawn " according to the courſe of the Houſe into a Re- " monſtrance, with an humble Petition of both " Houſes for Redreſs. And I hope the Wiſdom " of this Houſe will prepare ſuch a Remedy, as " will make the King a great King, and the People " Happy."

On *Saturday* and *Monday* following, the Houſe proceeded in voting the Grievances of the Members impriſon'd 3, 4 *Car.* and of Sir *John Finch* then Speaker, refuſing to obey the Commands of the Houſe, *&c.* So

The King Angry.

that on *Tueſday* April 21. the King not enduring that his main Buſineſs ſhould be neglected or deferred commanded the Lords and Commons to attend him in the Banquetting-Houſe; where he ordered the Lord-Keeper to acquaint them, that " The Cauſe of " calling this Parliament was for the Aſſiſtance and " Supply of his Majeſty; that if the Supply were " not ſpeedy it would be of no uſe at all, for the " Army was now marching, and did ſtand his Ma- " jeſty in at leaſt one hundred thouſand Pounds a " Month; and if there were not means uſed to go " on with this as was fitting, his Majeſty's Deſign " would be loſt, and the Charge all caſt away. That " this Supply being granted, his Majeſty would give " them Scope and Liberty to preſent their juſt Grie- " vances unto him, and would hear them with a " gracious Ear, and give them ſuch an Anſwer as " they and all the Kingdom ſhould have reaſon to- " joy therein."

Waller's Motion.

April 22. On a Report made in the Houſe of Commons of the King's Speech in the *Banquetting*-Houſe, *Edmund Waller*, Eſq; made a ſevere Speech, ending with this Motion, " That there may be an Order " preſently made, that the firſt thing this Houſe will " conſider of, ſhall be the reſtoring of this Nation " in general to the fundamental and vital Liberties, " and then to conſider of the Supply deſired."

Lds preſs for a ſpeedy Supply.

While the Commons were thus reſolving on the redreſs of Grievances, his Majeſty came to the Lords Houſe, and expreſſed ſo great Concern for a ſpeedy Supply, that the Lords deſired a Conference with the Commons upon this Subject, and there urged them to truſt his Majeſty, and to begin with a preſent Supply. But this Advice of the Lords, in matter of Aid, was thought to be ſo irregular, that on *April* 27. it brought on this Reſolution in the Houſe

Commons more averſe to it.

of Commons, that " The Lords voting the propoun- " ding and declaring Matter of Supply, before it " was moved from the Houſe of Commons was a " breach of the Privilege of the ſaid Houſe; and " therefore the Commons deſire their Lordſhips in " their Wiſdom to find out ſome way for the repa- " ration of their Privileges broken by that Matter, " and to prevent the like Infringement for the fu- " ture."

King's Meſſage for Supply.

May 2. When his Majeſty ſaw the Interceſſion of the Lords did but irritate the Commons, he took another Method of ſending a Meſſage to them by Sir *Henry Vane*, " That his Majeſty had ſeveral ways " acquainted the Houſe with the urgent Danger of " loſing Time, and had yet received no Anſwer, " though he had before told them, that a Delay " would be as deſtructive as a Denial; therefore a- " gain deſires them to give him a preſent Anſwer " concerning his Supply; his Majeſty being ſtill re- " ſolved on his Part, to make good his Promiſe " made by himſelf and the Lord-Keeper." The Houſe turning themſelves into a grand Committee debated upon this Meſſage, and would come to no Reſolution upon it.

A ſecond Meſſage.

Monday May 4. Sir *Henry Vane* brought a ſecond Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, *That upon their granting twelve Subſidies, his Majeſty would give way to the utter aboliſhing of Ship-Money*; *and for their Grievances would give them as much time as might be now, and another Seſſion at* Michaelmas. The Houſe again debated upon this Meſſage in a Grand Committee, but deferred their Reſolution.

May 5. The King ſo ill reſented the Delays of the Commons, and was ſo impatient of advancing toward *Scotland*, that he unhappily determin'd to diſſolve the Parliament, and ſo parted with the two Houſes in this following Speech.

King diſſolves the Parliament.

" *M Lords*,

" THere can no Occaſion of my coming to this " Houſe be ſo unpleaſing unto me as this at this " time. The Fear of doing that which I am to do " this Day, made me not long ſince come into this " Houſe, where I expreſt as well my Fears as the " Remedy which I thought neceſſary for the eſchew- " ing of what is to follow.

" I muſt confeſs and acknowledge, that you, my " Lords, of the Higher Houſe, did give me ſo wil- " ling an Ear, and with ſuch an Affection did ſhew " your ſelves, that certainly I may ſay, that if there " had been any means to have given an happy End " to this Parliament, you took it; ſo that it was " neither your Ldſhip's Fault nor mine that it is not " ſo. Therefore, in the firſt place, I muſt thank " you, my Lords, for your good Endeavours.

" My Lords, I hope you remember what the firſt " Day of the Parliament, my Lord-Keeper ſaid to " you in my Name, and what likewiſe he ſaid in " the *Banquetting*-Houſe in *White-Hall*, and what " lately I ſaid unto you, in this Place my ſelf. I " name all this unto you, not doubting that you " do not well remember it, but to ſhew you that I " never ſaid any thing in way of Favour to my Peo-

" ple

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" ple, but (by the Grace of God) I will punctually " and really perform it.

" I know that they have inſiſted very much on " Grievances; I will not ſay but there may be " ſome, though I will confidently affirm, that there " are not by many degrees ſo many as the publick " Voice doth make them. Wherefore I deſire you " to take notice, now eſpecially at this time, that " out of Parliament I ſhall be as ready (if not more " willing) to hear and redreſs any juſt Gievances " as in Parliament.

" There is one Thing much ſpoken of, I mean as " to Matters of Religion; concerning which, albeit " I expreſſed my ſelf fully the laſt Day in this Place, " yet I think it fit again on this Occaſion to tell you, " that as I am concerned, ſo I ſhall be moſt careful to " preſerve that purity of Religion, which I thank " God is ſo well eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*, " and that as well out of, as in Parliament.

" *My Lords*,

" I ſhall not trouble you long with Words, it be- " ing not my faſhion; wherefore to conclude, what " I offered the laſt Day to the Houſe of Commons, " I think it is very well known to you all; as like- " wiſe how they accepted it, which I deſire not to " remember, but wiſh they had remember'd, how at " firſt they were told by my Lord-Keeper, that De- " lay was the worſt kind of Denial; yet I will not " lay this Fault on the whole Houſe of Commons: I " will not judge ſo uncharitably of thoſe whom for " the moſt part I take to be Loyal and well Affected " Subjects, but it hath been the malicious Cunning " of ſome few ſeditiouſly affected Men, that hath " been the Cauſe of this Miſunderſtanding.

" I ſhall now end as I have begun, in giving you " thanks for your Affections ſhewn to me at this " time, deſiring you to go on and aſſiſt me in the " maintaining of that Regal Power that is truly " mine. As for the Liberty of the People, that they " now ſo much ſtartle at, know, my Lords, that " no King in the World ſhall be more careful in the " Propriety of their Goods, Liberty of their Perſons " and true Religion, than I ſhall.

" And now, my Lord-Keeper, do as I have com- " manded you."

Upon which the Lord-Keeper pronounced the Parliament diſſolved: And his Majeſty ſoon after publiſhed a *Declaration to all his loving Subjects of the Cauſes which moved him to diſſolve the laſt Parliament*; which however plauſible, did not ſatisfie the *Engliſh* Subject: And indeed when Princes are forc'd upon Apologies to their People, it rather implies a Miſgovernment, and renews the Suſpicions of it. This abrupt parting with a Parliament, in a Speech that made no Application to the Commons, and yet hard Reflections on them, (*a*) was undoubtedly a falſe and fatal ſtep. The more unhappy, becauſe it was only a formal diſpute of Precedency, which ſhould go firſt, Redreſs of Grievances or Grant of Taxes. The King was willing to Redreſs, and the Commons to Grant; the Queſtion was, in whom the Truſt ſhould be repoſed? The King thought it his Honour to be firſt ſerv'd; the Commons thought it their Right to be firſt ſatisfied: However, the King and his Friends were ſoon ſenſible of the Error of diſſolving; for the great States-man and Hiſtorian tells us, *The King when he had better reflected upon what was like to fall out, and was better informed of the Temper and Duty of the Houſe of Commons, and that they had voted a Supply, if Sir* Henry Vane *had not hinder'd it, by ſo poſitive a declaration that his Majeſty would refuſe it, was heartily ſorry for what he had done, declared with great Anger, that he had never given him ſuch Authority.——He conſulted the ſame Day or the next, whether he might by his Proclamation recal them to meet together again; but he found that impoſſible.*

Declaration of cauſes for diſſolving the Parliament.

Unhappy ſteps.

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Ld. Clarendon's Opinion.

And yet the King ſhewed too much Anger againſt the leading Members, if ever he deſigned to meet them again. The Lord *Brooks* his Study, Cabinets, and Pockets were ſearched for Papers: *Henry Bellaſis*, Eſq; Sir *John Hotham*, Knight and Baronet, and *John Crew*, Eſq; were impriſoned, and ſome occaſional Rebukes were given to many others. The King's greateſt difficulty was to raiſe himſelf that Aſſiſtance that he loſt in Parliament: And many of the Lords and Gentlemen were ſo ſenſible of his publick Neceſſities, that by voluntary Loan in leſs than three Weeks, there was three hundred thouſand Pounds paid into the *Exchequer*.

King offended with the leading Members.

Upon this Fund and the hopes of other Projects, the King was reſolved to carry on the Reduction of *Scotland*. Orders had been ſent *March* 26. to the Lords Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties to provide Horſes and Carters for the Train of Artillery and Ammunition, to be ready at *Newcaſtle* on *June* 15. where the general Rendezvous was, now by freſh Orders deferred to *Aug.* 5. The Lord *Conway* was there before with a conſiderable Body of Men, and in the beginning of *July* received an Alarm from *Carliſle*, that the *Scots* were within a few Days of *Dumfrieſe*, meaning to fall into *Cumberland*: This haſtened the March of the King's Army, who were now advanc'd into the County of *York*; where being quartered in private Houſes, it produced a Petition of the Gentry to the King againſt this Grievance in the Aſſizes at *York* July 28. The Lord *Conway* (*b*) ſent Intelligence *Aug.* 15. that the *Scotch* Army was juſt ready to break in; upon which, *Aug*, 20. the King began his Journey from *London* towards the North in ſome haſte, publiſhing the ſame Day a Proclamation, *Declaring all* Scots *entring into* England *in an hoſtile manner, and their Adherents to be Traitors; but promiſing a Pardon if they ſhould return to Obedience.* On that very Day the *Scotch* Army came over the *Tweed*, the Vantguard commanded by the Earl of *Montroſs*; publiſhing *Six Conſiderations of the lawfulneſs of their Expedition into* England *manifeſted*; and by ſlow Marches encamped *Aug.* 27. at *Newbourn* upon *Tine*, four Miles Weſt from *Newcaſtle*. Upon which the King's Forces in *Newcaſtle*, 3000 Horſe and 1500 Foot were drawn into a Meadow called *Newbourn Haugh*, to hinder the *Scots* from paſſing the River; next Day a Skirmiſh began, which brought on a fierce Engagement, in which the *Engliſh* had ſo much diſadvan-

Purſues the War with *Scotland*.

King goes toward *Scotland*.

(*a*) It is certain, the Papiſts were now at work in diſguiſe, to open a War for the Deſtruction of the Church of *England*. A Letter from Sir *William Boſwel*, Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, to Archbiſhop *Laud*, Dat. *Hague June* 12. 1640. tells him.—— Be you aſſured, the *Romiſh* Clergy have gull'd the miſled Party of our *Engliſh* Nation, and that under a Puritanical Dreſs; for which the ſeveral Fraternities in that Church have lately received Indulgence from the See of *Rome*, and Council of Cardinals, to educate ſeveral of the young Fry of the Church of *Rome*, who be Natives of his Majeſties Realms and Dominions, and inſtruct them in all manner of Principles and Tenets, contrary to the Epiſcopacy of the Church of *England*. There be in the Town of *Hague*, to my certain Knowledge, two dangerous Impoſtors, of whom I have given notice to the Prince of *Orange*, who have large Indulgences granted them, and known to be of the Church of *Rome*, although they ſeem Puritans, and do converſe with ſeveral of our *Engliſh* Factors, the one *James Murray* a *Scotch*-man, and the other *John Napper* a *Yorkſhire* Blade. The main Drift of theſe Intentions, is to pull down the *Engliſh* Epiſcopacy, as being the chief Support of the Imperial Crown of our Nation; for which purpoſe, above ſixty *Romiſh* Clergy-men are gone within theſe two Years, out of the Monaſteries of the *French* King's Dominions, to preach up the *Scotch* Covenant, and Mr. *Knox* his Deſcriptions and Rules within that Kirk, and to ſpread the ſame about the Northern Coaſts of *England*, &c. See *Append.* to Life and Letters of Archbiſhop *Uſher*. Fol.

(*b*) The Lord *Conway* was a faſt Friend to Archbiſhop *Laud*, and kept a conſtant Correſpondence with him. I have ſeen an Original Letter of his Lordſhip to the Archbiſhop, Dated from *Newcaſtle June* 8. 1640.——— I aſſure my ſelf, that there is not any Man leſs your Friend than my Lord of *Holland*, and I believe, that at all times, you ought to take heed of your ſelf with him; and I think, that at any time, there is not any great Danger in him, if the King be well with you. My Lord of *Warwick* is the Temporal Head of the Puritans, and my Lord of *Holland* is the Spiritual Head: Or rather the One is their Viſible Head, the other their Inviſible Head. *Collect.* MSS. *Teniſon.* Vol. I. p. 697.

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tage, that they retreated in confuſion, and the Lord *Conway* in a Council of War at Midnight, reſolved to retire with his Forces to *Durham*, and ſo quitted *Newcaſtle*, which immediately fell into the *Scots* hands. The King was come from *York* as far as *North-Allerton*, hoping to have reacht his Army at *Newcaſtle* before any Engagement; but meeting the ill News, he haſtened back *Aug.* 29. *to York*, and iſſued his Writs dated *Sept.* 7. to all the Peers to meet at a great Council at *York* on *Sept.* 24. which occaſioned many Petitions for a Parliament, that was ſummon'd to meet *Nov.* 3. (*a*)

Calls a great Council.

King's Speech.

In the mean time, at the opening of the great Council in the Dean's Houſe at *York Sept.* 24. the King in a Speech declared to the Peers, "That upon "ſudden Invaſions it had been the practice of his "Predeceſſors to aſſemble a like Council for Advice "and Aſſiſtance; that he deſired nothing more than "to be rightly underſtood of his People; to which "end he had of himſelf reſolved to call a Parliament, but in the mean time muſt deſire their Advice in two Points; 1. What Anſwer to give to "the Petition of the Rebels, and in what manner "to treat with them. 2. How his Army ſhould "be kept on foot and maintained until the Supplies "of a Parliament might be had." Then the Petition and Letters, and other Proceedings, were laid before the Lords; who as to the firſt Point reſolv'd, *That ſixteen* Engliſh *Lords, with ſome Aſſiſtants, ſhould be ſent to treat with Commiſſioners of the* Scots. And as to the ſecond Point, Reſolv'd, *That a Letter ſhould be written to the City of* London, *ſubſcribed by all the Peers preſent for lending the Sum of two hundred thouſand Pounds to keep the Army together for three Months.*

Engl. and Scotch Commiſſioners.

The Meeting of the Commiſſioners was appointed to be at *Rippon* on *Thurſday Oct.* 1. where after much Altercation it was agreed *Oct.* 26. that there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms; both Parties to retain during the Treaty what they poſſeſſed at time of Ceſſation. The County of *Northumberland* and Biſhoprick of *Durham* to be the Limits of the *Scotch* Army, who ſhould have a Contribution of 850 *l.* a Day. Theſe Articles were confirmed by the King, with Advice of his great Council *Oct.* 27. and the continuation of the Treaty depending was adjourned to *London*, to which Place the King and Lords immediately returned.

Falſe Steps.

There ſeem to have been two falſe Steps in this Expedition; firſt, that the whole Royal Army was not time enough at *Newcaſtle* to have repulſed the *Scots*, before they were fluſh'd with the defeat of too ſmall a Party of the *Engliſh*. And ſecondly, that a Treaty was allowed, and a Ceſſation granted to declared Rebels, who ſhould rather have been gratified in their Demands by the King's free Mercy, or ſhould have been purſued to their own Submiſſion. And ſays a late Stateſman, *The laſt and moſt confounding Error was, the removing the Treaty to* London, *and upon any Terms conſenting, that the* Scotch *Commiſſioners ſhould reſide there before a Peace concluded.*

Parliament meets.

On *Novemb.* 3. the Parliament met, the King not riding to *Weſtminſter* in the accuſtomed State, but going privately in his Barge, as if under melancholy Apprehenſions; he made this Speech with leſs Spirit than uſual.

King's Speech.

"*My Lords*,

"THE knowledge I had of the Deſires of my "*Scotiſh* Subjects, was the cauſe of my calling "the laſt Aſſembly of Parliament; wherein had I "been believed, I ſincerely think, that things had "not fallen out as now we ſee. But it is no wonder, ſince Men are ſo ſlow to believe that ſo great a "Sedition ſhould be raiſed on ſo little Ground. But "now, my Lords and Gentlemen, the Honour and "Safety of this Kingdom lying ſo near at the Stake, "I am reſolved to put my ſelf freely and clearly on "the Love and Affection of my *Engliſh* Subjects, as "theſe of my Lords as did wait on me at *York* very "well remember I there declared.

"Therefore, my Lords, I ſhall not mention mine "own Intereſt, or that Support I might juſtly expect from you, till the Common Safety be ſecured; "though I muſt tell you, I am not aſhamed to ſay, "thoſe Charges I have been at, have been meerly "for the ſecuring and good of this Kingdom; tho' "the Succeſs hath not been anſwerable to my Deſires: Therefore I ſhall only deſire you to conſider the beſt way, both for the Safety and Security of this Kingdom, wherein there are two parts "chiefly conſiderable; firſt, the chaſtizing out of "the Rebels, and ſecondly, that other in ſatisfying "your juſt Grievances, wherein I ſhall promiſe you "to concur ſo heartily and clearly with you, that "all the World may ſee my Intentions have ever "been, and ſhall be, to make this a glorious and "flouriſhing Kingdom.

"There are only two things that I ſhall mention "to you; firſt, the one is to tell you, that the Loan "of Money which I lately had from the City of "*London*, wherein the Lords that waited on me at "*York* aſſiſted me, will only maintain my Army for "two Months, from the beginning of that time it "was granted. Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, "I leave it to your Conſiderations, what Diſhonour "and Miſchief it might be, in caſe for want of Money my Army be diſbanded before the Rebels be "put out of this Kingdom. Secondly, the ſecuring the "Calamities the Northern People endure at this time "and ſo long as the Treaty is on foot. And in "this, I may ſay, not only they but all this Kingdom will ſuffer the harm: Therefore I leave this "alſo to your Conſideration, for the ordering of "theſe great Affairs, whereof you are to treat at this "time. I am ſo confident of your Love to me, and "that your care is for the Honour and Safety of the "Kingdom, that I ſhall freely and willingly leave "to you where to begin; only this, that you may "the better know the State of all the Affairs, I have "commanded my Lord-Keeper to give you a ſhort "and free Account of theſe things that have happen'd "in this interim, with this Proteſtation, that if "this Account be not ſatisfactory as it ought to be, "I ſhall, whenſoever you deſire, give you a full "and perfect Account of every Particular.

"One thing more I deſire of you, as one of the "greateſt Means to make this a happy Parliament, "that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay aſide "all Suſpicion of one another, as I promiſed my "Lords at *York*, it ſhall not be my Fault if this be "not a happy and good Parliament."

The King had deſigned Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Recorder of *London*, to have been Speaker in this Houſe of Commons; and for that very reaſon the Enemies of the Court had prevented his Election for the City, and for all other Places: So that Mr. *Lenthal*, a Bencher of *Lincoln's-Inn* (a Lawyer of competent Practice, and no ill Reputation for his Affection to the Government both of Church and State) was pitch'd upon by the King, and with very great difficulty rather prevailed with than perſwaded to accept the Charge; and no doubt a worſe could not have been deputed of all that Profeſſion who were then return'd; for he was a Man of a very narrow, timorous Nature, and of no Experience or Converſation in the Affairs of the Kingdom, beyond what the very drudgery in his Profeſſion (in which all his Deſign was to make himſelf Rich) engaged him in. In a word, he was in all reſpects very unequal to the Work, and not knowing how to preſerve his own Dignity, or to reſtrain the Licence and Exorbitance of others, his Weakneſs contributed as much to the

Lenthal choſen Speaker.

(*a*) Petition of ſeveral Lords to the King at *York* for ſummoning a Parliament to redreſs Grievances, and particularly Innovations in Matters of Religion, and Increaſe of Popery, *Aug.* 28. 1640. See *Whitlock's Memoirs*. 34, 6.

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growing Miſchiefs, as the Malice of the principal Contrivers.

On *Nov.* 5. the King declared his approbation of the Speaker; (*a*) and becauſe great Offence had been taken by the *Scots* and their Well-wiſhers, that the King in his Speech the Day before, had twice called them *Rebels*, while he was under Treaty with them, his Majeſty choſe now to explain himſelf, *I told you that the* Rebels *muſt be put out of this Kingdom*; *it's true, I muſt needs call them ſo, ſo long as they have an Army that do invade us: And although I am under Treaty with them, and I under my Great-Seal do call them my Subjects, and ſo they are too.*

King explains his calling the *Scots* Rebels.

Grievances.

On *Saturday* Novemb. 7. the Scene of Complaints opened; Tragical Petitions were preferr'd to the Houſe of Commons in behalf of the chief Sufferers for Sedition, Mr. *Prynne*, Dr. *Baſtwick*, Mr. *Burton*, *John Lilburn*, *Alexander Leighton*, &c. Then the particular Grievances of the ſeveral Counties were repreſented; of *Hertfordſhire* by *Arthur Capel*, Eſq; of *York* by Mr. *Bellaſis* and the Lord *Fairfax*, of *Lincolnſhire* by Sir *John Wray*, of *Weſtmorland* by Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, of *Wilts* by Sir *Francis Seymour*, of *Worceſterſhire* by Sir *John Packington*, of *Rutland* by Sir *Guy Palmes*, of *Norfolk* by Sir *Edmund Montford*, of *Eſſex* by Sir *Thomas Barrington*, of *Kent* by Sir *John Culpeper*, and of other Counties and Towns by other Knights and Burgeſſes. After which Mr. *Pym* made an Harangue upon the general Grievances of the Nation, under three Heads. 1. Againſt the Privilege of Parliament. 2. To the Prejudice of Religion. 3. Againſt the Liberty of the Subject. Then Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* delivered a Speech againſt the Innovations in Religion, and let fall this ſeaſonable Expreſſion; *The King is reduced to great Straits, wherein it were* Undutifulneſs *beyond* Inhumanity *to take Advantage of him*; *let us rather make it an Advantage for him to do him* beſt *Service when he hath* moſt *need.* Mr. *Bagſhaw* ſpoke ſeverely, concluding thus; *Let the woful Violation of the Statute of Monopolies, and the Petition of Right, be made Felony or Premunire at the leaſt*; *but yet, in the interim, let* them *be made Examples of Puniſhment who have been the Authors of all theſe Miſeries, according to the Counſel of* Solomon: Take away the Wicked from before the King, and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs. Sir *John Holland* ſpoke next with more Modeſty and Temper; he touch'd upon the Grievances, and recommended a Redreſs of them, and then, ſays he, *Touching ſupplying his Majeſty's Wants, I do humbly deſire we may proceed therein within its due time, and that with as much Loyal Duty and Liberality as ever any People expreſſed towards their Prince.* —— *Let us remove the* Scotiſh *Army with a ſoft and gentle hand of Mediation, Pacification, and Reconciliation, if poſſible it may be wrought with his Majeſty's Honour and the Kingdom's Safety*; *if not, then to repel and repulſe them with ſtout and reſolute Spirits, with valiant and united Hearts and Hands*, &c.

Speeches.

Lord *Digby* againſt Ship-Money.

Novemb. 9. the Lord *Digby* made a Speech againſt the great and intolerable burden of Ship-Money; the Abuſes in preſſing Soldiers, and raiſing Monies for the Maintenance of them; the multitude of Monopolies, the new Canons and Oath, the Oath to Church Officers for preſenting upon new and unuſual Articles; the Impoſition of the new Oath upon Miniſters, and the Benevolence rais'd by Convocation; and concluded with a Motion, "That a "ſelect Committee might be appointed to draw "up ſuch a Remonſtrance as ſhould be a faith"ful and lively Repreſentation to his Majeſty of "the deplorable State of the Kingdom; for which "a Committee of twenty four was accordingly ap"pointed."

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Novemb. 10. Sir *Edward Dering* made a zealous Invective againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, concluding, "That he hop'd before the Year ran round, "his Grace would either have more Grace or no "Grace at all: For our manifold Griefs do fill a "mighty and vaſt Circumference; yet ſo that from "every part our Lines of Sorrow do lead unto *Him*, "and point at *him* the *Centre*, from whence our Mi"ſeries in this Church, and many of them in the "Commonwealth do flow."

Sir *Edw. Dering* againſt the Abp. of *Canterbury*.

Novemb. 11. Mr. *Pym* inform'd the Houſe, that there were ſeveral Perſons who had given Information, that there was a good ground for Accuſing *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* of High-Treaſon; for which a ſelect Committee was appointed, who brought in this Report, That they did find juſt Cauſe to accuſe the Earl of *Strafford* of High-Treaſon; and that the Houſe would deſire the Lords that he may be Sequeſtred from Parliament and Committed; and that within ſome convenient time this Houſe will reſort to their Lordſhips with particular Accuſations and Articles againſt him. Mr. *Pym* carried the Meſſage to the Lords, who returned Anſwer by the two chief Juſtices, that they had taken into ſerious Conſideration the Accuſation ſent from this Houſe againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, that they had Sequeſtred him from the Houſe, and committed him into ſafe Cuſtody to the Gentleman-Uſher of their Houſe, *&c.* It was afterward reflected on as a Raſhneſs fatal to this great Miniſter, that when he was at the Head of the King's Army in the North, he ſhould leave his ſafe Poſt, and come to a Parliament which he knew would be incens'd againſt him; when if he had paſs'd over into his own Government of *Ireland*, or ſent over for the Forces which there waited his Orders, he might have ſerv'd the King and ſav'd himſelf.

Mr. *Pym* againſt the Earl of *Strafford*.

Ill Conduct of the Earl.

Novemb. 21. Sir *Edward Dering* at the Grand Committee for Religion, made a very provoking Speech, ſaying, that *God's true Religion was violently invaded by two ſeeming Enemies, but indeed (like* Herod *and* Pilate) *faſt Friends for the deſtruction of Truth, the Papiſts for one Party, and the Prelating Faction for the other*; declaring, *He had rather ſerve one as far off as* Tiber, *than to have him come ſo near as the* Thames; *a Pope at* Rome *would do him leſs hurt than a Patriarch might do at* Lambeth; concluding with a Motion "To ſelect a Committee of a few, and to impower "them for the diſcovery of the Numbers of oppreſ"ſed Miniſters under the Biſhops Tyranny for theſe "ten Years laſt paſt."

Innovations in Religion.

Decemb. 7. upon the Debate concerning Ship-Money, the Lord *Falkland* made a vehement Speech againſt it; and it was reſolv'd upon the Queſtion, *Nemine contradicente*, "That the Charge impoſed upon "the Subjects for the providing and furniſhing "Ships, and the Aſſeſſments for raiſing of Money for "that purpoſe, commonly called Ship-Money, are "againſt the Laws of the Realm, the Subjects "Right of Property, and contrary to the former "Reſolutions in Parliament, and to the Petition of "Right."

Reſolution againſt Ship-Money.

Decemb. 10. Mr. Secretary *Windebank* (*b*), who had been declared the greateſt Promoter of Popery, upon a

Secretary *Windebank* flies beyond Sea.

(*a*) See Mr. Speaker his Speech to his Majeſty in the High-Court of Parliament the 5th of *November*, 1640. Printed MDCXL. 4*to.*

(*b*) He has this Character given in the Narrative of the Plot diſcover'd by *Andrew ab Habernfeld*; Mr. Secretary *Windebank* a moſt fierce Papiſt, the moſt unfaithful to the King of all Men, who not only betrays the King's Secrets, but imparts all Councils to ſerve the Popiſh Cauſe. He is at leaſt thrice a Week in Midnight Conſults with the Pope's Legate, and informs him of every thing fit to be known. For which purpoſe he hir'd a Houſe near the ſaid Legate's; and went to it frequently thro' a Garden-Door. The ſaid Secretary is bound to the Society of Popiſh Conſpirators by Gifts and Bribes, and is ſupported by them, to do good Offices for them. He ſent his own Son directly to *Rome*, to inſinuate himſelf to the Roman Pontiff.

Other Popiſh Servants about the King are thus deſcribed in the ſame authentick Paper. Mr. *Porter* of the King's Bed-Chamber is one moſt addicted to the Popiſh Religion, a bitter Enemy of the King, he reveals all Secrets to the Pope's Legate, tho' he ſeldom converſes with him; yet his Wife meets oftner with the Legate, and tells him all Stories of which her Husband informs

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on a peremptory Summons to appear before the Houſe of Commons, fled beyond Sea; which muſt needs make an Impreſſion upon the King, that he muſt be aſſaulted on the one hand, and deſerted on the other; becauſe not able to Protect his Miniſters, nor they able to vindicate themſelves. The late Hiſtorian makes this Remark on the Flight of *Windebank*: "I could never yet learn the true Reaſon why they ſuffered Secretary *Windebank* to eſcape their Juſtice (for the Lord *Finch*, it was "viſible he was in their Favour, and they would "gladly have preſerved him in the Place) againſt "whom they had more pregnant Teſtimony of Offences within the verge of the Law, than againſt "any Perſon they have accuſed ſince this Parliament, and of ſome that it may be might have proved Capital, and ſo their Appetite of Blood might "have been ſatisfied."

Proceedings againſt the Abp. of *Canterbury*.

December. 16. After voting the late Canons made in Convocation to be illegal, *&c.* a Committee was appointed to conſider how far in particular the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had been an Actor in the great Deſign of the Subverſion of the Laws of the Realm, and of the Religion, and to draw up a Charge againſt him. The ſame Day the *Scots* Commiſſioners accuſed the Archbiſhop, and the next Morning exhibited to the Houſe of Lords a long Charge of his being the Author of all their Troubles. *December* 18. Mr. *Harbottle Grimſtone* made a bitter Invective againſt the Archbiſhop, calling him *The Sty of all Peſtilential Filth*;——*The great and common Enemy of all Goodneſs and Good Men*;—— *A Viper near his Majeſty's Perſon to diſtil Poyſon into his ſacred Ears*, &c. At the End of this wrathful Speech, the Archbiſhop was voted to be a Traitor, and Mr. *Hollis* was ſent to the Lords to accuſe him of High-Treaſon; upon which he was committed to the Cuſtody of the Gentleman Uſher, and Sequeſtred from ſitting in Parliament, till he cleared himſelf of this Accuſation. (*a*)

Againſt the Lord-Keeper *Finch*.

December 21. the Lord-Keeper *Finch* was the next obnoxious Man; who being threatened with an Impeachment, deſired leave to ſpeak for himſelf in the Houſe of Commons, and did ſo in a very Eloquent Speech, delivered with an excellent Grace and Geſture; but was voted a Traitor, 1. For refuſing to read the Remonſtrance againſt the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, 4 *Car.* when the Parliament deſired it. 2. For ſolliciting, perſwading and threatning the Judges to deliver their Opinion for the Levying of Ship-Money. 3. For ſeveral illegal Actions in Foreſt Matters. 4. For ill Offices done in making the King to diſſolve the laſt Parliament, and cauſing his Declaration thereupon to be put forth: Upon which he got up early the next Morning and eſcaped into *Holland*. Sir *Edward Littleton*, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, being made Lord-Keeper in his Place; the late Writer of the *Hiſtory of Rebellion*, makes it viſible, *that the Lord* Finch *was in the Favour of the Houſe of Commons, and that they would have gladly preſerved him in the Place, and that they uſed Artifices to give him all Advantages, tho'* (ſays he) *if their Rule were true, that an Endeavour to alter the Government by Law, and to introduce an arbitrary Power were Treaſon, He was the moſt notoriouſly and unexcuſably guilty of that Crime of any Man that can be named.* This Cenſure ſeems a little too ſevere, but Mr. *Hide* was an Aſſiſtant for reading the Articles of Impeachment carried up to the Lords againſt him, on *January* 14. following, and had the Thanks of the Houſe for his Service.

Frequent Parliaments.

January 19. the Lord *Digby* made a Speech for the frequency of Parliaments, whereupon the Bill for the preventing of Inconveniences happening by the long intermiſſion of Parliaments was paſſed, and carried up to the Lords by the ſaid Lord *Digby*. And the Majority of the Commons purged their Houſe of ſeveral Members diſaffected to their Proceeding, Mr. *William Sandys* Burgeſs for *Eveſham*, Sir *John Jacob*, Mr. *Thomas Web*, and Mr. *Edmund Windham*.

Commons correſpond with the *Scots*.

It muſt be charged upon the Houſe of Commons, that inſtead of driving out the *Scots*, they depended upon the countenance of their Army, as a Terror to bring the King to comply with every Thing they ſhould propoſe to him; and therefore they renewed the Treaty, and held a very kind correſpondence with their Commiſſioners, and even deſcended to this diſhonourable Vote, *Jan.* 22. *That a friendly Aſſiſtance and Relief ſhould be given towards ſupply of the Loſſes and Neceſſities of the Scots, and that in due time the Houſe would take into conſideration the Meaſure and Manner of it.* It is certain the King had carried it with great Patience and Temper, and to all their occaſional Applications to them, had given very calm and kind Anſwers. His diſpoſition to Peace and Settlement was farther ſhewn in this Speech to both Houſes, *Jan.* 25.

King's healing Speech.

"*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes*,

"THE principal Cauſe of my coming here at "this Time, is by reaſon of the ſlow proceedings in Parliament, touching which is a great "deal of Inconvenience: Therefore I think it very "neceſſary to lay before you the State of my Affairs, "as now they ſtand, thereby to haſten not to interrupt your Proceedings.

"Firſt, I muſt remember you, that there are two "Armies in the Kingdom in a manner maintained "by you; the very naming of which doth more "clearly ſhew the Inconvenience thereof, than a "better Tongue than mine can expreſs. Therefore, "in the firſt Place, I ſhall recommend unto you the "quick diſpatch of that Buſineſs.

"In the next place, I muſt recommend unto you "the State of my Navy and Forts, the Condition "of both which is ſo well known unto you that I "need not tell you the Particulars; only thus much, "they are the Walls and Defence of this Kingdom, "which if out of Order, all Men may eaſily judge "what Encouragement it will be to our Enemies, "and what diſheartening to our Friends.

"Laſt of all (and not the leaſt to be conſidered) "I muſt lay before you the diſtractions that are at "this preſent occaſion'd thro' the Connivance of Parliament; for there are ſome Men that more maliciouſly than ignorantly, will put no difference "between Reformation and Alteration of Govern-

informs her. In all his Actions he is nothing inferiour to Sir *Toby Matthews*; it is unſpeakable how diligent he is in their Buſineſs. His Sons are ſecretly inſtructed in the Popiſh Religion, tho' they openly profeſs the Reformed; the eldeſt is to ſucceed in his Father's Office; the other is to have a Cardinal's Hat, if Matters go well.—— He is a Patron of the Jeſuits, for whom he provides Chapels at home and abroad for the free exerciſe of their Religion. The Chevalier *Digby*, Chevalier *Winter*, Mr. *Mountague* the younger, who has been at *Rome*, my Lord *Sterling*, a Couſin of the Earl of *Arundel*'s, a Knight, the Counteſs of *Newport*, the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham*, and many others.

(*a*) The *Scots* had drawn up a very ſevere Libel againſt Archbiſhop *Laud* and his Friends, and diſperſt great Numbers of the printed Copy, intituled, *The* Canterburians *Self-Conviction*, or, *An evident Demonſtration of the avowed Arminianiſm, Popery, and Tyranny of that Faction by their own Confeſſions.*——Written in *March*, Reviſed according to the Ordinance of the General Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*, 1. *Apr.* and then publiſht 1640. 4*to.*

It is certain the Papiſts were as much the Archbiſhop's Enemies as the *Scots* Presbyterians could poſſibly be. Sir *William Boſwell* ſent over a Diſcovery, and one would think a Prophecy, that the Papiſts had already plotted and reſolved upon the Deſtruction and Death of the King and the Archbiſhop; depoſed upon Oath, in the Words of a noble Foreigner, *Andreas ab Habernfeld*, 6. Sept. 1640. 1. *Regiam Majeſtatem & Dominum Archiepiſcopum utrumque in magno diſcrimine vitæ conſtitutum.* 2. *Totam Rempublicam hoc nomine periclitari, niſi propere occurretur malo.* 3. *Turbas iſtas Scoticas in eum finem eſſe concitatas, ut ſub iſto prætextu Rex & Dominus Archiepiſcopus perimeretur.*——6. *Conſpiraſſe certam Societatem quæ Regi & Domino Archiepiſcopo molitur Necem, totiuſq; Regni convulſionem.*

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"I ſhall willingly and chearfully concur with you, "for the Reformation of all Innovations both in "Church and Common-wealth; and conſequently "that all Courts of Juſtice may be reformed accor- "ding to Law, for my Intention is clearly to reduce "all Things to the beſt and pureſt Time, as they "were in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*. Moreover, "whatſoever part of my Revenue ſhall be found "illegal, or heavy to my Subjects, I ſhall be "willing to lay it down, truſting in their Affe- "ctions.

"Having thus clearly and ſhortly ſet down my "Intentions, I will ſhew you ſome Rubbs, and muſt "needs take notice of ſome very ſtrange (I know "not what Term to give them) *Petitions* given in "the Names of divers Counties, againſt the preſent "eſtabliſhed Government, and of the great Threat- "nings againſt the Biſhops, that they will make "them to be but Cyphers, or at leaſt their Voices "to be taken away.

"Now I muſt tell you, that I make a great dif- "ference between Reformation and Alteration of "Government; tho' I am for the firſt, I cannot "give way to the latter. If ſome of them have "over-ſtretch'd their Power, and encroach'd too "much upon the Temporality, if it be ſo, I ſhall "not be unwilling theſe Things ſhould be redreſſed "and reformed, as all other Abuſes, according to "the Wiſdom of former Times, ſo far I ſhall go "with you; nay, farther, if upon ſerious Debate "you ſhall ſhew me that Biſhops have ſome Tempo- "ral Authority inconvenient to the State, and not "ſo neceſſary for the Government of the Church, "and upholding Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, I ſhall not "be unwilling to deſire them to lay it down. But "this muſt not be underſtood, that I ſhall any way "conſent that their Voices in Parliament ſhould be "taken away; for in all the times of my Predeceſ- "ſors, ſince the Conqueſt and before, they have en- "joy'd it, and I am bound to maintain them in it, "as one of the fundamental Conſtitutions of this "Kingdom.

"There is another Rock you are on, not in Sub- "ſtance but in Form; yet the Form is ſo eſſential, "that unleſs it be Reformed it will mar the Sub- "ſtance. This is a Bill lately put in concerning "Parliaments: The Thing I like well to have fre- "quent Parliaments; but to give Power to Sheriffs "and Conſtables, and I know not whom, to uſe "my Authority, that I cannot yield unto. But to "ſhew you that I am deſirous to give you content "in *Forms* which deſtroy not the Subſtance, you "ſhall have a Bill for this purpoſe, ſo that it trench "not againſt my Honour, nor againſt the ancient Pre- "rogative of the Crown concerning Parliaments; "to which purpoſe I have commanded my Learned "Council to wait upon you, my Lords, with ſuch "Propoſitions as I hope will give you content. "For I ingenuouſly confeſs, that frequent Parlia- "ments are the beſt Means to keep a right under- "ſtanding betwixt me and my People, which I ſo "much deſire.

"To conclude, I have now ſhown you the State "of my Affairs, my own clear Intentions, and the "Rocks I wiſh you to eſchew. In all which you "may perceive the Deſire I have to give you Con- "tent, as you ſhall find alſo by thoſe Miniſters I "have, or ſhall have about me, for the effecting of "theſe my good Intentions; which I doubt not will "bring Peace and Happineſs to my Subjects, and "Contentment to you all. Concerning the Confe- "rence you ſhall have a direct Anſwer, which ſhall "give you Satisfaction."

This Speech if it had been deliver'd in the preceeding Parliament, had hardly failed of the Bleſſings of Unity and Peace: For the Conceſſions of it were indeed ſufficient to have reconciled all Things. But the Proſpect of the *Scotch* Army in the *North*, and the Influence of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners in Town, made the leading Members too proud of their Advantage over the King's Neceſſities: So that inſtead of Thanks for this Speech, and Conſideration of it, a Remonſtrance of the two Houſes was delivered to his Majeſty *Jan.* 29. againſt the Impunity of Papiſts and the Pardon of *Goodman*, humbly deſiring, "That "a ſpeedy courſe may be taken for the due execu- "tion of the Laws againſt the Prieſts and Jeſuits:" To which his Majeſty anſwered the two Houſes in a gracious Speech *Feb.* 3. *That he took in good part their Care of the true Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, from which he would never depart; That it was againſt his Mind that Popery or Superſtition ſhould any way increaſe; and he would reſtrain the ſame, by cauſing the Laws to be put in execution; for which he would ſpeedily publiſh a Proclamation. And that the Reaſon why he repriev'd* Goodman *the Prieſt, was, that neither Queen* Elizabeth, *nor his Father, did ever avow, that any Prieſt in their Times was executed merely for Religion: However, he would remit the Cauſe to the two Houſes, and deſire them to conſider the Inconveniencies that might fall on his Subjects and other Proteſtants Abroad by ſo great Severity.*

(1640. 16 *Car.* I. — margin: This excellent Speech came too late. — Remonſtrance.)

But neither could this yielding to the Stream put any ſtop to it: The leading Majority depended on the *Scots*; and for a tacit Condition of Help encouraged all their inſolent Demands, and expelled a worthy Member from their Houſe, Mr. *Jarvis Hollis*, becauſe he ſpoke thus; *Our younger Brother of* Scotland, *like* Jacob, *ſeemeth to ſupplant us, and take away our Birthright. No Man had a more charitable Conſtruction of their Intentions than I had, while they made their Addreſſes in humble diſtance as befitted Subjects to their Sovereign;—— but now, Sir, when I ſee them ſwell in their Demands, beyond all proportion; when I hear them enlarge upon their firſt Propoſitions, and require Things unfit for a King to grant, and diſhonourable for this Nation to ſuffer, I cannot but fix a Mark of danger upon them; I fear we have nouriſhed in our Boſom thoſe that will ſting us to Death:* And then proceeded to this Reſolution, "This Houſe doth conceive the "Sum of three hundred thouſand Pounds a fit pro- "portion for the friendly Aſſiſtance and Relief, "thought fit to be made towards the Loſſes and Ne- "ceſſities of *our Brethren of* Scotland;" and in fine, accepted the Thanks of the *Scots* Commiſſioners, for the ſaid Aſſiſtance and for the Style of Brethren given them in the Vote of the Houſe. And indeed this dear Correſpondence between the *Scots* in Arms, and the Commons of *England* in Parliament, was the Combination that deſtroy'd the King. The Commons looked upon the *Scots* as their Protectors, and the *Scots* look'd back upon the Commons as their Pay-Maſters, and would no longer value the King's calling them *Rebels* when the Parliament called them *Friends* and *Brethren*.

(Margin: Commons influenc'd by the *Scots* Rebellion. — Give them friendly Aſſiſtance.)

Feb. 15. An Act for Relief of his Majeſty's Army and the Northern Parts, being a Grant of four Subſidies; and the Act for Triennial Parliaments were paſſed by the King with this following Speech.

(Margin: King's Speech.)

"*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes* "*of the Houſe of Commons,*

"YOU may remember when both Houſes were "with me at the Banquetting-Houſe at *White-* "*hall*, I did declare unto you two Rocks I wiſhed "you to eſchew; this is one of them, and of that con- "ſequence that I think never Bill paſſed here in this "Houſe of more favour to the Subjects than this is. "And if the other Rock be as happily paſſed over as "this ſhall be at this time, I do not know what you "can aſk, for ought I can ſee at this time, that I "can make any queſtion to yield unto. Therefore I "mention this to ſhew unto you the Senſe that I "have

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" have of this Bill, and the Obligation, as I may ſay, " that you have to me for it: For hitherto, to ſpeak " freely, I have had no great Encouragement to " do it. If I ſhould look to the outward Face of " your Actions or Proceedings, and not look to the " inward Intentions of your Hearts, I might make " queſtion of doing it.

" Hitherto you have gone on in that which con- " cerns your ſelves to amend, and not in thoſe " Things that nearly concern the Strength of this " Kingdom, neither for the State nor for my own " Particular.

" This I mention not to reproach you, but to " ſhew you the State of Things as they are. You " have taken the Government all in Pieces, and I " may ſay it is almoſt off the Hinges. A ſkilful " Watch-maker to make clean his Watch will take " it aſunder, and when it is put together it will " go the better, ſo that he leave not out one Pin of " it. Now, as I have done all this on my part, " you know what to do on yours; and I hope " you ſhall ſee clearly, that I have performed really " what I expreſſed to you at the beginning of this " Parliament, of the great Truſt I have in your Af- " fections to me: For this is the greateſt Expreſſion " of Truſt, that before you do any Thing for me, I " do put ſuch a Confidence in you."

Satisfaction of both Houſes.

There was a great Joy and Satisfaction in the two Houſes at the paſſing of theſe Bills. They agreed to wait on the King and return their Thanks by the Mouth of the Lord-Keeper, *for having now ſufficiently provided for the ſecurity of the Common-wealth; and that there remained nothing to be done but ſuch a Return of Duty and Gratitude to his Majeſty, as might teſtify their Devotions to him, and that their only End was to make him a glorious King.*

Continuance of this Parliament a great Error.

Had his Majeſty now diſſolved the Parliament when he had took off the Fears of long Intermiſſion, and applied the Money to the Uſes of the Bill for ſettling the North, and conferred the great Offices upon the leading Men deſigned for them; as the Treaſury on the Earl of *Bedford*, the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer on Mr. *Pym*, the Maſterſhip of the Wards on the Lord *Say*, a Secretary's place on *Denzil Hollis*, &c. the King in one or two Years might have prepared a way for an amicable meeting. But as the haſty diſſolution of the laſt Parliament was one great Error, ſo the longer continuance of this does ſeem a greater.

Warm Proceedings of the Commons.

For the next Day after their Addreſs of Thanks, the Commons received the Bundles of Petitions that had been induſtriouſly prepared againſt Innovations in the Church, and againſt Epiſcopacy it ſelf; and *Feb*, 17. they fell to adjuſting their Method of Proceedings in the Impeachment of the Earl of *Strafford*; and had ſoon after the Articles read and carried up to the Lords againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and had the Pacification with the *Scots* renewed from time to time, without concluding upon the Articles of Peace; whereby, in effect, they retained them in Pay againſt the King.

State of Religion.

The Affairs of the Church, as diſtinct from thoſe of the State, begin with the Convocation open'd *Apr.* 14. with a Sermon preach'd by Dr. *Thomas Turner*, Reſidentiary of St. *Paul*'s, on *Matt.* 10. 16. after which Dr. *Richard Steward* Dean of *Chicheſter*, was choſen Prolocutor, who being preſented to the Abp. by Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* at the next Seſſion *Apr.* 17. his Grace in a *Latin* Speech moſt affectionately bemoan'd the Dangers threatned to the Church, owing to the decay of Diſcipline and the growth of Errors; and then commended the ſpecial Favour of his Majeſty in granting them a Commiſſion (which he produced and ordered to be read) authorizing them *to propoſe,*

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confer, treat, debate, conſider, conſult and agree upon the Expoſition or Alteration of any Canon or Canons now in force, and of and upon any ſuch other new Canons, Orders, Ordinances and Conſtitutions, as they the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop, Preſident of the ſaid Convocation, and the reſt of the ſaid Biſhops, and other the Clergy of the ſame Province, or the greater number of them (whereof the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *Preſident of the ſaid Convocation to be one) ſhall think neceſſary, fit and convenient, for the Honour and Service of Almighty God, the Good and Quiet of the Church, and the better Government thereof.*

Royal Commiſſion.

In the third Seſſion, *April* 22. his Grace ſending for the Prolocutor and Lower Houſe, informed them " of the extraordinary Expences which lay upon his " Majeſty, and the imminent Dangers which at this " time threatned the whole Kingdom: for which " reaſon he and his Brethren had treated and agreed " upon ſix Subſidies (or more, if it appeared upon " the Regiſters that *More* had been ever at once " granted by the Prelates and Clergy of this Pro- " vince) at the rate of four Shillings in the Pound; " deſiring them that, for a Teſtimony of their ſin- " gular Obedience and Duty to the King, they " would give their aſſent, debating it among them- " ſelves, and then giving in their Anſwer." After which the Prolocutor and Clergy returned to their Houſe, and after a little time came back, and the Prolocutor reported to his Grace, that they had unanimouſly agreed to the ſaid Grant (*a*). Then the Archbiſhop had ſome Diſcourſe with them concerning the making of Canons, and ſaid, that he and his Brethren had already agreed upon two ſeveral Conſtitutions for ſuppreſſing of Popery.

The Abp. propoſes a Supply.

April 25. A Form of Prayer, (*b*) compoſed by the Archbiſhop's Chaplains, for God's Bleſſing upon the Parliament then aſſembled, was preſented by the Prolocutor to his Grace and the Biſhops, who approv'd it with the addition of one Word; and order'd it to be read daily in Convocation, immediately before the Benediction. It was farther order'd that no Biſhop, or any other of the Clergy, ſhould preſume to copy out, or talk abroad of any Canon, till it was finally agreed to and approved by the King. The Archbiſhop by Schedule, as uſually, prorogued to *Wedneſday* April 29. On which Day the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, by Commiſſion from the Preſident, prorogued to *Saturday* May 2. And on that Day the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, by a like Commiſſion, prorogued to *Tueſday* May 5. On which Day the Parliament was diſſolved.

Form of Prayer for the Parliament.

It having been the uſual Practice for the Convocation to be diſſolved the Day after the Parliament, (tho' no ſuch neceſſary Concurrence in the Conſtitution of thoſe two Bodies) they met the next Day, *May* 6. in expectation to be diſmiſs'd. And the Archbiſhop himſelf, not knowing of the King's Thoughts to continue their Sitting, " had ſent (*he* " *ſays*) to diſſolve the Convocation; Haſte and " Trouble of theſe Buſineſſes making him forget " that he was to have the King's Writ for the diſ- " miſſing as well as the convening of it. Word was " brought me of this from the Convocation-Houſe, " while I was ſitting in Council, and his Majeſty " preſent. Hereupon, when the Council roſe, I " moved his Majeſty for a Writ: His Majeſty gave " me an unlook'd-for Reply; namely, that he was " willing to have the Subſidies which we had grant- " ed him, and that we ſhould go on with the fi- " niſhing of thoſe Canons which he had given us " Power, under the Broad Seal of *England*, to make. " And when I replied, it would be excepted againſt " in all likelihood by divers, and deſired his Maje- " ſty to adviſe well about it; the King anſwered me " preſently, *That he had ſpoken with the Lord-Keeper,*

Convocation uſually diſſolv'd with the Parliament.

Now continued.

(*a*) See the Archbiſhop's Argument for the Convocation, to grant a Subſidy to the King; in *Troubles and Tryal of Archbiſhop* Laud. p. 240.

(*b*) In the Houſe of Commons there was a Prayer read by the Speaker each Morning, and in the Afternoon alſo, during the Earl of *Strafford*'s Tryal, with a Clauſe of Thankſgiving afterward added by Order of the Houſe, during the ſecond Parliament of 1640. *D'Ewe*'s Journal of Commons. MS. *Harley*.

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" *the Lord* Finch, *about it, and that he aſſured him* " *it was legal.* I confeſs I was a little troubled both " at the Difficulties of the Time, and at the An- " ſwer it ſelf; that after ſo many Years faithful " Service, in a Buſineſs concerning the Church ſo " nearly, his Majeſty would ſpeak with the Lord " Keeper, both without me, and before he would " move it to me: And ſomewhat I ſaid thereupon " which pleaſed not, but the Particulars I do not " well remember. Upon this I was commanded to " ſit and go on with the Convocation."

Heylin's Animad. on *Fuller*'s Church Hiſt. *p.* 129.

Under theſe Reaſons beſt delivered in the Archbiſhop's own Words: While the Lower Houſe were on the ſaid 6th of *April* expecting a Writ of Diſſolution, Dr. *Heylin*, then a Member, tells us, that *there came* an Order from the Archbiſhop to the Prolocutor to adjourn till *Saturday*, which was the next Synodical Meeting of the Upper Houſe. So that indeed there was no room for thoſe intermediate Seſſions of the Lower Houſe which have been lately urged from miſtaken Minutes.

Troubles and Trial, p. 80.

Members diſſatisfied.

Saturday May 9th, Nothing done in the Upper Houſe; the Archbiſhop not appearing, but by Commiſſion prorogued to *Wedneſday* May 13. In the Lower Houſe, the Archbiſhop obſerves, that *at firſt ſome little Exception was taken there by two or three Members, whether we might ſit or no.* Dr. *Fuller* takes the Liberty to ſay, that Dr. *Brownrig*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Holdſworth*, &c. to the number of thirty ſix, earneſtly proteſted againſt the Continuance of the Convocation. But Dr. *Heylin*, an equal Witneſs, aſſures us, there was no oral Proteſtation heard, and none reduced into Writing. However, there was ſome Demur and Diſſatisfaction in it, as there might well be among thoſe who had not heard the Opinion in Law upon which the King proceeded: And therefore to take away all ſcruple, before the next Seſſion, the Archbiſhop ſays, *He acquainted his Majeſty with this Doubt, and humbly beſought him, that his learned Council, and other Perſons of Honour, well acquainted with the Laws of the Realm, might deliver their Judgment upon it.*

Accordingly *Wedneſday* May 13. the Archbiſhop communicated to both Houſes this ſolemn Opinion thus ſubſcribed.

Opinion of the Judges.

THE *Convocation being called by the King's Writ, under the Great Seal, doth continue until it be diſſolv'd by Writ or Commiſſion under the Great Seal, notwithſtanding the Parliament be diſſolved.*

	Jo. Finch, *C. S.*	Ralph Whitfield.
14 Maii	H. Mancheſter.	Jo Bankes.
1640.	John Bramſton.	Rob. Heath.
	Edw. Littleton.	

" The Judgment of theſe great Lawyers (ſays " the Archbiſhop) ſettled both Houſes of Convoca- " tion. So we proceeded according to the Power " given us under the Broad Seal, as is required by " the Statute 25 *Hen.* VIII. *cap.* 19." For, becauſe the firſt Commiſſion determined with the Parliament, a new Commiſſion, dated *May* 12. was produc'd by his Grace this Day, not differing from the former of *April* 15. ſaving in a Clauſe repealing the old Commiſſion, and in altering the Force and Continuance of this new one: for whereas the Licence and Power were before to treat and conclude *from time to time during the preſent Parliament*, it was now altered into *during our Will and Pleaſure*.

A new Commiſſion.

King ſends a Meſſage to the Convocation.

In the next Seſſion, *May* 15. Sir *Henry Vane*, one of the principal Secretaries of State, was ſent from his Majeſty with a Meſſage, " That his Majeſty " had granted a Commiſſion to this Synod for the " making of Canons and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſti- " cal; and that the Lords of the Council had una- " nimouſly agreed, that this Synod ought to pro- " ceed in the ſame, as being highly neceſſary; and " that therefore he was ſent in his Majeſty's Name " to exhort them with all expedition to make ſuch " Canons as the preſent ſtate and exigency of Af- " fairs required: And that it was his Majeſty's far- " ther Pleaſure, that none of the ſaid Prelates or " Clergy ſhould withdraw themſelves from the ſaid " Synod or Convocation, till the Affairs they had " in Command from the King were perfected and " finiſhed."

Benevolence to the King.

Invidious because not confirm'd by Parliam.

May 16. the Form of a Grant of free Benevolence, or Contribution of four Shillings in the Pound for ſix Years following, according to the Valuation of the firſt-fruits, was unanimouſly agreed to in the Lower Houſe, with the Proviſions for raiſing of it, under the Penalty of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures (*a*). But becauſe the Grants of the Clergy in Convocation had been uſually confirmed by an Act of Parliament, the Benevolence thus granted without the Civil Legiſlature gave great Offence: And yet by original Conſtitution the Clergy had certainly the power of giving away their own Money independently on the Lay Lords and Commons; and even ſince the Reformation there had been a Precedent of it. The Archbiſhop therefore is right in repreſenting the Fact and the Law in this manner. " We made up our " Act perfect for the Gift of ſix Subſidies, accord- " ing to antient Form in that behalf, and deliver- " ed it under Seal to his Majeſty. This paſſed *ne- " mine reſragante*, as may appear *apud acta*. And " we followed a Precedent in my Lord Archbiſhop " *Whitgift*'s time, *Ann.* 1586. who was known to be " a pious and a prudent Prelate, and a Man not gi- " ven to do boiſterous things againſt the Laws of " the Realm, or the Prerogative of the Crown; but " one that went juſt and fair ways to both. Nor did " this Grant lie dead and uſeleſs; for divers Pro- " ceſſes are yet to be ſeen, for the fetching in of " that which was ſo granted to the Queen's uſe, in " caſe any Man refuſed Payment."

Troubles and Trial of Abp. *Laud*, p. 80.

King recommends a Canon againſt Popery.

May 18. the Archbiſhop communicated a Letter from his Majeſty, to *will and require them to propoſe, treat, and conclude upon ſuch a Canon as might ſecure him and all his loving Subjects againſt all Growth and Increaſe of Popery in this Kingdom; as alſo of any Heretical or Schiſmatical Opinions to the prejudice of the Doctrine or Diſcipline of the Church of* England *eſtabliſh'd by Law; with an Oath to be taken by All in Holy Orders, that they ſhall adhere conſtantly to the Doctrine and Diſcipline here eſtabliſhed, and never give way (for ſo much as can any way concern them) to any Innovation or Alteration thereof.* Accordingly, a Canon was made for ſuppreſſing the Growth of Popery by private Conferences, by publick Cenſures of the Church, by certifying to the Judges in their Circuit the Names of all Recuſants, by taking care for the Education of Recuſants Children, and by the Biſhops returning every Year into the Court of *Chancery* a *Significavit* of all Recuſants who have ſtood excommunicate beyond the Time limited by Law. And then the Oath enjoined for preventing Innovations, was in this Form.

Oath enjoined by Convocation.

" I *A. B.* do ſwear, that I do approve the Doctrine " and Diſcipline or Government eſtabliſhed in " the Church of *England*, as containing all things " neceſſary to Salvation. And that I will not en- " deavour, by my ſelf or any other, directly or in- " directly, to bring in any Popiſh Doctrine, con- " trary to that which is ſo eſtabliſhed: Nor will I " ever give my Conſent to alter the Government of " this Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and

(*a*) See the Form intituled, A Grant of the Benevolence or Contributions to his moſt excellent Majeſty, by the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* in the Convocation or Sacred Synod, holden at *London* the xvith of *May* 1640. beginning, *Moſt Excellent, and moſt Gracious Sovereign, We* &c.——— and then *Ordinationes ſive Canones Eccleſiaſtici in ſacra Synodo facti pro levatione & collectione benevolentiæ ſive contributionis voluntariæ antedictæ, una cum cenſuris & pœnis Eccleſiaſticis contra non ſolventes ſeu ſolvere recuſantes. xxi. Maii* 1640. *Nalſon. Collect.* vol. 1. p. 536.

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"Archdeacons, *&c.* as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, "and as by right it ought to ſtand; nor yet ever "to ſubject it to the Uſurpations and Superſtitions "of the See of *Rome*. And all theſe things I do "plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, ac-"cording to the plain and common Senſe and Un-"derſtanding of the ſame Words, without any E-"quivocation, or mental Evaſion, or ſecret Reſer-"vation whatſoever. And this I do heartily, wil-"lingly, and truly, upon the Faith of a Chriſtian. "So help me God in Jeſus Chriſt."

The ſeveral Conſtitutions and Canons bear this Title. 1. *Concerning the Regal Power.* 2. *For the better keeping of the Day of his Majeſty's moſt happy Inauguration.* 3. *For the ſuppreſſing of the Growth of Popery.* 4. *Againſt Socinianiſm.* 5. *Againſt Sectaries.* 6. *An Oath enjoin'd for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government.* 7. *A Declaration concerning ſome Rites and Ceremonies.* 8. *Of Preaching for Conformity.* 9. *One Book of Articles of Enquiry, to be uſed at all Parochial Viſitations.* 10. *Concerning the Converſation of the Clergy.* 11. *Chancellours Patents.* 12. *Chancellours alone not to cenſure any of the Clergy in ſundry caſes.* 13. *Excommunication and Abſolution not to be pronounced but by a Prieſt.* 14. *Concerning Commutations, and the diſpoſing of them.* 15. *Concerning concurrent Juriſdiction.* 16. *Concerning Licenſes to marry.* 17. *Againſt vexatious Citations.* (*a*)

Abp.'s Account of Proceedings in this Convocation.

The manner of paſſing theſe Canons, and Subſcription to them, is thus deliver'd by the Archbp. "In the Debates concerning theſe Canons, I dare "be bold to ſay, Never any Synod ſate in *Chriſtendom*, that allow'd more freedom either of Speech "or Vote. The Canons which we made, were in "number ſeventeen; and at the time of the Sub-"ſcription, no Man refuſed, or ſo much as checked "at any one Canon, or any one Branch in any one "of them; ſaving a Canoniſt or two, who excep-"ted againſt two or three Clauſes in ſome of the "laſt of the Canons, which concerned their Profit, "and their Carriage towards the Clergy, in which "they were publickly, and by joint Conſent, over-"ruled in the Houſe; and excepting *Godfrey Goodman* Lord Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, who was ſtartled "at the firſt Canon about the Proceedings againſt "the Papiſts——Yet he at laſt ſubſcribed in open "Convocation."

Heylyn's Animad. on *Fuller*'s Ch. Hiſt. *p.* 240.

Before theſe Canons were ſubſcribed, they were imparted to the King by the Archbiſhop, and by the King laid before the Lords of his Privy Council, who calling to them the Aſſiſtance of the Judges, and ſome of the King's Counſel, learned in the Laws of this Realm, did cauſe the ſaid Canons to be read and conſidered of in preſence of the King: By all which, upon due and mature Deliberation the Canons were approv'd; and being ſo approv'd, were ſent back to the Clergy in Convocation, and by them ſubſcribed (*b*). And that Work ended, the Convocation was diſſolv'd by the Archbiſhop in purſuance of his Majeſty's Writ for that purpoſe, on *Friday* May the 29th.

Canons publiſh'd.

Theſe Canons were immediately Printed, and at their firſt Publication (ſays the Archbiſhop) "they "were generally approved in all Parts of the King-"dom; and I had Letters from the remoteſt Parts "of it, full of Approbation: Inſomuch, that not "my ſelf only, but my Brethren which lived near "theſe Parts, and which were not yet gone down, "were very much joyed at it. But about a Month "after their Printing, there began ſome Whiſper-"ings againſt them by ſome Miniſters in *London*, "and their Exceptions were ſpread in Writing "againſt them:" And this ſet others on work, *&c.* Nay, Dr. *Heylyn* farther tells us, "That theſe Ca-"nons found great Approbation from the Mouths "of ſome, from whom it had been leaſt expected; "particularly from Juſtice *Crook*,——of whom I "have been told, by a Perſon of great Worth and "Credit, that having read over the Book of Ca-"nons when it firſt came out, he lifted up his "hands, and gave hearty Thanks to Almighty "God, that he had lived to ſee ſuch good Effects "of a Convocation." (*c*)

Animad. on *Fuller*, P. 234.

Scots and Puritans againſt them.

It was however the Intereſt of the Covenanting *Scots*, and all their Well-wiſhers in *England*, to raiſe Objections and Clamours againſt theſe new Canons. And for this purpoſe the diſaffected *London* Miniſters had many ſecret Meetings, and particularly at the Houſe of Dr. *Downham* of St. *Bartholomew Exchange*, where they drew up Reaſons, and obtain'd Hands to a Petition againſt the Oath. And their Example ſoon infected the Country: For on *Tueſday Aug.* 25. there was an Aſſembly of Miniſters at *Kettering* in *Northamptonſhire*, where they concluded againſt the Oath, and agreed not to take it. And from *Botheby-Paynel* in *Lincolnſhire*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, by Letter to the Archbiſhop *Septemb.* 13. inform'd him, "That he found, to his great grief (as well by the "Speeches of ſome in thoſe Parts as by Letters "from others farther off) that great Diſtaſte was "generally taken in the Kingdom at the Oath en-"joined by the late Canons. And that he had exa-"min'd the Exceptions, and could find no juſt Scru-"ple; and ſhould endeavour to remove the Scru-"ples of others. But that divers Papers paſſed ſe-"cretly from hand to hand, containing large Col-"lections of ſundry Reaſons againſt the taking the "ſaid Oath." For preventing the encreaſe of Diſaffection, and the encouragement to the *Scotiſh* Rebels, and other Inconveniences, he ſuggeſts, "That "his Majeſty ſhould give ſpecial Direction to for-"bear preſſing the Oath for a time; or that ſome "ſhort Explanation of ſuch Paſſages in the ſaid "Oath, as by reaſon of their Ambiguity are moſt "ſubject to Cavil and Miſconſtruction, ſhould "be ſent to all the ſeveral Perſons that ſhall have "power to adminiſter the ſame, to be publickly "read before the Tendry of the ſaid Oath." The Advice of this judicious Man was taken by Archbiſhop *Laud*: He employ'd the Biſhop of *Exeter* to draw up a Paper, entitled, *A clear Explanation of the Clauſes which are ſtuck at in the Oath appointed by the late Synod, according to the true ſenſe of the Canon.* And he himſelf ſeems to have adviſ'd the King to ſend his Commands for ſuſpending the Oath till the next Convocation; as was done by this Letter from Mr. Secretary *Vane*:

London Clergy diſlike the Oath.

"*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

King's Letter to ſuſpend the Oath.

"I Am, by his Majeſty's Command, to let you "know, that upon ſeveral Petitions, preſented "by divers Church-men as well in the Dioceſs of "*Canterbury* as *York*, to which many Hands are "ſubſcribed, as the mode of Petitions now are, "againſt the Oath and Canons made in the laſt Sy-"nod; his Majeſty's Pleaſure is, that as he took "Order before his coming into theſe Parts, that the "Execution of neither ſhould be preſſed upon thoſe "that were already Beneficed in the Church; which "was ordered, and at the Council-board, in your "Grace's Preſence, but it ſhould be adminiſtred to "thoſe that were to receive Orders, and to be ad-"mitted: It is his Pleaſure now, that thoſe ſhould

(*a*) Mr. *Vernon*, in his Life of Dr. *Heylyn*, affirms, that in this Convocation there was intended an *Engliſh Pontifical*; which was to contain 1. The Form and Manner of Royal Coronation. 2. A Form for Conſecrating Churches, Churchyards, and Chapels. 3. A Form for Reconciling Penitents and Apoſtates. 4. A Book of Articles to be uſed by all Biſhops and Archdeacons in their Viſitations.

(*b*) The Original Book of Canons ſubſcribed by the hands of the Prelates and Clergy is now in the Paper-Office. MS.

(*c*) There was a Speech of good Biſhop *Hall* in the Houſe of Peers to prove the regularity of making theſe Canons, and that they were valid by the King's Authority without a Parliament. See *Du Moulin's Advances towards Rome.* 4*to.* p. 15.

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"be diſpenſed withal alſo, and no Proſecution "thereof, until the Convocation. And ſo I humbly kiſs your Grace's hands, and reſt

"*York*, Sept. 30. 1640.

Your Grace's moſt humble Servant,

Henry Vane."

Abp.'s Orders to forbear the Oath.

In obedience to theſe Inſtructions, his Grace ſent out his Circular Letters dated *Octob.* 6. to the Suffragans of his Province, totally to forbear the Oath both at Ordinations and Inſtitutions as well as otherwiſe, till the next enſuing Convocation. But all this Caution and Temper, however they juſtified the Wiſdom and Integrity of the King and Archbiſhop, yet, like all other occaſions, they made the factious Spirits but the bolder to extort more and more from the Crown and the Church. (*a*)

Next Parliament declaims againſt the Convocation. Lord *Digby.*

When the Parliament began *Nov.* 3. it was made a popular Topick among the Commons to declaim againſt the Benevolence, Canons, and Oath. The Lord *Digby*, in his Speech *Nov.* 9. ſaid, "The granting of Subſidies under ſo prepoſterous a Name as "of a *Benevolence*, was a Malevolence indeed. A "*Malevolence* in thoſe that granted it againſt Parliaments; and a *Malevolence* in thoſe that refuſed *it* "againſt thoſe that granted it, to ſee wreſted from "them what they were not willing to part with "under no leſs a Penalty than the loſs both of Heaven and Earth; of Heaven by Excommunication, "and of the Earth by Deprivation, and this without Redemption by Appeal. And that no good "Chriſtian could think with Patience of the enſnaring Oath by the new Canons enjoined; where, "beſides the ſwearing ſuch Impertinence, as that "things neceſſary to Salvation are contained in "Diſcipline; beſides the ſwearing thoſe to be of "Divine Right, which amongſt the Learned never "pretended to it, as the Arch things in our Hierarchy; beſides the ſwearing not to conſent to "the Change of that, which the State may upon "great reaſon think fit to alter; beſides the bottomleſs Perjury of an, *&c.* Men muſt ſwear "that they ſwear freely and voluntarily what they "are compelled unto; and laſtly, that they ſwear "that Oath in the literal Senſe, whereof no two of "the Makers themſelves could ever agree in the "underſtanding." On the ſame Day Sir *John Culpeper* argued theſe Canons to be a Grievance; "1. In "reſpect of the Matter, beſides the *&c.* Oath. 2. In "reſpect of the Makers, choſen to ſerve in a Convocation, that falling with the Parliament, the "Scene was alter'd; the ſame Men, without any "new Election ſhuffled into a ſacred Synod. 3. In "reſpect of the Conſequence, which in this Age, "when the ſecond ill Preſident becomes a Law, is "full of Danger. The Clergy, without Confirmation of a Parliament, have aſſumed unto themſelves Power to make Laws, to grant Relief by "the Name of Benevolence, and to intermeddle "with our Freehold by Suſpenſions and Deprivations. This (*ſays he*) is a Grievance of a high "nature." And then Mr. *Harbottle Grimſton* ſpoke thus to the ſame Point. "Mr. *Speaker*, There hath "been ſince the laſt Parliament a Synod, and in "that Synod a new Oath hath been made and framed, and enjoined to be taken. They might as "well have made a new Law, and enjoined the Execution of that, as enjoined and urged the taking "of the other, not being eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament.——Exception is to be taken to the Matter of the Oath; They would have us at the very firſt daſh ſwear in a damnable Hereſie, that "Matters neceſſary to Salvation are contained *in* "the Diſcipline of our Church; whereas it hath "ever been the Tenet of our Church, that all things "neceſſary to Salvation are comprehended in the "Doctrine of our Church only. And for Prevention in caſe the Wiſdom of the State in this great "Council ſhould at any time think fit to alter any "thing in the Government of our Church, they "would anticipate and foreſtall our Judgments by "making us ſwear before-hand, that we would never give our Conſent to any Alteration. Nay, "Mr. *Speaker*, they go a little farther, for they "would have us ſwear, that the Government of "the Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, *&c.* is *Jure divino*; their Words are, *As* "*of Right it ought to ſtand*; whereas we meet not "with the Name of an Archbiſhop, or a Dean, or "an Archdeacon, in all the New Teſtament: And "whatſoever may be ſaid of the Function of Biſhops "it is one thing; but for their Juriſdiction, it is "meerly *humanâ inſtitutione*, and they muſt thank "the King for it. As for their groſs, abſurd, *&c.* "wherein they would have them ſwear they know "neither what, nor how many Fathom deep, there "is neither Divinity nor Charity in it; and yet "they would put that upon us.—— They have "likewiſe in this Synod granted a Benevolence; "but the Nature of the thing agrees not with the "Name; for in plain *Engliſh* it is ſix Subſidies to "be paid by the Clergy in ſix Years: and the Penalty they have impoſed upon the Refuſers for "Non-payment, is, to be deprived of their Functions, to be ſtripped of their Freehold, and to be "Excommunicated: And this Act of their Synod is "not publiſhed amongſt their Canons, for which "they might have ſome colourable ſeeming Authority; but it comes out in a Book alone by it ſelf "in the Latin Tongue, ſuppoſing, as I conceive, "that Lay-men are as ignorant as they would have "them."

Sir *John Culpeper.* Mr. *Grimſton.*

Warm Debates.

Theſe Debates about the Book of Canons ended in an Order for Mr. *Selden*, Sir *Tho. Widdrington*, and Mr. *Whiſtler*, to get the Warrants by which the Convocation was held after the Parliament, and the Letters Patents of the Benevolence. And when this Subject came to be afterwards reaſſum'd in the Houſe, there were many other ſevere Speeches, by Mr. *Bagſhaw*, Mr. *Nath. Fienes*, Sir *Edward Dering*, and others, that ſeem to have no new Matter, but what is before recited. Only that Mr. *Bagſhaw* laboured to prove it Law, that the Biſhops and Clergy who held the late Synod were in a *Præmunire* for holding of it, and were ſubject to the Pains and Penalties of a *Præmunire*. But the Zeal of the Houſe could be carried no farther than theſe two Votes and Reſolutions, *Decemb.* 16.

Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons.

"Reſolved, That theſe Canons and Conſtitutions "Eccleſiaſtical treated upon by the Archbiſhops of "*Canterbury* and *York*, and the reſt of the Biſhops "and Clergy of thoſe Provinces, and agreed upon "with the King's Majeſty's Licenſe in their ſeveral "Synods begun at *London* and *York* 1640. do contain in them many Matters contrary to the King's "Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws and Statutes of this Realm, to the Rights of Parliament, "to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and

(*a*) I have ſeen a Letter from Sir *Lionel Tolmach* to the Archbiſhop of *Cant.* dat. from *Ipſwich* 27. *July*, 1640. giving an Account, that on the *Thurſday* before in the Night, the new Book of Canons, with a ſcandalous Paper upon it, was nailed up in the Market-Place upon the Pillory, or upon the Poſt near to it.

An Information ſent by Sir *John Lamb* to the Archbiſhop of *Cant.* of a dangerous Meeting of the Clergy in *London* to get Hands to a Petition againſt the late Canons and Oath. *Aug.* 6. 1640.

Petition of the Miniſters, Schoolmaſters, and Practitioners of Phyſick in the Dioceſs of *Briſtol* againſt the New Oath.

Exceptions of the Clergy of *Devonſhire* to the late Oath requir'd by Canon, with Petition againſt it, dat. *Aug.* 8. 1640.

A Letter from Dr. *Matthew Wren* Biſhop of *Ely* to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Cant.* taking notice, that in the Duplicate from the King enjoining the late Oath, the word *Popiſh* was omitted in the Clauſe which before ran thus, *I will not endeavour to bring in any Popiſh Doctrine contrary to that which is ſo Eſtabliſht.* Dat. *Downham*, *Aug.* 16. 1640.

"Matters

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"Matters tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Conſequence.

"Reſolved, That the ſeveral Grants of the Benevolence or Contribution granted to his moſt excellent Majeſty by the Clergy of the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, in the ſeveral Convocations or Synods holden at *London* and *York* 1640, are contrary to the Laws, and ought not to bind the Clergy."

Made a Charge againſt Abp. *Laud.*

The farther Senſe of the Houſe upon this Matter, was put into the fifth Article of Impeachment carried up againſt Archbiſhop *Laud*; running thus.

"He hath traiterouſly cauſed a Book of Canons to be compoſed and publiſhed, and thoſe Canons to be put in execution without any lawful Warrant and Authority in that behalf. In which pretended Canons many Matters are contained contrary to the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws and Statutes of this Realm, to the Rights of Parliament, to the Property and Liberty of the Subjects, and Matters tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Conſequence; and to the eſtabliſhment of a vaſt unlawful and preſumptuous Power in himſelf and his Succeſſors. Many of the which Canons, by the Practice of the ſaid Archbiſhop, were ſurreptitiouſly paſſed in the laſt Convocation, without due Conſideration and Debate: Others by Fear and Compulſion were ſubſcrib'd to by the Prelates and Clerks there aſſembled, which had never been voted and paſſed in the Convocation as they ought to have been. And the ſaid Archbiſhop hath contriv'd and endeavour'd to aſſure and confirm the unlawful and exorbitant Power which he hath uſurped and exerciſed over his Majeſty's Subjects by a wicked and ungodly Oath, in one of the ſaid pretended Canons, enjoined to be taken by all the Clergy, and many of the Laity of this Kingdom."

Abp.'s Anſwer.

To which Charge the Archbiſhop plainly anſwer'd, "I compoſed no Book of Canons; the whole Convocation did it with unanimous Conſent: So either I muſt be free, or that whole Body muſt be guilty of High Treaſon; for in that Crime all are Principals that are Guilty, Acceſſory there is none.

"Neither did I Publiſh or put in Execution thoſe Canons, or any of them, but by lawful Authority. And, I do humbly conceive, and verily believe, there is nothing in thoſe Canons contrary either to the King's Prerogative, the fundamental Laws of the Realm, the Rights of Parliament, the Propriety and Liberty of the Subjects, or any Matter tending to Sedition, or of dangerous Conſequence, or to the Eſtabliſhment of any vaſt or unlawful Power in my ſelf and my Succeſſors; neither was there any Canon in that Convocation ſurreptitiouſly paſſed by any Practice of mine, or without due Conſideration and Debate; neither was there any thing in that Convocation but what was Voted firſt, and Subſcribed after, without Fear or Compulſion in any kind. And I am verily perſwaded, there never ſate any Synod in Chriſtendom wherein the Votes paſſed with more freedom or leſs practice than they did in this. And for the Oath injoin'd in the ſixth Canon, as it was never made to confirm any unlawful or exorbitant Power over his Majeſty's Subjects, ſo I do humbly conceive that it is no wicked or ungodly Oath in any Reſpect. And I hope I am able to make it good in any learned Aſſembly in Chriſtendom, that this Oath and all thoſe Canons (then made and here before recited) and every Branch in them, are Juſt, and Orthodox, and Moderate, and moſt Neceſſary for the preſent Condition of the Church of *England*, how unwelcome ſoever to the preſent Diſtemper."

Enquiry into the validity of theſe Canons.

And yet theſe publick Cenſures of the Canons, however grounded on Prejudice and Faction, have made them ever ſince reputed null and void, tho' it is hard to find any defect of Legality in the making of them, or any juſt Authority that did afterward annul them. It is true the Act 13 *Car.* II. *Cap.* 12. would not confirm them, but ſo neither did it repeal them; they are left with the ſame force they had from the Beginning. There was indeed a Reſolution made in the Houſe of Commons *December* 15. 1640. *That the Clergy of* England, *convented in any Convocation, or Synod, or otherwiſe, have no Power to make any Conſtitutions, Canons or Acts whatſoever, in Matter of Doctrine, Diſcipline, or otherwiſe to bind the Clergy or the Laity of the Land without common conſent of Parliament.* But as this was a warm Vote, contrary to the Stream of Cuſtom and Statutes: ſo the Houſe it ſelf ſeem'd to receed from it by forming their Reſolutions the next Day to a different Senſe. And indeed if the King's Licenſe and Confirmation does not make the Canons regularly paſs'd in Convocation to be binding without Parliament, we have had no proper Canons ſince the Reformation: Thoſe of 1603, are as invalid as theſe of 1640. Some Writers have ſuggeſted, that their Invalidity ariſes from their paſſing in a Convocation ſitting after the Parliament: But this cannot be a Reaſon in the true Conſtitution of Parliaments and Synods, which may certainly act independently on one another. But whatever Reaſons of State have combin'd to let theſe Canons ſink into a dead letter; yet it muſt be confeſſed, that in very much of Doctrine and Diſcipline they would be a good Example to any future Convocation: and we can hardly hope for Unity and any tolerable Regularity, without ſome Conſtitutions of the like Nature, if poſſible to be had with leſs Offence.

2d Convocation.

There was another (*a*) Convocation this Year that met with the ſecond Parliament, and open'd in the Church of St. *Paul*'s Novemb. 4. The Sermon was preach'd by Dr. *Iſaac Bargrave* Dean of *Canterbury*, and Dr. *Stewart* Dean of *Chicheſter*, was again choſen Prolocutor. At their next Meeting in *Henry* VII's Chapel, the Archbiſhop in *an eloquent but ſad Oration, bemoan'd the Infelicities which he ſaw hanging over the Church, adviſing every one there preſent to perform their*

(*a*) This ſecond Parliament in *Novemb.* 1640. began in Heats and Tumults; however ſome Hope there was, that upon Moderation ſhewn, Matters might be peaceably compoſed; whereupon the Houſe of Lords appointed a Committee out of their own Members for ſettling Peace in the Church in *March* following; at the ſame time the Lords appointed a Sub-Committee to prepare Matters for their cognizance. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* Dr. *Williams* had the Chair in both, and was authorized to call together divers Biſhops, and other Divines, to conſult for Correction of what was amiſs, and to ſettle Peace. Of the Sub-Committee thoſe that appeared and conſulted together at the *Jeruſalem-Chamber* (ſome others were named) were theſe only, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Primate of *Armagh*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, Biſhop *Hall* then of *Exeter*; Dr. *Ward*, Dr. *Prideaux*, Dr. *Twiſs*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Featley*, Dr. *Brownrig*, Dr. *Holdſworth*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Burgeſs*, Mr. *Marſhall*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Hill*. Many things for ſix ſeveral Meetings were propounded, but in the midſt of *May*, while in order to Settlement divers things were upon the Loom, the Bill call'd *Root and Branch* was brought into the Houſe of Commons, and that like *Atropos* cut off all the threads of this Proceeding, ſo that the whole Matter prov'd abortive and came to nothing. *Dr.* Plume's *Life of Biſhop* Hacket. F. xvi.

Their Abatements and Conceſſions were ſoon printed in one Sheet, 4*to.* but they met only with theſe melancholy Reflections, that neither Side would be ſatisfied with them. Had the Epiſcopal Men made the like Compliances when they were in full Power, they had prevented the Miſchiefs now growing on them. And had they who call'd for Alterations been content with theſe few, the War could never have broke out with ſuch Fury of Enthuſiaſm. The ſame Author writes, that the Committee condeſcended to print the Liturgick Pſalms in King *James*'s Tranſlation, to expunge all Apocryphal Leſſons, and alter ſome Paſſages in the Body of the Book of Common-Prayer, and certain other things, which divers of the Presbyterian Divines ſaid were ſatisfactory, ſave that the furious Party of them put the Commons upon the violent way. In particular, old Mr. *John White* told many of the Party, who ſtill preſſed at Conferences for further Abatements of Conformity and the Laws eſtabliſhed, *Time would come when they would wiſh, they had been content with what was offered.*

1640. 16 *Car.* I. *Duties, and not to be wanting to themſelves, or the cauſe of Religion, as far forth as they were concerned in their ſeveral Places.* There was no Commiſſion granted, and therefore no Buſineſs propoſed: But ſome of the Lower-Houſe began to be afraid of the Popular Offence taken againſt their Proceedings in the laſt Convocation; and therefore Mr. *Thomas Warmiſtre* one of the Clerks for the Dioceſs of *Worceſter*, made a Motion to this effect, "That they ſhould endeavour, according to the *Levitical* Law, *To cover the Pit which they had opened*; and to prevent their Adverſaries Intention by condemning ſuch offenſive Canons as were made in the laſt Convocation." But the Houſe were of no ſuch Opinion as to think the Canons obnoxious to juſt Cenſure; nor had they that meanneſs of Spirit as to condemn themſelves before they were accuſed. So that Mr. *Warmiſtre*, in a very irregular manner, ſeem'd to appeal from his Brethren to the People, by printing a long Speech as deliver'd on this Occaſion, *Bitter enough againſt ſome Canons and Proceedings in the former Seſſion, but ſuch as could not ſave him from a Sequeſtration, when the reſt of the Clergy were brought under the ſame Condition.* The Houſe of Commons were diſpos'd to ſhew them no Favour; and therefore when Dr. *Layfield* Archdeacon of *Eſſex*, was complained of for Innovations in his Church of *Allhallows Berking*, he inſiſted upon his Privilege declared by Statute 8. *Hen.* VI. *Cap.* 1. The Committee for Religion were of Opinion, that *Though he were a Member of the Convocation Houſe, yet he ſhould be ſent for as a Delinquent.* And it was accordingly order'd by the Houſe *Novemb.* 25. "That Dr. *Layfield* Vicar of St. *Alhallows Berking*, be forthwith ſent for as a Delinquent, by the Serjeant at Arms attending on this Houſe, notwithſtanding he is a Member of the Convocation Houſe." All that related more to the Convocation was an Order on *Friday* March 19. "That Mr. Treaſurer and Mr. Comptroller move his Majeſty to grant a Commiſſion to the Convocation, to treat about the granting of Subſidies to the Clergy."

No Commiſſion and therefore no Buſineſs.

Motion againſt the late Canons.

Privilege of Convocation over-ruled by the Commons

But this came to no effect, for by the Archbiſhop's Impriſonment the regular Seſſions broke off, the Bps diſcontinued their Meeting, and the Lower-Houſe by degrees dwindled away. And indeed there was by this time no occaſion for Synodical Meetings: for there was not only one very buſie Committee for Religion in the Houſe of Commons, but on *Monday* Mar. 15. there was another ſettled in the Houſe of Lords, to conſiſt of ten Earls, ten Barons, and ten Biſhops; on which the Archbiſhop made this Reflection, *This Committee (wherein the Lay Votes will be double to the Clergy) will meddle with Doctrine as well as Ceremonies, and will call ſome Divines to them to conſider of the Buſineſs; as appears by a Letter hereto annexed, ſent by the Lord Biſhop of* Lincoln *to ſome Divines to attend this Service. Upon the whole Matter, I believe this Committee will prove the National Synod of* England, *to the great Diſhonour of this Church. And what elſe may follow upon it, God knoweth.* The Divines called to be Aſſiſtants, were Dr. *Brownrig*, Dr. *Featly*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Weſtfield*, Dr. *Burges*, Mr. *Shute*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *White*, Mr. *Marſhal*. This was laying a Foundation for an *Aſſembly of Divines.*

Convocation ſlinks away.

Diary of Abp. Laud.

The prevailing Party in the Houſe of Commons betray'd a great Diſaffection to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, by holding their ſolemn Faſts on *Tueſdays*; by ordering the Communion-Table to be remov'd from the Chancel to the middle of the Church at the time of their Receiving the Sacrament, as a Houſe; by troubling and puniſhing thoſe Divines who had been moſt zealous for Conformity, as Dr. *Coſins*, Dr. *Pocklington*, Dr. *Belcanquail*, Dr. *Layfield*, Dr. *Brag*, Dr. *Couſen*, &c. by chuſing out the moſt diſaffected Miniſters to Preach before them, as Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Calamy*, &c. by countenancing and reſtoring thoſe Miniſters who had ſuffer'd any Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, as Mr. *Burton*, Mr. *Smart*, Mr. *Wilſon*, &c. by receiving and juſtifying a Petition of the Refuſe of the People in and about *London*, on *December* 11, that the Government of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, *&c. with all its Dependencies, Roots and Branches, may be aboliſhed*, &c. by Ordering *January* 23. "That Commiſſions be ſent into all Counties, for the defacing and demoliſhing, and quite taking away out of Churches and Chapels, all Images, Altars, or Tables turned Altarwiſe, Crucifixes, ſuperſtitious Pictures, Monuments, and Reliques of Idolatry. By ordering *Febr.* 5. that the Lord Keeper be deſired to leave out the Clergy in *England* and *Wales* at the renewing of the Commiſſion of the Peace. By reſolving upon the Queſtion, That the Legiſlative and Judicial Power of Biſhops in the Houſe of Peers in Parliament, is a great Hindrance to the Diſcharge of their Spiritual Function, prejudicial to the Commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by Bill; and that a Bill be drawn to that purpoſe. And farther reſolving, *March* the 11th, That for Biſhops or any other Clergy-man whatſoever to be in the Commiſſion of the Peace, or to have any judicial Power in the *Star-Chamber*, or in any Civil Court, is a great Hindrance to the Diſcharge of their Spiritual Function, prejudicial to the Commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by Bill." And indeed the Diſpoſition of the Houſe did ſo much abet and encourage the Schiſmatical and Enthuſiaſtick People, that they broke into the moſt inſolent Rudeneſs; of which a Complaint and Proof being made in the Houſe, they reſolv'd that this Order following ſhould be read publickly in all the Pariſh-Churches of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and the Borough of *Southwark* and the Liberties, "That the Divine Service be performed as it is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of this Realm: And that all ſuch as ſhall diſturb this wholſome Order, ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed according to Law; and that the Parſons, Vicars, and Curates, in the ſeveral Pariſhes, ſhall forbear to introduce any Rites or Ceremonies that may give Offence, otherwiſe than thoſe which are eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Land."

Commons ſhew greater Diſaffection to the Chur.

They encourage the Mob,

Till forc'd to reſtrain them.

The King was ſo well pleas'd, as to return the Houſe Thanks for this Order; not ſo much conſidering, that the Reading it in Churches ſhould have been rather enjoin'd by his own Prerogative, or the Juriſdiction of the Ordinary; nor believing that, ſoon after when the chief Offenders were brought to the Houſe and convicted of denying the Act 35 *Elizabeth* to be a true Law becauſe it was made by Biſhops; of refuſing to go to their Pariſh-Churches, becauſe they were not true Churches; of ſaying, the King could not make a perfect Law, becauſe he was not a perfect Man, *&c.* Yet the Houſe diſmiſs'd them with a ſoft Admonition only; by which one might ſuſpect, that they retain'd the Sectaries as they did the *Scots*, for ſome future Uſe and Service.

Yet they ſtill countenance them.

The Storm againſt the Church fell with greateſt Violence on the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *May* the 11th at Midnight, his Palace at *Lambeth* was beſet with five hundred of the Raſcally Mob, who for two hours were aſſaulting the Gates and Walls to enter; but were repulſed, and one of them hanged (*a*). And again *October* the 22d the *High-Commiſſion* ſitting at St. *Paul's* as a Place of the greateſt Safety, the Archbiſhop being ſuppoſed to be pre-

Fury againſt the Abp. of Cant.

(*a*) The Archbiſhop complained of this Inſolence to the Lord *Conway*, General of the King's Army at *Newcaſtle*, and had this Anſwer from him, dat. *Newcaſtle*, *June* 8. 1640.——I received the Letter, wherein you were pleaſed to let me know what the Diſorder at *Lambeth* was; the Mutinies of the bare Multitude are not to be feared, nor to be neglected; the chief Inciters are to be caſtigated, and that quickly.——All theſe Accidents muſt be overcome with Patience, Dexterity, and Courage. MSS. Coll. *Teniſon*, Vol. I. p. 697.

ſent,

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ſent, two thouſand of the Sectaries made a Tumult at the End of the Court, tore down all the Benches in the Conſiſtory, and cried out, *They would have no Biſhop, and no High Commiſſion* (*a*). But the Blows of the Parliament were heavier than thoſe of the People. Upon Voting down the Canons and Benevolence *December* the 16th a Committee was appointed to conſider in particular, How far the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had been an Actor in thoſe Proceedings, and in the great Deſign of the Subverſion of the Laws of the Realm and of Religion; and to draw up a Charge againſt him: And even ſome Members ſtood up to have him accuſed of High Treaſon. The next Day the Earl of *Briſtol* acquainted the Houſe of Lords, that the *Scotch* Commiſſioners had preſented ſome Papers concerning the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which were read that Day at a Conference of the two Houſes: And on *December* the 18th the Debate ariſing in the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Grimſton* made an aggravating Speech (*b*), and concluded with a Motion, *To ſtrike while the Iron was hot, and to go up to the Lords in the Name of the Commons, and to accuſe him of High Treaſon, and to deſire their Lordſhips his Perſon may be ſequeſtred; and that in convenient time they would bring up his Charge.* And accordingly Mr. *Denzil Hollis* went up to the Lords and delivered the ſaid Charge. Upon which the Archbiſhop was commanded to withdraw; but deſiring firſt the liberty of Speaking, he ſpoke to this Effect: "That he was heartily ſorry for the "Offence taken againſt him; and that he was moſt "unhappy to have his Eyes open to ſee that Day, "and his Ears to hear ſuch a Charge; but humbly "deſired their Lordſhips to look upon the whole "courſe of his Life, which was ſuch, as that he did "verily perſuade himſelf, not one Man in the Houſe "of Commons did believe in his Heart, that he was "a Traitor." At which the Earl of *Eſſex* interrupted him, and ſaid, *That Speech of his was a Scandal put upon the whole Houſe of Commons, that they ſhould charge him with ſo high a Crime which themſelves did not believe.* He then humbly deſired, "that he might be "proceeded with in the ancient Parliamentary way "of *England*." To this the Lord *Say* excepted, *as if he would preſcribe them how they ſhould proceed.* So he withdrew; and being called in again to the Bar, was delivered to the Uſher of the *Black Rod*, to be kept in ſafe Cuſtody, till the Houſe of Commons ſhould farther Impeach him. On *December* the 21ſt he was condemned, by an Order of the Houſe of Lords, to pay Five hundred Pounds to Sir *Robert Howard* for falſe Impriſonment, by a Decree of the *High Commiſſion*. After ten Weeks Reſtraint in the Uſher's Houſe, the Charge was brought up to the Lords, by Sir *Henry Vane* junior, on *February* the 26th, conſiſting of Fourteen General Articles. Upon which he was brought to the Houſe; and after the Articles were read, he ſpoke to this Effect: "That "it was a great and heavy Charge, and he muſt "be unworthy to live if it could be made good "againſt him. However, it was yet but in Gene-"rals, and *Generals* made a great Noiſe, but no "Proof. For humane Frailties he could not acquit "himſelf: But for Corruption in the leaſt degree, "he feared no Accuſer that would ſpeak Truth. "But that which went neareſt to him was, that "he ſhould be thought foul and falſe in the Profeſ-"ſion of his Religion; as if he ſhould profeſs with "the Church of *England*, and have his Heart at "*Rome*." This, he confeſs'd, troubled him exceedingly. Then he beſought their Lordſhips that he might enlarge himſelf, and ſo made his Vindication to every Article with great Eloquence and Strength of Argument. But he was to be a Sacrifice to an Army and to the People: And therefore on *Monday March* 1. he was carried in Mr. *Maxwell*'s Coach through the City to the *Tower*. All was quiet till he came to *Cheapſide*: "There (*ſays he*) ſome one "Prentice firſt hallowed out, and more and more "followed the Coach (the Number ſtill encreaſing "as they went) till by that time I came to the "*Exchange* the Shouting was exceeding great. And "ſo they followed me with Clamour and Revilings "even beyond Barbarity it ſelf, not giving over "till the Coach was entered in at the *Tower-gate*. "Mr. *Maxwell*, out of his Love and Care, was ex-"tremely troubled at it; but, I bleſs God for it, "my Patience was not moved: I looked upon a "higher Cauſe than the Tongues of *Shimei* and his "Children."

Charg'd with High Treaſon.

Defends himſelf.

Severe Proceedings againſt him.

His Speech.

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Outrage of the People.

It appears plain, that though the Archbiſhop had ſome hopes to reconcile the more moderate Papiſts by a ſeeming Compliance in ſome innocent matters, yet he was in his Judgment and Reſolutions moſt averſe to Popery, and was indeed well known by that Faction to be their greateſt Enemy. And therefore there was a Treaſon plotted by Signior *Con* and his Complices in *England*, wherein they reſolved that the Life of the Archbiſhop muſt be firſt taken away, before they could hope to get their Will of the King. This Plot was diſcovered to Sir *William Boſwell* his Majeſty's Agent in *Holland*; and the Letters and Papers ſent over, which are all now publiſhed, and are a Demonſtration that the Papiſts, who knew their own Intereſt, did know that the Archbiſhop was the greateſt Obſtructor of it. "Now this (*ſays he*) is a hard Strait into "which I am caſt: The Pope's Agent plots my "Death becauſe I will not be wrought upon to "help to bring in the *Roman* Superſtition; and the "Parliament, on the other ſide, Articles to over-"throw me, out of a Jealouſie that I go about to "bring it in." (*c*)

The Abp. moſt averſe to Popery.

Troubles and Trial of Abp. *Laud*, p. 163.

1641.

This Year 1641. muſt begin with the Fall of the greateſt Stateſman and Soldier of the Age, *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, who at the opening of the Parliament in *November* laſt was at the Head of the King's Army in the *North*, while the *Scots* were labouring to take him Priſoner at *Weſtminſter*. For this Plot, many *Iriſh* People were encouraged to prefer their Complaints to the Houſe of Commons in *England*, and to ſue for Relief from Oppreſſion and Male-Government. This Practice, that was now laid for a Snare to this great Man, turn'd by Divine Juſtice into a Prejudice to the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*, by Appeals and Reviews, and including Powers that made their Courts and very Parliaments more depending. Upon this Complaint of the Subjects in *Ireland*, *Nov.* 6. a Grand Committee was appointed

Fall of the Earl of *Strafford*.

(*a*) See, A Petition delivered to the Houſe of Commons by Alderman *Pennington* againſt the Government of Archbiſhops, Lord Biſhops, Deans, and Archdeacons, *Die Veneris*, *Dec.* 11. 1640. *Nalſon* i. p. 661.

Another Petition out of *Kent* againſt Archbiſhops, Lord Biſhops, &c. with the Grievances of them in twenty Particulars introduced with a Speech by Sir *Edward Dering*, *January* 13. 1640-41. *Nalſon* i. 720. —— with other Complaints and Addreſſes, by which 'tis very plain, that the People were not offended with *Epiſcopacy*, but with what they call'd *Lordly Prelacy*.

(*b*) See Mr. *Grimſton*'s Speech in Parliament, upon the Accuſation and Impeachment of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* upon High-Treaſon, declaring his wicked Proceedings and exorbitant Power both in Church and Commonwealth. Printed in the Year 1641. *4to.*

(*c*) See a Letter from Sir *William Boſwell*, the King's Reſident at the *Hague*, to the moſt Reverend *William Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, giving an Account of the Deſigns of the Papiſts in ſending over young Prieſts to act the Part of *Puritans* in *England*. Dat. *Hague* 12 *June* 1640. *Parr*'s Life and Letters of Archbiſhop *Uſher*. Append. p. 27. Sir *William Boſwell*'s firſt Letter to the Archbiſhop warning him of the Popiſh Plot againſt him was dated *Sept.* 9. 1640.

The Letter of *Andrew ab Habernfeld*, the Principal Plotter, opening the Plot to the Archbiſhop himſelf, was dated *Hague Sept.* 14. 1640. N. S.

The Archbiſhop's Letter to the King, and the King's Notes in the Margin; at *York Sept.* 13. 1640.

See *Nalſon* i. 469. *Ruſhworth* xi. 1310. *Prynne*'s *Rome*'s Maſter-Piece. p. 2. *Wharton*'s Life and Letters of Abp. *Laud*, &c.

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to conſider of that Grievance. The Friends of the Lord *Strafford* knew the Meaning, and ſent him notice of it, leaving to his own Prudence, whether he would ſtay at the Head of the Army, or come up to the Houſe. Thoſe about him diſſwaded him from expoſing himſelf to a confederate Malice, adviſed him to keep in his Poſt of Command in the *Engliſh* Army, or ſtep over to his Army in *Ireland*, or retire into foreign Parts, till Things were more calm and cool. But a ſenſe of Honour and his own Innocence made him reſolve to go directly to Parliament, and ſtand the Storm that was there riſing againſt him. He took one Method of Defence that wanted nothing but Expedition; for he had got good Evidence in the *North*, that the *Scots* came in by Invitation and Confederacy between the Heads of the Covenanters and ſome of the *Engliſh* Members of both Houſes: Which Intelligence he had almoſt digeſted into the Form of an Impeachment, and intended to preſent it to the Houſe of Peers. But the leading Commons were too quick for him; for on *November* 11, Mr. *Pym* carried up an Impeachment of High Treaſon, and the Lords ſequeſtred him from their Houſe, and committed him to Cuſtody. And then came the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners with a moſt bitter and virulent Declaration againſt him, preſſing vehemently the Trial of him, and intimating there could be no Treaty of Peace between the two Kingdoms, before exemplary Juſtice was done upon that Earl.

Too confident of his own Innocence.

Had more againſt his Enemies than they againſt him.

Scots implacable againſt him.

In this impetuous Haſte, two exorbitant Steps were taken to expedite the Trial: The *Firſt*, *For a Committee to be ſettled of both Houſes for the taking Preparatory Examinations*; which was indeed an Inquiſition contrary to the Practice of former times, and capable of extorting Evidence in any other crafty Proſecution of innocent Men: The *Second* was, *For the examining upon Oath Privy Counſellors, upon ſuch Matters as had paſſed at the Council Table.* This indeed could not have been without the Conſent of the King and his Council: They, conſcious of no ill Myſteries that would not bear the Light, did unhappily conſent. "The Damage (*ſays a Stateſman*) was not to be expreſs'd, and the Ruin that Act brought to the King was irreparable; for beſides that it ſerved their Turn to prove thoſe Words againſt the Earl which Sir *Harry Vane* ſo punctually remembred; and beſides that it was matter of Horror to the Counſellors, to find that they might be arraigned for every raſh Word they had uſed there; it baniſhed for ever all future freedom from that Board, *&c.*"

Extraordinary Methods of Proceeding againſt him.

Clar. Hiſt. of Rebell.

On *Monday* March the 22d the Earl was brought to his Trial in *Weſtminſter-hall*; and next Day Mr. *Pym* began to open the Evidence with great Indignation. The Trial laſted eighteen Days; in all which time, "The Earl behaved himſelf with great ſhew of Humility and Submiſſion; and in truth made his Defence with all imaginable Dexterity; anſwering this Charge, and evading that, with all poſſible Skill and Eloquence: And though he knew not till he came to the Bar, upon what Parts of his Charge they would proceed againſt him, or what Evidence they would produce, he took very little time to recollect himſelf, and left nothing unſaid that might make for his own Juſtification."

Trial begins.

The Earl makes a good Defence.

The moſt terrible (yet malicious and falſe) Allegation againſt him, was the Evidence given by Sir *Harry Vane* Secretary of State, "That upon Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament the King adviſ'd with his Cabinet Council what Courſe he ſhould now take, ſince he fail'd of the Aſſiſtance he expected by Subſidies. The E. of *Strafford* anſwered, Sir, you have now done your Duty, and your Subjects have fail'd in theirs; and therefore you are abſolved from the Rules of Government, and may ſupply your ſelf by extraordinary ways: You have an Army in *Ireland* with which you may reduce this Kingdom." The Earl poſitively deny'd the Words; and the other Privy Counſellors examined to them did all upon Oath declare, that they did not hear thoſe Words: Nay, and the Lord *Digby* in the Houſe of Commons, a ſufficient Adverſary to the Earl, did afterward, in a pathetical Speech, obſerve, that thoſe Words upon which the Impeachment was principally grounded, were ſo far from being prov'd by two Witneſſes, that he could not acknowledge it to be by one; ſince he could not admit Sir *Harry Vane* to be a competent Witneſs, who being firſt examined, denied that the Earl ſpoke theſe Words; and at his ſecond Examination remember'd ſome, and at his third the reſt of 'em.

Malicious Evidence.

Nay, the proſecuting Party were ſo conſcious of the Earl's Innocence, at leaſt of their Defect of Evidence againſt him, that they were forced to change their Impeachment into a Bill of Attainder, which *April* 19. was paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, *No*'s 59, *Yea*'s 204, and carried to the Lords, who agreed to hear the Matter of Law pleaded by the Council of Commons, among whom Mr. Sollicitor *St. Johns* offered two inſufferable Arguments; 1. *That tho' Teſtimony was not ſo clear, yet in this way of Bill, private Satisfaction to each Man's Conſcience was ſufficient, although no Evidence had been given in at all.* 2. *That the Earl had no Title to plead Law, becauſe he had broke the Law. It's true* (ſays he) *we give Laws to Hares and Deers, becauſe they be Beaſts of Chaſe; but it was never accounted either Cruelty or foul Play to knock Foxes and Wolves on the Head as they can be found, becauſe theſe be Beaſts of Prey.*

Impeachment chang'd into a Bill of Attainder.

Shameful Arguments of the Sollicitor General.

This Bill was depending and ſticking in the Houſe of Lords, when the King came, and ſending for the Commons, told both Houſes, "That he could not in Conſcience condemn the Earl of High Treaſon; for he muſt tell them three great Truths, 1. That he never had any Intention of bringing over the *Iriſh* Army into *England*, nor ever was adviſed by any Body ſo to do. 2. That there never was any Debate before him, neither in publick Council, nor at private Committee, of the Diſloyalty and Diſaffection of his *Engliſh* Subjects, nor had he ever any ſuſpicion of them. 3. That he was never counſell'd by any to alter the leaſt of any of the Laws of *England*, much leſs to alter all the Laws. Yet he ſhould be content to have the Earl condemn'd for Miſdemeanour, and made incapable to ſerve in any Place of Truſt." (*a*)

King's Speech for the Earl.

This Speech did but more inflame the ſworn Enemies of the Earl, who pretended to diſcover Plots for his Eſcape; and enter into a *Proteſtation* taken by the Speaker and moſt of the Members; and encouraged Petitions and Clamours for Juſtice; and a Black Liſt of the *Straffordians* to be poſted up, and cry'd about Streets; till many of the Lords, for fear of Violence, abſented from their own Houſes; and the Biſhops declined voting in the Act, as well as appearing in the Trial: tho' *it was not believed* (ſays the Hiſtorian) *now the former Tryal and way of Judicature was waved, the Biſhops would ſo ſtupidly* (*to ſay no worſe*) *exclude themſelves from voting in a Law which was to be an Act of Parliament.* So that in an Afternoon, when of the Fourſcore who had been preſent at the Trial, there were only Six and forty Lords in the Houſe, (the People crying at the doors for Juſtice) the Bill paſs'd, with the Diſſent only of eleven Peers.

Inflames his Enemies.

L. Claren.

Bill paſs'd the Lords.

The King was firmly reſolved not to give his Conſent: But to give all poſſible Satisfaction in it, he adviſed firſt with his Privy Council, who moſt of them preſs'd him to paſs the Bill upon this Argument, *That he ought to be more tender of the Safety of*

K. ſeems reſolv'd to reject it.

(*a*) This Speech was delivered *May* 1. 1641. —— I hope you may find out a Way to ſatisfie *Juſtice* and your own *Fears*, and not oppreſs my *Conſcience*. My Lords, I hope you know, what a tender Thing Conſcience is: — Neither Fear nor any other Reſpect ſhall ever make me go againſt it." Works of K. *Charles* Fol. p. 162.

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the Kingdom, than of any one Perſon how innocent ſoever. His Majeſty then adviſed with the Biſhops, who in general reſolved him, that he ought not to go againſt his own Conſcience for any Conſideration whatſoever. *But* (ſays the ſame Hiſtorian) *the Archbiſhop of* York *told him, that there was a private and a publick Conſcience; that his publick Conſcience as a King might not only diſpenſe with, but oblige him to do that which was againſt his private Conſcience as a Man.*——And by ſuch Imprelatical ignominious Arguments, in plain Terms adviſed him, even for Conſcience ſake, to paſs that Act. (*a*)

Unhappy Diſtinction.

E. deſires the K. to paſs the Bill,

While the King was under infinite Perplexities in his own Mind, and under the moſt imminent Dangers of Aſſaults of the Rabble in his own Palace, who were taught the Word *Juſtice, Juſtice*; the Earl wrote a Letter *May* 4. from the *Tower* to his Majeſty, to offer up his Life for a Sacrifice to the Publick,—— "With much ſadneſs I am come "to a Reſolution of that which I take to be the beſt "becoming me, and to look upon it as that which "is moſt principal in it ſelf, which doubtleſs is the "Proſperity of your ſacred Perſon and the Commonwealth, Things infinitely before any private "Man's Intereſt. And therefore in few Words, as "I put my ſelf wholly upon the Honour and Juſtice "of my Peers, ſo clearly as to wiſh your Majeſty "might pleaſe to have ſpared that Declaration of "yours on *Saturday* laſt, and entirely to have left "me to their Lordſhips; ſo now, to ſet your Majeſty's Conſcience at liberty, I do moſt humbly "beſeech your Majeſty, for Prevention of Evils "which may happen by your Refuſal, to paſs this "Bill: and by this means to remove (praiſed be "God) I cannot ſay this accurſed, but (I confeſs) "this unfortunate Thing forth of the way towards "that bleſſed Agreement which God (I truſt) ſhall "ever eſtabliſh between you and your Subjects. "*Sir*, My Conſent ſhall more acquit you herein to "God, than all the World can do beſides: To a "willing Man there is no Injury done: And as by "God's Grace I forgive all the World with a Calmneſs and Meekneſs of infinite Contentment to my "diſlodging Soul; ſo, *Sir*, to you I can give the "Life of this World with all the chearfulneſs imaginable in the juſt Acknowledgment of your exceeding Favours, and only beg that in your Goodneſs you would vouchſafe to caſt your gracious "Regard upon my poor Son and his three Siſters, "leſs or more, and no otherwiſe than as their (in "preſent) unfortunate Father may hereafter appear "more or leſs guilty of this Death. God long preſerve your Majeſty." (*b*)

In an admirable Letter.

King paſſes the Bill by Commiſſion.

On *Friday* May 7. the Lords paſſed the Bill of Attainder, with the like unreaſonable and more fatal Bill for Continuance of the preſent Parliament. Next Day the Commons deſired the Lords to join with them to move his Majeſty for his Conſent. And the Day following, being *Sunday* May 9. the King conſulted with his Privy Council, and Judges, and Biſhops; and in fine, with the utmoſt Reluctancy, the King commiſſioned the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord Privy Seal, and two other Peers, to paſs the two Bills; which was accordingly done *May* 10. The King next Day betrayed the Affliction of his Conſcience by writing a Letter to the Lords, and ſending it by the Prince.

Then interceeds for the Earl by Letter to the Lords.

"*My Lords*,

"I Did yeſterday ſatisfie the Juſtice of this Kingdom by paſſing the Bill of Attainder againſt "the Earl of *Strafford*: But Mercy being as inherent and inſeparable to a King as Juſtice, I deſire "at this time in ſome meaſure to ſhew That likewiſe, by ſuffering that unfortunate Man to fulfill "the natural courſe of his Life in a cloſe Impriſonment: Yet ſo, if ever he make the leaſt Offer to "eſcape, or offer directly or indirectly to meddle "in any ſort of publick Buſineſs, eſpecially with "Me, either by Meſſage or Letter, it ſhall coſt him "his Life without farther Proceſs. This, if it may "be done without the Diſcontentment of my People, will be an unſpeakable Contentment to me. "To which end, as in the firſt place, I by this Letter do earneſtly deſire your Approbation, and to "endear it more, have choſen him to carry it that "of all your Houſe is moſt dear to me; ſo I deſire, that by a Conference you will endeavour to "give the Houſe of Commons Contentment, aſſuring you that the Exerciſe of Mercy is not more "pleaſing to me, than to ſee both Houſes of Parliament conſent for my ſake, that I ſhould moderate the ſeverity of the Law in ſo important "a Caſe.

"I will not ſay that your complying with me in "this my intended Mercy, ſhall make me more willing; but certainly 'twill make me more chearful "in granting your juſt Grievances: But if no leſs "than his Life can ſatisfie my People, I muſt ſay, "*Fiat Juſtitia*. Thus again recommending the conſideration of my Intention to you, I reſt

"*Your unalterable and Affectionate Friend*

"Charles *R*.

PS. "If he muſt die it were Charity "to reprieve him till *Saturday*."

On *Wedneſday* May 12, the Earl was brought to the Scaffold upon *Tower-hill*; as he paſſed near the Lodgings of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (whom he had deſired by a Meſſage to be at the Window and to Bleſs him as he went to Execution) he look'd up, and bowing ſaid, *My Lord, your Prayers and your Bleſſing.* The Archbiſhop lift up his Hands for the ſign of beſtowing both, but was ſo overcome with Grief that he fell back in a ſwoon; the Earl bowed again, and ſaid, *Farewel, my Lord, God protect your Innocency.* Many of the Spectators obſerved, that he walked more like a General, at the Head of an Army, than like a condemn'd Man. The Lieutenant deſir'd him to take Coach, for fear the People ſhould ruſh in upon him and tear him in Pieces: *No*, (ſaid he) *Maſter Lieutenant, I dare look Death in the Face, and I hope the People too. Have you a care that I do not eſcape, and I care not how I die, whether by the Hand of the Executioner, or the Madneſs and Fury of the People if that may give them better Content; it is all one to me.* Upon the Scaffold attended by the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, the Earl of *Cleveland*, his Brother Sir *George Wentworth*, and his own Chaplain, he delivered his Speech with a very compos'd and courageous Air; the chief Parts were as follow.

Brought to the Scaffold.

His dying Speech.

——"I ſpeak in the preſence of Almighty "God, before whom I ſtand, that there is not a diſpleaſing Thought that ariſeth in me againſt any "Man: I thank God, I ſay truly, my Conſcience "bears me Witneſs, that in all the Honour I had to "ſerve his Majeſty, I had not any Intention in "my Heart but what did aim at the joint and individual Proſperity of the King and his People.— "I was ſo far from being againſt Parliaments, that "I did always think Parliaments in *England* to be "the happieſt Conſtitution of the Kingdom and "Nation, and the beſt Means, under God, to make "the King and his People happy.—— I profeſs "heartily my Apprehenſion, and do humbly recommend it to you, and wiſh that every Man "would lay his Hand on his Heart and conſider ſe-

(*a*) See the Conſult held by his Majeſty with the Primate of *Armagh*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Lincoln*, and *Carliſle*, on *Sat. May* 8. and *Sund. May* 9. to ſatisfie his Majeſties Conſcience, whether he might paſs the Bill of Attainder againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*.—— Only Biſhop *Juxon* reſolutely againſt it. *Heylin's Reſpondat. Petrus.* 4to. *p.* 146. *Bernard*'s Judgment of Archbiſhop *Uſher*. *p.* 116.

(*b*) I think the Original Letter is in MSS. *Harley* 39. *B.* 1.

rioully,

1641. 17 Car. I. "rioſly, whether the beginning of the Peoples "Happineſs ſhould be written in *Letters of Blood*; I "fear they are in a wrong way. I deſire Almighty "God, that no one drop of my Blood riſe up in "Judgment againſt them; I have but one Word "more, and that is for my Religion. My Lord of "*Armagh*, I do profeſs my ſelf ſeriouſly, faithfully "and truly to be an Obedient Son of the Church "of *England*. In that Church I was born and bred, "in that Religion I have lived, and now in that I "die: Proſperity and Happineſs be ever to it.— "The Lord ſtrengthen my Faith, and give me Con-"fidence and Aſſurance in the Merits of Chriſt Je-"ſus. I truſt in God we ſhall All meet to live eter-"nally in Heaven, and receive the Accompliſhment "of all Happineſs; where every Tear ſhall be "wiped off from our Eyes, and ſad Thoughts from "our Hearts: And ſo God bleſs this Kingdom, "and Jeſus have Mercy on my Soul."

After this Speech he pray'd out of the Common Prayer-Book, laid by his Chaplain before him; and then uſed ſome private Devotions, concluding with the Lord's-Prayer; then taking leave of his Brother, he ſaid, *Brother, we muſt part; Remember me to my Siſter and to my Wife; and carry my Bleſſing to my eldeſt Son, and charge him from me that he fear God, and continue an obedient Son of the Church of* England, *and that he approve himſelf a faithful Subject of the King; and tell him, that he ſhould not have any private Grudge or Revenge towards any concerning me; and bid him beware to meddle with Church-Livings, for that will prove a Moth and Canker to him in his Eſtate; and wiſh him to content himſelf to be a Servant to his Country, as a Juſtice of Peace in his County, not aiming at higher Preferments*, &c.

The Executioner ſtruck off his Head at one blow: and ſo fell this noble Earl, who if his Maſter could have ſaved him, might have been able to ſave his Maſter: This was indeed the blow that by degrees reached up to the King's own Head. Take his Character thus given by the Lord *Clarendon*. *Thus fell the greateſt Subject in Power, and little inferiour to any in Fortune, that was at that Time in any of the three Kingdoms; who could well remember the Time when he led thoſe People who then purſued him to his Grave. He was a Man of great Parts, and extraordinary Endowments of Nature, not unadorn'd with ſome addition of Art and Learning.* But to return to the courſe of other Affairs. While the two Houſes were enter'd upon meaſures ſo apparently againſt the Inclination and the Intereſt of the King, they had reaſon to fear, that he might truſt to his Armies rather than to his Parliament. Two Armies he yet had, one in *Ireland* and the other in the *North* againſt the *Scots*. And therefore the Care of the leading Members was to deprive the King of any ſuch laſt Reſort. Hence *April* 6. the Commons reſolved, "That during the "Seſſion of this Parliament, neither the King's Ar-"my nor any of the Train'd-Bands of *Yorkſhire*, "ſhould march or advance without ſpecial Order of "his Majeſty, with the Advice and Conſent of both "Houſes of Parliament, except in Caſe the *Scotiſh* "Army ſhould paſs the Limits appointed by the "Treaty." And for the *Iriſh* Army, of which they were more afraid, becauſe the Officers were leſs at their Devotion; they importun'd the King for a ſpeedy diſbanding of it, and prevailed with him ſo to diſable himſelf, after he had thus ſpoke to the two Houſes on *Wedneſday* Apr. 28.

King's Speech. "FOR the *Iriſh* Army, you muſt underſtand, I "am already upon conſultation how to diſband "it, but I find many Difficulties in it. Therefore "I hold it not only fit to wiſh it, but to ſhew the "way how it may be conveniently done. This is "not all I deſire; but ſince you have mentioned the "diſbanding of Armies, it is my Duty to my Coun-"try to wiſh for diſbanding of all Armies, and to "reſtore the ſame Peace to all my three Kingdoms "that the King, my Father, did leave them in: "And I conjure you, as you will anſwer the ſame, "to God and to the Country, to join with me hear-"tily and ſpeedily, for the diſbanding of the two "Armies in *England*; to which end there are two "Things requiſite, Money and the Concluſion of "the *Scots* Treaty."

But indeed the Managers in the Parliament intended to keep the *Scots* Army as in their own Pay and Service, and therefore from time to time renewed the Pacification without concluding the Treaty. And they ſo applied themſelves to the *Engliſh* Army, as if it muſt now enter into the new Service of the two Houſes. For a formal Letter was drawn up by a Committee, and ſent by Mr. *Ruſhworth* to the Army, with promiſe of Proviſion and all ſuitable Supplies. And to make the Combination perfect, there was a ſolemn Form of Proteſtation drawn up; for promiſing, vowing and proteſting to maintain and defend, with Life, Power and Eſtate, the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovation, &c. taken by the Houſe of Commons, *May* 3. and carried up next Day to the Lords with a deſire of their Concurrence, who generally took it, and ſet a Preſident for the Solemn League and Covenant that came ſoon after. (For keeping up the *Scots* Army.)

They had little now to fear, but that the King would exert his Prerogative in proroguing or diſſolving the Parliament; they had gained the Point for frequent Seſſions, but it would be now better to make this one Seſſion perpetual; and therefore *May* 7, the Commons ſent up to the Lords a Continuance-Bill, or *An Act to prevent Inconveniences that may happen by the untimely Adjourning, Proroguing and Diſſolving this preſent Parliament*, which was agreed to, and paſs'd by Commiſſion the Royal Aſſent *May* 10, on which Day Mr. Treaſurer brought a kind Meſſage to the Commons, and ſaid, *By this you may ſee how ready his Majeſty is to ſatisfie all our juſt Requeſts, and is reſolv'd to repoſe himſelf upon the Affections of his People.* (Moſt fatal Bill.)

On *May* 13. the King in Perſon gave his Conſent to three other Bills. 1. *For the Abbreviation of* Michaelmas *Term*. 2. *For the Preſſing Mariners for the King's Ships*. 3. *For the Remainder of the ſix entire Subſidies.*

May 17. Reſolved by the Commons, "That this "Houſe doth approve of the Affection of their Bre-"thren of *Scotland*, in their deſire of a Conformity "in Church-Government between the two Nations, "and doth give them Thanks for the ſame." So as the Conſpiracy of the Malecontents in both Kingdoms began now to diſcover it ſelf againſt Epiſcopacy and Monarchy. Hence a Paper, called the *Scots Belief*, was referred to the Committee for Printing *May* 18, and next Day the Bill was read to take away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament. And upon this proſpect of Confuſion, Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, reſigned his Treaſurer's Staff, and that Office was put into Commiſſion. (Commons in a perfect Conſpiracy with the *Scots*.)

May 21. Upon a Meſſage from the Lords for diſbanding the Armies, Mr. Treaſurer reported, that there was in Arrear due to the *Scots* 120000 *l.* beſides the 300000 *l.* and it was voted by both Houſes, that the two Armies ſhould be diſbanded and ſatisfied next Month. In the Debate upon raiſing Money for this purpoſe *June* 2. it was found that no leſs than eight hundred thouſand Pounds would ſuffice. And becauſe the King was preparing for another Progreſs into *Scotland*, for fear he ſhould in his Paſſage thither influence the Armies that lay upon his Road, it was reſolved *June* 16. "That both Houſes be hum-"ble Suitors to his Majeſty, that the Armies may "be diſbanded before the King's going into the "*North*, and all parts of the Kingdom put into a "poſture of Defence." Upon which the Earl of *Holland* General, was ſent down to diſband the *Engliſh* Army. And on *June* 19. it was concluded that the *Scots* ſhould have three hundred thouſand Pounds paid for a Condition of their diſbanding. (*Engliſh* Army diſbanded.)

June

1641. 17 Car. I. *June* 21, Sir *Edward Deering*, a leading Member, did in a Speech acknowledge, that the King had yet denied them nothing; ſays he, *We are all bound unto the Goodneſs of his ſacred Majeſty (God preſerve him and his for it) none of all our Bills, none of our Petitions this Parliament, have miſcarried in his Royal Hand, but have been compleated all with the Royal Aſſent.* And indeed the Compliance of the King to all the Reſolutions of his Parliament did abundantly demonſtrate, that he yet thought of no future War with them. If he had meant Fighting, or could have foreſeen it, he would never have ſo diſarm'd himſelf and diſabled his Friends.

Compliance of the King confeſt by his Enemies.

June 22. the Commons having condemn'd the taking of the old cuſtomary Tonnage and Poundage without conſent of Parliament, drew up a Bill to ſettle it as a Gift of the two Houſes to the King, who at the paſſing of it made this Speech.

King's Speech at paſſing the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage.

"I Do very willingly accept your Offer made at "this time, as a Teſtimony of your Love, and "beginning of your dutiful Affections to me: and "I no way doubt but that you will perform that "which you have intimated unto me, and that in "due time you will perform the reſt when you have "leiſure.

"I doubt not likewiſe, but that in paſſing this "Bill, you will ſee a Teſtimony of the Truſt and "Confidence I have in your Affections; as alſo that "I omit no occaſion whereby I may ſhew that Af"fection to my People that I deſire my People "would ſhew to me; as in this Parliament hither"to no Body can ſay, but that I have ſought occa"ſions, both to ſhew my Affections unto them and "to remove Diſputes.

"And therefore in this particular Bill I hope you "will know, that I do freely and frankly give over "the *Right* which my Predeceſſors have ever chal"lenged unto them (though I confeſs *diſputed*, but "yet they did never *yield* it in their Times) there"fore you will underſtand this but as a Mark of my "Confidence, to put my ſelf wholly upon the Love "and Affection of my People for my Subſiſtence; "and therefore I hope that in proſecution of this you "will go on as you have ſaid. And tho' you have "rumours of Jealouſies, and Suſpicions by flying "and idle Diſcourſes that have come to my Ears, con"cerning the *Extraordinary Way*, I confeſs I never "underſtood it otherwiſe than as having relation "to the *Scotiſh* Army, and preventing Inſurrection, "which vaniſhed as ſoon as they were born.

"And therefore now you ſee my Clearneſs, I "will leave that to you, and will not meddle with "it one way or other; for I never had other De"ſign, but to win the Affections of my People by "my Juſtice in my Government."

The Parliament afraid of the King's going to *Scotland*.

The two Houſes were ſtill afraid of the King's intended Journey to *Scotland*, and therefore made ſeveral Propoſitions to retard it; which was likely to have created ſome Difference between the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Brethren. For *June* 26, the *Scots* Commiſſioners acquaint the Commons, that they having heard as if the Parliament would endeavour to diſſuade his Majeſty from his Royal Intentions of going into *Scotland*, they found themſelves obliged to ſay, that the ſame would be a great Prejudice to them. However on this ſame Day the Commons thought fit to move the Lords, to join in Petitioning his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed not to begin his Journey into *Scotland* till the 12th of *Auguſt*.

But he was not to go in Peace without paſſing the two Bills prepared for taking away the *High-Commiſſion Court* and the *Star-Chamber*, which were ancient Courts that had indeed of late exceeded their original Juriſdiction, and might want to be reformed; but nothing would ſatisfy without aboliſhing of them. And therefore on *July* 5. the King aſſented with this Speech.

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King's Speech at paſſing the Bills againſt High Commiſſion and Star-Chamber Courts.

"I Am come to do the Office which I did defer "on *Saturday* laſt, to give determination to theſe "two Bills; but before I do it I muſt tell you, that "I cannot but be very ſenſible of thoſe Reports of "Diſcontent that I hear ſome have taken, for my "not giving my conſent on *Saturday*. Methinks it "ſeems ſtrange that any one ſhould think I could "paſs two Bills of that importance as theſe were, "without taking ſome fit time to conſider of them: "For it is no leſs than to alter in a great meaſure "thoſe fundamental Laws Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, "which many of my Predeceſſors have eſtabliſhed.

"If you conſider what I have done this Parlia"ment, diſcontent will not ſit in your Hearts: For "I hope you remember I have granted, that the "Judges hereafter ſhall hold their Places *Quamdiu "bene ſe geſſerint*. I have bounded the Foreſts not "according to my Right, but according to late "Cuſtoms. I have eſtabliſhed the Property of the "Subjects, as witneſs the free giving, not the ta"king away of Ship-money. I have eſtabliſhed by "Act of Parliament the Property of the Subject in "Tonnage and Poundage, which never was done in "any of my Predeceſſors time. I have granted a "Law for a Triennial Parliament; and given way "to an Act for the ſecuring of Moneys advanced "for the Diſbanding of the Armies. I have given "free courſe of Juſtice againſt Delinquents. I have "put the Laws in execution againſt the Papiſts. "Nay, I have given way to every thing that you "have asked of me; and therefore methinks you "ſhould not wonder, if in ſome things I begin to "refuſe: But I hope it ſhall not hinder your Pro"greſs in your great Affairs, and I will not ſtick "upon trivial Matters to give you Content. I hope "you are ſenſible of theſe beneficial Favours be"ſtowed on you at this time.

"To conclude, You know by your Conſent, there "is a prefixed time ſet for my going into *Scotland*, "and there is an abſolute Neceſſity for it. I do "not know, but things may ſo fall out, that it "may be ſhortned: therefore I hope you will haſten "the diſpatching of thoſe great Buſineſſes that now "are neceſſary to be done, and leave trivial and "ſuperficial Matters to another Meeting.

"For my part, I ſhall omit nothing that may "give you juſt Contentment, and ſtudy nothing "more than your Happineſs. And therefore I hope "you ſhall ſee a very good Teſtimony of it by "Paſſing theſe two Bills."

Abuſe of the King's Goodneſs.

But indeed the Condeſcenſions of the King did but elevate the Faction, who thought every Royal Conceſſion to be an Argument of their own Power, rather than of the King's Juſtice or Mercy. And therefore tho' his Majeſty favour'd the two Houſes by a *Manifeſto* approv'd by them in the Cauſe of the Palatinate; yet on *July* 6, the Commons proceeded in their Charge againſt the Judges, and carried up Articles of Impeachment againſt Sir *Robert Berkley* one of the Juſtices of the *King's-Bench*, and againſt Sir *Francis Crawley* one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, and againſt the Lord Chief Baron *Davenport*, Baron *Weſton*, and Baron *Trevor*: and appointed a Committee to receive Complaints againſt any other Miniſter of Juſtice, by which they gain'd this Advantage at leaſt, to keep many of the King's Friends under Dread and Silence.

Charge againſt the Judges.

July 28, the King ſent another Meſſage of his intended Journey toward *Scotland* Aug. 10, which the Commons labour'd to retard, by deſiring at a Conference with the Lords, that his Majeſty might be requeſted to appoint a *Cuſtos Regni* during his Abſence, and Commiſſion him to give the Royal Aſſent to Bills in Parliament. A Propoſal extravagant and illegal.

On *Aug.* 7. at another Conference with the Lords, Mr. *Hollis* offer'd Reaſons to move the King to ſtay his Journey: which brought the King the ſame Day to the Houſe of Lords; where, in a ſhort Speech, he

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he urged the Neceſſity of his ſpeedy Going. This raiſed greater Heats and Paſſions, and the Commons reſolved (and prevailed with the Lords to do the like) to ſit next Day, being *Sunday*, thinking fit to excuſe it by a ſhort Declaration, that it ſhould not be drawn into Precedent.

On *Monday* Aug. 2, the King again told the Houſe of Peers, *That his Faith was engaged to be in his Kingdom of* Scotland, *that he could not but go, that the Condition of Affairs in that Kingdom required his Preſence*, &c. So that on *Tueſday* Morning the King came again to the Houſe, and gave his Aſſent to an *Act for the Treaty between the two Kingdoms*; *to a Bill for the prevention of vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood*; *and to a Bill for regulating the Clerks of the Market*: and ſign'd a limited Commiſſion to ſome Lords for paſſing Bills in his Abſence: and ſo took Leave of the two Houſes in a ſhort Speech, and began his Journey about Two that Afternoon.

King goes for *Scotland*.

The leading Members were ſtill afraid to truſt the King out of their own Sight; and therefore order'd, that a Committee of Lords and Commoners ſhould be ſent to the Parliament in *Scotland*, to remain there, and maintain a Correſpondence between the two Nations. Accordingly the Lord *Howard*, Mr. *Hampden*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, were ſent to be as it were Ambaſſadors from the Parliament, and Spies upon the King. (*a*)

Parliam. ſet Spies upon him.

When his Majeſty came to *York*, he found no part of either Army disbanded, becauſe the Money was not yet return'd. While his Majeſty ſtaid at *York*, the E. of *Holland*, Lord General, made a Suit to the King for the Favour of making a Baron; which being denied by the King, the Earl turn'd a Malecontent; and as ſoon as ever the King was gone, he enter'd into a Correſpondence with the oppoſite Party, betray'd the King's Secrets, and became his moſt ungrateful and unfaithful Adverſary.

E. of *Holland* deſerts the King.

His Majeſty came ſafe to *Edinburgh*, and on *Auguſt* 19, made this Speech to the Parliament of *Scotland*.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,

King's Speech to *Scots* Parliament.

"THere hath been nothing ſo diſpleaſing to me, " as thoſe unlucky Differences which have " happen'd between Me and my People; and no" thing that I have more deſired, than to ſee this " Day, wherein I hope not only to ſettle theſe un" happy Miſtakings, but rightly to know and to " be known to my Native Country.

" I need not tell you (for I think it is well " known to moſt) what Difficulties I have paſſed " through and overcome, to be here at this preſent. " Yet this I will ſay, If Love to my Native Coun" try had not been a chief Motive to this Journey, " other Reſpects might eaſily have found a ſhift to " do that by a Commiſſion, which I am come to " perform my ſelf.

" And this conſidered, I cannot doubt of ſuch " real Teſtimonies of your Affections for the Main" tenance of that Royal Power which I enjoy af" ter an hundred and eight Deſcents; and which " you have profeſſed to maintain; and to which your " own National Oath doth oblige you; that I ſhall " not think any Pains ill beſtow'd.

" Now the End of my Coming is ſhortly this; " To perfect whatſoever I have promiſed, and with" all to quiet the Diſtractions which have and may " fall out amongſt you: And this I mind not ſuper" ficially but fully and chearfully to perform. For " I aſſure you, that I can do nothing with more " Chearfulneſs, than to give my People a general " Satisfaction. Wherefore not offering to endear " my ſelf unto you in Words (which indeed is not " my Way) I deſire in the firſt place to ſettle that " which concerns the Religion and juſt Liberties of " this my Native Country, before I proceed to any " other Act."

Theſe are the moſt material things done in the *Scots* Parliament. *Auguſt* 26. *Act anent the Ratifications of the Articles of Treaty*, &c. Sept. 2. *Act anent incovenanting Patrons.* Nov. 6. *Act in favour of Prince Elector Palatine, for ten thouſand Foot to be ſent into* Germany. Novemb. 17. *Act appointing the next Parliament to conveen the firſt* Tueſday *of* June 1644.

The *Engliſh* Parliament ſitting without their King, were much more uneaſie. *Aug.* 16. the Lords receiving a perfidious Letter from the Earl of *Holland* Lord General, with obſcure Intimation as if there were new Practices and Deſigns againſt the Parliament, held a Conference with the Commons upon this Subject-matter: and the Commons to improve the Fears and Jealouſies, appointed a Committee to conſider of putting the Kingdom into a poſture of Defence. And to prepare a way for inveſting the two Houſes with the Legiſlature, on *Auguſt* 27. they made what they called an Ordinance of Parliament for a Day of Publick Thankſgiving, for the Peace between *England* and *Scotland* on *Tueſday* Sept. 7. And within twenty Days after the King's remove, the Houſe of Peers being reduced to not above twenty Lords, and the Houſe of Commons to little more than a hundred Members, and thoſe all Zealots for the new Cauſe; they made many exorbitant Votes and Declarations, till being weary and almoſt aſhamed, on *Sept.* 9, the two Houſes Adjourn'd to *Octob.* 20. but not without *irregularly* (*for the like had never been before practis'd*) *making a Committee of each Houſe to meet twice a Week, and oftner if they ſaw Cauſe, during the Receſs, and to tranſact ſuch Buſineſs as they were authoriz'd to do by their Inſtructions.*

Engliſh Parliament.

Receſs of the two Houſes.

Lord *Clarendon's* Hiſt. of Rebel. B. iv. p. 233.

When the two Houſes after their Receſs met again, they got the Train'd-Bands of *Weſtminſter* to attend with their Arms in the *Palace-yard*; and proceeded in Speeches and Votes and Bills againſt the Biſhops, againſt Ceremonies, againſt the Liturgy, and to draw up a Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom.

Meet again with Guards.

While in *Scotland* the King had reaſon to be weary of the Place, for he found all things propoſed to him as to a vanquiſhed Perſon, without conſideration of his Honour or his Intereſt; having not one Counſellor about him but the Duke of *Lenox*, and very few Followers who had either Affection to his Perſon or Reſpect of his Honour. But whatever Acts they were pleaſed to preſent to him concerning Church or State, the King confirmed, and then gratified the Promoters of them. He made the Lord *Lowdon* who had been the principal Manager of the Rebellion, an Earl, and Chancellor of *Scotland*; he created the Earl of *Argyle* a Marqueſs; their General *Leſly* Earl of *Leven*, and their Lieutenant-General Earl of *Calender*; and conferred other Honours and Offices upon his greateſt Enemies, in hopes to reconcile and retain them. So that he ſeemed to have made that Progreſs into *Scotland*, only that he might make a perfect Deed of Gift of that Kingdom, which he could never have done ſo abſolutely without going thither. And ſo having nothing more to do there, he began his Journey towards *England* about the middle of *November*.

King weary of *Scotland*.

Where in effect he gave away the Kingdom.

But to compleat the King's Misfortunes, and give him particular Plagues in every one of his three Kingdoms; about the middle of *October* came the

Iriſh Rebellion.

(*a*) And in many things the *Engliſh* Parliament ignobly ſubmitted to a ſervile Compliance with their *Brethren*, as they now call'd them in *Scotland*. See, *An Ordinance of Parliament for a Day of Publick Thankſgiving for the Peace concluded between* England *and* Scotland, *to be obſerved on* Tueſday *the 7th of* September *next, that we may join with our Brethren in* Scotland, *who have deſigned the ſame Day for that Duty*, Die Veneris 27 *Aug.* 1641.—— The Day of Thankſgiving kept by the Commons at *Lincoln*'s-*Inn* Chapel, becauſe the Biſhop of *Lincoln* had framed a Set Form of Prayer to be uſed at St. *Margaret*'s Church. *Ruſhworth* iii. p. 385.

News

1641. 17 *Car.* I.

News of the *Iriſh* Rebellion: For the Papiſts and old Natives taking advantage of the King's Neceſſities, and of the Army disbanding, and of the Earl of *Leiceſter* Lord Lieutenant's Abſence in *England*, conſpired to deſtroy the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, and to ſecure the Kingdom in their own Hands. Their Deſign upon *Dublin* was miraculouſly diſcovered the Night before it was to be executed, and ſo the ſurprizal of that Caſtle prevented, and the principal Conſpirators apprehended. But in other parts they obſerv'd the Time appointed, and made their Inſurrection in ſuch an inhumane and barbarous manner, that there were forty or fifty thouſand *Engliſh* Proteſtants murther'd before they ſuſpected themſelves to be in Danger, or could provide for their Defence. (*a*)

King deſires to ſuppreſs it.

The King wrote from *Scotland* to the two Houſes, that he was ſatisfied this was no raſh Inſurrection, but a formed Rebellion, which muſt be ſuppreſt by a declared War, the Management of which he would leave to their Care and Wiſdom. This occaſioned a Committee of both Houſes to conſider of the Affairs of *Ireland*, and to provide for ſuppreſſing that Rebellion. And this Reference gave the Houſes another conſiderable Step to a ſeparate Power; acting in this Matter without the King, and enforcing ſeveral Orders with as much effect as if they had been legal Statutes; beſide the borrowing Monies and conferring Offices, and doing other Acts that gave them Poſſeſſion of a *large Power and Dependance, the Miſchief whereof, tho' in the beginning little taken notice of, was afterwards felt by the King very ſenſibly:* Nay, and ſome of the artificial Managers took all occaſions to inſinuate, "That this Rebellion in *Ireland* was contrived and fomented by the King, or at leaſt by the Queen, for the advancement of Popery; and that the Rebels publiſh'd and declar'd, that they had the King's Authority for all they did;" *which Calumny, though without the leaſt ſhadow or colour of Truth, made great impreſſion upon the Minds of ſober and moderate Men.* The *Iriſh* Rebels did indeed pretend a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, dated at *Edinburgh Octob.* 1. 1641. but the Impudence of this Calumny was proteſted againſt by the Lords Juſtices and Council in *Ireland*; and the whole Trick was afterward confeſt, how they forged the Commiſſion, and affix'd a Broad Seal to it which they had taken off from an old Patent.

Lord *Clarendon.*

Pretended Commiſſion.

Bitter Remonſtrance.

But theſe and other vain Fears gave a better opportunity to a Committee in the Houſe of Commons, to draw up a Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom, and report it to the Houſe, in order to prepare it for the King's reception, who was now returning home. "It contained a very bitter Repreſentation of things, with all the ſharp Reflections that could be made, and all unreaſonable Jealouſies, &c. In a Word, they left not any Error or Misfortune in Government, or any paſſionate exerciſe of Power unmentioned or unpreſs'd; with the ſharpeſt and moſt pathetical Expreſſions to affect the People, that the general Obſervation of the Wiſeſt, or the particular Animoſity of the moſt Diſobliged, or ill affected Perſons could ſuggeſt to the diſadvantage of the King, from the Death of his Father to the unhappy *beginning of the preſent Parliament.*" The Houſe ſeemed generally to miſlike it, and many argued that it was both Unneceſſary and Unſeaſonable; *Unneceſſary*, all thoſe Grievances being already redreſs'd, and as good Security being given for the future as could poſſibly be done: And *Unſeaſonable*, after the King had gratified them in every thing they deſired, and after ſo long abſence in the ſettling the Diſorders in another Kingdom, which he had happily compos'd, to be now welcom'd home with ſuch a volume of Reproaches for what others had done amiſs, and which he himſelf had reformed. Sir *Edward Deering* (*b*) ſpoke bluntly againſt it, Mr. *Palmer* and others proteſted againſt it. But after all the Oppoſition, by ſitting late and quarreling much, it was at laſt carried in the Affirmative by nine Voices, and ordered to be printed. 'Tis obſervable, that the greateſt Stickler for it was *Oliver Cromwell*, a Member hitherto obſcure, who ſollicited the Cauſe with vehement Applications, and after the paſſing, told the Lord *Falkland* with ſome Aſſeveration, that *If the Remonſtrance had been rejected, he would have ſold all he had the next Morning, and never have ſeen* England *more; and he knew there were many other honeſt Men of the ſame Reſolution.* So near was the poor Kingdom at that time to its Deliverance or to its Deſtruction.

Oppos'd in vain.

1641. 17 *Car.* I.

Lord *Clarendon.*

King returns.

On *Thurſday* November 25, the King paſſed thro' *London*, in his Return from *Scotland*, and was received and entertained by the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen, with ſuch extraordinary Reſpect and Joy, that the King in anſwer to the Recorder's Speech thank'd the good Citizens for their hearty Expreſſions of Love to him, and ſaid, "He could not expreſs the Contentment he received herein, becauſe he now ſaw that all thoſe Tumults and Diſorders had only riſen from the meaner ſort of People, and that the Affections of the better and main part of the City had been ever Loyal and Affectionate to his Perſon and Government."

King pleaſed with the City.

K. diſmiſs the Guards of the two Houſes.

The King commanded the Guards that had been attending on the two Houſes to be diſmiſſed: This diſpleaſed thoſe Members who thought it a piece of State, and pretended it to be a needful Security: So the King was petitioned to continue them; to which when the King anſwered *November* 27. that he would order ſome Train'd-Bands to wait for a few Days, tho' he knew no cauſe they had of Fears, and it was a great trouble to his Subjects to perform that Service, and gave ſtrange Apprehenſions and Jealouſies to the People. They appointed a Committee to draw up Reaſons for a Guard, and deſired ſuch Guard might be under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, which indeed foreboded the raiſing of an Army, and the chuſing of their own General.

Remonſtrance delivered.

Decemb. 1, a Committee of the Houſe of Commons waited on the King at *Hampton-Court*, and delivered the Petition, and the large Remonſtrance, read over to his Majeſty by Sir *Ralph Hopton*, the King was much concerned at the Harſhneſs of it, but promiſed an Anſwer, *as ſoon as the weight of the Buſineſs would permit*; and deſired *there ſhould be no publiſhing that Declaration, till they had received his Anſwer to it.* But they did publiſh it, and that by Order of the Houſe; and the King in his Anſwer complained of his being *ſenſible of that Diſreſpect*; but however promiſed and aſſured them that he would do all that was poſſible *for the Comfort and Happineſs of his People.*

Decemb. 2. the King came to the Houſe of Lords and paſſed the *Bill for Tonnage and Poundage* with this Speech.

King's Speech.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I Think it fit after ſo long abſence at this firſt occaſion, to ſpeak a few Words unto you, but no ways in Anſwer to Mr. Speaker's learned Speech. Albeit I have ſtaid longer than I expected to have done when I went away, yet in this I have kept my Promiſe with you, that I have made all the haſte back again that the ſettling my *Scotch* Affairs could any ways permit. In which I have had ſo good Succeſs, that I will confidently affirm to you, that I have left that Nation a moſt peaceable and contented People; ſo that although I have a little miſreckon'd in Time, yet I was not deceived in my End.

(*a*) On *Saturday* 23. *Octob.* 1641. a Day dedicated to S. *Ignatius*, a fit Patron for ſuch a Villainy, broke out the dreadful Rebellion and Maſſacre in *Ireland*. *Cox Hiſt. Irel.* P. ii. p. 72. to the loſs of about an hundred and forty thouſand Proteſtants Lives, as carefully computed.

(*b*) See the Speech of Sir *Edward Dering* againſt the Remonſtrance prepared for the King, and eſpecially that Part of it. *Idolatry introduced by Command of the Biſhops. Ruſhworth* iii. p. 425.

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"But if I have deceived your Expectations a little in the time of my Return, I am aſſured that my Expectation is as much and more deceived in the Condition wherein I hoped to have found Buſineſs at my Return. For ſince that before my going, I ſettled the Liberties of my Subjects, and gave the Laws a free and orderly Courſe, I expected to have found my People reaping the Fruits of theſe Benefits by living in quietneſs and ſatisfaction of Mind; but inſtead of this, I find them diſturb'd with Jealouſies, Frights and Alarms of dangerous Deſigns and Plots; in conſequence of which, Guards have been ſet to defend both Houſes. I ſay not this as in doubt that my Subjects Affections are any way leſſen'd to me in this time of my abſence: For I cannot but remember to my great comfort the joyful Reception I had now at my entry into *London*; but rather, as I hope, that my Preſence will eaſily diſperſe theſe Fears: For I bring as perfect and true Affections to my People, as ever Prince did, or as good Subjects can poſſibly deſire. And I am ſo far from Repenting me of any Act done in this Seſſion for the good of my People, that I proteſt if it were to do again I would *do it*, and will yet grant what elſe can be juſtly deſired for ſatisfaction in point of Liberties, or in maintenance of the true Religion that is here eſtabliſhed.

"Now I have but one Particular to recommend unto you at this time; it is *Ireland*, for which tho' I doubt not your Care, yet methinks the Preparations for it go but ſlowly on. The occaſion is the fitter for me now to mention, becauſe of the arrival of two Lords from *Scotland*, who came inſtructed from my Council there (who now by Act of Parliament have full Power for that purpoſe) to anſwer that Demand which it pleaſed both Houſes to make me, by way of Petition, that met me at *Berwick*, and which the Duke of *Richmond* ſent back by my Command to my *Scotch* Council. Therefore my Deſire is, that both Houſes would appoint a ſelect Committee to end this Buſineſs with theſe Noblemen. I muſt conclude in telling you, that I ſeek my People's Happineſs; for their flouriſhing is my greateſt Glory, and their Affections my greateſt Strength."

Another Speech.

On *Decemb.* 14. the King made another Speech to both Houſes, to recommend the diſpatch of reducing the *Iriſh* Nation to their true and wonted Obedience, and to take notice of the Bill for preſſing of Soldiers now depending among them, declaring *He would paſs it, if it did not infringe or diminiſh his Prerogative*; and offering to avoid Debate, that *the Bill might paſs with a* Salvo Jure *both for King and People*. But this gave another occaſion of quarreling to them who lay catching at occaſions: And ſo a Remonſtrance under the name of a Petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, was preſented to the King, ſetting forth, That it is their ancient and undoubted Right, that his Majeſty ought not to take notice of any Matter in agitation and Debate in either Houſe of Parliament, but by their Information and Agreement, and ought not to propound any Condition, Proviſion or Limitation to any Bill or Act in Debate or Preparation; and declaring that theſe their Privileges had been broken to their great Sorrow and Grievance by his Majeſty's Speech on *Tueſday* laſt *Decemb.* 14. and finally deſiring to know the Names of the Perſons who had given that evil Council, that they might receive condign Puniſhment.

Another Remonſtrance.

Commons for confiding Men.

Decemb. 23, the King removed Sir *Will. Balfore* from the Lieutenancy of the *Tower*, and placed Col. *Lunsford* in that important Truſt. The Majority of the Commons were afraid of him, and drew up Reaſons of his being unfit for that Place, and would recommend Sir *John Coniers* to it. The Lords refuſed to join in any ſuch Addreſs, becauſe they *conceived it an Intrenchment upon his Majeſty's Prerogative.* Upon which the Commons make a ſeparate Declaration of Col. *Lunsford*'s being *unfit to be Lieutenant of the* Tower, *as being a Perſon whom the Commons of* England *could not confide in*; and enter'd a Proteſtation againſt the Lords refuſal to join with them; and ſent two of their own Members to the Earl of *Newport* Conſtable of the *Tower*, to deſire him to reſide there and take Cuſtody of it, and encouraged and read in their Houſe a Petition of the Apprentices of *London* for the ſecurity of the *Tower*, and let the Lord Mayor acquaint the King, that the Apprentices would riſe if *Lunsford* were not remov'd; ſo that the King was forc'd to diſplace him on *Sunday* Night *Decemb.* 26. The Day following came the Mob to *Weſtminſter*, crying, *No Biſhops, no Biſhops*; and made ſo great a Tumult, that the Lords in a Conference with the Commons inſiſted upon the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of theſe tumultuous Aſſemblies, and required a Declaration to be publiſhed for that purpoſe. The Commons only anſwered, "That their Houſe would agree to all good and lawful Ways and Means for preventing of Tumults and Routs, that ſhall be againſt the Safety and Privilege of Parliament; but for Printing a particular Declaration the ſame was a Matter that would require ſome time to be conſidered of." By which Anſwer they betray'd what was afterward ſufficiently known, that the Apprentices and Mob were prepared and managed and invited by ſome leading Members. So as the King's Proclamation againſt Tumults, dated *Decemb.* 23. could have no effect but to encreaſe them, becauſe the King was againſt them (*a*). Nay, and the Commons made this Concourſe and Mutinies (which they artfully fomented) to be a new Argument of their own Fears; and on *Decemb.* 31. addreſs'd to the King for a Guard, and demanded an *Anſwer without Delay*. The King did anſwer, "That he was wholly ignorant of the grounds of their Apprehenſions; that he would take as much care of them, as he would of the preſervation of himſelf and his Children; but if this general Aſſurance would not ſuffice, he would command a Guard to wait upon them."

Laſt reſort to the Mob.

Commons refuſe to ſuppreſs them.

King's Declaration againſt them to no purpoſe.

His Majeſty now finding that there could be no underſtanding between him and his Parliament, without detecting and proſecuting thoſe whom he thought the prime Leaders of the Faction. He order'd Sir *Edward Herbert* his Attorney-General to prefer Articles, in the Houſe of Lords, of High-Treaſon and other Miſdemeanours, againſt the Lord *Kimbolton*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Mr. *John Pym*, Mr. *John Hampden* and Mr. *William Stroud*. This was accordingly done *Jan.* 3. and after reading the Articles, the Attorney deſired on his Majeſty's behalf, that a ſelect Committee, under a command of Secrecy, might be appointed to take the Examination of ſuch Witneſſes as the King ſhould produce. Upon this News, the Commons reſolv'd to ſtand by their Members, and order'd that if any Perſons whatſoever ſhould Seal up their Trunks or Papers, or offer to ſeize upon their Perſons, it ſhould be lawful for ſuch Members to ſtand upon his Defence and make Reſiſtance. Soon after a Serjeant at Arms delivered this Meſſage at the Bar of the Commons, *I am commanded by the King's Majeſty my Maſter, upon my Allegiance, that I ſhould come and repair to the Houſe of Commons, and require of Mr. Speaker five Gentlemen Members of the Houſe of Commons, and thoſe Gentlemen being deliver'd, I am commanded to arreſt them in his Majeſty's name of High-Treaſon.* To which Demand the Houſe ſent Word to the King by ſome of their Members, that they would take the Matter into ſerious Conſideration, and then give an Anſwer. The next Day *Jan.* 5. after Noon, the King attended by his own Guard and ſome few Gentlemen, went to the Houſe of Commons, and leaving his Attendants at the Door, went into the Houſe and took the Speaker's Chair, and ſaid thus.

King prefers Articles of Treaſon againſt 5 Members.

King goes to the Houſe of Commons and demands the five Members.

(*a*) See the Petition of the *London* Apprentices read in the Houſe of Commons 23. *Decemb.* 1641. for rooting out Prelacy, and carrying on Reformation. *Ruſhworth* iii. p. 462.

"*Gentlemen,*

1641.
17 *Car.* I.

"*Gentlemen*,

"I Am ſorry for this occaſion of coming unto you; "yeſterday I ſent a Serjeant at Arms upon a very "important occaſion to apprehend ſome that by my "Command were accuſed of High-Treaſon; whereunto I did expect Obedience and not a Meſſage. "And I muſt declare unto you here, that albeit no "King that ever was in *England* ſhall be more careful of your Privileges, to maintain them to the "uttermoſt of his Power than I ſhall be; yet you "muſt know, that in Caſes of Treaſon no Perſon hath "a Privilege: And therefore I am come to know if "any of theſe Perſons that were accuſed are here. "For I muſt tell you, Gentlemen, that ſo long as "theſe Perſons that I have accuſed (for no ſlight "Crime, but for Treaſon) are here, I cannot expect that this Houſe will be in the right way that "I do heartily wiſh it. Therefore I am come to "tell you, that I muſt have them wherever I find "them.

"Well! ſince I ſee all the Birds are flown, I do "expect from you that you ſhall ſend them unto me, "as ſoon as they return hither. But I aſſure you, "in the Word of a King, I never did intend any "Force, but ſhall proceed againſt them in a legal "and fair way, for I never meant any other.

"And now ſince I ſee I cannot do what I came "for, I think this no unfit occaſion to repeat what "I have ſaid formerly, that whatſoever I have done "in Favour and to the good of my Subjects, I do "mean to maintain it.

"I will trouble you no more, but tell you I do "expect as ſoon as they come to the Houſe, you "will ſend them to me, otherwiſe I muſt take my "own courſe to find them."

Unhappy ſtep.

The five Members had withdrawn by Order of the Houſe. The King, when he had done his Speech, ask'd the Speaker, *Where thoſe Perſons were?* The Speaker excuſed his making any Anſwer, and the King went out, ſeveral of the Members crying out, *Privilege, Privilege:* The King in this ſurprizing Viſit was no doubt moſt welcome to his greateſt Enemies, becauſe they knew their Advantage in it. His Friends were amaz'd: and 'tis thought no one Perſon was appriſed of it, but the Lord *Digby* who gave the Council, whoſe Integrity in this Matter might be as well ſuſpected as his Wiſdom: For he let it be betrayed to the Houſe of Commons, and diſſembled his Knowledge of it in the Houſe of Lords; and under the fatal effects of it deſerted the King and went over into *Holland*.

Nothing could have been more prejudicial to the King's Intereſt and Honour than this one imprudent Action, which if it had ſucceeded would have ſerv'd no purpoſe but that of blackening the King for breaking the ordinary Courſe of Law and Juſtice; and being diaſppointed was the more popular ſuggeſtion to Self-defence and open War. The Commons fell immediately upon remonſtrating againſt this breach of Privilege; and to prevent ſuch farther Aſſaults at *Weſtminſter*, they ſate in a Committee at *Guildhall*, and ſo work'd the City, and eſpecially the Apprentices and Rabble, into Diſorders and Tumults, that on *Jan.* 10. the King with his Royal Family were forc'd for their own Safety to remove from *White-hall* to *Hampton-court*, thence to *Windſor*, and by degrees to *York*, coming no more to *Weſtminſter* till he was ingloriouſly brought thither a Priſoner and as a Malefactor.

Commons make their advantage of it.

King repents of it.

This one act of entring the Houſe of Commons would never be forgiven, tho' the good King did all that was poſſible to attone for this Raſhneſs. For on *Jan.* 12. his Majeſty ſent a gracious Meſſage to the Houſe, that *He would wave his Proceedings againſt the five Members, and be as careful of their Privileges as of his own Life or Crown*; and gave them freſh Aſſurances *Jan.* 14, and offer'd a general Pardon *Feb.* 2, yet nothing would do, they made a large Declaration againſt it; they encouraged Petitions out of the Country in abhorrence of it; they impeached the Attorney-General for preferring the Articles; and got a Sentence from the Lords to diſable him from being Member, Aſſiſtant or Pleader in either Houſe, and to commit him to Priſon during the Houſes pleaſure.

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And now in the King's abſence the majority of the two Houſes thought themſelves poſſeſſed both of the Legiſlature and of the Executive Power. They order'd a Guard to be ſet about the *Tower*, and took the Lieutenancy from Sir *John Biron*; drew in the *Scotch* Commiſſioners to offer a Mediation, or rather to offer their Service for the Parliament againſt the King; extorted the Militia out of the King's Hands into their own; and ſent out repeated Declarations that did ſufficiently proclaim a War againſt him. While he acted with great Calmneſs and Moderation, ſending Meſſages, Anſwers and Replies, drawn up with admirable Reaſon and Temper; and making Propoſitions for the remedy of all Evils on *Jan.* 20, wherein he concludes, "How ready he will be to "exceed the greateſt Examples of the moſt indulgent "Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to their "People. So that if all the preſent Diſtractions "(which ſo apparently threaten the Ruin of this "Kingdom) do not by the Bleſſing of Almighty "God, end in a happy and bleſſed Accomodation, "his Majeſty will be ready to call Heaven and "Earth, God and Man to witneſs, that it hath not "fail'd on his part." And when on *March* 9, a Committee preſented to him at *New-Market* a Declaration of both Houſes, he made a moſt pathetical Speech to them,—— *What would you have? Have I violated your Laws? Have I denied to paſs any Bill for the Eaſe and Security of my Subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for me. Have any of my People been tranſported with Fears and Apprehenſions? I have offered as free and general a Pardon as your ſelves can deviſe. All this conſidered, there is a Judgment from Heaven upon this Nation, if theſe Diſtractions continue. God ſo deal with me and mine, as all my Thoughts and Intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Proteſtant Profeſſion, and for the obſervation and preſervation of the Laws of this Land; and I hope God will bleſs and aſſiſt thoſe Laws for my Preſervation.*

Two Houſes without a King.

King's Pathetical Speech.

As to Eccleſiaſtical Matters in this Year, they ought to have been interwoven with the Civil: for the whole Buſineſs of Religion was got within the Parliament; nothing done by the Supremacy of the King, or by the ordinary Juriſdiction of the Biſhops. The Houſe of Commons were the Church Repreſentative, and were buſie in deſtroying the Conſtitution of it.

March 30. a Bill for the more free Paſſage of the Goſpel, and a Bill to reſtrain Biſhops and others in Holy Orders from intermeddling with Secular Affairs. Soon after, a Bill for repeal of a Statute 1 *Eliz.* concerning Commiſſions for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. And to terrifie the Convocation from daring to aſſert their Right, they ordered a Bill to be brought in for puniſhing and fining of the Members of the late Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*; putting into the Bill the expreſs Fines ſet upon each Member, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* twenty thouſand Pounds, the Dean of *Canterbury* 1000 *l.* each Proctor 100 *l.* and ſo for every Dioceſs upon each Member of it, at ſuch a very exorbitant rate that the Penalty ſhould have been ten times greater than what the Clergy ſuffered for their *Premunire* under *Hen.* VIII.

Commons the ſole Judges of Religion.

Bills to alter the Conſtitution of the Church.

Then they proceeded to rob the Church as well as the Clergy; they prepared a Bill to take away the Deans and Chapters Lands; and tho' for a ſhew of Juſtice they admitted Dr. *Hacket* to plead againſt the Bill *May* 12 (*a*), and received Petitions of the two

And to take away the Revenues.

(*a*) See the Sum of the Defence which Dr. *John Hacket* made in the Houſe of Commons, in behalf of Deans and Chapters, *May* 12. 1641. in *Nalſon* ii. 240. *Ruſhworth* iii. 268. and the whole Speech more correct in the Life of Biſhop *Hacket* prefix'd to his Sermons. *Fol.*

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Univerſities againſt it, yet they would never drop or diſmiſs it; but kept it in reſerve for a Power to enforce it. They declared for Presbytery by reſolving *May* 17, that this Houſe doth approve of the Affection of their Brethren in *Scotland*, in their deſire of a Conformity in Church Government between the two Nations. So that *May* 19. they read the Bill to take away the Biſhop's Votes in Parliament; and the next Day order'd, that no Miniſter be forced hereafter to take any Oath at his Induction but ſuch as ſhall be warranted by Scripture. And becauſe the Lords after Conference and Debates had reſolved, that *The Biſhops ought to retain their Votes in Parliament*, therefore they brought in another Bill to aboliſh Epiſcopacy, "As a great Impediment to the perfect Reformation and growth of Religion, and very prejudicial to the State and Government of this Kingdom." And that the Biſhop's Perſons might make their Order criminal, they carried up Articles of Impeachment *July* 20. againſt Biſhop *Wren* of *Ely*, with a very aggravating Speech delivered by Sir *Thomas Widdrington*. (*a*)

And to aboliſh Epiſcopacy.

But to make a ſhorter Work, they ſent up Serjeant *Wild* to impeach thirteen Biſhops at once of *Crimes and Miſdemeanors for contriving, making and promulging ſeveral Conſtitutions and Canons Eccleſiaſtical, contrary to the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws and Statutes of the Realm, to the Rights of Parliament, to the Propriety and Liberty of the Subjects, and Matters tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Conſequence; and by granting a Benevolence contrary to Law.* (*b*)

On *Sept.* 1. they had ſuch warm Debates againſt the Common-Prayer, that the Lords found it neceſſary to declare, that *The Book of Common-Prayer ſhould be obſerved in all Churches, without any Omiſſion or Alteration; and that none ſhould offer any Contempt at the uſe of it.* But in a return of Zeal the Commons made a Declaration *September* 9. for ſuppreſſing Innovations, by removing the Communion Table from the Eaſt End, taking away the Rails, levelling the Chancels, forbidding to bow at the Name of *Jeſus*, &c. *Octob.* 23. Sir *Edward Deering* obſerv'd in a Speech, that there had long been in ſome hand within that Houſe, a Bill for a *National Synod* ready drawn, which he deſired might be now read, as the only Remedy for the ſad Miſeries of our diſtracted Church. The ſame Perſon, in another Speech againſt the Remonſtrance *Novemb.* 22. excepted with a paſſionate Reſentment againſt the Paſſage of *Idolatry introduced by command of the Biſhops*, told them, "They could not prove that any one of all the Biſhops had iſſued forth any one Command for Idolatry; that the Learned, Pious and Painful Biſhop of *Durham*, had fought in Front againſt *Roman* Superſtition and Idolatry; that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was the firſt of note who gave check to our Papal Miſleaders and Altarian Innovators; that the Biſhop of *Exeter* had ever the repute of a good Man and a good Biſhop; and that there could be no Superſtition proved upon the ſeveral Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Cheſter*, *Carliſle* and *Chicheſter*." But the Commons went on, and their Proceedings gave ſo much countenance to Separation and Confuſion, that the King thought himſelf obliged to publiſh his Proclamation *Decemb.* 10, to require Obedience to the Laws and Statutes ordain'd for eſtabliſhing the true Religion in this Kingdom; and that Divine Service ſhould be regularly performed, &c. but to little purpoſe, when his Majeſty was already deprived of his legal Power to execute any Laws.

And to take away the Liturgy.

The King for Conformity in vain.

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The Biſhops who had been driven and kept from the Houſe of Peers, by the Awe of Impeachments and Popular Tumults, by the Advice of Dr. *Williams* Archbiſhop of *York*, made the following Proteſtation, delivered into the Houſe of Lords *Decemb.* 30.

Proteſtation of the Biſhops.

"To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, and the Lords and Peers now aſſembled in Parliament.

"*The Humble Petition and Proteſtation of all the Biſhops and Prelates now called by his Majeſty's Writs to attend the Parliament, and preſent about* London *and* Weſtminſter *for that Service.*

"THat whereas the Petitioners are called up by ſeveral and reſpective Writs, and under great Penalties to attend in Parliament, and have a clear and indubitable Right to Vote in Bills and other Matters whatſoever debateable in Parliament, by the ancient Cuſtoms, Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and ought to be protected by your Majeſty quietly to attend and proſecute that great Service.

"They humbly remonſtrate and proteſt, before God, your Majeſty, and the noble Lords and Peers now aſſembled in Parliament, that as they have an indubitable Right to Sit and Vote in the Houſe of Lords, ſo are they (if they may be protected from Force and Violence) moſt ready and willing to perform their Duties accordingly; and that they do abominate all Actions or Opinions tending to Popery and the maintenance thereof; as alſo all Propenſion and Inclination to any malignant Party, or any other Side or Party whatſoever, to the which their own Reaſons and Conſcience ſhall not move them to adhere.

"But whereas they have been at ſeveral times violently Menac'd, Affronted and Aſſaulted by multitudes of People, in their coming to perform their Services in that Honourable Houſe, and lately chaſed away and put in danger of their Lives, and can find no Redreſs or Protection, upon ſundry Complaints made to both Houſes in theſe Particulars.

"They likewiſe humbly proteſt before your Majeſty and the noble Houſe of Peers, that ſaving unto themſelves all their Rights and Intereſts of ſitting and voting in that Houſe at other times, they dare not Sit and Vote in the Houſe of Peers, untill your Majeſty ſhall farther ſecure them from all Affronts, Indignities and Dangers in the Premiſſes.

"Laſtly, whereas their Fears are not built upon Phantaſies and Conceits, but upon ſuch Grounds and Objects as may well terrifie Men of good Reſolutions and much Conſtancy: They do in all Duty and Humility Proteſt, before your Majeſty and the Peers of that moſt Honourable Houſe of Parliament, againſt all Laws, Orders, Votes, Reſolutions and Determinations, as in themſelves null and of none effect, which in their Abſence, ſince the 27th of this inſtant Month *Decemb.* have already paſſed; as likewiſe againſt all ſuch as ſhall hereafter paſs in that moſt Honourable Houſe; during the time of this their forced and violent

(*a*) Some Members ſpoke in Defence of Epiſcopacy, others for moderate Regulation of the Exerciſe of it. See the Speech of Sir *Francis Wortley*, Kt. and Bart. proving, that Epiſcopacy is *Jure Divino*. Printed *London* 1641. 4*to*. A Speech of the Lord Viſcount *Newark*, in Defence of the Peerage of Biſhops, 21. *May* 1641. Printed 4*to*. A ſecond Speech by the ſaid Lord *Newark*, in Defence of the Lawfulneſs and Conveniency of Biſhops intermeddling in temporal Affairs. *May* 24. 1641. Printed 4*to*. A Speech of Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, for reforming, not aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, Mr. *Grimſton*, &c.

(*b*) Many wiſe Men had foreſeen the fall of the Church of *England*. Biſhop *Hacket*, then Rector of St. *Andrew Holbourn*, is ſaid to have diſcourſed of it from the Prediction of many Learned and Holy Men, and wondred that Cardinal *Bellarmine*, Mr. *Hooker*, and Mr. *Mead*, after both, ſhould all agree, that the Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England* was not like to continue above ſeventy or eighty Years, the Age of a Man; and he would tell how the late Biſhop of *Chicheſter* had ſaid unto him, his Father foretold the ſame: And Biſhop *Wren* ſaid the ſame from Biſhop *Andrews*. But above all Mr. *John Shearman* Regiſter to my Lord of *Canterbury* told him, that he heard Archbiſhop *Abbot* before his Death, at a ſolemn meeting before many Friends, with many Tears, foretell the ſame.

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"Abſence from the ſaid moſt Honourable Houſe; "not denying, but if their abſenting themſelves were "wilful and voluntary, that moſt Honourable Houſe "might proceed in all theſe Premiſſes, their Abſence "or this their Proteſtation notwithſtanding.

"And humbly beſeeching your moſt excellent "Majeſty to command the Clerk of the Houſe of "Peers, to enter this their Petition and Proteſtati- "on amongſt his Records,

"*They will ever pray God to bleſs and preſerve*, &c."

Jo. *Eborac.*	Geo. *Hereford.*
Tho. *Dureſme.*	Rob. *Oxon.*
Rob. *Cov.* & *Litchſ.*	Mat. *Ely.*
Jo. *Norwic.*	Godfr. *Glouc.*
Jo. *Aſaphen.*	Jo. *Peterburgh.*
Guil. *B.* & *Well.*	Mor. *Landaff.*

New Matter of Offence.

Archbiſhop *Williams* who drew up the Form, carried it to the King, who delivered it to the Lord-Keeper, who read it in the Houſe of Lords; and they at an immediate Conference did communicate it to the Houſe of Commons, as a Matter concerning the whole Parliament, and intrenching upon the Fundamental Privileges and Being of Parliaments. The Commons were quick in their Reſolution, to accuſe theſe twelve Biſhops of High-Treaſon, for endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental Laws and Being of Parliaments; and ſent Mr. *Glynne* to make the Charge at the Lord's Bar, and to deſire that they might be forthwith ſequeſter'd from Parliament and put into ſafe Cuſtody. And accordingly the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Litchfield* were committed to the Uſher of the Black Rod, and the other Ten ſent directly to the *Tower*.

Biſhop's charged with Treaſon.

On *Jan.* 15. they were all ſeverally brought to the Lords Bar, and put in their reſpective Anſwers; and being remanded into Cuſtody had no farther Trial, becauſe the meaning of all was anſwer'd, when it was carried in the Houſe of Lords *Feb.* 6. *That the Biſhops ſhould have no Votes in Parliament.* And this being thought a Satisfaction, the Houſe of Lords releaſed them upon Bail *Feb.* 16. but the Houſe of Commons had them recommitted to the *Tower*, to be ſafe till the Bill of their Excluſion paſſed, than which nothing could be more ſevere and arbitrary. (*a*)

Some hard Reflections are made upon this Act of the Biſhops in vindication of their Parliamentary Rights, in the late *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*. But whatever Paſſion there might be in Archbiſhop *Williams* the Penner of it, and however improper to purge themſelves of Inclination to any malignant Party, and however indiſcreet to make the King perſonally concerned in the conveyance of it to the Lords, and however conſcious they themſelves might be, that at this Juncture of Violence it could have no good Effect; yet it was certainly their Duty in Honour and Conſcience, to make ſome ſuch publick Proteſtation of their lawful Rights; eſpecially when their Lordſhips had already too much ſuffered in their Reputation by Silence and Abſence, and a voluntary Receſs from voting in the Lord *Strafford*'s Bill.

Archbp. *Laud* not concerned in this Matter.

Their Metropolitan, Archbiſhop *Laud*, was before impriſoned in the *Tower*, and had no opportunity ſo much as to adviſe his Brethren. In tenderneſs to the Univerſity of *Oxford* (to which he had been an incomparable Benefactor) he reſign'd his Office of Chancellor, and the Earl of *Pembroke* was choſen to ſucceed him *July* 1. For this great Prelate ſaw that the Storms againſt him were not likely to abate; for on *June* 2. Information being given to the Houſe of Commons, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* did uſe his Epiſcopal Power in Ordaining Miniſters, &c. within the *Tower*, it was moved that there might be an Order to reſtrain the ſame: But it was generally thought more fit for Prevention, to haſten the Proceedings for his Tryal. And the Houſe of Lords made an Order *Oct* 23, to ſequeſter the Archbiſhop's Juriſdiction, and to put it into the Hands of his inferiour Officers; and that he ſhould beſtow no Benefice without firſt acquainting the Houſe and taking their Approbation. (*b*)

1642.

The Lords and Commons ſent a Petition to the King at *York* on *March* 26, 1642, to juſtify their Declaration which had been delivered at *New-Market*; and to deſire him to return and to cloſe with the Council and Deſire of his Parliament. To which his Majeſty returned Anſwer, that they ought not to look upon him as *Gone* but *Driven* from them; that if they could not make his Reſidence in *London* ſafe, he would be content the Parliament ſhould be adjourned to ſuch a Place, where he might be fitly and ſafely with them. For though he was not pleaſed to be at that diſtance, yet they are not to expect his Preſence till they ſhould ſecure him againſt his juſt Apprehenſions of tumultuary Inſolencies, and likewiſe give him Satisfaction for thoſe inſupportable and inſolent Scandals that were raiſed upon him.

The King driven from the Parliament.

March 28. the Lords and Commons began now to act, as a ſeparate and independent State, with the King, as an Ally, threatening a Rupture with him. For they told him in an expreſs Meſſage, "That the "Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſ- "ſembled, had found it neceſſary to provide and "ſet to Sea a ſtrong and powerful Navy, the Charge "whereof was to be born by the Common-wealth; "and taking notice of the Indiſpoſition of the Lord "Admiral, they had recommended the Earl of *War-* "*wick* to ſupply his room; and deſired his Majeſty "that he would withdraw his Pleaſure of giving "that Command to Sir *John Pennington*." Having thus gained Poſſeſſion of the Navy, they were entering upon the *Militia*; and having drawn up a Bill to put it entirely into the Hands of their own Creatures, they ſent it to his Majeſty for his Royal Aſſent, which he juſtly refuſed, and gave his Reaſons in a Meſſage to the two Houſes *April* 28. *You have by this Bill now tendered to us (without taking notice of us) put the Power of the whole Kingdom, the Life and Liberties of the Subjects of all Degrees and Qualities into the Hands of particular Men for two Years. Can you imagine we will truſt ſuch an abſolute Power in the Hands of particular Perſons, which we refuſed to commit to both Houſes of Parliament? Nay, is not the Power it ſelf too abſolute, too unlimited, to be committed to any private Hands? Hath not Sir* John Hotham'*s high Inſolence ſhewed us what we may expect from an exorbitant legal Power, when he by a Power not warranted by Law, dares venture upon a treaſonable Diſobedience?* —— This Repulſe that Sir *John Hotham* gave the King was indeed the firſt Hoſtile Act, and was thus occaſioned.

2 Houſes act independently on the K.

King juſtly rejects the Bill for the Militia.

Treaſon of Sir *John Hotham*.

(*a*) See the manner of the Impeachment of the xii Biſhops, accuſed of High Treaſon, for preſenting a Petition, and making a Proteſtation with Orders, Meſſages, and Debates thereupon. Printed *London* 1642. 4*to*.

A Speech of *Denzil Hollis* Eſq; upon reading the Petition and Proteſtation of the xii Biſhops. *London* 1641. 4*to*.

A Speech made in Parliament by Sir *Simon Ducy*, Kt. on *Wedneſday* xi. *Jan.* about Proceeding againſt the xii Biſhops. *London* 1642. 4*to*.

Maſter *St. John* his Speech in Parliament, on *Monday* the 17th of *January*, concerning the Charge of High-Treaſon then exhibited againſt the Biſhops. *London* 1641. 4*to*.

Beſides which were printed the Speeches of Mr. *Rouſe*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *White*.

(*b*) In ſome MSS. Notes of the Rector of *Ducklington* in *Oxfordſhire*, taken by him upon his own Obſervation, the Matter of the Biſhops is thus repreſented. The Biſhops ſent to the *Tower* in this Month of *January*, and a diſorderly Multitude under the Name of Apprentices, abuſed them; and any one that they asked, whether they would have Biſhops, if they ſaid, yea, they would beat and abuſe them. The Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and of *Durham* under the Black Rod, to whom they paid 5 *l.* a Day. Dr. *Prideaux* Elect. of *Worceſter*, was ſent for up to Parliament, and much abuſed of the Multitudes, becauſe he was (as they thought) againſt Biſhops. and yet now would be a Biſhop. The Two ancient Biſhops Dr. *Wright*, and Dr. *Moreton*, were delivered from the Black Rod in *March*, but not freed till *May* 1642, and then went under Bail.

In

1642. 18 Car.I. In the late Expedition againſt the *Scots*, *Hull* was made the common Magazine, and had great ſtore of Arms and Ammunition ſtill preſerved in it. This Place would be of the greateſt importance to his Majeſty's Service, and therefore the Parliament ſent down Sir *John Hotham* to take poſſeſſion of it, and to be Governour in their Name, not only without the King's Commiſſion but expreſsly againſt it; for the King had given the Government of that Garriſon to the Earl of *Newcaſtle*. Upon this Invaſion of the Rights of King and Subject, his Majeſty with about three hundred Horſe on *April* 23. came to *Hull*, and having the Gates ſhut againſt him, commanded them to be opened; but Sir *John Hotham* anſwered, that *He was intruſted by the Parliament to ſecure that Town for his Majeſty's Honour and the Kingdom's Uſe, and he intended by God's Help ſo to do.* Upon reiterated Demands and Denials, the King was content to proclaim Sir *John Hotham* a Traitor, and ſo retire; and to ſend a Meſſage to the two Houſes on *Apr.* 24. *To demand Juſtice of his Parliament againſt the ſaid Sir* John Hotham, *to be exemplarily inflicted upon him according to the Laws.* But this only begat Anſwers and Replies to no purpoſe, but to ſhew the Power of the Parliament, and the Weakneſs of the King. Had his Majeſty, with the Forces of the Gentry and Nobility which he could have then commanded, boldly attack'd the Town, and gain'd a Surrendry of it, with a generous Mercy to the Inhabitants and ſmall Garriſon, and an exemplary Juſtice upon Sir *John Hotham*, it had been the moſt proper time to begin the War, and might have put a ſpeedy End to it.

Caſe of *Hull.*

The King found it was now time to think of an Army, tho' he had not yet ſo much as a Guard about him. He ſummoned the Gentry of *Yorkſhire* to appear before him *May* 12, and complaining of the Parliament's Commiſſioners, who ſtaid there to watch him when he had expreſly commanded them to return. He told them, *You ſee my Magazine is going to be taken from me (being my own proper Goods) directly againſt my Will: the Militia, againſt Law and my Conſent, is going to be put in execution: and laſtly, Sir* John Hotham*'s Treaſon is countenanced. All this conſidered, none can blame me to apprehend Danger. Therefore I have thought fit (upon theſe real Grounds) to tell you, that I am reſolved to have a Guard (the Parliament having had one all this while upon imaginary Jealouſies) only to ſecure my Perſon; in which I deſire your Concurrence and Aſſiſtance, and that I may be able to protect You, the Laws, and the true Proteſtant Profeſſion, from any Affront or Injury that may be offer'd: Which I mean to maintain my ſelf, without Charge to the Country, intending no longer to keep them on foot, than I ſhall be ſecured from my juſt Apprehenſions by having Satisfaction in the Particulars before mentioned.*

K. forced to raiſe an Army.

But to deprive the King of all manner of Aſſiſtance and Protection, on *May* 19, the Lords and Commons publiſhed a Declaration, *That it was againſt the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, for any of the Subjects to be commanded by the King to attend him at his pleaſure: And that whoſoever, upon pretence of his Majeſty's Command, ſhall take Arms, ſhall be eſteem'd Diſturbers of the publick Peace.* And farther, to diveſt him of Arms and Ammunition, they order'd *May* 20. *That the Magazines of the ſeveral Counties in* England *and* Wales *ſhould be forthwith put into the Power of the Lords Lieutenants of the ſaid Counties reſpectively, being ſuch as the Parliament doth confide in.*

2 Houſes declare againſt it.

The King ſoon publiſhed a very rational and elegant Anſwer to the Parliament's Declaration, accounting for all their particular Complaints, and concluding thus, *We have been the longer (to our very great Pain) in this Anſwer, that we might give the World Satisfaction, even in the moſt trivial Particulars which have been objected againſt us, and that we may not be again reproached with any more prudent Omiſſions. If we have been compelled to ſharper Language than we affect, let it be conſidered how vile, how inſufferable, our Provocations have been: And except to repel Force be to aſſault, and to give punctual and neceſſary Anſwers to rough and inſolent Demands be to make Invectives, we are confident the World will accuſe us of too much Mildneſs, and all our good Subjects will think we are not well dealt with, and will judge of us, and of their own Happineſs and Security in us by our Actions; which we deſire may no longer proſper, or have a Bleſſing of God upon them and us, than they ſhall be directed to the Glory of God, in the Maintenance of the true Proteſtant Profeſſion, to the Preſervation of the Property and the Liberty of the Subject, in the Obſervation of the Laws, and to the Maintenance of the Rights and Freedom of Parliament, in the Allowance and Protection of all their juſt Privileges.*

King's Anſwer.

1642. 18 Car.I. The Parliament, who were now reſolv'd upon the War, made it one Statagem to throw all the Cauſe and Odium on the King. So on *May* 20, the Commons vote, "1. That it appears, that the King "ſeduc'd by wicked Counſel, intends to make War "againſt the Parliament. 2. That whenſoever the "King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a "breach of the Truſt repoſed in him by his People, "contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Diſſolution of this Government. 3. That whoſoever "ſhall ſerve or aſſiſt him in ſuch Wars, are Traitors "by the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom." On *May* 23. the two Houſes ſent a Petition to the King, to disband his Guard, and all other Forces, by his Command aſſembled. And having received his Majeſty's Anſwer, that *his raiſing of a Guard was a legal Action, and was with no other Deſign than the Safety of his Perſon*; they made one Order to all Sheriffs to ſuppreſs the Raiſing or Meeting of any Soldiers by any Warrant from the King, without the Advice and Conſent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; and another Order to all Civil Officers to make Stay of all Arms and Ammunition carrying toward *York*. And having thus diveſted the King of all Aid and Aſſiſtance, on *June* 2, they ſent *a humble Petition and Advice* with *Nineteen Propoſitions*, as the *moſt neceſſary and effectual Means of removing the Jealouſies and Differences which had unhappily fallen betwixt him and his People.* To which his Majeſty anſwered, *That their Profeſſion of Peace joined to ſuch* Propoſitions *did but appear a Mockery and a Scorn, the Demands being ſuch, as tho' he were unworthy of the Truſt repoſed in him by the Law, and of his Deſcent from ſo many great and famous Anceſtors; and the Contrivers of them could have no Intention of ſettling any firm Accommodation, but to increaſe thoſe Jealouſies, and widen that Diviſion, which had now fallen (not by his fault) between him and both Houſes.* (*a*)

Parliament make the War.

19 Propoſitions.

The Breach was now ſo wide, that ſeveral of the Lords, and ſome few Commons, and even the Lord Keeper *Littleton* with the Great Seal, found it high time to withdraw from the Parliament, and to attend the King at *York*. And tho' this Receſs of the King's Friends put his Enemies into an abſolute Poſſeſſion of the two Houſes, and left no Oppoſition to the Torrent that was breaking forth; yet it was a mighty Comfort to the diſtreſſed King to begin to ſee himſelf attended by ſo many of his Nobility and Gentry: And by their Advice, as the laſt Reſort, he proclaimed that he would ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham* on *Monday* Aug. 22. which ac-

King's Friends withdraw from the Parliam.

Standard ſet up at *Nottingham.*

(*a*) See A Petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament delivered to his Majeſty the 16th of *July* 1642; together with his Majeſties Anſwer thereunto. Ordered by the King to be read in all Churches and Chapels within the Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, by the Parſons, Vicars, or Curates of the ſame. Printed 1642. 4*to*.

The King's Majeſties Charge ſent to all the Judges of *England* to be publiſhed in their reſpective Circuits by his Majeſties ſpecial Command. Given at our Court at *York* 4. *July* 1642. Printed 4*to*.

His Majeſties Declaration to all his loving Subjects, concerning the Proceedings of this preſent Parliament. Given, &c. *Aug.* 12. 1642. Printed at *Cambridge* by his Majeſties Command. 1642. 4*to*.

cordingly

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cordingly was done with Sound of Trumpet, and a Proclamation that the Ground and Cauſe of it was to ſuppreſs the Rebellion of the Earl of *Eſſex*, to which he required the Aid and Aſſiſtance of all his loving Subjects. It appear'd to be a Caſe of utmoſt Neceſſity; therefore we are told, "That melancholly Men obſerved many ill Preſages about that "time: There was not one Regiment of Foot yet "brought thither, ſo that the *Train'd-Bands*, which "the Sheriff had drawn together, were all the "Strength the King had for his Perſon, and the "Guard of the Standard. There appear'd no Conflux of Men in obedience to the Proclamation: "The Arms and Ammunition were not yet come "from *York*, and a general Sadneſs cover'd the "whole Town: The Standard was blown down the "ſame Night it had been ſet up, by a very ſtrong "and unruly Wind, and could not be fix'd again "in a Day or two, till the Tempeſt was allay'd. "This was the melancholy State of the King's Affairs when the Standard was ſet up."

L. Clar. Hiſt. of Rebell.

K. ſends a Meſſage for Peace.

Aug. 25, his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes of Parliament by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, Sir *John Culpeper*, and Sir *William Uvedale*, in order to a Treaty for Peace, to be tranſacted by Commiſſioners on each ſide. To which Meſſage the Lords and Commons anſwer'd, "That they could "receive no Propoſal till his Majeſty ſhould recall "thoſe Proclamations and Declarations, whereby "the Earl of *Eſſex*, and both Houſes of Parliament, "and their Adherents and Aſſiſtants, are declared "Traitors, or otherwiſe Delinquents; and until "the Standard ſet up in purſuance of the ſaid Proclamations were taken down." To which the King replied, "We never did declare, nor never intended to declare both our Houſes of Parliament "Traitors, or ſet up our Standard againſt them; "and much leſs to put them and this Kingdom out "of our Protection: We utterly profeſs againſt it "before God and the World. And farther, to remove all poſſible Scruples which may hinder the "Treaty ſo much deſired by us, we hereby promiſe "(ſo that a Day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations againſt all Perſons as "Traitors or other ways for aſſiſting us) we ſhall "with all chearfulneſs upon the ſame Day recall our "Proclamations and Declarations, and take down "our Standard." To which the Lords and Commons anſwer, "That they believed there was no "other way to make himſelf happy, and the Kingdom ſafe, but by leaving his Forces, and returning to his Parliament, and receiving their faithful Advice." After ſome other ineffectual Meſſages, his Majeſty publiſhed a Declaration to all his loving Subjects *Sept.* 27, ſetting forth the good Intention of his late Meſſages to both Houſes of Parliament, and complaining of their Refuſal to treat with him for the Peace of the Kingdom. To which the two Houſes were diſpoſed to give Anſwer at the Head of an Army, to be commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex*, who *Sept.* 9, ſet out of *London*, attended in great State by ſeveral Members of both Houſes, toward his Head-Quarters at St. *Albans*, and thence to *Northampton*, where the main Body met him, and made up fifteen thouſand Men *(a)*.

Rejected by the 2 Houſes.

Parliam. Army commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex*.

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The King had march'd from *Nottingham* to *Derby*, *Stafford*, and *Leiceſter*, and ſo to *Wales*; and at *Shrewsbury* he found his Army encreaſed to a conſiderable Body. In his Paſſage through the ſeveral Counties, upon Reſort of the Gentry and People, the King had his Orders of Military Diſcipline and this Proteſtation read to them.

His Majeſty's Proteſtation.

K.'s Proteſtation for Peace, and Governing by Law.

I Do promiſe in the Preſence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his Bleſſing and Protection, that I will, to the utmoſt of my Power, defend and maintain the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſh'd in the Church of England, *and by the Grace of God in the ſame will live and die.*

I deſire to govern by the known Laws of the Land, and that the Liberty and Property of the Subject may be by them preſerved with the ſame care as my own juſt Rights. And if it pleaſe God, by a Bleſſing upon this Army raiſed for my neceſſary Defence, to preſerve me from this Rebellion; I do ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe in the ſight of God, to maintain the juſt Privileges and Freedom of Parliament, and to govern by the known Laws of the Land to my utmoſt power, and particularly to obſerve inviolably the Laws conſented to by me this Parliament.

In the mean while, if this Time of War, and the great Neceſſity and Straits I am now driven to, beget any Violation of thoſe, I hope it ſhall be imputed by God and Man to the Authors of this War, and not to me, who have ſo earneſtly laboured for the Preſervation of the Peace of this Kingdom.

When I willingly fail in theſe Particulars, I will expect no Aid or Relief from any Man, or Protection from Heaven: But in this Reſolution I hope for the chearful Aſſiſtance of all Good Men, and am confident of God's Bleſſing.

First Rencounter.

The firſt Rencounter was at *Powick-Bridge* near *Worceſter*, Sept. 22. The Earl of *Eſſex* was on his March with his Army toward *Worceſter*, intending that Place for a Head-Quarter, wherein lay Sir *John Biron* with ſome of the King's Forces; and Prince *Rupert*, with a good Body of Horſe, came to ſecure their Retreat from the Town, before the Parliament Army reach'd to it. When the Prince was advanced within two Miles of *Worceſter*, he was charg'd by a Party of Horſe commanded by Colonel *Sandys*, but he and Major *Douglas* were both ſlain, four Colours taken, and the Defeat ſo entirely given, that the Prince opened a clear Paſſage for the King's Forces to march away from *Worceſter*, before *Eſſex* with his Army enter'd.

King enclined to march for *London*.

The King having greatly augmented his Forces, did ſeem reſolved to leave *Eſſex* behind him, and to march directly for *London*. This Apprehenſion put the Parliament into ſo much Terror, that they ſent expreſs Orders to their General the Earl of *Eſſex* to haſten after the King, and interrupt his March. Which Orders were ſo well executed, that while the King was ſummoning *Banbury* in *Oxfordſhire* to Surrender to him, he received Advice on *Sunday* Morning *Octob.* 23, that the Army of the Rebels was advanced to *Keynton* in *Warwickſhire*; upon which the King gave immediate Order for his whole Army to march with all Expedition to *Edge-hill* *(b)* three Miles

Edge-hill Fight.

(a) One of the greateſt Troubles to the King was the Ingratitude and Falſehood of ſome Perſons whom he had oblig'd with Honours and Preferments, who now revolted from him. The King himſelf told one Story of this kind to Sir *John Bowring*, who was ſuing to his Majeſty in the Iſle of *Wight* for a Pardon, and ſome ſpecial Favour to Sir *John Gell*, who (he ſaid) exceedingly repented his former Miſcarriages to his Majeſty. Sir *John Gell*, anſwers his Majeſty, I believe I know him better than You do.——He got his Baronetſhip of Me by Diſſembling, and pretending in like manner that he was ſorry, that ever he had been againſt Me in the Ship-Money; but for his Repentance, if I would be pleaſed to harbour a better Opinion of him, and grant him ſome Mark of Favour and Honour, he would bring into my Aſſiſtance a Troop or Regiment of Horſe, and he would prevail with ſome of the Gentlemen of the County of *Derby* where he lived, to do as much. Whereupon, in hopes he would do this good Service to me, I made him a Baronet. Immediately after, within a Week, he went to *Northampton* unto my Lord of *Eſſex*, who before thought him not worthy to be Captain of a Foot Company, ſhews *Eſſex* his Warrant that had made him a Baronet, and upon that *Eſſex* gave him a Commiſſion to be a Colonel, and to raiſe a Regiment. And thus he continued againſt Me ſhrewdly all this War, and kept *Derby* Garriſon'd againſt Me all the time of the War.——*Collection of Private Papers.* 1703 8*vo.*

(b) It is very remarkable that one of the Horſe Officers in the King's Army at *Edge-hill* Fight is now living 1718. the Reverend Mr. Dean *Cox*, Miniſter of *Drogheda* in *Ireland*, above One hundred Years of Age, luſty and ſtrong for his Years, with Senſes and Memory good, as I am inform'd by the Reverend Dr. *Harris*, Chaplain to the preſent Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom.

from

1642. 18 *Car.* I. from *Keynton*: When they came about Noon to the Top of the Hill, they could ſee the other Army drawing into Battalia in *Keynton-Field*, and ſo went down the Hill to receive them. The Ordnance play'd ſome time, beginning from the Parliament Army: The Charge began between the two Wings of Horſe; that of the King's broke, and purſued that of the Parliament with great execution for three Miles together. But when the Bodies of Foot engaged; a Reſerve of the Parliament Horſe charg'd the Flank of the King's Foot; who wanting the Support of the Horſe (who had too far purſued the Rebels, and thought the Day their own) was in great Danger, till the Horſe rallied and reliev'd them: and the Night coming on, both Armies retreated, and the next Day look'd one upon another, till the Earl of *Eſſex* firſt withdrew to *Warwick*, and then the King return'd to *Banbury*, and forced that Garriſon to Surrender to him. Two different Relations of this Battle were publiſh'd, one by his Majeſty's Command at *Oxford*, the other by an Order of the Commons at *London*, both Sides aſſuming the Honour of a Victory, when it could not be ſo call'd on either Side; yet the King was much better intitled to the Credit of it, by killing the greater Numbers, and taking the greater Spoil, and ſeeing the Enemy break up and retire, while he immediately took a Garriſon which had juſt before refuſed to yield to him.

Death and Character of E. of *Lindſey*.

Yet the King loſt the General of his Army, the Earl of *Lindſey*, of whom the Lord *Clarendon* gives this good Character, "He was a Man of a very noble Extraction, and inherited a great Fortune from his "Anceſtors; which tho' he did not manage with ſo "great care as if he deſired much to improve, yet "he left it in a very fair Condition to his Family, "which more intended the increaſe of it. He was "a Man of great Honour, and ſpent his Youth and "vigour of his Age in Military Actions and Commands abroad; and albeit he indulg'd himſelf "great Liberties of Life, yet he ſtill preſerved a very "good Reputation with all Men, and a very great "Intereſt in his Country, as appeared by the Supplies he and his Son brought to the King's Army; "the ſeveral Companies of his own Regiment of "Foot being commanded by the principal Knights "and Gentlemen of *Lincolnſhire*, who engaged themſelves in the Service principally out of their perſonal Affection to him. He was of a very generous Nature, and punctual in what he undertook, "and in exacting what was due to him; which made "him bear that reſtriction ſo heavily which was put "upon him by the Commiſſion granted to Prince "*Rupert*, and by the King's preferring the Prince's "Opinion in all Matters relating to the War before "his. Nor did he conceal his Reſentment; the "Day before the Battle he ſaid to ſome Friends, "with whom he had uſed freedom, *That he did not* "*look upon himſelf as General, and therefore he was* "*reſolved, when the Day of Battle ſhould come, that* "*he would be in the Head of his Regiment as a private* "*Colonel, where he would die.* He was carried out of "the Field to the next Village, and if he could "then have procured Surgeons, it was thought his "Wound would not have proved Mortal. And as "ſoon as the other Army was compoſed by the "coming on of the Night, the Earl of *Eſſex* about "Midnight ſent Sir *William Balfour*, and ſome other "Officers to ſee him, and to offer him all Offices, "and meant himſelf to have viſited him. They "found him upon a little Straw in a poor Houſe, "where they had laid him in his Blood, which had "run from him in great abundance, no Surgeon having been yet with him, only he had great vivacity in his Looks; and told them, he was ſorry 1642. 18 *Car.* I.
"to ſee ſo many Gentlemen, ſome whereof were his "old Friends, engaged in ſo foul a Rebellion; and "principally directed his Diſcourſe to Sir *William* "*Balfour*, whom he put in mind of the great Obligations he had to the King; how much his Majeſty had diſoblig'd the whole *Engliſh* Nation by putting him into the Command of the *Tower*; and "that it was the moſt odious Ingratitude in him to "make him that return. He wiſh'd them to tell "my Lord *Eſſex*, that he ought to caſt himſelf at "the King's Feet to beg his Pardon; which if he "did not ſpeedily do, his Memory would be odious "to the Nation; and continued this kind of Diſcourſe with ſo much vehemence, that the Officers "by degrees withdrew themſelves, and prevented "the Viſit the Earl of *Eſſex* intended him, who only ſent the beſt Surgeons to him; but in the very "opening of his Wounds he died before the Morning, only upon the loſs of Blood. He had very "many Friends, and very few Enemies, and died "generally lamented."

K.'s Declaration of Thankſgiving for his Safety.

His Majeſty publiſh'd a Declaration, and commanded it to be read in all Churches and Chapels, *To attribute the Preſervation of himſelf and his Children in the late Bloody Battle with the Rebels, to the Mercy and Goodneſs of Almighty God. —— In a Word, as whoever knows what danger our Perſon was in on* Sunday *Octob.* 23. *can never believe that the Army which gave us Battle, was raiſed for our Defence and Preſervation; ſo when they conſider how much the Liberty of the Subject is invaded by their Rapine and Impriſoning; and that four parts at leaſt of five of the Members of both Houſes, are by violence driven from being preſent in that Council; that the Book of Common-Prayer is rejected, and no countenance given but to Anabaptiſts and* Browniſts, *they will eaſily find the Pretences of Care of the Proteſtant Religion, the Liberty of the Subject, and of the Privilege of Parliament to be as vain and pretended as thoſe which refer to the Safety of our Perſon, and the Preſervation of our Poſterity.* (*a*)

King advances toward *London*.

The King march'd from *Banbury* to *Oxford*(*b*), thence to *Reading*, and ſo in nearer approaches toward *London*. *At Colebrook* on *Nov.* 11, he received a Petition of the two Houſes for a Treaty, toward which he had granted a ſafe Conduct to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke*, to Viſcount *Wenman*, Mr. *Pierpoint* and Sir *John Hippeſley*. The E. of *Eſſex* had been called to *London* to guard the Parliam. and City, and to that purpoſe had quarter'd his Army in the adjacent Towns, ſome at *Windſor*, ſome at *Kingſton*, at *Acton*, at *Brainford*, &c. The King being informed that the Earl of *Eſſex* was coming out of *London* with a Train of Ordnance and great Forces, reſolved in a Council of War to beat up the Quarters of Colonel *Hollis*'s Regiment in *Brainford*, and accordingly *Novemb.* 12. the King marching ſlowly ſurprized *Brainford*, and beat out the Forces quarter'd in it; and had he marched reſolutely on to *London*, 'tis probable the Conſternation of *Eſſex* and the two Houſes, had given him advantage to take Poſſeſſion of the City. But the King immediately quitted *Brainford* and retreated toward *Reading*, and ſo back to *Oxford*, leaving the Parliament at liberty to recruit and augment their Army, and to throw the Action at *Brainford* as a breach of Honour upon the King, while there was a Treaty in agitation.

Brainford Fight.

King's retreat.

Parliament inſult the King.

Novemb. 24, the two Houſes preſented another Petition to the King at *Oxford*; *to return to his Parliament with his* Royal *not* Martial *Attendance, to the end that Religion, Laws and Liberties might be ſettled and ſecur'd by their Advice.* The King took this as a Scorn and Inſult upon him, as it really was: And

(*a*) And to fight it over again in Paper, there was a Declaration of the Lords and Commons in Anſwer to his Majeſty's late Declaration after the Fight at *Edge-hill*, wherein they profeſs their Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and declare that they never rejected the Book of Common-Prayer, &c. *London*. 1642. 4*to*.

(*b*) There is this Entry made in the Notes of the Rector of *Duklington*, MSS. the Preacher of *Banbury* ſhould have been executed for preaching that it was Lawful to Kill the King, but his Wife begg'd him.

from

1642. 18 *Car.* I.

from this time the mutual Meſſages were more rare and more ſharp. (*a*)

Loyalty of the Earl of *Newcaſtle.*

About the end of *November* the Earl of *Newcaſtle* had aſſociated the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, the Biſhoprick of *Durham* and *Newcaſtle* for the Defence and Aſſiſtance of the King, and was marching at the Head of a conſiderable Army toward *York*, and at *Piercebrig* beat a Party of the L. *Fairfax*'s Horſe commanded by Capt. *Hotham*, and enter'd *York*, and had his Commiſſion enlarg'd to govern that and other Counties. Upon which by a Declaration of the two Houſes, the Earl of *Eſſex* ſent a Commiſſion to the Lord *Fairfax* to command in chief for the Parliament in the Northern Parts.

Decemb. 1. Sir *William Waller* with a Party of Horſe took *Farnham* Caſtle, from the Poſſeſſion of Mr. *Denham* High-Sheriff, and other Commiſſioners of Array for the King. And *Decemb.* 5. the Lord *Digby* with ſome Troops of Horſe took *Marlborough*, which had been fortified, and was defended by the Parliament Forces. *Decemb.* 13. Sir *William Waller* recovered *Wincheſter* for the Parliament, and *December* 18, Colonel *Ruthin* Commander of the Garriſon of *Plymouth* for the Parliament, ſurpriz'd the High-Sheriff of *Devonſhire*, and other Commiſſioners of Array, and ſent them Priſoners to *London*. And in moſt Parts of *England*, Skirmiſhes, Aſſaults and Sallies were ſo frequent and ſo fierce, that all People dreaded the ſad Effects of a Civil War.

City of *London* for Peace.

Under this Diſpoſition the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, by the hands of ſome of the chief Citizens, preſented a Petition to the King at *Oxford*, "To wipe off all Suſpicion of "their Diſloyalty, and to beſeech his Majeſty to re- "turn to his Parliament, that a Peace may be ob- "tained." The King gave Anſwer, "That he did "not entertain any miſapprehenſion of the Love "and Loyalty of the City of *London*, and that no "good Citizen could more deſire the Eſtabliſhment "of the particular Peace and Proſperity of that Place "by his Majeſty's Acceſs thither than he himſelf "doth. But he could have no hope of Safety there "whilſt Aderman *Pennington* their pretended Lord "Mayor, *Ven*, *Foulke* and *Mainwaring* did commit "ſuch Outrages in oppreſſing, robbing, and impri- "ſoning the beſt of his Majeſty's loving Subjects.— "He deſires the good Citizens to gather up Cou- "rage and Reſolution to join with his Majeſty in "Defence of that Religion, Law and Liberty, which "hitherto hath, and only can make themſelves, his "Majeſty, and his Kingdom happy." This Anſwer was read at a Common-Hall on *Friday* Jan. 13. but to prevent the Influence of it, a Committee of the Lords and Commons were order'd to be preſent at *Guild-hall*; of whom the Earl of *Mancheſter* and Mr. *Pym* made ſuch artificial Speeches (*b*), as ſecured the governing part of the City entirely to the Parliament. His Majeſty ſent another Letter and Declaration to the Sheriffs and City of *London* Jan. 17. but the Parliament forbid the Reading of it, and took effectual Care to prevent all farther Correſpondence between the King and the City.

1642. 18 *Car.* I.

Cirenceſter taken.

Feb. 2. the Town of *Cirenceſter*, a ſtrong Garriſon for the Parliament, was taken by Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Stamford*'s Regiment put to the Sword, and great Numbers of Priſoners brought to *Oxford* in an ignominious manner: which was made uſe of to improve the Scandal of Pride and Cruelty on the King's ſide.

Death of Ld. *Brook*.

March 1. *Lichfield* being held for the King by the Lord *Cheſterfield*, was aſſaulted by the Lord *Brook*, who gain'd the Town, but in Storming the Cloſe and Church loſt his Life by a Bullet in the Left Eye. Many look'd upon it as Providential, that this profeſs'd Enemy to Cathedrals, Clergy, and Liturgy, ſhould be kill'd on the Day of St. *Chad*, Patron of the Cathedral ſtorm'd by him, by the hand of a Clergyman's Son, with a *ſudden Death*, which Expreſſion in the Litany he had vehemently condemn'd. His Character is thus given by the Lord *Clarendon*. "There were many Diſcourſes "and Obſervations upon his Death, that it ſhould "be upon St. *Chad*'s Day (being the ſecond Day "of *March*:) And it was reported, That in his "Prayer that very Morning (for he uſed to pray "publickly tho' his Chaplain were in the Preſence) "he wiſh'd, *That if the Cauſe he was in were not* "*right and juſt, he might be preſently cut off.* They "who were acquainted with him believ'd him to be "well-natur'd and juſt, and rather ſeduced and "corrupted in his Underſtanding, than perverſe "and malicious. Whether his Paſſions or Conſci- "ence ſway'd him, he was undoubtedly one of "thoſe who could have been with moſt difficulty "reconciled to the Government of Church or State: "And therefore his Death was look'd upon as no ill "Omen to Peace, and was exceedingly lamented "by his Party, which had ſcarce a more abſolute "Confidence in any Man than in him." (*c*)

Earl of *Northampton* ſlain.

March 19, there was a ſharp Fight at *Salt Heath* near *Stafford*, between the King's Forces commanded by the Earl of *Northampton* and Colonel *Haſtings*, and the Parliament's under Conduct of Sir *John Gell*, and Sir *William Brereton*. The King's Forces, at firſt victorious, were in effect defeated by the ſingle Loſs of their General the valiant Earl of *Northampton*; of whom the Earl of *Clarendon* gives this Account. "In the ſecond Charge the Earl of *Northampton*, "being engaged on the Execution, very near or a- "mong their Foot, had his Horſe killed under him; "ſo that his own Horſe (according to their unhap- "py practice) with too much Fury purſuing the "Chace, he was left encompaſſed by his Enemies. "What his Behaviour was afterwards, and their "Carriage towards him, can be known only by the "Teſtimony of the Rebels; who confeſs'd, that af- "ter he was on his Feet, he kill'd with his own "Hand the Colonel of Foot who made firſt Haſte "to him; and that after his Head-piece was ſtrick- "en off with the Butt-end of a Musket, they offer'd "him Quarter, which they ſay he refuſed, anſwer- "ing, *That he ſcorn'd to take Quarter from ſuch baſe* "*Rogues and Rebels as they were.* After which, he "was ſlain by a Blow with a Halbert on the hinder

(*a*) It became a Queſtion, Whether the Fanaticks made the War, or rather, Whether the War did not make the Fanaticks? Dr. *Lewis de Moulin*, who made the Appeal of the Nonconformiſts upon their Obedience to God and the King. 1681. 4*to.* affirms, that the Parliament both Lords and Commons was moſt, if not all, compoſed of Peaceable Orthodox Church of *England* Men, all conforming to the Rites and Ceremonies of Epiſcopacy, but yet greatly averſe to Popery and Tyranny; and the corrupt Party of the Church of *England*, that inclined toward *Rome*. Witneſs the many Speeches in Parliament they made, as of the Lord *Faulkland*, Sir *Benjamin Rudyer*, *Digby*, and others, with whom good and honeſt Biſhops join'd. That the Lords and Commons in 1642, and 43, were all in perfect Conformity to the Church of *England*; ſo was the Army too that they raiſed, the General, the main Body of the Army. The Officers and Captains both by Land and Sea, were all conformable to the Church of *England*, and none of them Puritans, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptiſts, Sectaries or Conventiclers. That likewiſe the Aſſembly of Divines in *Weſtminſter* choſen by the Parliament were all Conformiſts, and none of them ſo much as Silenc'd Miniſters, except 8 or 9, and 4 *Scots*. That the Change or Subverſion of Government, the taking away the Biſhops, the Lords Houſe, and excluding the greateſt Part of the Houſe of Commons, and laſt of all the taking away the King, and all the Confuſions and Diſorders that happen'd thereupon did ariſe from a third Party, *viz.* from the Army, that was neither for the King, nor for the Parliament, neither for Conformiſts nor for Nonconformiſts, but was an Enemy to them all.

(*b*) See the two Speeches ſpoken by the Earl of *Mancheſter* and *John Pym*, Eſq; as a Reply to his Majeſty's Anſwer to the City of *London*'s Petition, ſent from his Majeſty by Captain *Hearn*, and read at a Common-Hall on *Friday* the 13th of *January*, 1642. *London*, 1643. 4*to.*

(*c*) In the late Account of *Lichfield*, at the end of the *Antiqu. Worceſter.* 8*vo.* it is ſaid that the Perſon who ſhot the Lord *Brook* in the Eye was one *Dyot*, a Man Deaf and Dumb, whoſe Father was injur'd by that Lord, and his Lordſhip now Dyed without ſpeaking.

1642. 18 *Car.* I. “ part of his Head, receiving at the ſame time ano-“ther deep Wound in his Face.—— He was a Per-“ſon of great Courage.”

The Queen had been ſome time in *Holland* ſolliciting Aid and providing Supplies for the King. The two Houſes, to hinder her Endeavours, ſent over *Walter Strickland* Eſq; with a Letter and a Declaration to the *States*, and prevail'd with them to declare for a Neutrality with the King and Parliament.

The States of *Holland* for a Neutrality.

But however, the Queen, with great Diligence and Importunity, had procured ſeveral Ships of Arms and Ammunition, and on *Feb.* 22. landed at *Burlington* in the Eaſt-Riding of *Yorkſhire*; and being received there by the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Army, was conducted to *York*, to the great Improvement of his Majeſty's Intereſt in thoſe Parts.

Queen returns from *Holland*.

The Action at *Brainford* had interrupted a Treaty that was then under Agitation, and that was now renew'd by the two Houſes, at whoſe Deſire the King granted a ſafe Conduct to their Commiſſioners to come to *Oxford*, and deliver to him *Febr.* 1. the humble Deſires and Propoſitions of the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled. I. *That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to diſband your Armies, as we likewiſe ſhall be ready to diſband all thoſe Forces which we have raiſed: And that you will be pleaſed to return to your Parliament.* II. *That you will leave Delinquents to a legal Trial and Judgment of Parliament.* III. *That the Papiſts not only be diſbanded, but diſarmed according to Law.* With ten other Propoſitions of Indemnity and Reward to themſelves, of Exceptions and Penalties to the King's chief Friends, &c. To which his Majeſty gave Anſwer *Febr.* 3. “That if “he had not given up all the Faculties of his Soul “to an earneſt Endeavour of a Peace and Reconci-“liation with his People, or if he would ſuffer him-“ſelf by any Provocation to be drawn to a Sharp-“neſs of Language at a time when there ſeems “ſomewhat like an Overture of Accommodation, “he could not but reſent the heavy Charges upon “him, &c. But tho' many of their Propoſitions “did appear very derogatory from, and deſtructive “to his juſt Power and Prerogative, and no way “beneficial to his Subjects; yet he was pleaſed that “a ſpeedy Time and Place ſhould be agreed upon “for Meeting of ſuch Perſons as his Majeſty and “both Houſes ſhould appoint to diſcuſs their Pro-“poſitions, and ſuch other as his Majeſty now pro-“poſed; I. That his Majeſty's own Revenue, Ma-“gazines, Towns, Forts, and Ships, which have “been taken or kept from him by force, be forth-“with reſtored unto him. II. That whatſoever “hath been done or publiſhed contrary to the “known Laws of the Land, or derogatory to his “Majeſty's legal and known Power and Rights, “be renounced and recalled. And after three other “Propoſitions, Laſtly, *To the intent this Treaty may* “*not ſuffer Interruption by any interveening Accidents,* “*that a Ceſſation of Arms, and free Trade for all his* “*Majeſty's Subjects, may be firſt agreed upon.*” In Proſecution of this Treaty, on *Feb.* 28. the Lords and Commons ſent to his Majeſty *Articles for a Ceſſation.* To which his Majeſty return'd a Meſſage *March* 6. propoſing ſuch Articles as he thought more ſafe and reaſonable. To which the Parliament again made Additions and Alterations, and the King farther Exceptions. So that all that could be done this Year, was for the Parliament to grant Leave for their Commiſſioners to treat, tho' the Ceſſation was not agreed upon. This on the laſt Day of this Year, *March* 24. 1642.

1. Treaty at *Oxford*.

King's Anſwer.

No Ceſſation.

As to Matters of Religion, there was no longer the Face of a Church; for, the Biſhops had not only loſt their Votes in the Houſe of Lords, but all their ordinary Juriſdiction in their reſpective Dioceſſes, and lay impriſon'd in the *Tower* upon a moſt illegal Commitment by the Commons, till *May* 5. the Peers, without conſulting the other Houſe, releas'd them upon Bail: But even their Liberty gave them no Property, nor Safety; none of them could find Protection in their own Palaces, but were forced to fly from Plunder and Seizure; and the Biſhop of *Ely*, who flatter'd himſelf with a ſafe Retirement in his Houſe at *Downham*, was apprehended by a Party of Soldiers, and brought back again to the *Tower*, where he continued till the End of the Year 1659, without any Charge or Accuſation form'd againſt him.

No Face of an eſtabliſh'd Church.

1642. 18 *Car.* I.

Biſhops Flight or Impriſonment.

Theſe ſad Confuſions in the Church, and Obſtruction of all the publick Offices and Service, open'd the Eyes of many good Chriſtians, and put them upon Petitions and Remonſtrances againſt the growing Hypocriſie and Profaneneſs. Many of theſe pious Addreſſes were preſented to the King; two from the County of *Cheſter*, two from *Cornwal*, from both Univerſities, from the Dioceſs of *Exeter*, from the ſix Counties of *North-Wales*, from the Counties of *Nottingham, Huntingdon, Somerſet, Rutland, Stafford, Lancaſter, Oxford,* and *Hereford* (*a*). All which were to the ſame effect with one from *Kent*, wherein the Gentry, Clergy, and Freeholders, ſet forth to the two Houſes themſelves, “That notwithſtanding “this Kingdom hath, by the ſingular Providence of “Almighty God, for many Years laſt paſt happily “flouriſhed above all other Nations in the Chriſtian “World, under the Religion and Government by “Law eſtabliſhed; yet it hath been of late moſt “miſerably diſtracted, through the ſiniſter Practi-“ces of ſome private Perſons ill-affected to them “both: By whoſe means the preſent Government is “diſgraced and traduced, the Houſes of God are “profaned and in part defaced, the Miniſters of “Chriſt are contemned and deſpiſed, the Ornaments “and many Utenſils of the Church are abuſed, the “Liturgy and Book of Common-Prayer are depra-“ved and neglected, that abſolute Model of Pray-“er (the Lord's Prayer) vilified, the Sacraments “of the Goſpel in ſome Places unduly adminiſtred, “in other Places omitted, ſolemn Days of Faſting “obſerved and appointed by private Perſons, Mar-“riages illegally ſolemnized, Burials uncharitably “performed, and the very Fundamentals of Reli-“gion ſubverted by the Publication of a new Creed, “and teaching the Abrogation of the Moral Law; “for which purpoſe many offenſive Sermons are “daily preached, and many impious Pamphlets “printed. And in contemning of Authority, ma-“ny do what ſeemeth good in their own Eyes on-“ly, as if there were no King nor Government in “this our *Iſrael*; whereby God is highly provoked, “his ſacred Majeſty diſhonoured, the Peace of the “Kingdom endangered, the Conſciences of the Peo-“ple diſquieted, the Miniſtry of God's Word diſ-“heartned, and the Enemies of the Church embol-“den'd in their Enterprize. *They therefore pray,* “That it may pleaſe this great and honourable “Council ſpeedily to command a due Obſervation “of the Religion and Government by Law eſta-“bliſhed, in ſuch manner as may ſeem beſt to the “Piety and Wiſdom of his Royal Majeſty and this “Honourable Court.”

Many Petitions.

Setting forth the Iniquity of the Times.

But the two Houſes well knowing that theſe Petitions were but loud Reflexions upon them and their Proceedings, not only rejected them, and ſhew'd their Diſpleaſure to all that preſum'd to make them, but they even complain'd to his Majeſty for his receiving of them, and pretended 'em to be mutinous and malignant; and this in their ſolemn *Declaration* or *Remonſtrance* May 19. To which the King, with a rational Zeal, thus anſwer'd. “That Declarati-“on tells you of a preſent deſperate and malicious “Plot of the Malignant Party, now acting under “the plauſible Notions of ſtirring Men up to a care “of preſerving the King's Prerogative, maintaining

Rejected by the Parliament.

Anſwer'd by the King.

(*a*) See, A Collection of ſundry Petitions preſented to the King; As alſo to the two Houſes by the Gentry, Miniſtry, and Freeholders of ſeveral Counties in behalf of Epiſcopacy, the Liturgy, and Church Government. Ordered by the King to be Publiſhed 20 *May*, 1642. 4*to*.

“ the

“the Diſcipline of the Church, upholding and continuing the Reverence and Solemnity of God's Service, and encouraging Learning; and that upon theſe Grounds divers mutinous Petitions have been framed in *London*, *Kent*, and other Places. Upon what Grounds would theſe Men have Petitions framed? Have ſo many Petitions (even againſt the Form and Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and the Laws eſtabliſhed) been joyfully received and accepted, and ſhall Petitions framed upon theſe Grounds be called *Mutinous?* Hath a multitude of mean, unknown, inconſiderable, contemptible Perſons, about the City and Suburbs of *London*, had Liberty to petition againſt the Government of the Church, againſt the Book of Common Prayer, againſt the Freedom and Privilege of Parliament, and been thank'd for it; and ſhall it be called *Mutiny* in the graveſt and beſt Citizens of *London*, in the Gentry and Commonalty of *Kent*, to frame Petitions upon theſe Grounds, and to deſire to be governed by the known Laws of the Land, not by Orders or Votes of either or both Houſes? Can this be thought the Wiſdom and Juſtice of both Houſes of Parliament? Is it not evidently the Work of a Faction, within or without both Houſes, who deceive the Truſt repoſed in them, and have now told us what *Mutiny* is? To ſtir up Men to a Care of preſerving our Prerogative, maintaining the Diſcipline of the Church, upholding and continuing the Reverence and Solemnity of God's Service, encouraging of Learning, is *Mutiny*. Let Heaven and Earth, God and Man, judge between us and theſe Men.”

This is certain, that not only the diſaffected Divines and the moderate Presbyterians went in by Intereſt and Inclination to the Parliament; but all the moſt violent Schiſmaticks and Enthuſiaſts of every wild Denomination, ran into the ſame Cauſe. And it muſt be to tempt over and ſecure theſe Men, that the two Houſes did now apparently threaten the whole Conſtitution of the Church. Their firſt Clamours were only againſt Popery and Innovation; but to ſilence all Pretences of this kind, the King offered an abſolute Satisfaction in his Anſwer to their *Nineteen Propoſitions* delivered *June* 2.

King's Anſwer to Matters of Religion.

“For the ſixth Demand, concerning the Laws in Force againſt Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants, We have by many of our Meſſages to you, by our voluntary Promiſe to you ſo ſolemnly made never to pardon any Popiſh Prieſt, by our ſtrict Proclamations (*a*) lately publiſh'd in this Point, and by the publick Examples which we have made in that caſe ſince our Reſidence in *York*, and before at *London*, ſufficiently expreſſed our Zeal herein. Why do ye then ask that in which our own Inclination hath prevented you? And if you can yet find any more effectual Courſe to diſable them from diſturbing the State, or eluding the Law by Truſts or otherwiſe, we ſhall willingly give our Conſent to it.

“For the ſeventh Demand, concerning the Votes of the Popiſh Lords, we underſtand that they in Diſcretion have withdrawn themſelves from the Service of the Houſe of Peers, and though we do not conceive that ſuch a poſitive Law againſt the Votes of any whoſe Blood gives them that Right, is ſo proper in regard of the Privilege of Parliament; yet we are content, that ſo long as they ſhall not be conformable to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, they ſhall not be admitted to ſit in the Houſe of Peers, but only to give their Proxies to ſuch Proteſtant Lords as they ſhall chuſe, who are to diſpoſe of them as they themſelves ſhall think fit, without any Reference at all to the Giver.

“As to the Deſires for a Bill for the Education of Papiſts by Proteſtants in Proteſtant Profeſſion, many about us can witneſs with us, that we have often delivered our Opinion, that ſuch a Courſe (with God's Bleſſing upon it) would be the moſt effectual for the rooting Popery out of this Kingdom. We ſhall therefore thank you for it, and encourage you in it, and when it comes unto us, do our Duty: And we heartily wiſh for the publick Good, that the time you have ſpent in making Ordinances without us, had been employed in preparing this and other good Bills for us.

“For the Eighth, touching the Reformation to be made of the Church-Government and Liturgy; We hoped that what we had formerly declared concerning the ſame, had been ſo ſufficiently underſtood by you and all good Subjects, that we ſhould not need to have expreſſed Our ſelf farther in it. We told you in our Anſwer to your Petition preſented to us the firſt of *December*, That for any illegal Innovations which may have crept in, we ſhould willingly concur in the Removal of them; That if our Parliament ſhould adviſe us to call a National Synod which may duly examine ſuch Ceremonies as give juſt Cauſe of Offence to any, we ſhould take it into Conſideration, and apply Our ſelf to give due Satisfaction therein; That we were perſuaded in our Conſcience, that no Church could be found upon the Earth, that profeſſeth the true Religion with more Purity of Doctrine than the Church of *England* doth, nor where the Government and Diſcipline are jointly more beautified and free from Superſtition, than as they are here eſtabliſhed by Law; which by the Grace of God, we will conſtantly maintain (while we live) in their Purity and Glory, not only againſt all Innovations of Popery, but alſo from the Irreverence of thoſe many Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts wherewith of late this Kingdom and our City of *London* abounds, to the great Diſhonour and Hazard both of Church and State; for the Suppreſſion of whom we required your timely and active Aſſiſtance. We told you in our firſt Declaration, printed by the Advice of our Privy Council, that for Differences amongſt Our ſelves for Matters indifferent in their own Nature concerning Religion, we ſhould in Tenderneſs to any number of our loving Subjects, very willingly comply with the Advice of our Parliament, that ſome Law might be made for the Exemption of tender Conſciences from Puniſhment or Perſecution for ſuch Ceremonies, and in ſuch Caſes which by the Judgment of moſt Men are held to be Matters indifferent, and of ſome to be abſolutely unlawful: Provided that this Eaſe ſhould be attempted and purſued with that Modeſty, Temper, and Submiſſion, that in the mean time the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom be not diſturbed, the Decency and Comelineſs of God's Service diſcountenanced, nor the pious, ſober, devout Actions of thoſe Reverend Prelates who were the firſt Labourers in the bleſſed Reformation, or of that time, be ſcandalized and defamed. And we heartily wiſh, that others whom it concerned had been as ready as their Duty bound them, tho' they had not received it from us, to have purſued this Caution; as we were and ſtill are willing and ready to make good every Particular of that Promiſe. Nor did we only appear willing to join in ſo good a Work when it ſhould be brought us, but preſs'd and urg'd you to it by our Meſſage of the 14th of *Febr.* in theſe Words: *And becauſe his Majeſty obſerves great*

(*a*) The Papiſts abroad were raiſing Money to aſſiſt their Cauſe in *England*. One *Henry Mayo*, ſupported by others in his Evidence, depoſed upon Oath, that in *July* 1642, the Papiſts who had fled out of *England*, had cauſed publick Proclamations to be made in *Bruges*, and other Parts of *Flanders*, That *All People who will now give any Money to maintain the* Roman *Catholicks in* England, *ſhall have it repaid them in a Year's time, with many Thanks.*

" *and different Troubles to ariſe in the Hearts of his Peo-*
" *ple concerning the Government and Liturgy of the*
" *Church, his Majeſty is willing to declare that he will*
" *refer the whole Conſideration to the Wiſdom of his Par-*
" *liament, which he deſires them to enter into ſpeedily,*
" *that the preſent Diſtractions about the ſame may be*
" *compoſed; but deſires not to be preſs'd to any ſingle Act*
" *on his part, till the whole be ſo digeſted and ſettled by*
" *both Houſes, that his Majeſty may clearly ſee what is*
" *fit to be left, as well as what is fit to be taken away.*
" Of which we the more hoped a good Succeſs to
" the general Satisfaction of our People, becauſe you
" ſeem in this Propoſition to deſire but a *Reforma-*
" *tion*, and not (as is daily preached for as neceſſary
" in thoſe many Conventicles which have within
" theſe 19 Months begun to ſwarm, and which tho'
" their Leaders differ from you in this Opinion,
" yet appear to many as countenanc'd by you, by
" not being puniſhed by you, few elſe by reaſon of
" the Order of the Houſe of Commons of the 9th of
" *September* daring to do it) a *Deſtruction* of the pre-
" ſent Diſcipline and Liturgy. And we ſhall moſt
" chearfully give our beſt Aſſiſtance for raiſing ſuf-
" ficient Maintenance for Preaching Miniſters in ſuch
" courſe as ſhall be moſt for the Encouragement and
" Advancement of Piety and Learning."

King refutes the Slanders of Popery.

And farther (if poſſible) to take away all the Jealouſies of Popery, the King, by Proclamation at *York* Aug. 10. declared his expreſs Command, that no Popiſh Recuſant, nor any other, who ſhould refuſe to take the two Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, ſhould be liſted or retained in his Service (*a*). And in his Declaration of *October* 22. his Majeſty utterly diſowns the Slanders caſt upon him of encouraging Popery, and ſays, *For that continued diſhoneſt Accuſation of our Inclination to the Papiſts, which the Authors of it in their own Conſciences (which will one day be dreadful to them) know to be moſt unjuſt and groundleſs; We can ſay no more, and We can do no more to the Satisfaction of the World.*

Parliament aſſociates with their Brethren of *Scotland*.

But the two Houſes deſired now to be remembred by their Brethren in *Scotland*; and in their *Declaration* of *October* 22. they told his Majeſty, *We expect our Brethren of* Scotland, *according to the* Act of Pacification, *whereby the two Kingdoms are mutually bound to ſuppreſs all Debates and Differences to the Diſturbance of the publick Peace, that they will help and aſſiſt us in Defence of the Cauſe, which, if the Popiſh Party prevail, muſt either involve them in that Alteration of Religion which will be made here, or engage them in a War againſt this Kingdom to defend their own Religion and Liberty.* They had good Grounds to threaten his Majeſty with a new Storm from *Scotland*: For they had entred a Correſpondence, and received Aſſurance of Aid. There had been *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament ſent to the General Aſſembly of the Church of* Scotland; and *An Anſwer of the General Aſſembly of the Kirk of* Scotland *to the Declaration ſent by the Parliament of* England *the 25th of* Auguſt 1642. And farther, *A Letter ſent by ſome Brethren of the Miniſters of the Church of* England *to the General Aſſembly of the Church of* Scotland, *dated at* London *the 22d of* July. And *An Anſwer of the General Aſſembly to the Letter ſent by the Miniſters of* England, *dated the 5th of* Auguſt 1642. And tho' his Majeſty, to hinder the Effects of this Confederacy, ſent his *Letter to the General Aſſembly of the Church of* Scotland, *given at* Leiceſter *the 23d of* July; and had in Return, *The hearty Thankſgiving and humble Petition of the General Aſſembly met at* St. Andrews, *to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, the 27th of* July 1642. yet the Vein of theſe Papers did ſufficiently abode, that the Kirk of *Scotland* would ſhew forth all her Power to help to deſtroy Epiſcopacy, Liturgy, and all the eſtabliſh'd Order in *England*. 1642. 18 *Car.* I.

Presbyterian Divines aſſiſt the Parliam.

And indeed ſome of the Presbyterian Divines had by this time got a powerful Influence over the two Houſes, and began to pen for them their Publick Ordinances of Religion, in ſuch a canting Stile, and with ſuch a broad Hypocriſie, that the Members of Senſe and Sobriety could not but bluſh at Reading their own Acts (*b*). For Example, on *February* the 15th there was an *Ordinance of the Lords and Commons exhorting to the Duty of Repentance as the only Remedy to prevent Calamities.* And it began thus,

And draw up their publick Inſtruments.

" That flouriſhing Kingdoms have been ruin'd by
" impenitent going on in a Courſe of Sinning, the
" Sacred Story doth plainly tell us: And how near
" to ſuch a Ruin our ſinful Nation now is, the
" preſent lamentable Face of it doth too apparent-
" ly ſhew. And though we ſhould feel the heavy
" Strokes of God yet ſeven times more, it is our
" Duty to accept the Puniſhment of our Iniquity,
" and to ſay, *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and juſt*
" *are thy Judgments!* Yet becauſe the Lord who is
" juſt is alſo merciful, and in his infinite Mercy
" hath left the excellent and ſucceſsful Remedy of
" Repentance to Nations brought near to the Gates
" of Deſtruction and Deſpair; O let not *England*
" be negligent in the Application of it! Humble
" Addreſſes of a penitent People to a merciful God,
" have prevailed with him: They prevailed for *Ni-*
" *neveh* when the Sentence ſeem'd to be gone out
" againſt her, and may alſo prevail for *England*.
" It is therefore thought moſt neceſſary by the Lords
" and Commons in Parliament, that all his Maje-
" ſty's Subjects in this Kingdom of *England* be exci-
" ted and ſtirred up ſpeedily to lay hold upon this
" only and unfailing Remedy of Repentance; free-
" ly acknowledging, and heartily bewailing, even
" with deepeſt Humiliation, godly Sorrow, and
" Deteſtation, *&c.*"

Then they come to the preſcribing a Confeſſion of National Sins; and that the Devotion might be a Libel upon the King and the Church, they chuſe out for National Sins, *Idolatry* and *Bloodſhed*. " That
" of Idolatry, as it was the Sin of our Anceſtors,
" ſo it is the ſpreading Sin of theſe latter times,
" while by a general Connivance and almoſt Tole-
" ration it hath been ſeveral ways fomented and
" encouraged, the grievous Effects whereof this
" Kingdom of *England* now begins to feel, *&c.*
" And for the other crying and cruel Sin of Blood-
" ſhed, that calls aloud for Vengeance (beſides
" many Murders not expiated, and the Blood-guilty
" pardoned) did it not go hand in hand with that
" abominable Idol of the Maſs in the days of Queen
" *Mary* and ſome of her Predeceſſors, when many
" Hundreds of the dear Martyrs and Saints of

(*a*) And another Proclamation of the ſame date, to put the Laws in Execution againſt Popiſh Recuſants. And ſoon after a Meſſage from *Nottingham* to the two Houſes, *Aug.* 25. 1642. aſſuring them, that *Nothing ſhall be wanting on his Part, that may advance the true Proteſtant Religion, oppoſe Popery and Superſtition, and ſecure the Law of the Land.* And again in his Majeſty's Reply to the Anſwer of the two Houſes, *Sept.* 17th 1642. *God ſo deal with us and our Poſterity, as we deſire the Preſervation and Advancement of the true Proteſtant Religion.*

(*b*) Upon theſe unhappy Feuds, Letters from both Sides were ſent to the Proteſtant Divines, to obtain their Judgment in them; tho' moſt of them were ſo wiſe as not to meddle at firſt, unleſs in declaring their Opinion for the Lawfulneſs of continuing in Conformity to the Church of *England*. Dr. *Plume* in his Life of Biſhop *Hacket* writes thus. Letters were written by them (the King's Friends) to many Foreign Divines, to try their Affection in that Day of Need. *Blondel, Voſſius, Hornbeck*, and *Salmaſius* were ſent to in vain, tho' afterwards that great Scholar came off from his rigour, and made ample amends for his Error. *Voſſius* contained himſelf for fear of the Parliament, and of loſing his Prebend of *Canterbury* in their Poſſeſſion. *Deodat* wrote firm for Epiſcopal Government from *Geneva*, and accuſed the Presbyterians of Schiſm. *Hugo Grotius* ſaid, nothing happen'd, but what the wiſe King *James* had foretold, and he now beheld with great Horrors. *Epiſcopius* much pitied the Sufferings of the King's Divines, and particularly of Dr. *Ward*, whom he accounted the moſt learned Member of the Synod of *Dort*. Monſieur *Amyrald* declared himſelf a Friend to Epiſcopacy in a ſelect Tract ſent hither, which one of that Party borrowed, and would never reſtore, ſo it could not be printed.

" God

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"God loſt their precious Lives in Flames and Priſons, *&c.*" (*a*)

The Church to be utterly diſſolv'd.

When once the two Houſes could deſcend to have ſuch fulſome Penitential Forms put upon them, for them to adopt and to obtrude in their Name upon the Nation; it was a ſure ſign, that All that was ſound and decent in Faith and Worſhip was now to be commanded into Enthuſiaſm and endleſs Schiſm. And to this purpoſe, their Votes, and Orders, and Bills, by degrees came up to an utter Diſſolution of the Church. To recite the Particulars is the leſs needful, becauſe they are ſumm'd up into one of their *Humble Deſires and Propoſitions tender'd to his Majeſty* Febr. 1. when the Commiſſioners carried five Bills along with them, and preſs'd the Paſſing of them in this 4th Propoſition.

"IV. That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to give your Royal Aſſent unto the Bill for taking away Superſtitious Innovations; to the Bill for the utter aboliſhing and taking away of all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans, Sub-deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chantors, Chancellors, Treaſurers, Sub-Treaſurers, Succentors, and Sacriſts, and all Vicars Choral and Choiriſters, old Vicars and new Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and all other their Under-officers, out of the Church of *England*; to the Bill againſt Scandalous Miniſters; to the Bill againſt Pluralities; and to the Bill for Conſultation to be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines; that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to promiſe to paſs ſuch other good Bills for ſettling of Church-Government, as upon Conſultation with the Aſſembly of the ſaid Divines ſhall be reſolved on by both Houſes of Parliament, and by them be preſented to your Majeſty."

Sad Confuſions.

And though they could not hope for the legal paſſing of theſe Bills, yet they had already come to the arbitrary Execution of them: For on *October* 15, it was Reſolved upon the Queſtion, "That the Fines, Rents, and Profits of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and of ſuch notorious Delinquents who have taken up Arms againſt the Parliament, or have been active in the Commiſſion of Array, ſhall be ſequeſtred for the Uſe and Service of the Commonwealth." The Organs, and painted Glaſs, and very Monuments of the Dead, were defaced; Tithes were denied to them who read the Common-Prayer; and theſe old regular Divines were plunder'd, ſequeſtred, and driven away, to make room for all the angry Men, who had been by Epiſcopal Authority ſuſpended or deprived; and for all the new little Creatures that began now to cover the Land.

Sufferings of Abp. Laud.

The good Archbiſhop lay ſtill in the *Tower*, and his Sufferings there may be beſt known from his own Words. "Having broke the Sinew of my right Leg, it was two Months before I could go out of my Chamber. On *Monday* May 15, I made ſhift, between my Man and my Staff, to go to Church: There one Mr. *Joſlin* preached, with Vehemency becoming *Bedlam*, with Treaſon ſufficient to hang him in any other State, and with ſuch particular Abuſe to me, that Women and Boys ſtood up in the Church, to ſee how I could bear it. I humbly thank God for my Patience,—— *Nov.* 3. ſeventy eight Pounds of my Rents taken from my Comptroller by Mr. *Holland* and Mr. *Aſhurſt*, which they ſaid was for Maintenance of the King's Children.—— *Nov.* 9. Wedneſday-morning five of the Clock, Captain *Brown* and his Company entered my Houſe at *Lambeth*, to keep it for publick Service. The Lords, upon my Petition to them, denyed they knew of any ſuch Order, and ſo did the Committee; yet ſuch an Order there was, and divers Lords Hands to it: but upon my Petition they made an Order, That my Books ſhould be ſecured, and my Goods. ——*Nov.* 24. the Soldiers at *Lambeth-Houſe* brake open the Chapel-door, and offer'd Violence to the Organ, *&c.*——*Decemb.* 21. I Petitioned for my Chaplain Mr. *William Blackſtone*; refuſed, yet no Exception taken. That Day in the Morning, my young Dun Horſes were taken away by Warrant under the Hands of Sir *John Evelyn*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Martin*.——*Decemb.* 23. Dr. *Layton* came with a Warrant from the Houſe of Commons for the Keys of my Houſe to be delivered to him, and more Priſoners to be brought thither.——*Jan.* 5. a final Order from both Houſes for ſettling of *Lambeth* Priſon. All my Wood and Coals ſpent and to be ſpent there, not reſerving in the Order that I ſhould have any for my own Uſe; nor would that Motion be hearken'd to.——*Mar.* 24. *Friday*, one Mr. *Ford* told me (he is a *Suffolk* Man) that there was a Plot to ſend me and Biſhop *Wren* as Delinquents to *New England* within fourteen Days."

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Account of Foreign Proteſtants.

The Foreign Proteſtants in *England* had been too much incenſed by the ſevere Proceedings of Abp. *Laud*, and ſome other Prelates, againſt them. The Account may be beſt taken from the late Hiſtory of the Rebellion. "When the Reformation of Religion firſt began in *England* in the time of K. *Ed.* VI. very many out of *Germany* and *France* left their Countries, where the Reformation was ſeverely proſecuted, and tranſplanted themſelves, their Families, and Eſtates, into *England*, where they were received very hoſpitably: And that King, with great Piety and Policy, by ſeveral Acts of State granted them many Indempnities, and the free Uſe of Churches in *London* for the exerciſe of their Religion; whereby the Number of them encreaſed, and the Benefit to the Kingdom by ſuch an Acceſs of Trade and Improvement of Manufactures, was very conſiderable. Which Q. *Elizabeth* finding, and well knowing that other notable Uſes of them might be made, enlarged their Privileges by new Conceſſions; drawing, by all means, great Numbers over, and ſuffering them to erect Churches, and to enjoy the Exerciſe of their Religion after their own Manner, and according to their own Ceremonies, in all Places where, for the Conveniency of their Trade, they choſe to reſide. And ſo they had Churches in *Norwich*, *Canterbury*, and other Places of the Kingdom, as well as in *London*; whereby the Wealth of thoſe Places marvellouſly encreaſed. And beſides the Benefit from thence, the Queen made uſe of them in her great Tranſactions of State in *France* and the *Low-Countries*; and by the Mediation and Interpoſition of thoſe People, kept an uſeful Intereſt in that Party in all the foreign Dominions where they were tolerated. The ſame Charters of Liberty were continued and granted to them during the peaceable Reign of K. *James*, and in the Beginning of this King's Reign, altho' it may be, the politick Conſiderations in thoſe Conceſſions and Connivances, were neither made uſe of, nor underſtood.

"Some few Years before theſe Troubles, when the Power of Church-men grew more tranſcendent, and indeed the Faculties and Underſtandings of the Lay Counſellors more dull, lazy, and

(*a*) This Hypocriſy and Tyranny of the prevailing Faction began to open the Eyes of ſome ſober Men, who had gone along with them, as appeared in the Speeches of Members in both Houſes; particularly in a printed *Speech made in the Houſe of Peers*, on *Monday* the 19th of *December* 1642. by the Earl of *Pembroke*, for Accommodation with the King. My Lords, We were told this time twelve-month if we would put out the Biſhops of the Lord's Houſe, no further Attempt ſhould be made upon the Church.——When I told them, it was reported that they meant to take away Epiſcopacy, and the Book of Common-Prayer, they proteſted to the contrary, *&c.*

"unactive

1642. 18 Car. I. "unactive (for without the laſt, the firſt could "have done no hurt) the Biſhops grew jealous "that the countenancing another Diſcipline of the "Church here, by Order of the State (for thoſe "Foreign Congregations were govern'd by a "Presbytery, according to the Cuſtom and Con- "ſtitution of thoſe Parts of which they had "been Natives; the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Walloons*, had the free Uſe of ſeveral Churches "according to their own Diſcipline) would at "leaſt diminiſh the Reputation and Dignity of "the Epiſcopal Government, and give ſome coun- "tenance to the factious and ſchiſmatical Party in "*England* to hope for ſuch a Toleration.

"Then there wanted not ſome fiery, turbulent, "and contentious Perſons of the Congregations, "who upon private Difference and Conteſts, were "ready to inform againſt their Brethren, and to diſ- "cover what they thought might prove of moſt "prejudice to them: ſo that, upon pretence that "they far exceeded the Liberties which were gran- "ted to them, and that under the Notion of Fo- "reigners many *Engliſh* ſeparated themſelves from "the Church, and joined themſelves to thoſe Con- "gregations (which poſſibly was in part true) the "Council-board connived at, or interpoſed not, "whilſt the Biſhops did ſome Acts of Reſtraint, "with which thoſe Congregations grew generally "diſcontented, and thought the Liberty of their "Conſciences to be taken from them; which cauſed "in *London* much complaining of this kind, but "much more in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, where Dr. "*Wren*, the Biſhop there, paſſionately and warmly "proceeded againſt them: ſo that many left the "Kingdom, to the leſſening the wealthy Manufa- "cture there of Kerſeys and narrow Cloths; and, "which was worſe, tranſporting that Myſtery into "Foreign Parts.

"And that this might be ſure to look like more "than what was neceſſary to the Civil Policy of the "Kingdom; Whereas in all former times the Am- "baſſadors and all foreign Miniſters of State em- "ployed from *England* into any Parts where the "Reformed Religion was exercis'd, frequented their "Churches, gave all poſſible Countenance to their "Profeſſion, and held Correſpondence with the moſt "active and powerful Perſons of that Religion; and "particularly, the Ambaſſador *Lieger* at *Paris*, had "diligently and conſtantly frequented the Church "at *Charenton*, and held a fair Intercourſe with "thoſe of that Religion throughout the Kingdom, "by which they had ſtill received Advantage, That "People being induſtrious and active to get into "the Secrets of the State, and ſo deriving all ne- "ceſſary Intelligence to thoſe whom they deſired to "gratify: The contrary to this was now with great "Induſtry practis'd, and ſome Advertiſements, if "not Inſtructions, given to the Ambaſſadors there, "to forbear any extraordinary Commerce with the "Men of that Profeſſion. And the Lord *Scudamore*, "who was the laſt Ordinary Ambaſſador there be- "fore the Beginning of this Parliament, whether by "the Inclinations of his own Nature, or by Advice "from others, not only declined going to *Charenton*, but furniſhed his own Chapel in his Houſe "with ſuch Ornaments (as Candles upon the Com- "munion-Table and the like) as gave great Offence "and Umbrage to thoſe of the Reformation there, "who had not ſeen the like: beſides that, he was "careful to publiſh upon all Occaſions, by himſelf, "and thoſe who had the neareſt Relation to him, "*That the Church of* England *look'd not on the* Hugonots *as a part of their Communion*: which was like- "wiſe too much, and too induſtriouſly, diſcourſed "at home. 1642. 18 Car. I.

"They of the Church of *England* who committed "the greateſt Errors this way, had undoubtedly not "the leaſt Thoughts of making Alterations in it "towards the countenancing of Popery, as hath "been uncharitably conceived; but (having too "juſt Cauſe given them to diſlike the Paſſion and "Licence that was taken by ſome Perſons in the "Reformed Churches, under the Notion of Conſci- "ence and Religion, to the Diſturbance of the Peace "of Kingdoms) unſkilfully believed, that the total "declining the Intereſt of that Party, where it ex- "ceeded the neceſſary Bounds of Reformation, "would make this Church of *England* looked upon "with more Reverence, and that thereby the com- "mon Adverſary, the Papiſt, would abate ſome- "what of his Arrogance and Superciliouſneſs; and "that both Parties, piouſly conſidering the Charity "which Religion ſhould beget, might, if not unite, "yet refrain from the Bitterneſs and Uncharitable- "neſs of Contention in Matters of Opinion, and "agree in the practical Duties of Chriſtians and "Subjects. Thus, contracting their Conſiderations "into too narrow a compaſs, theſe Men contented "themſelves with their pious Intentions, without "duly weighing Objections, or the Circumſtances of "Policy. And ſome of our own Communion who "differed with them in Opinion in this Point, tho' "they were in the right, not giving, and it may be "not knowing the right Reaſons, rather confirm'd "than reform'd them in their Inclinations: neither "of them diſcerning the true and ſubſtantial "Grounds of that Policy upon which that good "Correſpondence had been founded which they "were now about to change. And ſo the Church "of *England*, not giving the ſame Countenance to "thoſe of the Religion in foreign Parts which it "had formerly done, no ſooner was diſcerned to be "under a Cloud at home, but thoſe of the Religion "abroad were glad of the Occaſion to publiſh their "Malice againſt her, and to enter into the ſame Con- "ſpiracy againſt the Crown, without which they "could have done little Hurt to the Church. (*a*)

This Year began with the Proſecution of the Treaty lately commenc'd between the Commiſſioners from the Parliament and the King in Perſon at *Oxford*, managed with ſeveral Inſtructions, Propoſitions, Anſwers, Replies, and other Papers, recited at large in the Collections of Mr. *Ruſhworth*. The Manner of Treating is thus repreſented by Mr. *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, who was one of the Parliament's Commiſſioners. 1643. Treaty continu'd at Oxford.

"The King uſed them (*i. e.* the Parliament's "Commiſſioners) with great Favour and Civility; "and his General *Ruthen*, and divers of his Lords "and Officers, came frequently to their Table, and "they had very friendly Diſcourſes and Treat- "ments together. The King himſelf did them the "Honour ſometimes to accept of part of their Wine "and Proviſions which the Earl ſent to him when "they had any thing extraordinary. The Commiſ- "ſioners finding *Whitlock*'s Pen uſeful in the Ser- "vice, did put him upon drawing of all their Pa- "pers, which were tranſcribed afterwards by their "Secretaries. Their Inſtructions were very ſtrict, "and tied them up to treat with none but the King "himſelf, whom they often attended at his Lodg- "ings in *Chriſt-Church*, and had Acceſs at all times "when they deſired it, and were allowed by his Ma- "jeſty a very free Debate with him. He had com- "monly waiting on him, when he treated with "them, Prince *Rupert* and the Lord Keeper *Little*-

(*a*) And great Advantage was taken againſt thoſe Biſhops and Divines who had gone into new Doctrines or Explications of them, beyond the ſettled Tenets of our Church, and out of the way of our firſt Reformers, and their Succeſſors, till now in this Reign. Within this Year was publiſh'd *The Engliſh Pope, or a Diſcourſe wherein the late Myſtical Intelligence betwixt the Court of* England *and the Court of* Rome, *is in fact diſcovered*, London 1643. 4*to*. Wherein after many Inſtances of Innovation, the Author complains, that *Sparrow* had paved the way for *Auricular Confeſſion*; *Watts* for *Penance*, *Heylin* for *Altar-Worſhip*, *Mountague* for *Saint-Worſhip*; *Laud* for the *Maſs*, &c.

1643. 19 Car. I. " *ton*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord Chief Ju-
" ſtice *Banks*, and ſeveral Lords of his Council,
" who never debated any Matters with them, but
" gave their Opinion to the King in thoſe things
" which he demanded of them, and ſometimes would
" put the King in mind of ſome particular Things,
" but otherwiſe they did not ſpeak at all. In this
" Treaty the King manifeſted his great Parts and
" Abilities, Strength of Reaſon, and Quickneſs of
" Apprehenſion, with much Patience hearing what
" was objected againſt him; wherein he allowed all
" freedom, and would himſelf ſum up the Argu-
" ments, and give a moſt clear Judgment upon
" them. His Unhappineſs was, that he had a bet-
" ter Opinion of others Judgments than of his own,
" tho' they were weaker than his own; and of this
" the Parliament's Commiſſioners had Experience,
" to their great Trouble. They were often wait-
" ing on the King, and debating ſome Points of the
" Treaty with him until Midnight before they came
" to a Concluſion. Upon one of the moſt material
" Points they preſſed his Majeſty with their Reaſons
" and beſt Arguments they could uſe to grant what
" they deſired. The King ſaid, *He was fully ſatis-*
" *fied*; and promiſed *to give them his Anſwer in Wri-*
" *ting according to their Deſire*; but becauſe it was
" then paſt Midnight, and too late to put it into
" Writing, he would have it drawn up next Morn-
" ing (when he commanded them to wait on him
" again) and then he would give them his Anſwer
" in Writing, as it was now agreed upon. They
" went to their Lodgings full of joyful Hopes to
" receive this Anſwer the next Morning; and which
" being given, would have much conduced to a hap-
" py Iſſue and Succeſs of this Treaty; and they had
" the King's Word for it; and they waited on him
" the next Morning at the Hour appointed. But in-
" ſtead of that Anſwer which they expected and
" were promiſed, the King gave them a Paper quite
" contrary to what was concluded the Night before,
" and very much tending to the breach of the Trea-
" ty. They did humbly expoſtulate this with his
" Majeſty, and preſs'd him upon his Royal Word,
" and the ill Conſequences which they feared would
" follow upon this his new Paper: But the King
" told them, *He had alter'd his Mind, and that this*
" *Paper which he now gave them was his Anſwer, which*
" *he was now reſolv'd to make upon their laſt Debate.*
" And they could obtain no other from him, which
" occaſioned much Sadneſs and Trouble to them.
" Some of his own Friends, of whom the Commiſ-
" ſioners enquir'd touching this Paſſage, informed
" them, that after they were gone from the King,
" and that his Council alſo were gone away, ſome
" of his Bed-chamber (and they went higher) hea-
" ring from him what Anſwer he had promiſed, and
" doubting that it would tend to ſuch an Iſſue of the
" Treaty as they did not wiſh, they being rather
" for the continuance of the War, they never left
" preſſing and perſwading of the King, till they had
" prevailed with him to change his former Reſolu-
" tions, and to give Order for his Anſwer to be
" drawn as it was now delivered."

Allowing this Relation of one of the Commiſſioners themſelves to be true and candid, we cannot but lament the unhappineſs of the good King, that ſome of his moſt intimate Confidents were againſt his concluding a Peace; and ſome others, or perhaps the ſame, were againſt his obtaining an abſolute Victory: Afraid he ſhould comply, leaſt his Prerogative might be not great enough to protect them; and yet afraid he ſhould conquer, leaſt he might be then tempted to aſſume an Arbitrary Power.

But indeed in the preſent Caſe, 'tis poſſible, that the Friends whom he conſulted did really apprehend, that the more he yielded the more burthen was preſſed upon him; and therefore might well endeavour to prevail, that he ſhould never recede from an Authority ſufficient to reſtore himſelf, and defend thoſe who had faithfully adher'd to him. For the Anſwer to which Mr. *Whitlock* refers, and which was ſent in a Meſſage to both Houſes *April* 12. was only this. 1643. 19 Car. I.

King's fi[illegible] ſv[illegible]

" To ſhew to the whole World how earneſtly his
" Majeſty longs for Peace, and that no Succeſs ſhall
" make him deſire the continuance of his Army to
" any other End, or for any longer time than that,
" and until things may be ſo ſettled, as that the
" Law may have a full, free and uninterrupted
" Courſe, for the Defence and Preſervation of the
" Rights of his Majeſty, both Houſes, and his good
" Subjects.

" 1. As ſoon as his Majeſty is ſatisfied in his firſt
" Propoſition, concerning his own Revenue, Maga-
" zines, Ships and Forts, in which he deſires no-
" thing, but that the juſt, known, legal Rights of
" his Majeſty (devolved to him from his Progeni-
" tors) and of the Perſons truſted by him, which
" have been violently taken from both, be reſtored
" unto him and unto them; unleſs any juſt and
" legal Exceptions againſt any of the Perſons truſted
" by him (which are yet unknown to his Majeſty)
" can be made appear to him.

" 2. As ſoon as all the Members of both Houſes
" ſhall be reſtored to the ſame Capacity of Sitting
" and Voting in Parliament, as they had upon the
" firſt of *January* 1641. the ſame of Right belonging
" to them by their Birth-rights, and the free Election
" of thoſe that ſent them, and having been voted
" from them for adhering to his Majeſty in theſe diſ-
" tractions; his Majeſty not intending that this
" ſhould extend either to the Biſhops whoſe Votes
" have been taken away by Bill, or to ſuch in whoſe
" Places, upon new Writs, new Elections have been
" made.

" As ſoon as his Majeſty and both Houſes may be
" ſecured from ſuch tumultuous Aſſemblies, as to
" the great breach of the Privileges, and the high
" diſhonour of Parliaments, have formerly aſſembled
" about both Houſes, and awed the Members of the
" ſame, and occaſioned two ſeveral Complaints from
" the Lords Houſe, and two ſeveral Deſires of that
" Houſe to the Houſe of Commons, to join in a
" Declaration againſt them; the complying with
" which Deſire might have prevented all theſe mi-
" ſerable Diſtractions which have enſued. Which
" Security his Majeſty conceives can be only ſettled
" by adjourning the Parliament to ſome other Place,
" at the leaſt 20 Miles from *London*, the Choice of
" which his Majeſty leaves to both Houſes.

" His Majeſty will moſt cheerfully and readily
" conſent, that both Armies be immediately diſ-
" banded, and give a preſent Meeting to both his
" Houſes of Parliament, at the Time and Place, at,
" and to which the Parliament ſhall be agreed to be
" Adjourn'd."

Treaty broke off.

As ſoon as the two Houſes had receiv'd this Anſwer, they immediately recall'd their Commiſſioners from *Oxford*; and ſo the Treaty having continued from the 4th of *March* to the 15th of *April*, was broke off without effect; tho' the main Articles ſeem'd eaſy enough to be adjuſted, and the only Queſtion was, Who ſhould be firſt and moſt truſted in the performance of them?

War proſecuted with greater Fury.

The War was to be now proſecuted with the greater Fury; the moſt active Raiſer of Forces for the Parliament was Sir *William Waller*, who on *March* 19. had advanced from *Briſtol*, and forc'd the Town of *Malmsbury* (Garriſon'd for the King, and commanded by Colonel *Herbert Lunsford*) to ſurrender. After which he defeated a great Body of *Welſh* near *Glouceſter*, raiſed and led by the Lord *Herbert*, Son to the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*. Thence he march'd and took *Chepſtow*, *Monmouth* and *Hereford*, and ſo victoriouſly on, till at *Round way Down* in *Wiltſhire* he was ſhamefully beat, and forc'd to poſt up to *London*.

The

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Siege of Reading.

The Earl of *Eſſex* with the Parliament's main Army beſieged *Reading* on *Apr.* 15. commanded by Sir *Arthur Aſton*, who being Wounded in the Batteries, was forced to ſubſtitute Colonel *Fielding*; he hung out a Flag, and enter'd upon a Treaty of Surrender; but while it was depending, the King in Perſon march'd from *Walingford* to raiſe the Siege; but not able to gain the Paſs at *Caveſham bridge*, he retired, and *Fielding* Surrender'd the Town upon Articles on *April* 26. for which he was ſhortly after by a Council of War at *Oxford* ſentenc'd to Die; but by his Majeſty's Favour was repriev'd.

The Town Surrender'd.

King deſires to renew the Treaty for Peace.

May 20. his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the two Houſes to renew a Treaty of Peace —— "And he requires them as they will anſwer to God, to himſelf, and all the World, that they will no longer ſuffer their fellow Subjects to welter in each others Blood; that they would remember by whoſe Authority, and to what end they met in the Council; and ſend ſuch an Anſwer to his Majeſty as may open a Door to let in a firm Peace and Security to the whole Kingdom." But the Houſes thought they could now depend upon their own Strength: So on *April* 1. they made an Ordinance for *Sequeſtring the Eſtates of notorious Delinquents.* And it was but in vain that the King iſſued his Proclamation *April* 7. *To prohibit the Aſſeſſing, Collecting, or Paying any weekly Taxes, and Seizing or Sequeſtring the Rents or Eſtates of his good Subjects, by colour of any Orders or pretended Ordinances of one or both Houſes of Parliament.* And the Commons cut off all Correſpondence between the King and them, by an Order of *April* 10. *to prevent Spies and Intelligencers*; and on *May* 23. they reſolv'd to impeach the Queen of High-Treaſon, and Mr. *Pym* carried up the Charge to the Bar of the Lords, and died ſoon after, leaving this Character given by the Lord *Clarendon.* "Mr. *Pym* was look'd upon as the Man of greateſt Experience in Parliament, where he had ſerv'd very long, and was always a Man of Buſineſs, being an Officer in the *Exchequer*, and of a good Reputation generally; though known to be inclin'd to the Puritan Faction, yet not of thoſe furious Reſolutions againſt the Church as the other leading Men were, and wholly devoted to the Earl of *Bedford* who had nothing of that Spirit." (*a*)

Pym's Death and Character

His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd and Printed by Mr. *Stephen Marſhal*, who compar'd him to *John* the Baptiſt, *For that he was taken away violently, after but two or three Years work.* On occaſion of his Death the Character of him was thus continued by the ſame Noble Peer; "About this time the Councils at *Weſtminſter* loſt a principal Supporter by the Death of *John Pym*; who died with great Torment and Agony of a Diſeaſe unuſual, and therefore the more ſpoken of, *Morbus Pediculoſus*, as was reported, which render'd him an Object very loathſome to thoſe who had been moſt delighted with him. No Man had more to anſwer for the Miſeries of the Kingdom, or had his Hand or Head deeper in their Contrivance: And yet, I believe, they grew much higher even in his Life than he deſign'd. He was a Man of a private Quality and Condition of Life; his Education in the Office of the Exchequer, where he had been a Clerk, and his Parts rather acquir'd by Induſtry than ſupplied by Nature, or adorn'd by Art. He had been well known in former Parliaments, and was one of thoſe few who had ſate in many; the long intermiſſion of Parliaments having worn out moſt of thoſe who had been acquainted with the Rules and Orders obſerv'd in thoſe Conventions: This gave him ſome Reputation and Reverence amongſt thoſe who were but new introduc'd.

"He had been moſt taken notice of for being concern'd and paſſionate in the Jealouſies of Religion, and much troubled with the Countenance which had been given to thoſe Opinions that had been imputed to *Arminius*; and this gave him great Authority and Intereſt with thoſe who were not pleaſed with the Government of the Church, or the growing Power of the Clergy; yet himſelf Induſtriouſly took care to be believ'd, and he profeſs'd to be very entire to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*. In the ſhort Parliament before this, he ſpoke much, and appeared to be the moſt leading Man; for beſides the exact Knowledge of the Forms and Orders of that Council, which few Men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expreſſing himſelf, with great volubility of Words, natural and proper, and underſtood the Temper and Affections of the Kingdom as well as any Man; and had obſerv'd the Errors and Miſtakes in Government, and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy Diſſolution of that Parliament, he continued for the moſt part about *London*, in Converſation and great Repute amongſt thoſe Lords who were moſt Strangers to the Court, and were believed moſt averſe to it; in whom he improv'd all imaginable Jealouſies and Diſcontents towards the State; and as ſoon as this Parliament was reſolv'd to be ſummon'd, he was as diligent to procure ſuch Perſons to be elected as he knew to be moſt inclin'd to the way he meant to take.

"At the firſt opening of this Parliament, he appear'd paſſionate and prepared againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; and though in private deſigning he was much govern'd by Mr. *Hambden* and Mr. *St. John*, yet he ſeem'd to all Men to have the greateſt Influence upon the Houſe of Commons of any Man; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and ſome Months after, the moſt popular Man, and the moſt able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the firſt Deſign of ſoftning and obliging the powerful Perſons in both Houſes, when it was reſolv'd to make the Earl of *Bedford* Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, the King likewiſe intended to make Mr. *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer; for which he received his Majeſty's Promiſe, and made a return of a ſuitable profeſſion of his Service and Devotion; and thereupon, the other being no ſecret, ſomewhat declined from that ſharpneſs in the Houſe which was more Popular than any Man's, and made ſome Overtures to provide for the Glory and Splendor of the Crown; in which he had ſo ill Succeſs, that his Intereſt and Reputation there viſibly abated, and he found that he was much better able to do hurt than good, which wrought very much upon him to Melancholly, and complaint of the violence and diſcompoſure of the Peoples Affections and Inclinations. In the end, whether, upon the Death of the Earl of *Bedford*, he deſpaired of that Preferment, or whether he was guilty of any thing, which upon his converſion to the Court, he thought might be diſcover'd to his Damage, or for pure want of Courage, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be carried by thoſe who would not follow him, and ſo continued in the Head of thoſe who made the moſt deſperate Propoſitions.

"In the Proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, his Carriage and Language was ſuch as expreſſed much perſonal Animoſities; and he was accuſed of having practis'd ſome Arts in it not worthy a good Man, as an *Iriſhman* of very mean and low Condition afterwards acknowledg'd, that being brought

(*a*) In Honour of him, there were two Diſcourſes publiſht by Order of the Houſe of Commons. I. A Sermon before the two Houſes of Parliament, and the Aſſembly of Divines, at the Funeral of *JOHN PYM*, Eſquire, in the Abbey-Church of *Weſtminſter*. By *Stephen Marſhall*, B. D. 4*to*. II. A Narrative of the Diſeaſe and Death of that Noble Gentleman *JOHN PYM*, Eſquire, late a Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons; Atteſted under the Hands of his Phyſicians, Chirurgions, and Apothecary. *London.* 1643. 4*to*.

"to

1643. 19 *Car.* I. "to him as an Evidence of one part of the Charge "againſt the Lord Lieutenant, in a particular of "which a Perſon of ſo vile a Quality would not be "reaſonably thought a competent Informer; Mr. "*Pym* gave him Money to buy him a Sattin Suit "and Cloak, in which Equipage he appeared at the "Trial, and gave his Evidence; which, if true, may "make many other things which were confidently "reported afterwards of him to be believed; as "that he received a great Sum of Money from the "*French* Ambaſſadour (which hath been before "mention'd) to hinder the Tranſportation of thoſe "Regiments of *Ireland* into *Flanders* upon the diſ-"banding that Army there, which had been pre-"pared by the Earl of *Strafford* for the Buſineſs of "*Scotland*; in which, if his Majeſty's Directions "and Commands had not been diverted and con-"tradicted by the Houſes, many do believe the Re-"bellion in *Ireland* had not happen'd.

"Certain it is, that his power of doing ſhrewd "Turns was extraordinary, and no leſs in doing "good Offices for particular Perſons; and that he "did preſerve many from Cenſure who were under "the ſevere Diſpleaſure of the Houſes, and look'd "upon as eminent Delinquents; and the Quality "of many of them made it believ'd, that he had "ſold that Protection for valuable Conſiderations. "From the time of his being accuſed of High Trea-"ſon by the King, with the Lord *Kimbolton*, and "the other Members, he never entertain'd Thoughts "of Moderation, but always oppoſed all Overtures "of Peace and Accommodation; and when the E. "of *Eſſex* was diſpoſed, the laſt Summer, by thoſe "Lords to an Inclination towards a Treaty, as is "before remember'd, Mr. *Pym*'s Power and Dexte-"rity wholly changed him, and wrought him to "that Temper which he afterwards ſwerv'd not "from. He was wonderfully ſollicitous for the "*Scots* coming in to their Aſſiſtance, tho' his Indiſ-"poſition of Body was ſo great, that it might well "have made another Impreſſion upon his Mind. "During his Sickneſs he was a very ſad Spectacle; "but none being admitted to him who had not "concurr'd with him, it is not known what his laſt "Thoughts and Conſiderations were. He died to-"wards the end of *December*, before the *Scots* en-"ter'd; and was buried with wonderful Pomp and "Magnificence, in that Place where the Bones of "our *Engliſh* Kings and Princes are committed to "their Reſt."

Soon after died another Leader of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Hampden*, who went out with a Party of the *Buckinghamſhire* Forces to oppoſe Prince *Rupert*, who made frequent Incurſions into the Parliament Quarters; and engaging with him in *Chalgrave-Field*, was routed and wounded *June* 18, and died of his Wounds *June* 24. His Character is thus given by the ſame Author. "Mr. *Hampden* was a "Man of much greater Cunning, and it may be of "the moſt diſcerning Spirit, and of the greateſt "Addreſs and Inſinuation to bring any thing to "paſs which he deſired, of any Man of that time, "and who laid the Deſign deepeſt. He was a Gen-"tleman of a good Extraction and a fair Fortune, "who, from a Life of great Pleaſure and Licence, "had on a ſudden retired to extraordinary Sobriety "and Strictneſs, and yet retain'd his uſual Chear-"fulneſs and Affability; which, together with the "Opinion of his Wiſdom and Juſtice, and the Cou-"rage he had ſhew'd in oppoſing the Ship-Money, "rais'd his Reputation to a very great height, not "only in *Buckinghamſhire* where he lived, but gene-"rally throughout the Kingdom. He was not a "Man of many Words, and rarely began the Diſ-"courſe, or made the firſt Entrance upon any Buſi-"neſs that was aſſumed; but a very weighty Spea-"ker: and after he had heard a full Debate, and "obſerved how the Houſe was like to be inclined, "took up the Argument, and ſhortly, and clearly, "and craftily ſo ſtated it, that he commonly con-"ducted it to the Concluſion he deſired: and if he "found he could not do that, he was never with-"out the Dexterity to divert the Debate to another "time, and to prevent the determining any thing "in the Negative which might prove inconvenient "in the future. He made ſo great a ſhew of Civi-"lity, and Modeſty, and Humility, and always of "miſtruſting his own Judgment, and eſteeming his "with whom he conferr'd for the preſent, that he "ſeem'd to have no Opinions or Reſolutions, but "ſuch as he contracted from the Information and "Inſtruction he receiv'd upon the Diſcourſes of "others, whom he had a wonderful Art of Govern-"ing, and leading into his Principles and Inclina-"tions, while they believed that he wholly depen-"ded upon their Counſel and Advice. No Man "had ever a greater Power over himſelf, or was leſs "the Man that he ſeem'd to be; which ſhortly af-"ter appear'd to every Body, when he cared leſs "to keep on the Maſque." His Death is thus reported, and his Character thus farther continued by the ſame noble Author: "Mr. *Hampden* being ſhot "into the Shoulder with a Brace of Bullets, which "brake the Bone, within three Weeks after died "with extraordinary Pain, to as great a Conſterna-"tion of all that Party, as if their whole Party had "been defeated or cut off. Many Men obſerved, "that the Field in which the Skirmiſh was, and "upon which Mr. *Hampden* received his Death's "Wound, *Chalgrave-Field*, was the ſame Place in "which he had firſt executed the Ordinance of the "Militia, and engaged that County, in which his "Reputation was very great in this Rebellion: and "it was confeſs'd by the Priſoners that were taken "that Day, and acknowledged by all, that upon "the Alarm that Morning, after their Quarters "were beaten up, he was exceeding ſollicitous to "draw Forces together to purſue the Enemy; and "being a Colonel of Foot, put himſelf among thoſe "Horſe as a Volunteer, who were firſt ready; and "that when the Prince made a Stand, all the Offi-"cers were of opinion to ſtay till their Body came "up, and he alone (being ſecond to none but the "General himſelf in the Obſervance and Applicati-"on of all Men) perſwaded and prevailed with "them to advance; ſo violently did his Fate carry "him to pay the Mulct in the Place where he had "committed the Tranſgreſſion about a Year be-"fore.

Hampden's Death and Character

"He was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Buck-"inghamſhire*, and born to a fair Fortune, and of a "moſt civil and affable Deportment. In his En-"trance into the World, he indulged to himſelf all "the Licence in Sports and Exerciſes, and Compa-"ny, which were uſed by Men of the moſt jolly "Converſation. Afterwards he retir'd to a more "reſerv'd and melancholy Society, yet preſerving "his own natural Chearfulneſs and Vivacity, and "above all, a flowing Courteſie to all Men: Tho' "they who converſed nearly with him found him "growing into a Diſlike of the Eccleſiaſtical Go-"vernment of the Church, yet moſt believ'd it ra-"ther a Diſlike of ſome Church-men, and of ſome "Introducements of theirs, which he apprehended "might diſquiet the publick Peace. He was rather "of Reputation in his own Country, than of pub-"lick Diſcourſe or Fame in the Kingdom, before "the buſineſs of Ship-money; but then he grew the "Argument of all Tongues, every Man enquiring "Who and What he was that durſt, at his own "Charge, ſupport the Liberty and Property of the "Kingdom, and reſcue his Country, as he thought, "from being made a Prey to the Court. His Car-"riage, throughout this Agitation, was with that "rare Temper and Modeſty, that they who watch'd "him narrowly to find ſome Advantage againſt "his Perſon, to make him leſs reſolute in his Cauſe, "were compell'd to give him a juſt Teſtimony: "And the Judgment that was given againſt him in-"finitely more advanced him than the Service for

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which it was given. When this Parliament began (being return'd Knight of the Shire for the County where he liv'd) the Eyes of all Men were fixed upon him as their *Patriæ Pater*, and the Pilot that muſt ſteer the Veſſel through the Tempeſts and Rocks which threatned it. And I am perſwaded his Power and Intereſt at that time was greater to do Good or Hurt than any Man's in the Kingdom, or than any Man of his Rank hath had in any time: for his Reputation of Honeſty was univerſal, and his Affections ſeem'd ſo publickly guided, that no corrupt or private Ends could byaſs them.

"He was of that rare Affability and Temper in Debate, and of that ſeeming Humility and Submiſſion of Judgment, as if he brought no Opinion of his own with him but a Deſire of Information and Inſtruction; yet he had ſo ſubtle a way of Interrogating, and, under the Notions of Doubts, inſinuating his Objections, that he infuſed his own Opinions into thoſe from whom he pretended to learn, and receive them. And even with them who were able to preſerve themſelves from his Infuſions, and diſcern'd thoſe Opinions to be fix'd in him with which they could not comply, he always left the Character of an ingenious and conſcientious Perſon. He was indeed a very wiſe Man, and of great Parts, and poſſeſs'd with the moſt abſolute Spirit of Popularity, and the moſt abſolute Faculties to govern the People, of any Man I ever knew. For the firſt Year of the Parliament, he ſeem'd rather to moderate and ſoften the violent and diſtemper'd Humours, than to inflame them. But wiſe and diſpaſſion'd Men plainly diſcern'd, that that Moderation proceeded from Prudence, and Obſervation that the Seaſon was not ripe, rather than that he approv'd of the Moderation, and that he begat many Opinions and Motions, the Education whereof he committed to other Men; ſo far diſguiſing his own Deſigns, that he ſeem'd ſeldom to wiſh more than was concluded; and in many groſs Concluſions, which would hereafter contribute to Deſigns not yet ſet on foot, when he found them ſufficiently back'd by majority of Voices, he would withdraw himſelf before the Queſtion, that he might ſeem not to conſent to ſo much viſible unreaſonableneſs, which produc'd as great a Doubt in ſome as it did Approbation in others of his Integrity. What Combination ſoever had been originally with the *Scots* for the Invaſion of *England*, and what farther was enter'd into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any Alteration of the Government in Parliament, no Man doubts was at leaſt with the Privity of this Gentleman.

"After he was among thoſe Members accuſed by the King of High-Treaſon he was much alter'd; his Nature and Carriage ſeeming fiercer than it did before: And without queſtion, when he firſt drew his Sword he threw away the Scabbard; for he paſſionately oppoſed the Overture made by the King for a Treaty from *Nottingham*, and as eminently all Expedients that might have produced any Accommodations in this that was at *Oxford*; and was principally relied on to prevent any Infuſions which might be made into the Earl of *Eſſex* towards Peace, or to render them ineffectual if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that Party than the General himſelf. In the firſt entrance into the Troubles, he undertook the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and performed the Duty of a Colonel upon all occaſions moſt punctually. He was very temperate in Diet, and a ſupreme Governour over all his Paſſions and Affections, and had thereby a great Power over other Mens. He was of an Induſtry and Vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the moſt laborious; and of Parts not to be impoſed upon by the moſt Subtle or Sharp, and of a perſonal Courage equal to his beſt Parts; ſo that he was an Enemy not to be wiſh'd wherever he might have been made a Friend, and as much to be apprehended where he was ſo as any Man could deſerve to be: And therefore his Death was no leſs pleaſing to the one Party than it was condoled in the other. In a word, What was ſaid of *Cinna* might well be applied to him; he had a Head to contrive, and a Tongue to perſwade, and a Hand to execute any Miſchief. His Death therefore ſeem'd to be a great Deliverance to the Nation."

King and Queen meet.

Her Majeſty after her Arrival from *Holland* had lain ſome time at *York*, ſending Arms and Ammunition to *Oxford*, and reſolv'd now to go thither to attend her Royal Conſort, by whom ſhe was met at *Edgehill* July 13, having been abſent from him ever ſince *Feb.* 23, 1641.

Battle of *Lanſ-down.*

On *July* 5, there had been a Battle at *Lanſdown*, between the King's Forces commanded by Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Carnarvan*, and the Parliament's led by Sir *Will. Waller*. Either Party was ſufficiently tired and batter'd; *Waller* in the Night march'd away to *Bath*, and in the Morning the King's Army found themſelves poſſeſſed entirely of the Field and the Dead, and all other Enſigns of Victory. The Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, "That in this Battle, on the King's part, there were more Officers and Gentlemen of Quality ſlain than common Men, and more hurt than ſlain. That which would have clouded any Victory, and made the Loſs of others leſs ſpoken of, was the Death of Sir *Bevil Greenvil*: He was indeed an excellent Perſon, whoſe Activity, Intereſt and Reputation, was the Foundation of what had been done in *Cornwal*; and his Temper and Affections ſo publick, that no Accident which happen'd could make any Impreſſions in him; and his Example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at leaſt ſeeming to do ſo. In a Word, a brighter Courage and a gentler Diſpoſition were never mixed together to make the moſt chearful and innocent Converſation."

Death and Character of Sir *Bevil Greenvil.*

The K.'s Enemies reconcil'd to him.

Many of thoſe who ſided with the Parliament, ſeeing the ſad Effects of Civil War, began now to deſert them, and to reconcile themſelves to his Majeſty's Favour and Service, as Colonel *Goring* at *Portſmouth*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley* Governour of *Scarborough*, and even Sir *John Hotham* Governour of *Hull*, who had been ſoften'd to the Royal Intereſt by the Addreſſes of the Lord *Digby*; and by degrees he and his Son Captain *Hotham* were more and more ſuſpected by the Parliament, and were both ſeized and carried to the *Tower*, and without Mercy both beheaded. It was thought a Judgment on Sir *John Hotham* that being the firſt Man declared Traytor by the King, he was the firſt Man put to Death for a Traytor to the Parliament. His Character is thus deliver'd. "The Man was of a fearful Nature and perplexed Underſtanding, and could better reſolve upon deliberation than on a ſudden; and many were of opinion, that if he had been prepared dexterouſly before-hand, and in confidence he would have conformed to the King's Pleaſure; for he was Maſter of a noble Fortune in Land, and rich in Money; of a very ancient Family and well allied; his Affections to the Government very good; and no Man leſs deſired to ſee the Nation involved in a Civil War than he; and when he accepted this Imployment from the Parliament, he never imagined it would engage him in Rebellion, but believed that the King would find it neceſſary to comply with the Advice of his two Houſes, and that the preſerving that Magazine from being poſſeſſed by him, would likewiſe prevent any poſſible Rupture into Arms."——When he ſtood on the Wall of *Hull* and talked with the King who demanded Poſſeſſion, the King telling him, "That this act of Diſobedience in him would probably bring many Miſeries upon the Kingdom and much loſs of Blood, which it ſhould lie upon his Conſcience to prevent." Sir *John* with much diſtraction in his

Character of Sir *Jo. Hotham.*

Looks

1643. 19 Car. I. Looks talked confuſedly of *the Truſt he had from the Parliament*, then fell on his Knees and wiſh'd, *That God would bring Confuſion upon Him and His, if he were not a loyal and faithful Subject to his Majeſty.*

Good Deſign of Waller, &c.

Mr. *Waller*, *Tompkins*, *Challoner* and others, had enter'd into a more expeditious Deſign to ſeize ſome leading Members, to ſurprize the City, and bring up the King to diſſolve the Parliament. But they were all unhappily diſcovered, tried and condemn'd; *Tompkins* and *Challoner* were hang'd, but Mr. *Waller* having been a Member well affected to the Cauſe, and one of the Commiſſioners in the Treaty at *Oxford*, was reprieved by General *Eſſex*, and after a Year's Impriſonment purchas'd his Pardon for ten thouſand Pounds; and travelling into *France* improv'd himſelf in good Letters, and for the reſt of his Life, which was very long, he choſe rather to be admir'd for a Poet, than to be envied for a Politician. And ſeveral of the greateſt Lords as well as Commons, came over to the King; but many of them thinking themſelves to be ſlighted or ſuſpected, again cool'd in their Loyalty, and return'd to be Enemies or Neuters. The two potent Earls of *Holland* and *Bedford* receeded from the Parliament about *Auguſt* 25, and waited on the King at *Oxford*, with great profeſſions of Duty and Allegiance; yet ſoon after they deſerted the King, and took refuge again at *Weſtminſter*. The Earl of *Clare* did the ſame.

The two Houſes to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt the growing Intereſt of the King, reſolv'd to ſend for Aſſiſtance into *Scotland*, by Commiſſioners choſe out of both Houſes, to go and negotiate a Treaty of Alliance, who came to *Edinburgh* Aug. 7, and brought with them a Declaration of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England* to the Kingdom and Eſtates of *Scotland*, and another to the General Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland* (a). They promiſed to aid their Brethren in *England* upon Condition of *a ſolemn League and Covenant*, and tranſmitted a Form of it to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, where it was conſented to *Aug*. 28, order'd to be printed and publiſh'd *Sept*. 21, and the next Day taken by the Houſe of Commons and Aſſembly of Divines. And tho' his Majeſty publiſh'd a Proclamation againſt taking of it, dated *Octob*. 19, it was by degrees impoſed and rigorouſly exacted of all People, as they would eſcape the Brand and the Penalty of Malignants. And upon this Confederacy the *Scots* Army enter'd *England* at *Berwick* Jan. 15. and ſoon after was publiſh'd *The Declaration of the Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland *joined in Arms for the Vindication and Defence of their Religion, Liberties and Laws againſt the Popiſh Prelatical and Malignant Party, by the Honourable Houſes of Parliament in* England, *and the Honourable Convention of Eſtates of the Kingdom of* Scotland.

Solemn League and Covenant.

Siege of Briſtol.

In the mean time the chief Actions in the Field were the Siege of *Briſtol* by Prince *Rupert*, who attack'd it with ſo much Bravery, that he brought the Governour Colonel *Fienes* to a Parley and a Surrender upon Articles *July* 22. Upon this encouragement the King beſieged *Glouceſter* Aug. 10, which was obſtinately defended till on *Sept*. 5, upon the advance of *Eſſex*'s recruited Army, the King was forced to raiſe the Siege with great loſs of Time, Men and Honour. And at *Newberry* Sept. 20, the Earl of *Eſſex* fell on the King's Army, who maintain'd the Fight from ſeven in the Morning till eight at Night, when the King ſuffering much the greater Loſs, drew off his Forces and marched to *Oxford*, having loſt three excellent Perſons of Quality, the Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Earl of *Sunderland* and the Lord Viſcount *Faukland*. Their Characters are thus drawn by the admirable Hand of the Lord *Clarendon*. "Here fell "the Earl of *Sunderland*, a Lord of great Fortune, "tender Years (being not above three and twenty

1ſt. Battle of Newberry.

Character of Lord Sunderland.

"Years of Age) and an early Judgment; who having no Command in the Army, attended upon the King's Perſon, under the obligation of Honour, and putting himſelf that Day in the King's Troop a Voluntier, before they came to Charge was taken away by a Canon Bullet.

"This Day alſo fell the Earl of *Carnarvan*, who after he had charg'd and routed a Body of the Enemies Horſe, coming careleſly back by ſome of the ſcatter'd Troopers, was by one of them who knew him, run through the Body with a Sword, of which he died within an Hour. He was a Perſon with whoſe great Parts and Virtue the World was not enough acquainted. Before the War, tho' his Education was adorn'd by Travel, and an exact obſervation of the Manners of more Nations than our common Travellers uſe to viſit (for he had, after the View of *Spain*, *France* and moſt parts of *Italy*, ſpent ſome time in *Turky* and thoſe Eaſtern Countries), he ſeemed to be wholly delighted with thoſe looſer Exerciſes of Pleaſure, Hunting, Hawking, and the like; in which the Nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the Troubles began, having the Command of the firſt or ſecond Regiment of Horſe that was raiſed for the King's Service, he wholly gave himſelf up to the Office and Duty of a Soldier, no Man more diligently Obeying or more dexterouſly Commanding; for he was not only of a very keen Courage in the expoſing his Perſon, but an excellent Diſcerner and Purſuer of Advantage upon his Enemy. He had a Mind and Underſtanding very preſent in the Article of Danger, which is a rare benefit in that Profeſſion. Thoſe Infirmities and that Licence which he had formerly indulg'd to himſelf, he put off with Severity, when others thought them excuſable under the Notion of a Soldier. He was a great Lover of Juſtice, and practis'd it then moſt deliberately when he had Power to do wrong; and ſo ſtrict in the obſervation of his Word and Promiſe, as a Commander, that he could not be perſwaded to ſtay in the Weſt, when he found it not in his Power to perform the Agreement he had made with *Dorcheſter* and *Weymouth*. If he had lived, he would have proved a great Ornament to that Profeſſion, and an excellent Soldier, and by his Death the King found a ſenſible weakneſs in his Army."

The Lord *Falkland* was diſſwaded from expoſing himſelf in the Battle, being only a Civil Officer; but he ſaid he was weary of the Times, foreſaw they would be worſe, and believed he ſhould be happily delivered from them. In the Morning he called for a clean Shirt, ſaying jocoſely, that *If his Body fell the Rebels ſhould not find it in foul Linnen.* His Character was thus drawn by the Lord *Clarendon*. "The Lord "*Falkland* was wonderfully belov'd by all that knew him, as a Man of excellent Parts, of a Wit ſo ſharp and a Nature ſo ſincere, that nothing could be more lovely. The King knew him to be of good Eſteem in the Houſe, and good Affections to his Service and the Quiet of the Kingdom. No Man could be more ſurpriz'd than he was, when the firſt Intimation was made to him of the King's Purpoſe. (*i. e.* to make him Secretary of State) He had never propoſed any ſuch thing to himſelf, nor had any veneration for the Court, but only ſuch a Loyalty to the King as the Law required from him. And he had naturally a wonderful Reverence for Parliaments, as believing them moſt ſollicitous for Juſtice, the Violation whereof in the leaſt degree he could not forgive any mortal Power; and it was only his Obſervation of the Diſingenuity and want of Integrity in this Parliament which leſſened that Reverence to it, and had

Character of Lord Falkland.

(a) See Order of the Houſe of Commons to the Aſſembly of Divines, Recommending it to them to draw up a Letter to the General Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland*, taking notice of the Pious and Good Expreſſions to this Church and State, certified in the late Anſwer of the ſaid General Aſſembly. dat. 17. *July* 1643. Printed in the Acts of the General Aſſembly in *Scotland*. 4to.

1643. 19 Car. I. " diſpoſed him to croſs and oppoſe their Deſigns. " He was ſo totally unacquainted with Buſineſs and " the Forms of it, that he did believe really he could " not execute the Office with any ſufficiency. But " there were two Conſiderations that made moſt " Impreſſion upon him; the one, leaſt the World " ſhould believe, that his own Ambition had pro- " cured this Promotion, and that he had therefore " appear'd ſignally in the Houſe to oppoſe thoſe Pro- " ceedings, that he might thereby render himſelf " Gracious to the Court; the other, leaſt the King " ſhould expect ſuch a Submiſſion and Reſignation " of himſelf, and his own Reaſon and Judgment to " his Commands, as he ſhould never give or pretend " to forgive: For he was ſo ſevere an Adorer of " Truth, that he could as eaſily have given himſelf " leave to ſteal as to diſſemble, or to ſuffer any " Man to think that he would do any thing which " he reſolved not to do, which he thought " a more miſchievous kind of Lying than a poſi- " tive Averring what could be moſt eaſily contra- " dicted."

On the occaſion of his Death his Character was thus continued by the ſame excellent Writer. " In " this unhappy Battle was ſlain the Lord Viſcount " *Falkland*, a Perſon of ſuch prodigious Parts, of " Learning and Knowledge, of that inimitable " ſweetneſs and delight in Converſation, of ſo flow- " ing and obliging a Humanity and Goodneſs to " Mankind, and of that primitive Simplicity and " Integrity of Life, that if there were no other " Brand upon this odious and accurſed Civil War " than that ſingle Loſs, it muſt be moſt infamous " and execrable to all Poſterity.

Turpe mori, poſt te, ſolo non poſſe dolore.

" Before this Parliament, his Condition of Life was " ſo happy, that it was hardly capable of improve- " ment. Before he came to be twenty Years of " Age, he was Maſter of a noble Fortune, which de- " ſcended to him by the Gift of a Grandfather, " without paſſing through his Father or Mother " who were then both alive, and not well enough " contented to find themſelves paſſed by in the " Deſcent. His Education for ſome Years had been " in *Ireland*, where his Father was Lord Deputy; " ſo that when he returned into *England*, to the poſ- " ſeſſion of his Fortune, he was unintangled with " any Acquaintance or Friends which uſually grow " up by the cuſtom of Converſation, and therefore " was to make a pure election of his Company; " which he choſe by other Rules than were preſcri- " bed to the young Nobility of that Time. And it " cannot be denied, though he admitted ſome few " to his Friendſhip for the agreeableneſs of their " Natures, and their undoubted Affection to him, " that his Familiarity and Friendſhip, for the moſt " part, was with Men of the moſt eminent and ſub- " lime Parts, and of untouched Reputation in point " of Integrity, and ſuch Men had a Title to his Boſom.

" He was a great Cheriſher of Wit, and Fancy, " and good Parts in any Man; and if he found them " clouded with Poverty or Want, a moſt liberal " and bountiful Patron towards them, even above " his Fortune; of which, in thoſe Adminiſtrations " he was ſuch a Diſpencer, as if he had been truſted " with it to ſuch Uſes, and if there had been the " leaſt of Vice in his Expence he might have been " thought too prodigal. He was conſtant and per- " tinacious in whatſoever he reſolved to do, and not " to be wearied by any pains that were neceſſary to " that end. And therefore having once reſolv'd not " to ſee *London*, which he loved above all places, " till he had perfectly learn'd the *Greek* Tongue, he " went to his own Houſe in the Country, and pur- " ſued it with that indefatigable Induſtry, that it " will not be believ'd in how ſhort a time he was " Maſter of it, and accurately read all the *Greek* " Hiſtorians.

" In this time, his Houſe being within little more 1643. 19 Car. I. " than ten Miles of *Oxford*, he contracted familiari- " ty and friendſhip with the moſt polite and accurate " Men of that Univerſity; who found ſuch an im- " menſeneſs of Wit, and ſuch a ſolidity of Judgment " in him, ſo infinite a Fancy, bound in by a moſt " Logical Ratiocination, ſuch a vaſt Knowledge that " he was not ignorant in any thing, yet ſuch an ex- " ceſſive Humility as if he had known nothing, that " they frequently reſorted and dwelt with him as in " a College ſituated in a purer Air; ſo that his " Houſe was a Univerſity in a leſs Volume, whi- " ther they came not ſo much for Repoſe as Study, " and to examine and refine thoſe groſſer Propoſiti- " ons which Lazineſs and Conſent made current in " vulgar Converſation.

" Many Attempts were made upon him by the in- " ſtigation of his Mother (who was a Lady of ano- " ther Perſwaſion in Religion, and of a moſt maſ- " culine Underſtanding, allay'd with the Paſſion " and Infirmities of her own Sex) to pervert him " in his Piety to the Church of *England*, and to re- " concile him to that of *Rome*; which they proſecu- " ted with the more confidence, becauſe he declin'd " no opportunity or occaſion of Conference with " thoſe of that Religion, whether Prieſts or Laicks, " having diligently ſtudied the Controverſies, and " exactly read all, or the choiceſt of the *Greek* " and *Latin* Fathers, and having a Memory ſo ſtu- " pendious that he remember'd on all Occaſions " whatſoever he read. And he was ſo great an E- " nemy to that Paſſion and Uncharitableneſs which " he ſaw produced by difference of Opinion, in Mat- " ters of Religion, that in all thoſe Diſputations " with Prieſts, and others of the *Roman* Church, he " affected to manifeſt all poſſible Civility to their " Perſons and Eſtimation of their Parts; which " made them retain ſtill ſome hope of his Reducti- " on, even when they had given over offering far- " ther Reaſons to him to that purpoſe. But this " Charity towards them was much leſſened, and any " Correſpondence with them quite declined, when, " by ſiniſter Arts, they had corrupted his two " younger Brothers, being both Children, and ſtolen " them from his Houſe, and Tranſported them " beyond Seas, and perverted his Siſters; upon " which occaſion he writ two large Diſcourſes a- " gainſt the principal Poſitions of that Religion, " with that ſharpneſs of Style, and full weight of " Reaſon, that the Church is deprived of great " Jewels in the concealment of them, and that they " are not publiſh'd to the World.

" He was ſuperiour to all thoſe Paſſions and Af- " fections which attend vulgar Minds, and was " guilty of no other Ambition than of Knowledge, " and to be reputed a Lover of all good Men, and " that made him too much a Contemner of thoſe " Arts, which muſt be indulged in the Tranſacti- " ons of Humane Affairs. In the laſt ſhort Parlia- " ment he was a Burgeſs in the Houſe of Commons; " and from the Debates which were there managed " with all imaginable Gravity and Sobriety, he con- " tracted ſuch a Reverence to Parliaments, that he " thought it really impoſſible they could ever pro- " duce Miſchief or Inconvenience to the Kingdom, " or that the Kingdom could be tolerably happy in " the Intermiſſion of them. And from the unhap- " py and unſeaſonable Diſſolution of that Conven- " tion, he harboured, it may be, ſome jealouſie and " prejudice to the Court, towards which he was " not before immoderately inclin'd; his Father ha- " ving waſted a full Fortune there, in thoſe Offices " and Employments by which other Men uſed to ob- " tain a greater. He was choſen again this Parlia- " ment to ſerve in the ſame Place, and in the be- " ginning of it, declared himſelf very ſharply and " ſeverely againſt thoſe Exorbitances which had been " moſt grievous to the State; for he was ſo rigid an " obſerver of eſtabliſhed Laws and Rules, that he " could not endure the leaſt breach or deviation

" from

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from them; and thought no miſchief ſo intolerable as the Preſumption of Miniſters of State, to break poſitive Rules for Reaſons of State, or Judges to tranſgreſs known Laws upon the Title of Conveniency or Neceſſity; which made him ſo ſevere againſt the Earl of *Strafford* and the Lord *Finch*, contrary to his natural Gentleneſs and Temper; inſomuch, as they who did not know his Compoſition to be as free from Revenge as it was from Pride, thought that the Sharpneſs to the former, might proceed from the Memory of ſome Unkindeſſes, not without a mixture of Injuſtice from him towards his Father. But without doubt he was free from thoſe Temptations, and in both Caſes was only miſled by the Authority of thoſe who he believed underſtood the Laws perfectly; of which himſelf was utterly ignorant; and if the aſſumption, which was then ſcarce controverted had been true, *That an Endeavour to overthrow the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom was Treaſon*, a ſtrict Underſtanding might make reaſonable Concluſions to ſatisfy his own Judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their ſeveral Charges.

“ The great Opinion he had of the Uprightneſs and Integrity of thoſe Perſons who appear'd moſt Active, eſpecially of Mr. *Hambden*, kept him longer from ſuſpecting any Deſign againſt the Peace of the Kingdom; and tho' he differed from them commonly in Concluſions, he believed long, their Purpoſes were honeſt. When he grew better inform'd what was Law, and diſcerned in them a deſire to controul that Law by a Vote of one or both Houſes, no Man more oppoſed thoſe Attempts, and gave the adverſe Party more trouble by Reaſon and Argumentation; inſomuch as he was by degrees look'd upon as an Advocate for the Court, to which he contributed ſo little, that he declined thoſe Addreſſes, and even thoſe Invitations which he was obliged almoſt by Civility to entertain. And he was ſo jealous of the leaſt Imagination that he ſhould incline to Preferment, that he affected even a Moroſeneſs to the Court and to the Courtiers, and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the King's or Queen's Favour towards him, but the deſerving it. For when the King ſent for him once or twice to ſpeak with him, and to give him Thanks for his excellent Comportment in thoſe Councils, which his Majeſty graciouſly termed *Doing him Service*, his Anſwers were more negligent and leſs Satiſfactory than might be expected; as if he car'd only that his Actions ſhould be Juſt, not that they ſhould be Acceptable, and that his Majeſty ſhould think that they proceeded only from the impulſion of Conſcience, without any ſympathy in his Affections; which from a *Stoical* and ſullen Nature might not have been miſinterpreted; yet, from a Perſon of ſo perfect a Habit of generous and obſequious Compliance with all good Men, might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary averſeneſs to his Service; ſo that he took more Pains, and more forced his Nature to Actions unagreeable and unpleaſant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than moſt Men have done to procure an Office there. And if any thing but not doing his Duty, could have kept him from receiving a Teſtimony of the King's Grace and Truſt at that time, he had not been called to his Council; not that he was in truth averſe from receiving publick Employment, for he had a great devotion to the King's Perſon, and had before uſed ſome ſmall Endeavour to be recommended to him for a Foreign Negotiation, and had once a deſire to be ſent Ambaſſador into *France*; but he abhorr'd an Imagination or Doubt ſhould ſink into the Thoughts of any Man, that in the diſcharge of his Truſt and Duty in Parliament, he had any biaſs to the Court, or that the King himſelf ſhould apprehend, that he looked for a Reward for being Honeſt.

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“ For this reaſon, when he heard it firſt whiſper-ed, that the King had a purpoſe to make him a Privy Counſellor, for which there was in the beginning no other ground, but becauſe he was known ſufficient (*Haud ſemper errat fama, aliquando & eligit*) he reſolved to decline it; and at laſt ſuffered himſelf only to be over-rul'd, by the Advice and Perſwaſions of his Friends, to ſubmit to it. Afterwards when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was poſitive to refuſe it; declaring to his Friends, *That he was moſt unfit for it, and that he muſt either do that which would be great diſquiet to his own Nature, or leave that undone which was moſt neceſſary to be done by one that was honoured with that Place: For the moſt juſt and honeſt Men did, every Day, that which he could not give himſelf leave to do.*

“ And indeed he was ſo exact and ſtrict an Obſerver of Juſtice and Truth, that he believed thoſe neceſſary Condeſcenſions and Applications to the weakneſs of other Men, and thoſe Arts and Inſinuations which are neceſſary for Diſcoveries and Prevention of ill, would be in him a Declenſion from his own Rules of Life; though he acknowledged them fit, and abſolutely neceſſary to be practiſed in thoſe Employments. He was, in truth, ſo preciſe in the practick Principles he preſcribed himſelf (to all others he was as indulgent) as if he had lived *in Republica Platonis, non in fæce Romuli.*

“ Two Reaſons prevailed with him to receive the Seals, and but for thoſe he had reſolutely avoided them. The firſt, the Conſideration that his Refuſal might bring ſome blemiſh upon the King's Affairs, and that Men would have believed, that he had refuſed ſo great an Honour and Truſt, becauſe he muſt have been with it obliged to do ſomewhat elſe not juſtifiable. And this he made matter of Conſcience; ſince he knew the King made choice of him, before other Men, eſpecially becauſe he thought him more Honeſt than other Men. The other was, leſt he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the Houſe of Commons, who were ſorely troubled at the diſplacing Sir *Harry Vane*, whom they look'd upon as removed for having done them thoſe Offices they ſtood in need of; and the Diſdain of ſo popular an Incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other.

“ For as he had a full Appetite of Fame by juſt and generous Actions, ſo he had an equal contempt of it by any ſervile Expedients; and he ſo much the more conſented to, and approved the Juſtice upon Sir *Harry Vane*, in his own private Judgment, by how much he ſurpaſſed moſt Men in the Religious Obſervation of a Truſt, the Violation whereof he would not admit of any Excuſe for.

“ For theſe Reaſons, he ſubmitted to the King's Command, and became his Secretary, with as humble and devoted an Acknowledgment of the greatneſs of the Obligation as could be expreſſed, and as true a ſenſe of it in his Heart. Yet two Things he could never bring himſelf to, whilſt he continued in that Office, that was to his Death; for which he was contented to be Reproached, as for omiſſions in a moſt neceſſary part of his place.

“ The one, employing of Spies, or giving any Countenance or Entertainment to them. I do not mean ſuch Emiſſaries as with danger would venture to view the Enemies Camp, and bring intelligence of their Number, or Quartering, or any Particulars that ſuch an Obſervation can comprehend; but thoſe, who by Communication of

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“Guilt, or Diſſimulation of Manners, wind themſelves into ſuch Truſts and Secrets as enable them to make Diſcoveries. The other, the Liberty of opening Letters, upon a ſuſpicion that they might contain Matter of dangerous Conſequence. For the firſt he would ſay, ſuch Inſtruments muſt be void of all Ingenuity and common Honeſty, before they could be of Uſe, and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: And that no ſingle Preſervation could be worth ſo general a Wound and Corruption of Humane Society, as the cheriſhing ſuch Perſons would carry with it. The laſt he thought ſuch a violation of the Law of Nature, that no Qualification by Office could juſtifie him in the Treſpaſs; and though he was convinced by the Neceſſity and Iniquity of the Time, that thoſe Advantages of Information were not to be declined, and were neceſſarily to be practiſed, he found means to put it off from himſelf, whilſt he confeſſed he needed Excuſe and Pardon for the Omiſſion; ſo unwilling he was to reſign any part of good Nature to an Obligation in his Office.

“In all other Particulars he filled his Place with great Sufficiency, being well verſed in Languages, to underſtand any that are uſed in Buſineſs, and to make himſelf again underſtood. To ſpeak of his Integrity and his high Diſdain of any Bait that might ſeem to look toward Corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtutum fuerit*. Some ſharp Expreſſions he uſed againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his concurring in the firſt Bill to take away the Votes of Biſhops in the Houſe of Peers, gave occaſion to ſome to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude and publiſh, *That he was no Friend to the Church and the eſtabliſhed Government of it*; and troubled his Friends very much, who were more confident of the contrary, than prepared to anſwer the Allegations.

“The Truth is, he had unhappily contracted ſome prejudice to the Archbiſhop; and having obſerved his Paſſion, when, it may be, multiplicity of Buſineſs, or other Indiſpoſition had poſſeſſed him, did wiſh him leſs intangled and engaged in the Buſineſs of the Court or State: though I ſpeak it knowingly, he had a ſingular eſtimation and reverence of his great Learning and confeſſed Integrity; and really thought his own letting himſelf looſe to thoſe Expreſſions which imply'd a diſeſteem of the Archbiſhop, or at leaſt an acknowledgment of his Infirmities, would enable him to ſhelter him from part of the Storm he ſaw raiſed for his Deſtruction, which he abominated with his Soul.

“The giving his Conſent to the firſt Bill for the diſplacing the Biſhops, did proceed from two Grounds: The firſt, his not underſtanding then the Original of their Right and Suffrage there; the other, an Opinion that the Combination againſt the whole Government of the Church by Biſhops was ſo violent and furious, that a leſs Compoſition than the diſpenſing with their intermeddling in Secular Affairs, would not preſerve the Order. And he was perſwaded to this by the profeſſion of many Perſons of Honour, who declared, they did deſire the one, and would not then preſs the other; which, in that Particular, miſled many Men. But when his Obſervation and Experience made him diſcern more of their Intentions than he before ſuſpected, with great frankneſs he oppoſed the ſecond Bill that was preferr'd for that purpoſe, and had, without ſcruple, the Order it ſelf in perfect Reverence, and thought too great Encouragement could not poſſibly be given to Learning, nor too great Rewards to Learned Men. He was never in the leaſt degree ſway'd or mov'd by the Objections which were made againſt that Government in the Church (holding them moſt ridiculous) or affected to the other, which thoſe Men fancied to themſelves.

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“He had a Courage of the moſt clear and keen Temper, and ſo far from Fear that he ſeem'd not without ſome Appetite of Danger, and therefore upon any occaſion of Action, he always engaged his Perſon in thoſe Troops which he thought, by the forwardneſs of the Commanders to be moſt like to be fartheſt engaged; and in ſuch Encounters he had about him an extraordinary Chearfulneſs, without at all affecting the execution that uſually attended them, in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not by Reſiſtance made neceſſary; inſomuch, that at *Edge-hill*, when the Enemy was routed, he was like to have incurr'd great Peril by interpoſing to ſave thoſe who had thrown away their Arms, and againſt whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown them away; ſo that a Man might think, he came into the Field chiefly out of curioſity to ſee the Face of Danger, and Charity to prevent the ſhedding of Blood. Yet in his natural Inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the Profeſſion of a Soldier; and ſhortly after he came to his Fortune, before he was of Age, he went into the *Low Countries*, with a Reſolution of procuring Command, and to give himſelf up to it; from which he was diverted by the compleat inactivity of that Summer: So he return'd into *England*, and ſhortly after enter'd upon that vehement courſe of Study we mention'd before, till the firſt alarm from the *North*; then again he made ready for the Field, and though he received ſome repulſe in the Command of a Troop of Horſe, of which he had a Promiſe, he went a Voluntier with the Earl of *Eſſex*.

“From the entrance into this unnatural War, his natural Chearfulneſs and Vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of Sadneſs and Dejection of Spirit ſtole upon him, which he had never been uſed to: yet being one of thoſe who believed that one Battle would end all Differences, and that there would be ſo great a Victory on one ſide, that the other would be compelled to ſubmit to any Conditions from the Victor (which Suppoſition and Concluſion generally ſunk into the Minds of moſt Men, and prevented the looking after many Advantages that might then have been laid hold of) he reſiſted thoſe Indiſpoſitions, *Et in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat*. But after the King's Return from *Brainford*, and the furious Reſolution of the two Houſes not to admit any Treaty for Peace, thoſe Indiſpoſitions which had before touch'd him grew into a perfect habit of unchearfulneſs; and he who had been ſo exactly eaſy and affable to all Men, that his Face and Countenance was always preſent and vacant to his Company, and held any cloudineſs, and leſs pleaſantneſs of the Viſage, a kind of Rudeneſs or Incivility, became on a ſuddain leſs communicable, and thence very ſad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the Spleen. In his Cloaths and Habit, which he had minded before, always with more Neatneſs, Induſtry and Expence, than is uſual to ſo great a Soul, he was not now only Incurious but too Negligent; and in his Reception of Suitors, and the neceſſary or caſual Addreſſes to his Place, ſo quick, and ſharp, and ſevere, that there wanted not ſome Men (Strangers to his Nature and Diſpoſition) who believed him Proud and Imperious, from which no mortal Man was ever more free.

“It is true, that as he was of a moſt incomparable Gentleneſs, Application, and even Submiſſion to good, and worthy, and entire Men; ſo he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his Place, which objected him to another Converſation and Intermixture than his own Election would have done) *adverſus malos injucundus*, and was ſo ill a Diſſembler of his diſlike and diſin-

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“ clination to ill Men, that it was not poſſible for ſuch not to diſcern it. There was once in the Houſe of Commons ſuch a declared Acceptation of the good Service an eminent Member had done to them, and, as they ſaid, to the whole Kingdom, that it was moved, he being preſent, *That the Speaker might in the Name of the whole Houſe give him Thanks*; *and then that every Member might as a teſtimony of his particular Acknowledgment, ſtir or move his Hat towards him*; the which (though not order'd) when very many did, the Lord *Falkland* (who believed the Service it ſelf not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous Perſon could not have ſtoop'd to it for any Recompence) inſtead of moving his Hat, ſtretched both his Arms out, and claſped his Hands together upon the Crown of his Hat, and held it cloſe down to his Head, that all Men might ſee how odious that Flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the Perſon, though at that time moſt Popular.

“ When there was any Overture or Hope of Peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly ſollicitous to preſs any thing which he thought might promote it; and ſitting among his Friends, often, after a deep Silence and frequent Sighs, would, with a ſhrill and ſad Accent, ingeminate the Word *Peace*, *Peace*; and would paſſionately profeſs, *That the very Agony of the War, and the View of the Calamities and Deſolation the Kingdom did and muſt endure, took his Sleep from him, and would ſhortly break his heart.* This made ſome think, *That he was ſo much enamour'd on Peace, that he would have been glad the King ſhould have bought it at any price*: which was a moſt unreaſonable Calumny. As if a Man that was himſelf the moſt punctual and preciſe in every Circumſtance that might reflect upon Conſcience or Honour, could have wiſh'd the King to have committed a Treſpaſs againſt either. And yet this ſenſeleſs Scandal made ſome Impreſſion upon him, or at leaſt he uſed it for an Excuſe of the Daringneſs of his Spirit; for at the Leaguer before *Glouceſter*, when his Friend paſſionately reprehended him for expoſing his Perſon unneceſſarily to Danger (for he delighted to viſit the Trenches and neareſt Approaches, and to diſcover what the Enemy did) as being ſo much beſide the Duty of his Place, that it might be underſtood rather to be againſt it, he would ſay merrily, *That his Office could not take away the Privilege of his Age*; *and that a Secretary in War might be preſent at the greateſt Secret of Danger*; but withall alledg'd ſeriouſly, *That it concern'd him to be more active in Enterpriſes of Hazard than other Men, that all might ſee that his Impatiency for Peace proceeded not from Puſillanimity, or Fear to adventure his own Perſon.*

“ In the Morning before the Battle, as always upon Action, he was very chearful, and put himſelf into the firſt Rank of the Lord *Byron*'s Regiment then advancing upon the Enemy, who had lined the Hedges on both ſides with Muſqueteers from whence he was ſhot with a Muſquet in the lower part of the Belly, and in the inſtant falling from his Horſe, his Body was not found till the next Morning; till when, there was ſome hope he might have been a Priſoner; tho' his neareſt Friends, who knew his Temper, receiv'd ſmall Comfort from that Imagination. Thus fell that incomparable Young-man, in the four and thirtieth Year of his Age, having ſo much diſpatch'd the true Buſineſs of Life, that the Eldeſt rarely attain to that immenſe Knowledge, and the Youngeſt enter not into the World with more Innocency: Whoſoever leads ſuch a Life, needs be the leſs anxious upon how ſhort Warning it is taken from him.”

The two Houſes wanted nothing ſo much as the Broad-Seal, that had been carried away by the Lord Keeper *Littleton* to the King; and without which they could not exerciſe that ſupreme Power which they had now aſſumed to themſelves. Hence the Commons voted *July* 4, that, 1. The Great Seal of *England* ought to attend the Parliament. 2. That the Abſence thereof hath been a Cauſe of great Miſchief to the Commonwealth. 3. That a Remedy ought to be provided for theſe Miſchiefs. 4. That the proper Remedy is by making a new Seal. Upon theſe Reſolutions a Conference was had with the Lords, who were prevailed with to join in an Ordinance dated *Novemb.* 11, That every Act under the old Seal ſhould be void, and that a new Great Seal of *England*, already by them made and provided, ſhould only be in force, and be put in the Cuſtody of theſe following Commiſſioners; *John* Earl of *Rutland* (in whoſe room was ſubſtituted *Ruthin* Earl of *Kent*) *Oliver* Earl of *Bolingbrook*, *Oliver St. Johns* Eſq; *John Wild* Serjeant at Law, *Samuel Brown*, and *Edmund Prideaux* Eſquires.

Parliament reſolve on a new Broad Seal.

An Ordinance was made *Sept.* 21, *For the due and orderly Receiving and Collecting of the King's, Queen's, and Prince's Revenue, and the Arrearages thereof.* And in Return the King iſſued a Proclamation *Sept.* 25. *forbidding all the Tenants or Debtors of ſuch who are in actual and open Rebellion, or who adhere to, or aſſiſt the Rebels, to pay any Rents or Debts to ſuch Perſons, or any of them.* So that all Property was now put upon the Point of the Sword, and no Law but that of Arms.

Seize on the King's Revenues.

As to Affairs in *Ireland*, the King being under a Neceſſity to recall as many of thoſe Forces as would obey his Orders to aſſiſt him nearer home, did grant a Commiſſion *Apr.* 23, (*a*) to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Lieutenant General of his Majeſty's Army and Forces in *Ireland*, to treat with the *Iriſh* Rebels upon a Ceſſation of Arms for one Year (*b*). This was ſoon objected againſt the King, by thoſe who brought him into the Neceſſity of doing it. The Lords and Commons reſolv'd to take the Government of *Ireland*, as they had done that of *England*, into their own hands. So on *June* 16, they publiſh'd *a Declaration touching the preſent Lamentable Condition of* Ireland, and eſtabliſh'd the Project of a Company of *Adventurers*, who for advancing Moneys here ſhould be paid in the Lands of that Kingdom. In the mean time his Majeſty purſued the Exigent of a Ceſſation of Arms, and declared his Reſolution in a Letter to the Lords Juſtices of that Kingdom, dated *July* 2. And by another of *September* 7, he commanded the Lords Juſtices to agree upon making a Ceſſation, and after that to ſend over the Forces which were employed againſt the *Iriſh* to aſſiſt his Majeſty againſt his *Engliſh* Rebels. And accordingly

Affairs in *Ireland*.

(*a*) Mr. *Prynne* is poſitive, that the Papiſts in *Ireland* procured the King (after *Endymion Porter*, a principal Conſpirator in the Plot, had gained the Cuſtody of the Great Seal of *England*) to iſſue out divers Proclamations under the Great Seal, proclaiming the Parliament of *England* Traytors and Rebels, and granting Commiſſions to *Iriſh* and *Engliſh* Papiſts (contrary to his former Proclamations) to raiſe Popiſh Forces both at home and in foreign Parts for his Defence, as his Truſtieſt and moſt Loyal Subjects; to ſend Letters and Commiſſions of Favour to the *Iriſh* Rebels, and hinder all Supplies from hence to the Proteſtant Party. And withall they procured the Queen, by the Earl of *Antrim* and Dutcheſs of *Buckingham*'s mediation, to ſend Ammunition to the *Iriſh* Rebels, and to attempt to raiſe an Inſurrection in *Scotland*; as (ſaith Mr. *Prynne*) the *Declaration of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Rebellion in Ireland* more largely diſcovers. *Rome*'s *Maſter-Piece*, &c.

(*b*) What moſt hurt the King's Intereſt in *Ireland*, was a pretended Zeal of the Papiſts for him, when they were in the moſt open and violent Oppoſition to Him. See, A Proclamation by the Lords Juſtices in *Ireland*, dat. 30, *Octob.* 1642, declaring it to be falſe and ſcandalous what was reported, that Sir *Phelim Oneal* had his Majeſties Commiſſion for the Inſurrection in *Ireland*; with a full Detection of that Sham, in *Cox* Hiſt. of *Irel.* ii. p. 78. —— See the *Engliſh* Copy of the Pope's Bull to the *Iriſh* Rebels, commending their great Zeal towards Propagating of the Catholick Faith, and that in imitation of their Godly and worthy Anceſtors, they had endeavoured by force of Arms to deliver their inthralled Nation from the Oppreſſions and grievous Injuries of the Hereticks. Dated at *Rome* in St. *Peter*'s Palace 25th *May*, 1643, in the xxth Year of our Pontificate. *Cox Hiſt. Appen.* Num. xv.

1643. 19 *Car.* I. cordingly the Articles of Ceſſation of Arms were agreed and concluded on at *Siggings-Town* in the County of *Kildare* Sept. 15. Before the News of this Treaty came into *England*, the Lords and Commons had publiſh'd a *Declaration* Sept. 30, *againſt the intended Ceſſation or Treaty with the* Iriſh. Several of the Forces under Colonel *Ernley* came over to ſerve the King; but many of them that came over with *Vavaſour* refuſed to fight againſt thoſe they were taught to call their *Fellow-Proteſtants*, and ſo joined with the Army under *Eſſex*, being aſſured that they then fought againſt the Papiſts: And, in ſhort, this Ceſſation in *Ireland*, and the Recruits call'd from thence to the King, were repreſented by the Artifice of Lying ſo odious and ſo Popiſh, that theſe Meaſures, as moſt others taken up by the King upon Neceſſity, were baſely improved to his greater Diſadvantage.

King and Parliament at *Oxford*.

It was ſo with the Parliament, which his Majeſty began now to form at *Oxford*. The Nobility and Gentry were in ſuch great Numbers attending upon the King, and many of them Members excluded from the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, that it was thought proper to aſſemble them into a Parliament at *Oxford*; where the King being in Perſon at the Head of them, might give them a better Title than the two Houſes had at *Weſtminſter*. And therefore the King publiſh'd his Proclamation, dated *Dec.* 22, for the aſſembling of the Members of both Houſes at *Oxford* on *Monday* Jan. 22, upon occaſion of the Invaſion by the *Scots*. And upon their Meeting on that Day, the King made this Speech.

King's Speech.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen*,

" WHen I conſider your Publick Intereſts and " Concernments in the Happineſs and Ho- " nour of this Nation, and your continual Suffer- " ings in this Rebellion for your Affection and Loy- " alty to me, I muſt look upon you as the moſt " competent Conſiderers and Counſellors how to " manage and improve the Condition we are all in; " for ſure our Condition is ſo equal, that the ſame " Violence hath oppreſſed us all.

" I have therefore called you together to be Wit- " neſſes of my Actions, and privy to my Intenti- " ons; and certainly if I had the leaſt Thought diſ- " agreeing with the Happineſs and Security of this " Kingdom, I would not adviſe with ſuch Counſellors: " And I doubt not but your Concurrence with me will " ſo far prevail over the Hearts and Underſtandings " of this whole Kingdom, who muſt look upon you " as Perſons naturally and originally truſted by and " for them; that it will be above the Reach and Malice " of thoſe who have hitherto had too great an Influ- " ence upon the People, to diſcredit my moſt entire " Actions and ſincere Promiſes. You will be the beſt " Witneſſes for the one, and Security for the other.

" Very many of you can bear me Witneſs with " what Unwillingneſs I ſuffer'd my ſelf to take up " theſe defenſive Arms; indeed with ſo great, that " I was firſt almoſt in the Power of thoſe who in " two ſet Battles have ſufficiently informed the " World how tender they have been of the Safety " of my Perſon. I foreſaw not only the Rage and " Oppreſſion which would every Day break out " upon my Subjects as the Malice of theſe ill Men " encreas'd, and their Purpoſes were detected; but " alſo the great Inconveniences my beſt Subjects " would ſuffer, even by my own Army raiſed and " kept for their Preſervation and Protection: For I " was not ſo ill a Soldier, as not to foreſee how im- " poſſible it was to keep a ſtrict Diſcipline, I being " to ſtruggle with ſo many Defects and Neceſſities. " And I aſſure you, the Senſe I have of their Suffer- " ings who deſerve well of me, by my Forces, hath " been a greater Grief to me than any thing for my " own Particular. My Hope was, that either by " Succeſs on my part, or Repentance on theirs, God " would have put a ſhort End to this great Storm: " But Guilt and Deſpair have made theſe Men more " wicked than I imagin'd they intended to be; for " inſtead of removing and reconciling theſe bloody " Diſtractions, and reſtoring Peace to this languiſh- " ing Country, they have invited a foreign Power " to invade this Kingdom, and that in your Names, " and challenge this Invaſion from them as a Debt " to the Commonwealth.

" You, *My Lords*, have like Yourſelves (as good " Patriots) expreſs'd your Diſſent, and vindicated " Yourſelves from that Imputation: And I doubt " not but you, *Gentlemen*, will let your Countries " know, how far you are from deſiring ſuch Aſſiſt- " ance; and how abſolute and peremptory a Breach " this Raiſing of Arms of my *Scottiſh* Subjects is of " that Pacification which was ſo lately and ſolemnly " made by you, and can intend nothing but a Con- " queſt of you and your Laws. I ſhall ſend you all " the Advertiſements I have of that Buſineſs which " is threatned from *Scotland*, and what is already " acted from thence, and ſhall deſire your ſpeedy " Advice and Aſſiſtance what is to be ſaid or done, " both with reference to this and that Kingdom.

" Our Ends being the ſame, I am ſure there will " be no other Difference in the way, than what upon " Debate and a right Underſtanding will be eaſily " adjuſted. Let our Religion, in which we are all " moſt nearly concerned, and without Care of which " we muſt not look for God's Bleſſing, be vindicated " and preſerved: Let my Honour and Rights, which " you find to have an inſeparable Relation with your " own Intereſt, be vindicated and reſtored: Let your " Liberties, Properties, Privileges, without which I " would not be your King, be ſecured and confirmed: " And there is nothing you can adviſe me to, I will " not meet you in, and I doubt not we ſhall together " inform Poſterity how much our Truſt and Con- " fidence in each other is a better Expedient for the " Peace and Preſervation of the Kingdom, than " Fears and Jealouſies.

" I ſhall keep you no longer from Conſulting to- " gether, than in telling you, that I have prepared " fit Places for your Meeting, to which I deſire " you to repair this Night, aſſuring you that I will " be always ready to receive any thing from you, " admitting you to me, or coming to you myſelf, " whenſoever you ſhall deſire it. And ſo God di- " rect you the beſt way."

Proceedings of Lords and Commons.

The chief Votes and Reſolutions of the Lords and Commons were to declare, That all the Subjects of *Scotland* who had conſented to the late Declaration, or had enter'd *England* in an hoſtile manner, and all the Subjects of *England* who were aſſiſting to them, are to be deem'd and taken as Traitors and Enemies to the State. That the Lords and Commons now remaining at *Weſtminſter*, who had conſented to the raiſing Forces under Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, or to the making a new Seal, or to calling in the *Scots*, are guilty of High Treaſon. Theſe laſt Votes were not till *March* 12. after many of their Propoſals for Peace had been rejected by the other Parliament; and for which reaſon they at the ſame time Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *That all the Endeavours and Offers of Peace and Treaty, made by his Majeſty, by the Advice of the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled at* Oxford, *have been refuſed and rejected by the Lords and Commons remaining at* Weſtminſter. And ſoon after they drew up a large Declaration of their Proceedings touching a Treaty of Peace and the Refuſal thereof, with the ſeveral Letters and Anſwers that paſſed therein, actually ſubſcribed by 50 Peers and 140 Commoners, beſides thoſe who were employ'd in his Majeſty's Service, or abſent with Leave, or by Sickneſs; and after their Subſcription concluding thus, *Whoever now conſiders, how many have retired themſelves into ſeveral Counties, and ſo are abſent from* Weſtminſter, *and yet cannot, through the danger of Travelling, be preſent at* Oxford; *how many have withdrawn themſelves into the Parts beyond the Seas; how many of their own principal Inſtruments are voted out of the Houſe by themſelves, as Sir* John Hotham

1643. 19 *Car.* I. tham *and his Son, Sir* Alexander Carew, *Mr.* Martin, *Mr.* Fienes, *and many others; and how many now are Impriſoned by them; how many Members from the beginning have been factiouſly kept from the Houſe, upon Queſtions of Election; and how many without any colour are kept in, by not ſuffering their Elections to be reported; and that there are thirty five Members dead, into whoſe rooms no new Perſons are choſen; how many ſince are become Barons by Deſcent or Creation; will eaſily conclude how ſmall the Number is which remains, and of thoſe how few in truth have Right to ſit there.*

Character of this *Oxford* Parliament.

We may indeed reaſonably infer, that the Peers and Commoners with the King did exceed thoſe at *Weſtminſter* in Number and Figure: And one of the Reaſons why they did the King and Nation ſo little Service, muſt needs be this; They were afraid of War and Victory, and too inclinable to Peace and Treaty. If inſtead of ineffectual Papers and Propoſals they had unanimouſly took the Field, and exerted all their Strength for one or two deciſive Blows, they could not have fail'd, humanely ſpeaking, of bringing the other Parliament and Army to much better Terms of Accommodation, than thoſe which to no Purpoſe, by idle Letters and Meſſages, they now offer'd to them.

State of Religion.

As to the Affairs of Religion in this Year 1643, they were all agreeable to the Times, changeable and tumultuous. The two Houſes for an Art of caſting the Odium of Profaneneſs on the Royal Party, made an Ordinance *May* 5. for burning, by the Hand of the Common Hangman, the Book of Sports, or the Proclamation of K. *James* reviv'd by K. *Charles* for tolerating Exerciſes and ſome lawful Sports upon *Sundays* after Divine Service. And they mark't out all the Clergy of *England* for Scandalous, who dar'd appear to Write, or Preach, or Talk for the true old legal Conſtitution of Church and State, Sequeſtring, Impriſoning, and Depriving by ſuch arbitrary Intimations of their Will and Pleaſure (a), that the King was obliged *May* 15. to publiſh his *Proclamation againſt the Oppreſſion of the Clergy, by the Intruſion of factious and ſchiſmatical Perſons into their Cures, and inverting and detaining their Tythes and Poſſeſſions, by Order of one or both Houſes of Parliament, contrary to all Law and Juſtice.*

The Clergy miſerably opreſt.

The greateſt Noiſe was about an *Aſſembly of Divines*. The regular and legal Convocation called with this Parliament, did not think themſelves bound to a continual Attendance on it; and therefore, as the Upper Houſe was effectually diſſolved by the Impriſonment, and other Perſecutions of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, ſo the Lower Houſe or inferiour Clergy (knowing themſelves incapable to act without the Metropolitan and his Suffragan Brethren) did ſoon after retire and abſent themſelves without any Application to the Lay Lords or Commons; who indeed were glad to connive at their Departure, and asked no Queſtion what was become of them: for they intended to ſubſtitute an Aſſembly of themſelves, and their own choſen Creatures to be a ſtanding Council to the Parliament in Matters of Religion. This had been long in Agitation, tho' not paſs'd into Ordinance till *June* 12. in this Year; when it was intitled, *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament for the calling of an Aſſembly of learned and godly Divines, and others, to be conſulted with by the Parliament for the ſettling of the Government, and Liturgy of the Church of* England, *and for vindicating and clearing of the Doctrine of the ſaid Church from falſe Aſperſions and Interpretations*; wherein they declare, "That nothing being dearer "to them than the Purity of Religion, that many "things remaining in the Liturgy, Diſcipline, and "Government of the Church, which require more "perfect Reformation, that the preſent Church Go"vernment by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. ſhall be "taken away, and ſuch a Government ſhall be ſet"tled, as is moſt agreeable to God's Word, and of "nearer Agreement with the Church of *Scotland*; "therefore it was thought fit and neceſſary to call "an Aſſembly of Learned, Godly, and Judicious "Divines, to conſult and adviſe of ſuch Matters as "ſhould be propoſed unto them by both or either "of the Houſes of Parliament, and to give their "Advice and Counſel when and as often as they "ſhall be thereunto required. To which purpoſe "the Perſons in this Ordinance named, that is to "ſay, *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *William* "Earl of *Bedford*, and eight other Peers; *John Selden* Eſq; *Francis Rous* Eſq; and eighteen other "Commoners; *Herbert Palmer* of *Aſhwell* B. D. *Oliver Boles* of *Sutton* B. D. with about 118 other Di"vines, and ſuch other Perſons as ſhould be nomi"nated by both Houſes of Parliament, upon Sum"mons ſigned by the Clerks of Parliament to aſ"ſemble at *Weſtminſter* in K. *Hen.* VII's Chapel on "*July* 1. 1643. from time to time to ſit, and be "removed and diſſolved, in ſuch manner as by both "Houſes of Parliament ſhould be directed; to con"fer and treat amongſt themſelves of ſuch Matters "and Things as ſhall be propoſed by both, or ei"ther of the ſaid Houſes, and no other. And it was "farther ordained, that *William Twiſs* Dr. in Divi"nity, ſhould ſit in the Chair as Prolocutor of the "ſaid Aſſembly, and upon his Death or Sickneſs, "ſuch other Perſon as ſhall be agreed on by both "Houſes of Parliament. Every Divine to be al"lowed for their Attendance four Shillings a Day. "If any Perſon die, others to be nominated by the "two Houſes. Nor ſhall they in this Aſſembly aſ"ſume to exerciſe any Juriſdiction, Power or Au"thority Eccleſiaſtical whatſoever, or any other "Power than is herein particularly expreſſed."

Convocation retir'd.

Aſſembly of Divines.

The manner of packing this Aſſembly is thus reported by the great Hiſtorian. "They ſhew what "Conſultation they meant to have with Godly and "Learned Divines, and what Reformation they in"tended, by appointing the Knights and Burgeſſes "to bring in the Names of ſuch Divines for the ſe"veral Counties, as they thought fit, to conſtitute "an Aſſembly for the framing a new Model for "the Government of the Church, which was done "accordingly: Thoſe who were true Sons of the "Church, not ſo much as endeavouring the Nomi"nation of Sober and Learned Men, abhorring "ſuch a Reformation, as began with the Invaſion "and Suppreſſion of the Churches Rights, in a Sy"nod, as well known as *Magna Charta*. And if "any well affected Member, not enough conſider"ing the Scandal and the Conſequence of that Vi"olation, did name an Orthodox and well reputed "Divine to aſſiſt in that Aſſembly, it was argument "enough againſt him, that he was nominated by a "Perſon in whom they had no Confidence. And "they only had Reputation enough to commend to "this Conſultation, who were known to deſire the "utter Demoliſhing of the whole Fabrick of the "Church: So that of about one hundred and twen"ty, of which that Aſſembly was to conſiſt (tho' "by the Recommendation of two or three Members "of the Commons, whom they were not willing "to diſpleaſe, and by the Authority of the Lords, "who added a ſmall Number to thoſe named by the "Houſe of Commons, a few very reverend and "worthy Men were inſerted, yet of the whole "Number) they were not above twenty, who were "not declar'd and avow'd Enemies to the Doctrine "or Diſcipline of the Church of *England*; ſome of "them infamous in their Lives and Converſati"ons, and moſt of them of very mean Parts in "Learning, if not of ſcandalous Ignorance, and "of no other Reputation than of Malice to the "Church of *England*; ſo that that Convention "hath not ſince produced any thing that might

Lord *Clarendon*'s Character of this Aſſembly of Divines.

(a) Dr. *Plume*, in the Life of Biſhop *Hacket*, computes, that in the City of *London*, and Pariſhes adjacent, one hundred and fifteen Parochial Miniſters were turn'd out, beſides many hundreds in all Countries, more than ever had been in Queen *Mary*'s, Queen *Elizabeth*'s, and King *James*'s, or King *Charles*'s Reigns, by the Biſhops of all ſorts.

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“not then reaſonably have been expected from it.”

Opening of that Aſſembly.

This Aſſembly met on *Saturday* July 1, in the Chapel of King *Henry* VII. where a Sermon was preach'd by the appointed Prolocutor Dr. *Twiſs*, both Houſes of Parliament being preſent. After which they open'd their Seſſion with reading over the Ordinance for their Convention, and calling over the Liſt of the Clergy appointed for that Aſſembly, ſixty nine then appearing, and the Names of ſuch as appeared not were mark'd, and ſo they adjourned till *Monday*, and on *Friday* following kept a Faſt with both Houſes. Every Member before his Admiſſion to Sit and Vote, took this Oath or ſolemn Vow:

I A. B. *do ſeriouſly Promiſe and Vow, in the preſence of Almighty God that in this Aſſembly, whereof I am a Member, I will maintain nothing in point of Doctrine, but what I believe to be moſt agreeable to the Word of God; nor in point of Diſcipline but what may make moſt for God's Glory, and the Peace and Good of his Church.*

Aſſemblies Petition to the Parliament.

On *July* 19. they delivered a Petition to both Houſes of Parliament, humbly ſhewing, “That upon the two late ſad and unexpected Defeats of our Forces in the *North* and in the *Weſt*, they preſent unto their religious and prudent Conſideration, Firſt, That they would command a publick and extraordinary Day of Humiliation. Secondly, That they would vouchſafe inſtantly to take it into their more ſerious Conſideration how they may moſt ſpeedily ſet up Chriſt more glorioſly in all his Ordinances within this Kingdom, and reform all things amiſs throughout the Land. For which they humbly lay before them theſe Particulars. 1. The bruitiſh Ignorance and palpable Darkneſs of the People. 2. The grievous and heinous Pollution of the Lord's Supper. 3. The bold venting of corrupt Doctrines. 4. The prophanation of any part of the Lord's Day and the Days of ſolemn Faſting. 5. A thorough and ſpeedy Proceeding againſt blind Guides and ſcandalous Miniſters. 6. The Laws to be quicken'd againſt Swearing and Drunkenneſs. 7. Severe courſe to be taken againſt Fornication, Adultery, and Inceſt. 8. All Monuments of Idolatry and Superſtition to be aboliſhed. 9. Juſtice to be executed againſt all Delinquents. 10. Relief of our diſtreſſed Brethren, Priſoners in *Oxford*, *York*, and elſewhere, for the cauſe of God. That ſo God who is now by the Sword avenging the quarrel of his Covenant, beholding your Integrity and Zeal, may turn from the fierceneſs of his Wrath, hear our Prayers, go forth with our Armies, perfect the Work of Reformation, forgive our Sins, and ſettle Truth and Peace throughout the Kingdom. And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray, *&c.*” (*a*)

Who grant ſome of their Requeſts.

The Spirit of this Aſſembly appears much in this Petition, that, impartially ſpeaking, is ſtufft with Schiſm, Sedition, Cruelty and Cant: But the two Houſes knew it their Intereſt to gratifie moſt of theſe Petitions, therefore in Anſwer to the 8th, an Ordinance was made 28 *Aug.* for the utter demoliſhing and removing all Monuments of Superſtition or Idolatry, as Altars and Tables ſet Altarwiſe, and all Rails about them, Tapers, Candleſticks, Croſſes, Images, Pictures and ſuperſtitious Inſcriptions. In anſwer to the 5th Petition, an Order of the Commons was given *Sept.* 5, to enquire into and proceed againſt ſcandalous Miniſters, and ſuch as were aſſiſtant to the Forces raiſed againſt the Parliament. And moſt of the other Deſires were ſuitably ſatisfied.

Scotch *Brethren taken into the Aſſembly.*

Many additional Members were join'd to the Aſſembly, and a Committee of *Scotch* Brethren were taken in with them. When they had been very ſervile Inſtruments in promoting the Parliamentary Cauſe at home, they were to be then employ'd in ſolliciting the ſame Cauſe with foreign Nations. Hence on *Novemb*, 22. it was order'd by the Commons, *That the Aſſembly of Divines be moved to write Letters unto ſome Divines, or Churches of* Zealand *and* Holland, *and to the Proteſtant Churches in* France, Switzerland, *and other Reformed Churches, to inform them againſt the great Artifices and Diſguiſes of his Majeſty's Agents in theſe Parts*, &c.

Accordingly they drew up Letters directed to ſeveral Paſtors and Elders in the *Belgick*, *French*, *Helvetian*, and other Reformed Churches, running in *Engliſh* thus.

They write to Foreign Churches.

Right Reverend and dearly Beloved in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

W*E the Aſſembly of Divines, and others* —— *ſalute you in the Lord. We doubt not but the ſad Reports of the Miſeries under which the Church and Kingdom of* England *do bleed, and wherewith we are all ready to be ſwallowed up (the Cup which the Righteous Lord hath given us to drink) is long ſince come to your Ears. And it is probable that the ſame Inſtruments of Satan and Antichriſt, have endeavoured by their Emiſſaries to preſent us as black as may be among you; who by Falſehood and Lyes endeavour every where to put fair Gloſſes upon their own bloody Deſigns, and to Reproach our ſtrugglings after a more thorough Reformation of Religion in the Church of* England, *according to the Word of God and our juſt Defence of our Lives, Liberties, and Religion, againſt their cruel and unjuſt Violences.* And ſo they proceed to juſtify the two Houſes, and to caſt the Odium of the War upon the King and his Friends. And then they deſire three things of the dear Brethren they write to: 1. *That you would judge aright of our afflicted Condition, and of our Innocency and Integrity in this our juſt Defence.*—— 2. *That ye will ſympathize with us as Brethren who ſuffer in and for the ſame Cauſe wherein your ſelves have been oppreſſed.* ——*Laſtly, That as all the Antichriſtian Faction owns the Cauſe of our Adverſaries as their own, and contributes what lies in their power every way to their Help and our Ruin; ſo that you would embrace our Condition as your own Common Cauſe*, &c. —— *And we crave your Prayers, that God who heareth Prayer, now he hath humbled us and broken all our Arms of Fleſh, (whereon alas we have been too prone to lean) would himſelf bring Salvation to us, that the Bleſſings of Truth and Peace might reſt upon us, that theſe three Nations may be joined as one Stick in the Hand of the Lord, and that we our ſelves, contemptible Builders, called to repair the Houſe of God in a troubleſome time, being aſhamed of our former Pollutions, may ſee the Pattern of this Houſe, and commend ſuch a Platform to our* Zorobabels, *as may be moſt agreeing to his own ſacred Word, of neareſt Conformity to the beſt Reformed Churches, and greateſt Uniformity amongſt our ſelves, that all Mountains may become Plains before them and us, that then all who now ſee the Plummet in our hands, may alſo behold the Topſtone ſet upon the Head of the Lord's Houſe amongſt us, and may help us with ſhouting to cry, Grace, Grace, unto it.*——The Senſe and the very Language of theſe Letters had been a Reproach to any Divines but ſuch as were ſingular Enemies to the King and the Church of *England*.

Whitlock's Opinion of the Aſſembly.

Their Ignorance is expoſed by a Friend of their own, Mr. *Whitlock*, who in his *Memoirs* does relate, “That divers Members of both Houſes were Members of the Aſſembly of Divines, and had the ſame Liberty with the Divines to ſit and debate, and give their Votes in any Matter which was in Conſideration amongſt them: In which Debates Mr. *Selden* ſpake admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own Learning. And ſometimes when they had cited a Text of Scripture to prove their Aſſertion, he would tell

(*a*) See an Account of ſeveral Debates and long Diſputes held in the Aſſembly of Divines, as taken from the Journal of Dr. *John Lightfoot*, a Member of it, in the Preface of Mr. *Strype* to the Remains of Dr. *Lightfoot*. 8*vo*.

See Order of the Lords and Commons 5, *July* 1643. for the Aſſembly of Divines to morrow at their Meeting, to take into Conſideration the Ten firſt Articles of the xxxix Articles of the Church of *England*. *Works of K. Charles*, P. 523.

Some General Rules for the Aſſembly directed by the Lords and Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, 6, *July* 1643. ib.

“them,

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"them, *Perhaps in your little Pocket-Bibles with gilt Leaves* (which they would often pull out and read) *the Tranſlation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew ſignifies thus and thus*: and ſo would totally Silence them." Archbiſhop *Laud* gave this Opinion of them: "A great, if not the greater part of them were *Browniſts*, or *Independents*, or *New England* Miniſters, if not worſe, or at beſt refractory Perſons to the Doctrine or Diſcipline, or both, of the Church of *England* eſtabliſh'd by Law, and now brought together to reform it. An excellent Conclave! but I pray God that befall not them which *Tully* obſerves fell upon *Epicurus*, *Siqua corrigere voluit deteriora fecit, He made every thing worſe that he went about to mend.* —— It would become this Synod to remember, that there is a Convocation of the *Engliſh* Prelates and Clergy lawfully choſen and ſummoned, and by no ſupreme or legal Authority as yet diſſolved. —— This, without God's infinite Mercy, will bring forth a Schiſm fierce enough to rend and tear Religion out of this Kingdom."

Their greateſt Duty this Year was to prepare the Hearts of the People for taking the Solemn League and Covenant. When both Houſes of Parliament met to take the Covenant at St. *Margaret*'s Church in *Weſtminſter*, Sept. 25, the Aſſembly of Divines waited on them. Mr. *White*, a Member of the Aſſembly, Prayed a whole Hour that God would ſanctifie them for that good Work. Then Mr. *Nye*, another Member, preach'd it up laboriouſly from the Pulpit, ſhew'd the Warrant of it from Scripture, gave Examples of it ever ſince the Creation, and ſet forth the Benefits of it to the Church of Chriſt and to this Kingdom. Mr. *Henderſon*, a *Scotch* Commiſſioner in the Aſſembly, made a long Declaration of the great Mercies the *Scots* had received by ſuch Covenants, of the Expedience and Neceſſity of the preſent taking of this Covenant; and of its being a ſure Condition of the States of *Scotland* aſſiſting the Parliament of *England*. Then Mr. *Nye* again from the Pulpit read out the Covenant, and all held up their Hands in Teſtimony of their Aſſent to it: Then all the Members of Parliament, and after them all the Members of the Aſſembly, ſubſcribed their Names: And to conclude the Service of the Day, Dr. *Gouge* from the Pulpit prayed for a Bleſſing upon it, and upon all that took it. (*a*)

Dr. *Featly* weary of them.

Dr. *Featly* was the almoſt only Epiſcopal Divine who remain'd with them; and he grew ſo uneaſie at their zealous Proceedings, that he gave account of them in Letters to *Oxford*, and promis'd to withdraw from them; but his Letters being intercepted, he was not only expell'd the Aſſembly, but deprived of all his Eccleſiaſtical Preferments (*b*). And Dr. *Uſher*, Primate of *Armagh*, was ſoon after voted out of the Aſſembly, only becauſe he refuſed to appear in it, and choſe rather to attend his Royal Maſter at *Oxford*; who being to receive the Sacrament from his Hands at *Chriſt-Church*, riſing up from his Knees, and beckoning to the Archbiſhop for a ſhort Forbearance, made this Proteſtation.

Archbiſh. *Uſher* expell'd.

King's Proteſtation at the Sacrament.

My Lord,

I *Eſpy here many reſolved Proteſtants, who may declare to the World the Reſolution I do now make. I have, to the utmoſt of my power, prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver: And may I ſo receive Comfort from the bleſſed Sacrament, as I do intend the Eſtabliſhment of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, as it ſtood in its beauty in the happy days of Queen* Elizabeth, *without any connivance at Popery. I bleſs God that in the midſt of theſe publick Diſtractions, I have ſtill liberty to communicate: And may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if my Heart do not join with my Lips in this Proteſtation.*

A farther Account and Character of theſe Presbyters Aſſembling, and Acting without their Biſhops, is thus given by the Lord *Clarendon*. "The *Aſſembly*, beſides that it was conſtituted of Members who had all renounced their Obedience to their King, and Submiſſion to the Church of *England*, by their Appearance and Preſence in that Convention, had been lately taught how dangerous it was to diſſent from the current Opinion of the Houſe of Commons; for Dr. *Featly* (upon whoſe reputation in Learning they had raiſed great Advantages to themſelves) having made many Speeches in the Aſſembly in the behalf of the Order of Biſhops and their Function, and againſt the Alienation of Church Lands, as Sacrilege, and eſpecially inveigh'd againſt *The Liberty that was taken in Matter of Religion*, by which ſo many Sects were grown up, to the Scandal and Reproach of the Proteſtant Doctrine, if not of Chriſtianity it ſelf, had ſo far incurr'd their Diſpleaſure, and provok'd their Jealouſie, that an ordinary Fellow (ſo well confirm'd in Spirit that they feared not his Failing or Converſion) was directed to make Application to him in caſes of Conſcience, and after he had gotten ſufficient Credit with him (which was no hard matter) to intimate to him, *That he had a ſure and unqueſtionable Conveyance to* Oxford, *or that he was to go thither himſelf, and if he had any Occaſions to uſe his Service thither, he would faithfully execute his Commands.* The Dr. believing the Meſſenger to be ſincere, and the King's Affairs ſtanding then proſperous, gave him Letters for the Archbiſhop of *Armagh* Primate of *Ireland*, who waited on his Majeſty; and by this Artifice the ſame Inſtrument receiv'd two or three Letters from him, pretending they were ſtill ſent by infallible Hands, and brought them always to thoſe Perſons by whom he was entruſted in the Work of his Impoſture.

"The Letters contained many Apologies for himſelf, *For being engaged in ſuch a Congregation to which he ſubmitted purely out of Conſcience, and for the Service of the King and Church, in hope that he might be able to prevent many Extravagancies, and to contain thoſe unruly Spirits within ſome Bounds of Regularity and Moderation*; of his Endeavours that way he gave many Inſtances, and ſent Copies of what he had ſaid in juſtification of Epiſcopacy, the Liturgy, and the eſtabliſhed Government, and concluded with a Deſire to his Grace, *To procure a good Opinion from the King towards him, and ſome Biſhoprick or Deanery for his recompence.* About the time that this Agitation was in *Scotland*, and very little before this Covenant was traſmitted, theſe Letters were produced, and a Charge againſt that Doctor, *For betraying the Truſt repoſed in him, and adhering to the Enemy*; and thereupon the poor Man was expelled the Aſſembly of Divines, both his Livings (for he had two within a very ſmall diſtance of *London*) ſequeſtred; his Study of Books and Eſtate ſeiz'd, and himſelf committed to a common Goal, where he continued to his Death; which befell him the ſooner through the extreme wants he underwent, ſo ſollicitous was that Party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and ſo implacable to any who were weary of their Journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way.

"This freſh Example the *Aſſembly of godly and Learned Divines*, had before their Eyes when this Covenant was ſent to them for their Conſideration and ſpeedy Reſolution; and according to the

(*a*) See by the King a Proclamation, forbidding the tendering or taking of a late Covenant, called, *A ſolemn League and Covenant for Reformation*, &c. Given at our Court at *Oxf.* this 9th Day of *October*, in the nineteenth Year of our Reign.

(*b*) Dr. *Featley* was a great Speaker in the Aſſembly, and in his *Sacra Nemeſis* 4*to*, he has given us the Copies of, *Firſt*, A Speech made in the Aſſembly of Divines, concerning the 8th Article of the Church, of *the three Creeds*. *Secondly*, A ſecond Speech concerning the 11th Article of the Church. Of *Juſtification*. A *Third*, *Fourth*, and *Fifth* Speech on the ſame Subject of *Juſtification*. A *Sixth* Speech concerning the Reſolve of the Aſſembly, that the whole Obedience of Chriſt is imputed to every Believer. Another Speech concerning the new League and Covenant.

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“ haſte it requir'd, that Clergy returned within two “ Days their full approbation of it, their having “ been but two Miniſters who made any pauſe or “ ſcruple of it, and they again ſoon confeſſing *They* “ *had received full ſatisfaction to their Doubts in the* “ *Debate, and that they were fully convinc'd of the Law-* “ *fulneſs and Piety of it.* Having received ſo abſo- “ lute an Approbation and Concurrence, and the “ Battle at *Newbury* being in that time likewiſe o- “ ver (which cleared and removed more Doubts “ than the Aſſembly had done) it ſtuck very few “ Hours with both Houſes; but being at once judg'd “ convenient and lawful, the Lords and Commons “ and their Aſſembly of Divines, met together at “ the Church, with great Solemnity to take it, on “ *September* 25, a double Holiday, by the Earl of *Eſ-* “ *ſex*'s return to *London*, and this Religious Exerciſe.

“ There two or three of their Divines went up “ into the Pulpit ſucceſſively, not to Preach but to “ Pray; others, according to their ſeveral Gifts, to “ make Orations upon the Work of the Day. They “ were by them told, *That this Oath was ſuch, and in* “ *the Matter and Conſequence of it of ſuch concernment,* “ *as it was truly worthy of them,* yea *of thoſe Kingdoms,* “ yea *of all the Kingdoms of the World: That it could be* “ *no other but the Reſult and Anſwer of ſuch Prayers* “ *and Tears, of ſuch Sincerity and Sufferings, that three* “ *Kingdoms ſhould be thus born, or rather new born in* “ *a Day: That they were entering upon a Work of the* “ *greateſt Moment and Concernment to Themſelves and to* “ *their Poſterities after them, that ever was undertaken by* “ *any of them, or any of their Fore-fathers before them.* “ *That it was a Duty of the firſt Commandment, and* “ *therefore of the higheſt and nobleſt Order and Rank* “ *of Duties; therefore muſt come forth attended with* “ *choiceſt Graces, Fear, Humility and in the greateſt* “ *Simplicity and Plainneſs of Spirit, and Reſpect of thoſe* “ *with whom they Covenanted. That it was to advance* “ *the Kingdom of Chriſt here upon Earth, and make* Je- “ ruſalem *once more the Praiſe of the whole Earth, not-* “ *withſtanding all the contradictions of Men*; with ma- “ ny ſuch high Expreſſions as can hardly be concei- “ ved without the View of the Records and the Re- “ giſtry that is kept of them.” (*a*)

Sufferings of Abp. *Laud.*

Archbiſhop *Laud* in the *Tower* had long expected his threaten'd Tryal, but before his Tryal he was to bear ſeveral Sentences paſſed upon him. On *May* 16, an Ordinance was made to deprive him of the Right of Preſenting or Collating to any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, and to oblige him to accept of ſuch Perſons as ſhould be nominated by both Houſes of Parliament (*b*). And on *June* 10, another Ordinance was made to ſuſpend the Archbiſhop *Ab Officio & Beneficio & omni & omnimoda Juriſdictione Archiepiſcopali*, and that all his Temporalities be ſequeſter'd by and unto the Parliament. Nay, and *April* 25, it was moved in the Houſe of Commons to ſend him to *New-England*, a Plot laid by *Peters*, *Wells* and others, but it was rejected. *May* 1, his Chapel Windows at *Lambeth* were defaced, and the Steps torn up. *May* 9, his Goods and Books were ſeiz'd, and his Perſon put under cloſer Reſtraint. On *May* 23, he was forced to ſend a humble Petition to the Lords for Maintenance, the Prayer of the Petition running

His Petition rejected.

thus, *Humbly prayeth that your Lordſhips will take his ſad Condition into your Honourable Conſideration, that ſomewhat may be allowed him out of his Eſtate to ſupply the Neceſſities of Life, aſſuring himſelf that in Honour and Juſtice you will not ſuffer him either to beg or ſtarve.* Which Petition was ſent down from the Lords to the Commons and by them rejected. On *May* 31, his implacable Enemy Mr. *Prynne* came with a Warrant from the cloſe Committee, and forced into the Archbiſhop's Chamber before he was out of Bed, and fell immediately upon ſearching his Pockets, and then ranſacking all his Trunks and Boxes, and took from him twenty and one Bundles of Papers, which he had prepared for his Defence, Letters from the King, the *Scotiſh* Service-Book, the Diary of his own Life, and his Book of private Devotions, and carried all away with him. On *October* 23, additional Articles were carried up to the Lords againſt him. On *November* 13, he was brought to the Bar; *That* (ſays he) *which I ſpake to the Lords was this,* “ That I had no “ skill to judge of the Streights into which I might “ fall by my Plea, which I had reſolved on, being “ left without all aſſiſtance of my Council, in re- “ gard of the Nature and Form of my Impeach- “ ment that was againſt me. That yet my Inno- “ cency prompted me to a ready Obedience of their “ Lordſhip's Order, caſting my ſelf wholly upon “ God's Mercy, their Lordſhip's Juſtice, and my “ own Innocency.—— My Anſwer being put in, “ I humbly beſought their Lordſhips to take into “ their Honourable Conſideration my great Years, “ being threeſcore and ten compleat, and my Me- “ mory and other Faculties by Age and Affliction “ much decay'd. My long Impriſonment, wanting “ very little of three whole Years, and this laſt “ Year little better than cloſe Impriſonment; my “ want of Skill and Knowledge in the Laws to de- “ fend my ſelf; the Generality and Incertainty of “ almoſt all the Articles, ſo that I cannot ſee any “ Particulars againſt which I may provide my ſelf, “ *&c.*” On *Jan.* 22, he put in an Anſwer to the firſt Article and additional Article, and *March* 12, was at laſt the Day appointed for his Trial, which will be related under the next Year.

His Chamber and Pockets ſearched by Mr. *Prynne*.

1644.

Oxford Parliament Petition the King.

1644. The Lords and Commons at *Oxford* ſeeing no hopes of Peace, adviſed the King to take the Field, as the *only viſible Means now left*, and to give them a Receſs from their Parliamentary Attendance till the next Winter (*c*); In order to this, they preſented a Petition the Day before their riſing, wherein *To ſatisfie all the World, or leave them inexcuſable who will not be ſatisfied,* they humbly deſire; 1. That his “ Majeſty will give Direction for the Reprinting his “ Proteſtation made in the Head of his Army, and “ his other Declarations for maintaing the Prote- “ ſtant Religion. 2. That when there may be a full “ and free Convention of Parliament, a national Sy- “ nod may be lawfully called, with a Care for the “ Eaſe of tender Conſciences. 3. To ſatisfie his Sub- “ jects againſt the falſe and malicious Aſperſions, “ that if his Majeſty prevail, he intends not to uſe “ the frequent Council of Parliaments. 4. To declare “ that the preſent Contributions, Loans and Taxes, “ ſhall not be drawn into Example. 5. That the Con- “ tracts for Contribution may be juſtly obſerved, “ without free Quarter or other Grievance. And “ laſtly, that his Majeſty will retain his pious En- “ deavours to procure the Peace of this languiſhing

(*a*) What was very remarkable in this Aſſembly was, that as the *Presbyterians* ſoon ſeparated themſelves from the Epiſcopal Divines; ſo the *Independents* quickly after went into a Separation from the *Presbyterians*, and fix'd the *Schiſm* upon them, in an *Apologetical Narration* and other Tracts, ſubſcribed by *Tho. Goodwyn, Philip Nye, Sidrach Sympſon, Jeremy Burroughs, William Bridge.*

(*b*) And on the next Day *May* 17, there was an Ordinance of Lords and Commons, for the Suſpenſion and Sequeſtration of *William*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

(*c*) See the King's Speech to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament at *Oxford*, January 22, 1643-4, for vindicating and preſerving our Religion in which we are all moſt nearly concerned, *&c.* Printed 4*to*. 1644.

A Letter from the Lords and Members of the Houſe of Commons aſſembled at *Oxford* to the Earl of *Eſſex*, deſiring to be happy Inſtruments of their Country's Redemption from the Miſeries of War and Reſtitution to the Bleſſings of Peace, *&c.* Printed 4*to*. 1644. Dated *January* 27, 1643.

The King's Speech to the Lords and Commons at *Oxford*, *Feb.* 7, 1643, hoping they will live to ſee their Religion and Laws to flouriſh, which they have reſcued from the Violence of Rebellion. K. *Charles*'s Works, *Fol.* p. 185.

The King's Meſſage from *Oxford* to the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter*, deſiring to treat, conſult, and agree upon ſuch Things as may conduce to the Maintenance and Defence of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, with due Conſideration to all juſt and reaſonable Eaſe of tender Conſciences, *&c.* Dated *March* 3. 1643.

1644. 20 Car. I. "Kingdom, not to be remov'd or alter'd by any Advantages or proſperous Succeſs." To which his Majeſty gave in Writing a moſt gracious Anſwer and promiſed them fully to grant and obſerve their ſeveral Petitions, concluding thus, "Laſtly, as "the Support and Maintenance of the Religion, "Laws, and Privileges of Parliament, is (as you "well know) the only Argument of our defenſive "Arms; ſo thoſe being ſecured, we ſhall with all "imaginable Joy lay down thoſe Arms; and as you "have been our Witneſſes and our Aſſiſtants in our "earneſt Deſires of Peace, ſo we promiſe you we "ſhall not only with the ſame earneſtneſs always "embrace it, if it ſhall be offered, but purſue and "preſs it upon the leaſt likelihood of opportunity: "And this our Reſolution, by God's Bleſſing, ſhall "never be altered by any Advantages or proſperous Succeſs." (*a*)

The K's. Anſwer.

King's Speech.

And the next Day being *April* 16, the King diſmiſſed them with a Speech; wherein he told them, that he could not ſo ſoon have parted with them, if they had not themſelves deſired it, out of Zeal and Affection to him and to their Country. He heartily thanked them for what they had done, and fully approved of what they deſired. And becauſe moſt of them were engaged in his Service, either in a Civil or a Martial way, he gave them directions how to be moſt ſerviceable to him in their reſpective ways; ending thus: "To conclude, my Lords and Gentle-"men, I do now again (yet never enough) thank "you for your great and unanimous Expreſſions of "your Affections to me, which hath laid an inex-"preſſible Obligation upon me: And be aſſured, "that there is no Profeſſion which I have made for "the Defence and Maintenance of our Religion, "Laws, and Liberties, which I will not inviolably "obſerve. Now God who hath bleſſed this meeting "with an unexpected Unanimity (which I eſteem "as one not of his leaſt Bleſſings) will I hope bring "us all ſafe together again the 8th Day of *October* "next. In the mean time I ſhall be ready to receive "any thing from your Committees that ſhall be-"deſired."

Scots Army invited by the *Engliſh* Parliament.

And now to look into the Field, that which ruined the King was the March of the *Scots* Army into *England*, to anſwer the Invitation and come in to the brotherly aſſiſtance of the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, who ſent a Committee of their own to meet them on the Borders, and conduct them, and ſupply them in the moſt friendly, faithful manner. This *Engliſh* Committee was joined to another ſelect Company of *Scots*, and they were the Committee of both Kingdoms, and in effect an united Camp Parliament. By their Advice the *Scots* Army under General *Leven* had advanced from *Berwick* on *Jan.* 19, and without oppoſition came before *New-caſtle* Feb. 3: but not being able to take that Town, they paſſed the *Tyne* on *Feb.* 28, and entered *Sunderland* March 4. The Marqueſs of *New-Caſtle*, General for the King in thoſe northern Parts, having reinforced his Army to about 14 thouſand Horſe and Foot, attended ſo near upon the *Scots* Army, and ſo intercepted their Supply, that ſometimes they had neither Meat nor Drink, and never above twenty four Hours Proviſion before hand: But they colour'd over this Neceſſity by keeping a Solemn Faſt, and by preſſing on toward *Durham* for better Quarters. To ſtop their Advance, the Marqueſs drew up his Army on *March* 23, at *Hilton*, on the North of the River *Wear*, the *Scots* being drawn up on a Hill Eaſt from them towards the Sea. So the Armies fac'd each other, and ſkirmiſh'd in Parties; the Field-word given by the Marqueſs being Prophetically enough, *Now or never*, and by the *Scots* in their way of profaning Religion, *The Lord of Hoſts is with us.* The Marqueſs not able to force the *Scots* to a Battle, retreated toward his Quarters at *Durham*, and the *Scots* ſlowly followed.

Their March.

The two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* knowing that a defeat of the *Scots* would be a ruin to their whole Cauſe, were extremely ſollicitous for their ſafe Progreſs; and by their Advice the Committee of both Kingdoms on *March* 5, wrote a Letter to the Lord *Fairfax* to join with his Son Sir *Thomas Fairfax* (who was to leave the Siege of *Lathom* Houſe in *Derbyſhire*, and to haſten with two thouſand Horſe into the Weſtriding of *Yorkſhire*) and ſo with joint Forces to keep Intelligence with the *Scotiſh* Army, and give them the beſt Accommodation and Aſſiſtance. Colonel *Bellaſis* Governour of *York* drew his Forces to *Selby* to hinder if poſſible, the conjunction of the two *Fairfax*'s; but they notwithſtanding join'd, and fell upon *Bellaſis* and his inferior Forces at *Selby*, and obtained a compleat Victory over them on *April* 11, taking Priſoners the Colonel, many Officers, and 1600 Soldiers; for which the two Houſes appointed a Solemn Thankſgiving on *April* 23.

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The Parliament extremely concerned for the *Scots* Army.

Send an *Engliſh* Army to join with them.

The Marqueſs of *New-caſtle* now finding that he ſhould be between two Armies, was reſolved to prevent that Danger by marching back to *York* to make the better Defence for that important Place; the *Scots* followed with the double joy of ſeeming to purſue their Enemies, and haſting to join their Friends. And accordingly on *April* 20, they join'd with the *Engliſh* Army under Lord *Fairfax* and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and immediately marched to *York* and ſhut up the Marqueſs of *New-caſtle*, who had juſt enter'd that City, and defended it with great Bravery for ſeveral Months againſt the united Armies, that were farther reinforced on *June* 3, by a conſiderable Body under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who had took *Lincoln* May 6, and marched on to the *Leaguer* at *York* without oppoſition.

York Beſieged.

Under this Preſſure the Marqueſs and his Garriſon of *York* depended on no hopes of Relief but from Prince *Rupert*, who had relieved *Newark*, and then marching into *Shropſhire* had took in the Garriſons of *Longford* near *Newport*, and of *Stopworth* in *Cheſhire*; and then relieving the brave Counteſs of *Derby* in her Houſe at *Lathom*, he took the Town of *Bolton* May 28, and *Leverpool* June 11, and then directed his March with all expedition toward *York*, where the Marqueſs was brought to Treaty and to Propoſitions of Surrendry; but on the News of Prince *Rupert*'s advance, the three Generals, Earl of *Leven*, Lord *Fairfax*, and Earl of *Mancheſter*, ingloriouſly raiſed the Siege, and retired to *Marſton-Moor*, hoping to intercept the Prince in his way to *York*; but he declined engaging, and ſafely entered *York* to the great Joy of that long diſtreſſed Place. Here the Marqueſs would have perſwaded the Prince to have repoſed himſelf, till they recruited their Forces and could then purſue the Enemy. But the Prince, who was by Nature always forward and impatient, drew out the Forces from the City, and finding them to make up an Army of 14000 Foot, and 9000 Horſe, he led them directly to *Marſton-Moor*, and on *Tueſday* July 2, offered Battle to the three conjoin'd Armies, whoſe Right-wing of Horſe was commanded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the main Battalia of Foot by the Lord *Fairfax* towards the Right-wing, and towards the Left General *Leven* with the reſt of the *Scotiſh* Foot; the Left-wing of Horſe by the Earl of *Mancheſter* and his Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*. The Field-Word given by the Prince was *God and the King*, by the other Party *God with Us*. By *Cromwel*'s breaking through the Right-wing of the Prince's, and coming back from the chaſe of them to the timely Relief of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, beat and purſued by Colonel *Harry*, who commanded the Prince's Left-wing, the Victory fell to the Parliament Army, and the Generals gave this Accompt of it in a Letter to the Committee of both Kingdoms.——— "Before "both Armies were in a readineſs, it was ſeven a-"clock at Night, about which time they advanc'd

Relieved by Prince *Rupert*.

Fight at *Marſton-Moor*.

Prince *Rupert* defeated.

(*a*) See his Majeſties Order, that the late Declaration of the Lords and Commons in Parliament at *Oxford*, be read by the Parſon, Vicar, or Curate in every Church and Chapel. Given the 1 th of *May* 1644.

"the

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" the one to the other, whereupon followed a very " hot Encounter, for the ſpace of three Hours, " whereof (by the great Bleſſing and good Provi- " dence of God) the Iſſue was the total routing of " the Enemies Army, the Loſs of all their Ordnance " to the number of twenty, their Ammunition and " Baggage, about one hundred Colours, and ten " thouſand Arms. There were killed upon the Place " about three thouſand of them, whereof many are " chief Officers, and fifteen hundred Priſoners ta- " ken, among whom there were above a hundred " Officers, in which number is Sir *Charles Lucas* " Lieutenant-General to the Marqueſs of *New-caſtle*'s " Horſe, Major-General *Porter*, and Major-General " *Tillier*, beſides divers Colonels, Lieutenant Co- " lonels and Majors. Our Loſs (God be praiſed) " is not very great, being only of one Lieutenant " Colonel, ſome few Captains, and about two or " three hundred common Soldiers."

Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* leaves the Kingdom.

The next Morning after the Battle, the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* reſolved to leave the Kingdom, and with his two Sons and Brother, and Dr. *Brambal* Biſhop of *Londonderry*, Lord *Falconbridge*, Lord *Widdrington* and others, took Ship at *Scarborough*, and arrived at *Hamburgh* on July 8, the Marqueſs not returning into *England* till the Reſtauration of King *Charles* the Second.

York ſurrender'd.

Prince *Rupert* with ſome rallied Forces drew off into *Lancaſhire*, and left Sir *Thomas Glemham* Governour of *York* to ſurrender that City upon Articles on *July* 16. After which, upon conſultation between the Generals and Parliament Commiſſioners it was agreed, 1. That the Lord *Fairfax* ſhould remain Governour of *York*, and ſend a thouſand Horſe into *Lancaſhire*, to join the Forces in thoſe Parts, and to attend the Motions of Prince *Rupert*. 2. That the *Scotiſh* Army ſhould march Northward, to join with the Earl of *Calendar*, who was advancing with additional Forces, and to reduce *Newcaſtle*. 3. That the Earl of *Mancheſter* ſhould march towards *Lincolnſhire*, and recruit his Army from his own Aſſociation.

All unfortunate on the King's Side.

After this Diſpoſition, the Earl of *Mancheſter* took in *Tickhil* Caſtle *July* 26, and *Sheffield* Caſtle *Aug.* 10, and Colonel *Fretchwell*'s Houſe *Aug.* 12, and *Balſover* Caſtle *Aug.* 14, and *Wingfield* Manor *Aug.* 21, and the next Day *Welbeck* Houſe. General *Leven* join'd the Earl of *Calendar* in the Siege of *Newcaſtle*, and took the Town by Storm *October* 19; ſo that all things in the North went moſt unhappily againſt the King.

The Earl of *Eſſex* by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons *March* 26, was to have an Army conſiſting of ſeven thouſand five hundred Foot and three thouſand Horſe, with which he kept his Head Quarters ſometimes at *Windſor* and ſometimes at St. *Albans*. Sir *William Waller* by help of the Aſſociated Counties of *Southampton*, *Suſſex*, *Surry* and *Kent*, had another Army for the Parliament of ten thouſand Men, with which he fought the Lord *Hopton* and Earl of *Forth* at *Cheriton-Down* in *Hampſhire* March 29; and though the King's Forces for a while ſeem'd to have the better of it, they were afterwards defeated with very conſiderable Loſs. The two Houſes made an Ordinance for a Thankſgiving for this Victory on *April* 9, and took advantage of that Joy to ſend a Committee of Lords and Commons the ſame day to *Guild-hall*, who in ſet Speeches drew in the Citizens to advance Men and Money for the Cauſe, which, they ſaid, God had proſper'd (*a*).

Waller's Army ſucceſsful.

King prepares to go to the Army.

The King providing now in Perſon to open the Campaign, iſſued a Proclamation dated *March* 22, commanding all his Subjects and Servants that have any Office, Place, or Fees of his Gift or Grant, to attend his Perſon before *April* 20, and another dated *April* 15, requiring the Country to bring in their Corn and other Proviſions to *Oxford*, for ready Money at reaſonable Prizes, under Pain of having it fetch'd away, or burnt upon approach of the Rebels. Againſt which the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* made a Declaration *April* 22, promiſing Defence and Protection to thoſe Parts, if they would refuſe to carry in their Proviſions as the Proclamation required.

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The King's Affairs by the coming in of the *Scots*, and the defeat of *Bellaſis* at *Selby* April 11. were under an ill Aſpect in the North; and the great blow given to the Lord *Hopton* by *Waller* March 29, was a great damp to the King's Intereſt in the South; and the Eaſtern Counties were all aſſociated againſt him. His only Hopes were in the Weſt, where Prince *Maurice* lay with a conſiderable Army before *Lyme*: And therefore thoſe Parts were thought to be the ſafeſt Retreat for the Queen, who left *Oxford* April 17, and came ſafe to *Exeter*, where on *June* 16, ſhe was delivered of the Princeſs *Henrietta*, and was forced to take ſhipping at *Falmouth* July 14, and to take Refuge in *France*, never more ſeeing her Royal moſt Affectionate Conſort.

Queen forc'd to leave the Kingdom.

May 14, his Majeſty in Perſon at *Reading* drew out his Forces there Quartered, and demoliſhed the Works, and marched away to *Oxford*. On the ſame Day *Eſſex* ſet out from *London*, and came to his Army at *Beaconsfield*, and marched them ſlowly to *Abington* May 26, to *Sanford* May 28, and next Morning drew up his Army on *Bullington-Green*, within a Mile of *Oxford*, and marched that Night to *Iſlip*; from whence *May* 31, he ſent out a Party that gained the Paſs at *Anſlow* Bridge, in the way to *Woodſtock*, where the Body of the King's Army lay. And *Waller* had brought up his Army to *Newbridge*, ſo as the King muſt have been beſieged in *Oxford*, or muſt have fought with two ſuperiour Armies, he himſelf drawing up his Army at *North-lye*, finding them no more than three thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe marched away to *Eveſham*, and on *June* 6, to *Worceſter*.

Eſſex's Army follow the King.

Upon which the two Houſes determined, that *Eſſex* ſhould march down into the Weſt for relief of *Lyme* and *Plymouth*, &c. and *Waller* ſhould attend the Motions of the King; and Major-General *Brown* with conſiderable Forces ſhould be employed for reducing *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, *Banbury* and parts adjacent. *Waller* in purſuit of the King marched to *Stow* in the *Wold* June 5, took *Shudeley* Caſtle *June* 9, and made his Approaches ſo faſt toward *Worceſter*, that the King was obliged to leave that City on *June* 12, and marched his Army to *Bewdley*, and finding his Forces unequal, he reſolv'd to return toward *Oxford*, and came to *Woodſtock* June 21, and next Day advanced to *Buckingham*. *Waller* followed after augmenting his Forces all the way, and quartered at *Hanwell* near *Banbury* June 26, and came up to face the King's Army *June* 28, on the foot of *Crouch-hill*, the River *Charwel* between them. The King drew off toward *Daventry*, leaving a Guard of Dragoons at *Cropredry* Bridge, the only Paſs between the two Armies. *Waller* ordered two Regiments of Horſe, and ſome Companies of Foot to make their Way over the Bridge and fall on the King's Rear; but tho' they got over, they were driven back again with great loſs, and left the King to purſue his intended Retreat.

The King purſu'd by the Parliament Forces.

Retreats from *Waller*.

Eſſex marching Weſtward, received Orders *May* 30, to relieve *Lyme* a Port Town in *Dorſetſhire*, which had been beſieg'd from *April* 20, by Prince *Maurice* with a conſiderable Army, and had made a very wonderful Defence, till the Earl of *Warwick* riding before it with the Navy, and the Earl of *Eſſex* drawing his Army near it, the Prince raiſed his Siege *June* 15, and went to *Exeter*, ſending part of his Army toward *Briſtol*. Upon which *Eſſex* took in *Weymouth* June 19, and held there a conſult with the Admiral Earl of *Warwick*. The King himſelf had intended to march Northward, but hearing of the Defeat of Prince *Rupert* at *Marſton-Moor*, he reſolv'd to march into the Weſt, and upon that Deſign came

Eſſex's Army in the Weſt.

(*a*) See a Thankſgiving Sermon, Preach'd before the Honourable Houſe of Commons, *April* the 9th 1644. for the happy and ſeaſonable Victory of Sir *William Waller* and Sir *William Balfore*, &c. by *Obadiah Sedgwick*, B. D. Rector at *Coggeshall* in *Eſſex*, *London* 1644. 4*to*.

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to *Eveſham*, whence *July* 4, he ſent a Meſſage for Peace to the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter*. *We being deeply ſenſible of the Miſeries and Calamities of this our Kingdom, and of the grievous Sufferings of our poor Subjects, do moſt earneſtly deſire that ſome Expedient may be found out, which by the Bleſſing of God may prevent the farther effuſion of Blood, and reſtore the Nation to Peace*, &c. To which the two Houſes would return no Anſwer. His Majeſty came to *Bath* and ſummoning the Inhabitants of *Somerſetſhire* to *Kingſmore* July 23, he made an affectionate Speech to them, to join with him in Defence of their Religion, Liberty and Property; hence by their Aid and a Conjunction of the Lord *Hopton*'s Forces, he advanced to *Ilcheſter*, and had now formed a very conſiderable Army.

K.'s Meſſage for Peace deſpis'd.

Eſſex in a Council of War concluded to relieve *Plymouth*, beſieged by Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and ſo march into *Cornwal*. Upon his advance Sir *Richard* was obliged to draw off his Forces, and to quit his ſmall Garriſons of *Mount-Stampſford*, *Plympton*, *Salt-Aſh*, and his own *Greenvil* Houſe at *Taveſtock*; and diſputing the Paſſage at *Newbridge* to no effect, ſaw the Parliament Army take an eaſy Poſſeſſion of the Shire-Town *Lanceſton*. The King came to *Exeter* June 26, and being join'd by Prince *Maurice* follow'd *Eſſex* into *Cornwal*, and quarter'd his Army at *Liskard*, while the other Army was at *Leſtithiel*, and wrote a Letter to General *Eſſex*, *To lay hold on this opportunity of effecting the happy Settlement of this miſerable Kingdom, it being now in his Power to redeem his Country and the Crown, and to oblige his King in the higheſt degree.* And a Day or two after, other Letters were ſent him by Prince *Maurice*, the Earl of *Brainford*, and the Lord *Hopton*, to all which he did at laſt return Anſwer to the Earl of *Brainford*, that "He "had received the ſeveral Letters, but it was not in "his Commiſſion to be concern'd in any Treaty, nor "could he betray the Truſt repoſed in him by the "Parliament." Upon this Denial the King drew his Army from *Liskard*, and preſſed on upon the Rebels in their Quarters at *Leſtithiel*, and being join'd by Sir *Richard Greenvil*, he ſo encompaſſed and in a manner beſieged them for ſeveral Days, and upon their attempting to retreat, he fell upon them to ſo great Advantage, that *Eſſex*, reduc'd to the utmoſt Difficulties, deſerted his Army, and ſhifted away in a ſmall Veſſel to *Plymouth* Sept. 1, leaving his Horſe entirely routed and diſpers'd, and his Foot hemm'd up under Major General *Skippon*; to whom the King allowed Articles of laying down their Arms, and being convey'd to Parliament Quarters, when their Liberties and Lives were abſolutely in his Royal Power and Mercy. (*a*)

King marches into the Weſt.

Sends offers of Peace to *Eſſex*.

Eſſex runs away from his Army.

Upon this glorious Succeſs the King return'd to *Taveſtock*, and ſent thence a Meſſage for Peace dated *Sept.* 8, with a Duplicate of his former Meſſage from *Eveſham*: but being directed *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter*, the two Houſes Voted, "That theſe Directions, and the Matter in "them, did not ſufficiently acknowledge them to "be the two Houſes of Parliament of *England*, and "therefore would ſend no Anſwer." His Majeſty not diſcourag'd with their ſcornful rejecting of all Correſpondence with him, declin'd to ſpend time in beſieging *Plymouth*, and taking in *Barnſtaple* Sept. 17, He marched Eaſtward to *Chard*, and publiſh'd there a Proclamation, declaring his Royal Reſolution to draw toward *London*, in order to obtain a Treaty for Peace and a good Accommodation, inviting all his Loyal Subjects to join in his Aſſiſtance for that neceſſary End. Upon which the Gentry and Freeholders of that County of *Somerſet* Addreſs the King at *Sturmiſter* Octob. 9, for liberty to wait in Perſon upon his Majeſty nearer *London*, to become Petitioners to the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter*, to embrace his Majeſty's offers of Peace, and in caſe of refuſal to ſpend their Lives in aſſiſting his Majeſty to compaſs that by the Sword which by fair and juſt ways could not be effected. The King accepted their Service, and came to *Saliſbury* Oct. 15. But the Parliament reſolved to have a new Army to meet him; and therefore enabled *Eſſex* to take the Field from *Portſmouth* Octob. 17, and to join with two other great Bodies under the Earl of *Mancheſter* and Sir *William Waller* at *Baſing* Octob. 21, and thence to *Newberry*, where the King was encamp'd, and caſt up ſome Works to avoid fighting, the Parliament Armies being very much ſuperiour in Numbers. The General *Eſſex* was indiſpoſed and abſent from the Battle, which was forc'd upon the King on *Octob.* 27, wherein (by Account of the Committee attending the Army) for three Hours the Fight was maintained with as much Reſolution, Bravery and Deſperateneſs on both Sides, as had been ſince the commencement of the War; but in concluſion, the Parliament's Forces beat the King's from their Works at *Speen*, and took nine pieces of Canon, among which ſix were thoſe they loſt in *Cornwal*, which the Foot that had been there diſarm'd, and in Mercy diſmiſt by the King, ventur'd deſperately to regain, and when they had got them embraced them for Joy, and ſaid they muſt give them a *Corniſh-Hug*. The King ſenſible of his Diſadvantage, marched from *Newberry* in the Night, and ſecuring his Cannon, Carriages and Baggage in *Denington* Caſtle, he went off to *Wallingford*, and ſo to *Oxford*. And being ſoon reinforc'd by the acceſſion of Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Northampton*, he came back and reliev'd *Denington* Caſtle, took out his Train, drew out his Army in the Field, and offer'd the Rebels another Battle; but they in a Council of War declined fighting, and left the King to march leiſurely away toward *Wallingford*; and when the bare Report of his going to relieve *Baſil* Houſe had raiſed the Siege of it, the two Armies retreated both to their Winter Quarters, the King's to *Oxford*, *Marlborough*, *Baſing*, *Odham*, *Newberry*, &c. the Parliament's to *Reading*, *Henley*, *Abington*, *Farnham*, &c.

The King ſeconds this Victory with offers of Peace. Which the 2 Houſes reject.

2d Newberry fight.

Diſadvantage to the King.

The King offers another Battle.

And now the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, who had rejected ſeveral Meſſages of Peace from the King, thought fit to ſend him their own Terms by Commiſſioners; Earl of *Denbigh* and Lord *Maynard* for the Peers, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Whitlock*, and Lord *Wenman* of the Commons; the Lord *Maitland*, Sir *Charles Erskins*, and Mr. *Barclay*, for *Scotland*: who came to *Oxford* Nov. 23, and were very obligingly received by the King, who heard the Propoſitions read by the Earl of *Denbigh* with much Patience, and then ask'd the Commiſſioners, *If they had Power to Treat?* They anſwer'd *No: but their Commiſſion was to receive his Majeſty's Anſwer in Writing.* The King replied, *Then a Letter Carrier might have done as much as you.* Says the Earl of *Denbigh*, *I ſuppoſe your Majeſty looks upon us as Perſons of another Condition than Letter Carriers.* The King ſaid calmly again, *I know your Condition*; *but I ſay, that your Commiſſion gives you power to do no more than a Letter Carrier might have done.* The King had ſoon after an opportunity of private Diſcourſe with two of the Commiſſioners, *Hollis* and *Whitlock*, and had ſuch Confidence in them and in his own Integrity, that he left it to them two to draw up in Writing what they apprehended might be fit to return in Anſwer to the Meſſage. The Reſult was, That *Uxbridge* was appointed a Place of Treaty, and Commiſſioners were nominated, with Inſtructions and ſafe Conduct on either ſide. (*b*)

The two Houſes ſend Commiſſioners to the King.

Without any Power to Treat.

(*a*) See, A *Prayer* uſed by his Majeſty at his Entrance in State into the Cathedral Church of *Exeter* after the Defeat of the Earl of *Eſſex* in *Cornwall*, *September* 1644. *King* Charles I. *Works*, p. 193.

(*b*) By the King, A Proclamation for a Solemn Faſt to be obſerved on *Wedneſday*, *Febr.* 5*th*, upon occaſion of the preſent Treaty for Peace at *Uxbridge*. *Works of King* Charles, p. 147.

See the Additions and Alterations made in the Prayers of the Church as fitted to a Publick Form for the Faſt appointed by the King on *Febr.* 5*th*, 1644, for a Bleſſing on the Treaty then depending at *Uxbridge*, in *L'Eſtrange Alliance of Divine Offices*, p. 29.

This

1644. 20 *Car.* I. This Treaty of *Uxbridge* began *Jan.* 30, *Thurſday,* which being Market-day, a Sermon was Preach'd in the Pariſh-Church by Mr. *Chriſtopher Love*; ſo full of Railing and Sedition, that on the next Day the King's Commiſſioners thought themſelves obliged to give in a Paper of Complaint, "That there was "Yeſterday a Sermon preach'd by one Mr. *Love,* "in which were many Paſſages very ſcandalous to "his Majeſty's Perſon, and derogatory to his Ho- "nour, ſtirring up the People againſt this Treaty, "and incenſing them againſt us, telling them, "that we come with Hearts full of Blood, and that "there is as great diſtance between this Treaty and "Peace as between Heaven and Hell." The Parliament Commiſſioners anſwered, That Mr. *Love* was none of their Retinue, nor came thither by any Privity of theirs. And upon the Reply of the King's Commiſſioners, that they muſt inſiſt on their former Deſire concerning the Sermon preach'd by Mr. *Love,* and muſt refer the way of doing Juſtice to their Lordſhips, they made farther Anſwer, that they would repreſent it to the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter,* who would proceed therein according to Juſtice: But no Juſtice was done in it.

Treaty of *Uxbridge* open'd with a ſeditious Sermon by Mr. *Love.*

On this ſame Day, *Jan.* 31, the Parliament Commiſſioners offer'd theſe Propoſitions concerning Religion.

Propoſitions offer'd by the Parliament Commiſſioners. Concerning Religion.

I. *That the Bill be paſſed for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy.*

II. *That the Ordinances for Calling and Sitting of the Aſſembly of Divines, be confirmed.*

III. *That the Directory for publick Worſhip, and the Model of Presbyterian Government annex'd, be enacted as a Part of Reformation and Uniformity.*

IV. *That his Majeſty take the ſolemn League and Covenant, and enjoin it to all his Subjects.*

As to the firſt, the King's Commiſſioners offer'd many Arguments to ſhew the Injuſtice and Inconveniency which would follow upon Paſſing the Bill for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, from Conſcience, Law, and Reaſon. To the ſecond, That they need not inſiſt on Confirmation of the Calling and Sitting of the Aſſembly of Divines, till the Alterations of Church-Government were agreed or not. To the third, That they could not conceive the Directory for publick Worſhip was ſo likely to procure and preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom, as the Liturgy already by Law eſtabliſhed. And as for the *Covenant,* they could not adviſe his Majeſty to ſwear and ſign the ſame, nor conſent that an Act of Parliament ſhould paſs for enjoining the taking thereof by his Majeſty's Subjects.

Propoſitions concerning the *Militia.*

Febr. 4, the Propoſitions concerning the *Militia* were propoſed by the Parliament Commiſſioners, to this effect: That all Forces by Sea and Land ſhould be ſettled in Commiſſioners nominated by both Houſes of Parliament, to be removed and filled up from time to time as the ſaid Houſes ſhould think fit: and that it ſhould be High-Treaſon to levy Forces without ſuch Authority and Conſent: and the Militia of *London,* and Tower of *London,* to be in the Government of the ſaid City. To which the King's Commiſſioners anſwer'd, that they could not conſent to ſuch great Alterations in the main Foundation of the Frame of the Government, as by expreſs Words or neceſſary Conſequence took the whole Military and Civil Power out of the Crown, without any Limitation in Time, or Reparation propoſed.

Concerning *Ireland.*

Febr. 7. the Parliament Commiſſioners preſented the Propoſitions concerning *Ireland,* that an Act ſhould paſs to make void the Ceſſation of *Ireland,* and all Treaties with the Rebels, without Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, and to ſettle the Proſecution of that War in the two Houſes, his Majeſty to aſſiſt, and to do no Act to diſcountenance or moleſt them therein. All Perſons who had any hand in Plotting, Deſigning, or Aſſiſting that Rebellion, to expect no Pardon: and the ſucceſſive Deputies and Judges, &c. of that Kingdom to be nominated by the two Houſes, &c. To which the King's Commiſſioners anſwer'd, That his Majeſty had full Power and juſt Grounds to conſent to that Ceſſation, and it could not be declared void without a breach of Faith and Honour in his Majeſty; but it would of it ſelf expire in *March* next. Nor could it be agreeable to his Majeſty's Honour, or the Juſtice and Protection which he owes to his Subjects of the Kingdom of *Ireland,* to put the Nomination of his Lieutenant and Judges out of himſelf, and to commit the whole Power of that Kingdom unto others.

Febr. 20, Eighteen Days having been ſpent in the ſaid Propoſitions concerning *Religion, Militia,* and *Ireland,* and the Treaty being limited to twenty Days; the King's Commiſſioners deſired to ſpend the two remaining Days in giving better Satisfaction upon thoſe three Heads, and in Treating for an Expedient of Peace by diſbanding all Armies, and by his Majeſty's coming to *Weſtminſter*: and for this purpoſe deſired the time of Treaty to be prolonged. To which the Parliament Commiſſioners anſwered, That till they had Satisfaction in their Demands concerning *Religion, Militia,* and *Ireland,* they could receive no Propoſitions from his Majeſty, nor give any Addition of Time. By the Papers in this Treaty it plainly appears, That the King's Commiſſioners, though they could not go in to the literal Demands on the other Side; yet they made as many Conceſſions toward granting ſome Equivalent, or other Expedient, as it was poſſible to do. But the Parliament Commiſſioners were tied up to rigid Rules, and ſeem'd to have no Power of receding from the very Letter of the Propoſitions brought along with them: as if only Meſſengers to report the Senſe and very Words of thoſe who ſent them, rather than Commiſſioners to argue and determine upon others Arguments, and their own Judgment of 'em.

Parliament Commiſſioners but meer Meſſengers.

A late Writer of *Memoirs* tells it as a *Secret* in Hiſtory, that the Occaſion of breaking off this Treaty was a Letter from the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* in *Scotland,* who had entirely defeated the Earl of *Argyle* Feb. 2, and next Day ſent an Expreſs of it in a Letter to the King; wherein he declares his *utter Averſion to all Treaties with his Rebel Parliament in* England; and is *heartily ſorry to hear,* that *his Majeſty had conſented to Treat,* and *hopes it is not true*; adviſes him *not to enter into any Terms with his rebellious Subjects*; and aſſures him, that *he ſhould be able within a few Months to march into* England *to his Majeſty's Aſſiſtance with a brave Army.* Suppoſing ſuch a Letter was written; though this Relator pretends to have ſeen nothing but a Copy under another Hand: and ſuppoſing the Difficulty remov'd, which the Relator himſelf can hardly imagine, "That a "Letter writ *February* 3, in the farthermoſt North "Corner of *Britain,* ſhould come ſo ſoon to *Oxford,* "conſidering the Length of the Journey, the Bad- "neſs of the Roads at that time of the Year, eſpe- "cially through the mountainous Parts of *Scotland,* "together with the Parliament's and *Scotch* Armies "and Garriſons that were poſted all along the Road;" Suppoſing theſe hard things to be true; yet it ſeems to be no Inference that the King himſelf was the Cauſe of breaking off this Treaty, when a Denial of any the leaſt Conceſſions, and even of a few farther Days, was the ſole Act of the Parliament Commiſſioners. And yet had the Rupture been made ſolely at the King's Command, he would have ſtood juſtified by all the Laws of Conſcience and Honour: For, to have yielded to all their Propoſitions, as they inſiſted, without the leaſt Mitigation of them, would as effectually have diveſted him of his Crown and Dignity, as they did afterward deprive him of his Liberty and Life. It had been more glorious in him to reſolve, That Monarchy ſhould not be murder'd before the King.

D. *Wellwood's* Opinion of breaking off this Treaty.

Vindication of the King.

After the Treaty was diſſolv'd, the Ambaſſadors of the States of *Holland,* who had been at *Oxford* to ſollicit the Succeſs of it, being now in *London,* obtained Leave of Admiſſion firſt to the Houſe of Lords, and then of Commons; where they repre- ſented

The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors interpoſe.

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ſented *the great Deſires and Endeavours of their Maſters for an Accommodation between the King and Parliament, which concerned all Proteſtants, and particularly their Lords and Maſters :* and own'd, *That his Majeſty, whilſt they were at* Oxford, *had honoured them, by communicating to them what paſſed at the Treaty in* Uxbridge; *and declared to them, That if the Parliament be not ſatisfied with what he offer'd concerning Church-Government, his Majeſty is contented that a General Synod be called of Divines from all the Proteſtant Churches in* Europe, *for their Advice herein.* This perhaps was thought to be a Meſſage from the King, and therefore no Anſwer was return'd to it. *(a)*

Parliament ſeem well pleas'd.

For the Parliament found themſelves every Day more and more ſuperiour to the King : and therefore approving what was done by their Commiſſioners, and thanking them for having diſcharged their Duties with ſingular Judgment and Fidelity ; and ſolemnly acquainting the City with their Proceedings, and poſſeſſing them with the averſeneſs of the King's Party to a Peace ; they made very diligent Preparations for continuing the War : And finding their General *Eſſex* to be too much inclined to Moderation, and the Defenſive Side ; they modell'd a new Army, to be Commanded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax :* To whom, by an Ordinance, they gave an ample Commiſſion, to exerciſe all Martial Juriſdiction, to fight with and to ſlay all ſuch as ſhould oppoſe him ; and, to ſuppreſs all Forces not raiſed by Authority of both Houſes of Parliament.

State of Religion. Tryal of Archbp. *Laud.*

As to the Eccleſiaſtical State in this Year 1644. The long-impriſon'd Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had been brought upon his Tryal before the Peers on *Tueſday* March 12, and Arraign'd in a long Speech by Mr. Serjeant *Wild*; concluding thus : *This Man,* my Lords, *is like* Naaman *the* Syrian, *a Great Man, but a Leper.* Upon which the Archbiſhop ſpoke as follows:

His Speech.

My Lords,

M*Y being in this Place, and in this Condition, recalls to my Memory that which I long ſince read in* Seneca, Tormentum eſt, etiamſi abſolutus quis fuerit, cauſam dixiſſe ; *'Tis not a Grief only, no, 'tis no leſs than a Torment, for an ingenuous Man to plead criminally, much more capitally, at ſuch a Bar as this ; yea, though it ſhould ſo fall out, that he be abſolved. The great Truth of this I find at preſent in my ſelf ; and ſo much the more, becauſe I am a Chriſtian ; and not that only, but in holy Orders ; and not ſo only, but by God's Grace and Goodneſs preferred to the greateſt Place this Church affords ; and yet now brought* cauſam dicere *to Plead, and for no leſs than Life, at this great Bar. And whatſoever the World thinks of me (and they have been taught to think more ill than, I humbly thank* Chriſt *for it, I was ever acquainted with) yet,* my Lords, *this I find* tormentum eſt ; *'tis no leſs than Torment to me to appear in this Place to ſuch an Accuſation. Nay,* my Lords, *give me Leave, I beſeech you, to ſpeak plain Truth : No Sentence that can juſtly paſs upon me (and other I will never fear from your Lordſhips) can go ſo near me as* cauſam dixiſſe *to have pleaded for myſelf upon this Occaſion, and in this Place. For as for the Sentence (I thank God for it) I am at St.* Paul's *Word,* If I have committed any thing worthy of Death, I refuſe not to die : *For, I bleſs God, I have ſo ſpent my time, as that I am neither aſham'd to Live, nor afraid to Die. Nor can the World be more weary of me than I am of it : for ſeeing the Malignity which hath been raiſed againſt me by ſome Men, I have carried my Life in my Hands theſe divers Years paſt.*

But yet, my Lords, *if none of theſe things whereof theſe Men accuſe me, merit Death by Law ; though I may not in this Caſe, and from this Bar,* Appeal unto Cæſar, *yet to your Lordſhips Juſtice and Integrity I both may and do* Appeal ; *not doubting, but that God of his Goodneſs will preſerve my Innocency. And as* Job, *in the midſt of his Affliction, ſaid to his miſtaken Friends, ſo ſhall I to my Accuſers,* God forbid I ſhould juſtifie you : till I die I will not remove my Integrity from me : I will hold it faſt, and not let it go : my Heart ſhall not reproach me, as long as I live.

My Lords, *I ſee by the Articles, and have now heard from this Gentleman, that the Charge againſt me is divided into two main Heads ; the* Laws *of the Land, and the* Religion *by thoſe Laws eſtabliſhed.*

And ſo with great Eloquence and Courage he went on, to ſhew himſelf a *ſtrict Obſerver of the Laws,* and *a true Profeſſor of the Religion eſtabliſht in the Church of* England ; and wiped off all the Aſperſions of Popery ; concluding with the Names of 21 eminent Popiſh Recuſants, whom he by perſonal Conference had reduced to the Proteſtant Communion.

He had 20 ſeveral Days of Hearing, which ended *July* 29, wherein he had ſuch a heap of Accuſations, and made ſuch an admirable Defence againſt them, that the Innocence of this Prelate, and the Malice of his Enemies, are hardly to be match'd in any Account of the Primitive Perſecutions. On the laſt Day of his Tryal he made a Recapitulation of all that had been charg'd upon him, and of all that he had anſwer'd in his own Defence, and then concluded,

Speech at Concluſion of his Tryal.

And now, my Lords, *I do in all Humility lay my ſelf low at God's Mercy Seat, to do with me as he pleaſes : and under God, I ſhall rely upon your Lordſhips Juſtice, Honour, and Clemency, of which I cannot doubt. And, without being farther tedious unto your Lordſhips (who have with very honourable Patience heard me through this long and tedious Trial) I ſhall conclude with that which St.* Auguſtin *ſaid to* Romanianus, *a Man that had tried both Fortunes as well as I ;* If the Providence of God reaches down to us *(as moſt certain it doth)* Sic tecum agi oportet, ſicut agitur, *It muſt ſo be done with thee (and ſo with me alſo) as it is done. And under that Providence which will, I doubt not, work to the beſt to my Soul, that loves God, I repoſe myſelf. (b)*

Acquitted by the Lords.

When all the Articles and utmoſt Proof of them by the moſt prejudic'd Parties were not likely to prevail with the Lords (though but a few, and thoſe Adverſaries to the Archbiſhop's Perſon and Character, and to the Church and King) to find him Guilty of the Impeachment ; the Commons (at the Inſtigation of the *Scots*) took the Judicature in the moſt illegal manner to themſelves, had him brought to their Bar on ſeveral Days, and on *Novemb.* 16. paſſed an Ordinance to make him Guilty of High-Treaſon : Which being tranſmitted to the Lords, they referred themſelves to the Judges, who unanimouſly anſwered, "That nothing charged againſt him was Treaſon by any known and eſtabliſhed Law of the Land." Upon which the Lords in a Conference with the Commons *Decemb.* 24, declared, "That they had diligently weigh'd all things "that were Charged againſt him, but could not by "any one of them, or all, find him Guilty of Treaſon." And yet by the over-ruling of all Honour

And by the Judges.

To be condemn'd by an Ordinance of the two Houſes.

(*a*) See the Declaration of the Parliament of *England* to the States of *Holland* concerning their late Embaſſie, Printed 1645. 4*to.* wherein is a Letter of the ſaid Embaſſadours to the Houſe of Peers, complaining of the Injuries done to the King, &c.

(*b*) In the MS. Collections repoſited in *Lambeth* Library by Archbiſhop *Teniſon*, there is a Copy of the *Defence made in the Houſe of Lords by* John Herne, Eſq; *on the behalf of* William Laud *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, beginning thus: My Lords, The Work of this Day we humbly conceive is in many Reſpects of very great and high Concernment, in that it concerns 1. a Matter of Life, a thing of the higheſt Conſequence ; 2. the Life of an Archbiſhop who had attained the higheſt Dignity, &c. Serjeant *Wild* anſwer'd.——Mr *Herne*, We did never alledge that any one Crime of the Biſhops did amount to a Treaſon or Felony, but we do ſay, that all the Archbiſhop's Miſdemeanours put together do by way of Accumulation make many grand Treaſons.—— To which Mr. *Herne* replied, I crave you Mercy good Mr. Serjeant, I never underſtood before this time that two hundred couple of black Rabbets make a black Horſe.

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and Conſcience, the Bill of Attainder paſs'd the Houſe of Lords *Jan.* 4, (*a*) and a Scaffold being prepared on *Tower-hill*, he was brought to it *Jan.* 10, where he made his own Funeral Sermon, beginning thus:

His dying Speech.

" *Good People*,

" THis is an uncomfortable time to Preach, yet I ſhall begin with a Text of Scripture, *Heb.* 12. 2. *Let us run with Patience the Race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus the Author and Finiſher of our Faith; who for the Joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the Right-hand of the Throne of God.*

" I have been long in my Race, and how I have looked *unto Jeſus the Author and Finiſher of my Faith*, he beſt knows. I am now come to the end of my *Race*; and here I find the *Croſs*; a Death of *ſhame*, but the Shame muſt *be deſpiſed* or no coming to the *Right-hand of God*. Jeſus deſpiſed the Shame for me, and God forbid but that I ſhould deſpiſe the Shame for him. I am going apace (as you ſee) towards the *Red-Sea*, and my Feet are now upon the very brink of it, an Argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into the Land of Promiſe; for that was the way thro' which he led his People: But before they came to it, he inſtituted a *Paſſover* for them, a Lamb it was, but muſt be *eaten with ſour Herbs.* I ſhall obey, and labour to digeſt the ſour Herbs as well as the Lamb; and I ſhall *remember it is the Lord's Paſſover*: I ſhall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the Hand that gathereth them, but look up only unto him who inſtituted that and governs theſe. For Men can have no more *power over me, than what is given from above.* I am not in love with this Paſſage through the Red-Sea, for I have the Weakneſs and Infirmities of Fleſh and Blood plentifully in me; and I have pray'd with my Saviour, *ut tranſiret calix iſte*, that *this Cup* of red Wine *might paſs from me*; but if not, *God's Will not mine be done.* And I ſhall moſt willingly drink of this Cup as deep as he pleaſes, and enter into this Sea, yea and paſs through it in the way that he ſhall lead me.

" But I would have it remember'd (good People) that when God's Servants were in this boiſterous Sea, and *Aaron* amongſt them, the *Egyptians* which perſecuted them (and did in a manner drive them into the Sea) were drowned in the ſame Waters while they were in purſuit of them.---- And as for this People, they are at this Day miſerably miſled (God of his Mercy open their Eyes that they may ſee the right way) for at this Day the *Blind lead the Blind*, and if they go on, *both will* certainly *fall into the Ditch.*——

" Though the weight of my Sentence be heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my Life. And though I am not only the firſt Archbiſhop but the firſt Man that ever died by an Ordinance in Parliament; yet ſome of my Predeceſſors have gone this way, though not by this means. —— Here is a great Clamour that I would have brought in Popery: I ſhall anſwer that more fully by and by. In the mean time, you know what the *Phariſees* ſaid againſt Chriſt himſelf, *If we let him alone All Men will believe in him*, & venient Romani, *and the* Romans *will come and take away our Place and Nation.* Here was a cauſeleſs Cry againſt Chriſt, that *the* Romans *would come*: and ſee how juſt the Judgment was; they Crucified Chriſt for fear the *Romans* ſhould come, and his Death was it that brought in the *Romans* upon them: God puniſhing them with that which they moſt feared. And I pray God this Clamour of *venient Romani* (of which I have given no cauſe) help not to bring them in: For the Pope never had ſuch an Harveſt in *England* ſince the (*b*) Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Diviſions that are among us.——This I ſhall be bold to ſpeak of the King our Gracious Soveraign: He hath been much traduc'd alſo for bringing in of Popery, but in my Conſcience (of which I ſhall give God a very preſent Account) I know him to be as free from this Charge as any Man living; and I hold him to be as ſound a Proteſtant (according to the Religion by Law eſtabliſh'd) as any Man in this Kingdom; and that he will venture his Life as far and as freely for it. And I think I do, or ſhould know both his Affection to Religion, and his Grounds for it, as fully as any Man in *England.* —— I have been accuſed as an Enemy to Parliaments: No! I underſtand them, and the Benefit that comes by them too well to be ſo: But I did miſlike the Miſgovernments of ſome Parliaments many ways, and I had good Reaſon for it. For *Corruptio Optimi eſt Peſſima*, there is no Corruption in the World ſo bad as that which is of the Beſt thing within it ſelf: For the better the Thing is in Nature, the worſe it is corrupted. And that being the higheſt Court, over which no other hath Juriſdiction, when it is miſinformed or miſgoverned, the Subject is left without all Remedy: But I have done. I forgive all the World, All and Every of thoſe bitter Enemies which have perſecuted me; and humbly deſire to be forgiven of God firſt, and then of every Man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have. Lord, do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveneſs of him. And ſo I heartily deſire you to join in Prayers with me."

O Eternal God! and Merciful Father, look down upon me in Mercy, &c. (*c*)

His Execution.

His Speech and Prayer ended, he gave the Prayer which he read into the Hands of his Chaplain Mr. *Stern*; and ſeeing one *Hind* had been writing his Speech as it came from his Mouth, he deſired him *Not to do him wrong in publiſhing a falſe or imperfect Copy.* Finding many People upon the Scaffold, he deſired *he might have room to dye*, beſeeching them to let him " Have an end of his Miſeries, which he had endured very long." Coming near the Block, he ſaid, " God's Will be done, I am willing to go out of this World; none can be more willing to

His Chriſtian Behaviour.

(*a*) Some Inſults were made by two or three of the under Presbyterian Divines upon the condemned Archbiſhop in the *Tower*, by paying him a moſt unwelcome Viſit and offering to prepare him for Death, &c. as Mr. *Henry Burton* in the Preface to his *Grand Impoſtor Unmasked*, relates of himſelf and two other of his Reverend Godly Brethren, We went to his Lodging in the *Tower* to tender our Chriſtian Duty of Charity to him for Counſel and Comfort, if it would be accepted, in that his Condition. But by his Secretary, he returning Court-thanks, ſaid, Some had been with him that Day, and now he was otherwiſe employed in his private Buſineſs. Whereupon we returned, &c.

(*b*) The Papiſts triumpht in his Death, as they did afterward in the King's. There is an Affidavit made 28, *Sept.* 1694, by *Jonathan Whiſton*, Vicar of *Betherſden* in *Kent*, that he being Chaplain to the Honourable Sir *Lionel Tolmach* about the Year 1666, heard him relate to ſome Perſon of Quality, how that in his younger Days he was at *Rome*, and well acquainted with a certain Abbot, which Abbot asked him, whether *he had heard any News from* England? He anſwered, *No.* The Abbot replied, *I will tell you then ſome*; *Archbiſhop* Laud *is Beheaded.* Sir *Lionel* anſwer'd, *You are ſorry for that I preſume.* The Abbot replied again, *That they had more cauſe to rejoice, that the greateſt Enemy of the Church of* Rome *in* England *was cut off, and the greateſt Champion of the Church of* England *Silenced*, or in words to that purpoſe.—— Another worthy Perſon, *John Evelyn* Eſq; gave it under his Hand, *I was at* Rome *in Company of divers of the* Engliſh *Fathers, when the News of the Archbiſhop's Sufferings, and a Copy of his Sermon made upon the Scaffold came thither. They read the Sermon and Commented upon it with no ſmall Satisfaction and Contempt, and look'd upon him as one that was a great Enemy to them, and ſtood in their way.*——Hiſtory of *Troubles of Archbiſhop* Laud. Fol. P. 616.

(*c*) See in *Whitlock's Memoirs.* Fol. P. 118. how the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Plea of the King's Pardon, and his Petition to be *Beheaded* not *Hanged*, and to have the Service of his Chaplains, were denyed by the *Houſe of Commons*, —— upon the Neceſſity of obliging their dear Brethren of *Scotland.*

ſend

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"ſend me." Seeing ſome Chinks through the Boards with People under them, he called to the Officer for ſome Duſt to ſtop them, or to remove the People, ſaying, "It was no part of his Deſires, that his "Blood ſhould fall upon the Heads of the People." Sir *John Clotworthy* did rudely interrupt him with impertinent Queſtions, which he anſwer'd with all Chriſtian Meekneſs. The firſt Queſtion was, "What "was the moſt comfortable Saying which a dying "Man would have in his Mouth?" He anſwer'd, *Cupio diſſolvi & eſſe cum Chriſto.* The other asked again, "What was the fitteſt Speech a Man would "uſe to expreſs his Confidence and Aſſurance?" He anſwer'd, *Such Aſſurance is to be found within, and no Words are able to expreſs it rightly.* The buſie Man demanding "a place of Scripture, whereupon ſuch "Aſſurance might be grounded." He uſed ſome Words to this effect, that *It was the Word of God concerning Chriſt and his dying for us.* Then he turned away to the Executioner, gave him Money, and ſaid, "Here, honeſt Friend, God forgive thee and I do, "and do thy Office upon me with Mercy." Then giving him a Sign when the Blow ſhould come, he kneeled down and made another ſhort Prayer; then laying his Head on the Block, and praying ſilently to himſelf, he ſaid aloud, *Lord receive my Soul!* which being the Signal given, his Head was cut off at a blow, and his Body decently interred in the Church of *Alhallows Berking*, by the Office of the Liturgy, which on that very Day was, by an Ordinance of Parliament, aboliſh'd, and the *Directory* eſtabliſh'd in room of it. On his Coffin was nail'd a little braſs Plate, with his Arms and this Inſcription: *In hac Ciſtula conduntur Exuviæ Gulielmi Laud Archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis qui ſecuri percuſſus immortalitatem adiit die* x, Januarii *Ætatis ſuæ* LXXIII. *Archiepiſcopatus* xii. His laſt Character is thus given by the Lord *Clarendon.* "He underwent his Sentence with all "Chriſtian Courage and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders, and Confuſion of his "Enemies. Much hath been ſaid of the Perſon of "this great Prelate before, of his great Endowments and natural Infirmities; to which ſhall be "added no more in this Place (his Memory deſerving a particular Celebration) than that his "Learning, Piety, and Vertue, have been attain'd "by very few, and the greateſt of his Infirmities are common to all, even to the beſt "Men." (*a*)

His Burial.

The King being in Arms could have no other Care for the Church, but to fight for the Reſtitution of it. But however, to take off as far as poſſible the Prejudice of Foreign Proteſtants, which had been induſtriouſly raiſed and fomented by Letters from the Aſſemblies of Divines in *England* and *Scotland*; the King drew up a Declaration to all foreign Reform'd Churches, in Latin, *dat. in Academia & Civitate noſtra Oxonienſi pridie Idus Maii* 1644, proteſting againſt the falſe Rumours and ſcandalous Letters ſpread among the Reformed Churches in foreign Parts, as if his Majeſty had an Inclination to recede from the Religion wherein he was born, baptized, and bred: and ſolemnly profeſſing, that he will keep entire and inviolable the moſt holy Religion of the *Anglican* Church, ordained by many Convocations of learned Divines, confirmed by many Acts of Parliament, and ſtrengthen'd by many Royal Proclamations; with a Liturgy and Diſcipline approved and applauded by the moſt eminent of Proteſtant Writers.

King's Latin Declaration to Foreign Churches.

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And to keep up, if poſſible, the Honour of Religion in his Army, and wipe away the popular Objection, that the Malignants were lewd and prophane Men; the King iſſued his Proclamation, dated *Apr.* 18, for the farther Reſtraint of prophane Swearing and Curſing, and the better obſerving of Prayer and Preaching in his Majeſties Armies, and in the City of *Oxford*, and all other Parts. When it was agreed upon to hold a Treaty at *Uxbridge*, the King publiſhed a Proclamation, dated at *Oxford* January 27; commanding that *Wedneſday* Febr. 5. ſhould be kept as a ſolemn Faſt, that *both Prince and People might then join together in a true Humiliation, and devout and earneſt Prayers unto God, that he would be pleaſed to bleſs and proſper the intended Treaty, that it might produce a happy Peace for his Honour, the Good of his Church, and of the King and all his Subjects.* And for a conſtant Prayer during the Treaty, the King himſelf dictated this Form: *O moſt merciful Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, We a People ſorely afflicted by the Scourge of an unnatural War, do here earneſtly beſeech thee to command a Bleſſing from Heaven upon this preſent Treaty, begun for the Eſtabliſhment of a happy Peace. Soften the moſt obdurate Hearts with a true Chriſtian Deſire of ſaving thoſe Men's Blood for whom Chriſt himſelf hath ſhed his. Or if the Guilt of our great Sins cauſe this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord let the Truth clearly appear, who thoſe Men are, which under pretence of the publick Good do purſue their own private Ends; and that this People may be no longer ſo blindly miſerable as not to ſee at leaſt in this their Day, the Things that belong unto their Peace. Grant this, gracious God, for his ſake who is our Peace it ſelf, even Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen. Which ſhews the Piety of this Prince, and the Sincerity of his Heart, in deſiring the Succeſs of this Treaty upon any Terms conſiſtent with the Being of a Church and Monarchy.

His Majeſty endeavours to reform his Army.

The K.'s own Form of Prayer for Peace.

The two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* made the Aſſembly of Divines and the City, Clergy their Inſtruments of the *Cauſe* to be called *Good.* On *April* 8, they made an Ordinance, that the Miniſters within the City and Bills of Mortality, ſhould on the Morrow, being Thankſgiving-Day for the Victory over Sir *Ralph Hopton*'s Forces, publiſh in their ſeveral Churches the Reſolution taken by the Parliament to draw all their Forces together, and put a ſpeedy Iſſue to theſe lingring Miſeries; and that therefore they ſhould exhort the People to contribute to the uttermoſt for ſending forth what poſſible Strength can be had. *April* 17, it was ordered, That the Candleſticks, Crucifixes, and other Plate, that ſtood heretofore upon the Altar in St. *Paul*'s Church, be ſold by the Committee at *Grocers-Hall*, and the Money employed for the publick Safety. On *May* 9, there was another *Ordinance* for the farther demoliſhing all Monuments of Idolatry and Superſtition, and taking away all Organs, Surplices, ſuperſtitious Veſtments, *&c.* And the Price of Sacrilege to ſerve the Cauſe. This way of Reformation gave Riſe to ſo many Hereſies and Diviſions, that the Miniſters of the City of *London*, in a Petition to the Commons Houſe, *Sept.* 18, beg leave *to ſigh out their Sorrows*, and confeſs, *Through many erroneous Opinions, ruinating Schiſms, and damnable Hereſies (unhappily fomented in City and Country) the Orthodox Miniſtry is neglected; the People ſeduced; Congregations torn aſunder; Families diſtracted; Rights and Duties of Relations, National, Civil, and Spiritual, ſcandalouſly violated; the Power of Godlineſs decayed; Parliamentary Authori-*

Proceedings of Parl. in Matters of Religion.

Growth of Sects and Parties.

(*a*) His favouring of Learned Proteſtants abroad gave him a Reputation among the beſt of them. See *Memoranda de Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patre Gulielmo Domino Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi totius Angliæ Primate & Metropolitano Sereniſſimo Magnæ Britanniæ Regi Carolo a ſacris Conſiliis, Academiæ Oxonienſis Cancellario, ſcripta per Johannem Gerardum Voſſium ſub octo Articulis.* Epiſtolæ Johan. Voſſii. Fol. Numb. CCXCIX.

And even the Embaſſadours of the States of *Holland* in their Publick Letter to the Houſe of Peers, complain'd, that the Houſe of Commons were very eager to bring the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to his End. Though there is no Law or Right in *England*, whereby his Actions laid to his Charge are declared High Treaſon and worthy of Death. Dat. 16, *Decemb.* 1644.

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ty undermined; *fearful Confuſion introduced*; *imminent Deſtruction threatened*, &c. (*a*)

Proceedings of the Aſſembly of Divines.

As to the Proceedings of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, they procured in *May* an Order of Parliament to ſuppreſs an erroneous Edition of the *Engliſh* Bible at *Amſterdam* (*b*). When the Earl of *Eſſex* marched into the *Weſt*, it was at the Motion of this *Aſſembly* that a Day of publick Humiliation was appointed, to implore the Aſſiſtance of God for the proſperous Undertaking of the Lord General. Soon after they communicated to the Parliament a Letter ſent to them from the Kirk of *Scotland*, lamenting that *Church-Government was not yet ſettled.* Upon which they had Leave to debate the whole Matter of an *Ordinance* made for the Ordination of Miniſters, and for ſettling the Government of the Church. In which Debate it was propounded to put the Queſtion, that the Government by Presbytery is *Jure Divino*. But the putting it to the Queſtion was diverted by a Speech of one of the Lay-Members, who among other Arguments uſed this Dilemma; *If this Government be not* Jure Divino, *no Opinion of any Council can make it to be what it is not*; *and if it be* Jure Divino, *it continues ſo ſtill, although you do not declare it to be ſo.* The Oppoſition between the Presbyterians and Independants, and other Sectaries, began to interrupt every Scheme of Settlement; ſo that in *September* a Committee of Lords and Commons was appointed to confer with the *Aſſembly*, and to endeavour to reconcile ſome Differences amongſt them, and to find out a way how tender Conſciences may be borne withal, ſo far as may ſtand with the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Word of God. *Octob.* 2, an Ordinance was paſs'd for the Ordination of Miniſters; whereby twenty three Presbyters (of which the *Aſſembly* named ten of themſelves, and thirteen of the City) or any ſeven of them, were to ordain ſucceſſive Miniſters, and none to preach, or exerciſe the Miniſterial Function, without their Allowance. Juſt before *Newbury* ſecond Fight, *October*, the Commons being inform'd that in probability the Armies were now engag'd, they ſent to the *Aſſembly of Divines* to ſpend ſome time in Prayer for the good Succeſs of the Parliament's Forces; which was done accordingly. In *November*, by Deſire from the *Scots* Commiſſioners, both Houſes ſent to the *Aſſembly*, to bring in the Particulars of what they had finiſhed for the Government of the Church, that it might be approved and confirmed by the Parliament; and to haſten the Diſpatch of what farther lay before them (*c*). Soon after the chief Members of the Aſſembly came to the Houſe of Commons, and preſented their Draught of humble Advice for ſettling the Presbyterian Government; in which they had an Expreſſion that did aſſert it to be *Jure Divino.* This gave Offence, and Mr. *Glynne*, Recorder of *London*, ſtood up and ſpoke againſt determining a *Jus Divinum*: wherein he was ſeconded by Mr. *Whitlock*; till, upon the Queſtion, it was carried to lay aſide all Aſſertion of Divine Right; and *Glynne* and *Whitlock* had many Thanks for preventing the Surpriſal of the Houſe upon this great Queſtion. Upon Deſire of ſome Members in the Aſſembly who diſſented from the Form of Presbyterian Government, a Day was appointed to hear their Arguments againſt it; and the other part had liberty to anſwer in Writing the Reaſons of their Diſſenting Brethren; and the Arguments on each ſide were to be preſented to the Houſe of Commons. In *November* the Aſſembly ſent to the Commons their *Directory* for Prayer, Preaching, and all other parts of Publick Worſhip; and toward the end of *December* preſented ſome farther Additions to their firſt Form: All which were Debated and Reſolved by the Commons. And to ſhew the Spirit of Contradiction that was now to prevail, an Ordinance was made *Decemb.* 19, to turn *Chriſtmas-day* into a ſolemn Faſt and Humiliation, *becauſe it may call to remembrance our Sins, and the Sins of our Forefathers, who have turned this Feaſt, pretending the Memory of Chriſt, into an extreme Forgetfulneſs of him, by giving Liberty to carnal and ſenſual Delights.* In *January* the *Directory* of Worſhip was fully agreed upon by both Houſes, and ordered to be Printed, and two of the Aſſembly to take care thereof. The Commons ordered, that the Divines of the Aſſembly ſhould write a congratulatory Letter to the General Aſſembly in *Scotland*, and acquaint them what they had done, and how the Parliament had agreed with them. In the Debate of theſe Matters in the Houſe of Commons, it was voted, that *to have a Presbytery in the Church, is according to the Word of God*; and that *many Congregations may be under one Presbyterian Government*; and that *Paſtors, Doctors, Teachers, Elders, and Deacons, are the Officers of the Church, in the Government of it*; and that *ſeveral Congregations ſhould be under one Claſſis, and the Church governed by Congregational, Claſſical, Synodical Aſſemblies*; and that *there ſhould be one at leaſt in every Congregation to labour in the Word and Doctrine.* In the *Uxbridge* Treaty, Mr. *Vines* and Mr. *Marſhal* of the *Engliſh*, and Mr. *Henderſon* of the *Scots*, were ſent from the Aſſembly to attend the Parliament Commiſſioners, and diſpute for the Divine Right of Presbytery; againſt Dr. *Steward* who was named by the King to be one of his Commiſſioners on the Propoſitions of Religion only, and Dr. *Sheldon.* During this Treaty, a Petition was directed to the Commiſſioners of both Sides from many thouſand Inhabitants in the County of *Bucks*, to this effect; *That Religion might be eſtabliſhed as it was in the pureſt times of Queen* Elizabeth. A Copy being tranſmitted to the Commons at *Weſtminſter*, they condemned it, and ſent for Sir *John Lawrence*, the chief Promoter, into Cuſtody. After the End of the Treaty, by Concert of the Aſſembly and Houſe of Commons, there was a Day of Thankſgiving ordered for *the Succeſſes which God gave the Parliament ſince the Breach of the Treaty.* And then the laſt Act of the Aſſembly this Year, was to ſend a Meſſage to the Parliament touching the Title to the *Directory*, and the *Ordinance* for taking away the Common Prayer Book, and for ſettling an *able Miniſtry*, and for keeping Profane and Ignorant Perſons from the Sacrament: all which the Commons debated in a grand Committee, and referr'd ſome things back to the *Aſſembly*, and order'd them to nominate ſome Miniſters to go with the Armies into the Field this next Summer. (*d*)

Could not get *Presbytery* declar'd to be *Jure Divino.*

A *Directory* drawn up.

Chriſtmas day to be turn'd into a Faſt.

Diſputes in the *Uxbridge* Treaty.

The Death of Mr. *Chillingworth* is thus remembred by the Lord *Clarendon*, upon *Waller*'s forcing *Arundel* Caſtle to Surrender to the Parliament. "Here " the Learned and Eminent Mr. *Chillingworth* was " taken Priſoner, who out of Kindneſs and Reſpect " to the Lord *Hopton* had accompanied him in that " March; and being indiſpoſed by the terrible Cold" neſs of that Seaſon, choſe to repoſe himſelf in that " Garriſon till the Weather ſhould mend. As ſoon " as his Perſon was known, which would have

(*a*) Even ſo the Reverend Mr. *Edmund Calamy* in his Sermon before the Lord-Mayor of *London* on *January* 14, 1644, 4*to.* makes this Lamentation, p. 3. *The Churches of Chriſt lye deſolate*; *Church Reformation is obſtructed*; *Church-Diſcipline unſettled, and Church-Diviſions encreaſed. The famous City of* London *is become an* Amſterdam. *Separation from our Churches is countenanced: Toleration is cried up: Authority lieth aſleep.*

(*b*) See, By the King, A Proclamation forbidding the Aſſembly of Divines to Meet or Act, being not legally authoriz'd ſo to do. In *June* 1644.

(*c*) See, A modeſt Offer of ſome meet Conſiderations tendered to the Learned Prolocutor, and to the reſt of the Aſſembly of Divines met at *Weſtminſter*. By a true Lover of Truth and Peace. [i. e. Biſhop *Hall.*] Dated *Sept.* 12. 1644. 4*to.*

(*d*) The *Anabaptiſts* began now to grow into a Separate Party. See *Literæ Reverendi* Johannis Tombes *viro Inſigni* Johanni Selden *contra Pædobaptiſmum. Dat.* Londini. *Ex Ædibus Rectoris Eccleſiæ* Fanchurch *dictæ in vico ejuſdem nominis. Die* 14, Aug. 1644. in Mr. *Tombes his Apology.* 4*to.* p. 90.

See, The *Confeſſion* of Faith of thoſe Churches which are commonly called *Anabaptiſts.* Printed at *London* in the Year of our Lord God 1644. 4*to.* Subſcribed in the Names of Seven Churches in *London*: *William Kiffen, Thomas Patience*, &c. in LII. Articles.

"drawn Reverence from any noble Enemy, the "Clergy that attended that Army proſecuted him with all the Inhumanity imaginable; ſo that by "their barbarous Uſage he died within fews days, to "the Grief of all that knew him, and of many who "knew him not but by his Book, and the Reputati-"on he had with learned Men." They proceeded to inſult his Body and his Works in the very Grave; for when his Body was carried to the Cloyſter of the Church of *Chicheſter*, to be there inter'd; Mr. *Francis Cheynel*, Rector of *Petworth*, ſtood at the Grave ready to receive it, with the Author's Book of *The Religion of Proteſtants* in his Hand: And when the Company were all ſettled, he made a ridiculous Speech, and in concluſion, throwing the Book inſultingly on the Corps in the Grave, ſaid thus; *Get thee gone then, thou curſed Book! which haſt ſeduced ſo many precious Souls; Get thee gone, thou corrupt rotten Book, Earth to Earth, and Duſt to Duſt; Get thee gone into the Place of Rottenneſs, that thou mayeſt rot with thy Author, and ſee Corruption.*

1645. 21 *Car.* I. This Year began with an *Ordinance* for the new Model of an Army, conſtituting Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General, Col. *Skippon* Major-General, giving Commiſſion *Apr.* 1, to lead an Army againſt all Rebels, Traitors, and other common Enemies, and them to kill and ſlay; and to exerciſe Martial Law; and to execute the Laws and Ordinances confirmed this preſent Parliament, to be read at the Head of his Army. After which, *April* 3, the Ordinance paſſed for the diſcharging of the Members of both Houſes from all Offices both Military and Civil; called the *Self-denying Ordinance*. The Lord General *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the Earl of *Denbigh*, having reſign'd their Commiſſions the Day before, *Fairfax* appointed his general Rendezvous at *Windſor*, and ſoon modell'd an Army of one and twenty thouſand Men; who by Order of Parliament, paſs'd *Apr.* 28, were to march Weſtward for the Relief of *Taunton*.

New Army under General *Fairfax*.

Cromwel came to *Windſor* under pretence of taking his Leave of the new General, as if he now look'd on himſelf as diſcharged from all Military Employment by the late Ordinance. But he had made ſuch Intereſt in the Committee of both Kingdoms at *Weſtminſter*, that they had ſent Orders to their General Sir *Tho. Fairfax* to ſend a Party of Horſe to lie between *Oxford* and *Worceſter* to intercept the Correſpondence between the King and Prince *Rupert*, and particularly recommended Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* for that Service; who went away with a good Party of Horſe and Dragoons, and engaged a Brigade of the King's Horſe at *Iſlip* Bridge *Apr.* 24, and routed them; and purſued them to *Blechington-Houſe* garriſon'd for the King, and commanded by Col. *Windebank*, who in a Surprize ſurrender'd it upon Articles the ſame Day; for which he was condemn'd in a Council of War at *Oxford*, and ſhot to Death.

Cromwel's Induſtry and Succeſs.

The Lord General *Fairfax* began his March *April* 30, toward *Reading*, in order to relieve *Taunton*: but the Committee of both Kingdoms hearing of the Prince's Advance toward *Oxford*, order'd him *May* 4, to ſtop his March; and *May* 6, an Ordinance paſs'd, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ſhould only ſend a Party of about 3000 Foot and 1500 Horſe to *Taunton*; and he, with the reſt of his Army, ſhould march back to join *Cromwel* and *Brown*, and attend the King's Motions with their united Force. Upon coming up of this Detachment near *Taunton*, the King's Forces raiſed the Siege; and the Parliament ſent a Letter of Thanks to the Town for their gallant Defence, and beſtow'd 2000 *l.* on the Soldiers of the Garriſon, and 500 *l.* to Colonel *Blake* the Governour.

March of General *Fairfax*.

The King took the Field from *Oxford* on *May* 7, and being join'd by Prince *Rupert*, march'd into *Worceſterſhire*, deſigning the Relief of *Cheſter*, which had been long beſieged by the Parliament Forces under Sir *William Brereton*; who, by that time his Majeſty came within twenty Miles of *Cheſter*, raiſed his Siege, and retreated into *Lancaſhire*. Whereupon his Majeſty diverted his Courſe toward *Leiceſter*, and coming before that City *May* 29, took it by Storm. 1645. 21 *Car.* I.

[...]takes [Leice]ſter.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons agreed with the Committee of both Kingdoms, that General *Fairfax* ſhould lay Siege to *Oxford*, and ſpeedily reduce that important Head-Quarters of the King. Accordingly *Fairfax* march'd up his Army near *Oxford*, and began to beleaguer it *May* 22, having his own Quarters at *Marſton*, *Cromwel* at *Wileham*, and *Brown* at *Wolvercot*. Fifteen Days were ſpent without much Action, when the two Houſes being ſtartled with the Loſs of *Leiceſter*, ſent poſitive Orders to General *Fairfax* to bring away his Army; who accordingly *June* 9, drew off all his Forces, and next Day came before *Borſtal Houſe*, Garriſon'd for the King, and Commanded by Sir *William Campian*, Beſieged by Major-General *Skippon*. *Fairfax* ſent a Summons, and Sir *William Campian* returned a ſtout Anſwer. *Skippon* that Night made a general Aſſault upon it, but was beaten off with great Loſs, and next Day raiſed the Siege, and followed after the main Army to *Great-Brickhill*.

Fairfax beſieges *Oxford*.

But is called away.

The King had march'd from *Leiceſter* toward *Daventry*, with intention to relieve *Oxford*; but hearing that Siege was raiſed, he turned to *Northampton*, and put the Aſſociated Parts into great dread of being called to account for their Confederacy againſt their Prince. *Cromwel* had been called from the Siege of *Oxford* to the *Iſle of Ely*, to ſupport the *Aſſociation*, and was ſhortly to attend his Place in the Houſe of Commons; but being much more diſpoſed for the Camp, he prevailed with a Council of War to reſolve, that General *Fairfax* ſhould write to the Parliament to diſpenſe with *Cromwel's* Abſence from the Houſe, and to appoint him Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, which was accordingly done. Upon this new Commiſſion, *Cromwel* came out of the Aſſociated Parts with ſix hundred Horſe and Dragoons, and join'd with General *Fairfax* and his main Army at *Gilsborough*, four Miles from *Northampton* on *June* 12, the King having his Camp at *Borough-hill*, and thence moving toward *Harborough*.

King's March.

Cromwel made Lie. Gen. of the Horſe.

Fairfax followed the Motions of the King, and came up to the Rear of the King's Army, near *Naſeby*, early in the Morning *June* the 14th. Upon which, both Armies were drawn into Battalia. On the King's Side, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* commanded the Right Wing, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the Left, and his Majeſty himſelf in Perſon the main Body; the Earl of *Lindſey* and *Jacob* Lord *Aſhley* the Right-hand Reſerve, and the Lord *Bard* and Sir *George Liſle* the Left Reſerve. On the Parliament Side, the Right Wing was led by *Cromwel*, the Left Wing by Colonel *Ireton*, the main Body by General *Fairfax* and Major-General *Skippon*; With Reſerves to be brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Hammond*, and *Pride*.

Fatal Battle at *Naſeby*.

Prince *Rupert*, with his Majeſty's Right Wing, firſt began the Charge on that Side againſt *Ireton*, who was ſoon diſordered, and diſmounted, and run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, and taken Priſoner; till afterward, upon a Turn of the Battle, he gained his Liberty. Prince *Rupert* purſued the Advantage, and chas'd the Enemy almoſt to *Naſeby* Town; and in his Return ſummoned the Train, and was offering Quarter, not imagining that he ſhould come back too late to ſuccour his Friends: for *Cromwel* had charged Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* with great Succeſs; and though he met with gallant Reſiſtance, he broke through all the Diviſions, and forced them to fly beyond all their Foot. The Encounter between the two main Bodies was fierce and doubtful, the Succeſs ſeeming at firſt to incline to his Majeſty, all the Front Diviſions of *Fairfax*, except his own Regiment of Foot, giving ground, and in Diſorder falling behind the Reſerves: But the Colonels and Officers advancing with Colours and all their Men whom they could poſſibly make to rally and ſtand by degrees repelled the King's Forces, and at laſt put them to a diſorderly Re-

treat;

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treat; yet one Diviſion of the King's Foot ſtood like a Rock, and tho' twice deſperately charged, would not move an Inch: till *Fairfax* commanded a Captain to charge them once more in the Front, while he himſelf, with his own Regiment and a commanded Party, fell on them in the Rear, to meet together in the middle; which was done accordingly, and that laſt Body of the King's Foot put into Confuſion and broken. The King, with undaunted Courage, rallied his Horſe, and put them into tolerable Order, and was joined by Prince *Rupert* returned from his fatal Succeſs: *Fairfax* preſently brought up a good Battalia of Horſe, Foot, and Artillery, to charge the King's Troops, who were unwilling to venture another Shock upon ſuch great Diſadvantages; the King with braveſt Magnanimity endeavour'd all that was poſſible to encourage them, crying out, *One Charge more, and we recover the Day:* But he could not prevail; for they retreated in Diſorder, and *Fairfax*'s Horſe purſued them within two Miles of *Leiceſter*. The King gain'd nothing but the Characters of Courage and Conduct from all his Enemies. He loſt, in a manner, his entire Army, his Artillery, Ammunition, Coaches, and what went neareſt to his Heart, his Cabinet of Papers and Letters; and with ſome ſcatter'd Horſe he was forced to fly from *Leiceſter* to *Aſhby de la Zouch*, thence to *Litchfield*, and ſo for a ſafer Retreat into *Wales*. General *Fairfax* following to *Leiceſter*, and regaining that Town upon Articles *June* 18, and thence marching his Army to the Relief of *Taunton*. (*a*)

Courage and Conduct of the King.

General *Goring*, who beſieg'd *Taunton*, upon News of the Advance of *Fairfax*, march'd away his Army and march'd toward *Langport*; and being Maſter of the ſeveral Paſſes on the River, thought he could decline Fighting, and ſecure his Retreat toward *Bridgewater:* But *Fairfax* drew down his Ordnance to ſuch Place of Advantage, that they did great execution on *Goring*'s Army, while his Foot reſolutely gain'd the Paſs, and his Horſe advanced over; and after ſome Diſadvantage being relieved by Major *Bethel* and Major *Desborough*, they gave ſuch an effectual Charge as put *Goring*'s Horſe to a Retreat, and his Foot into ſuch Confuſion, that *Fairfax* chaſed them almoſt to *Bridgewater*, and with the Slaughter of three hundred, took about fourteen hundred Priſoners and twelve hundred Horſes. After this Victory, General *Fairfax*, in a Council of War, reſolved to ſtorm the ſtrong Garriſon of *Bridgewater*, and began the Aſſault the 22d of *July*, and forced a Surrendry the very next Day. The Taking of this Place was of moſt conſiderable Advantage to the Parliament; for, by it a Line of Garriſons was drawn over that Iſthmus of Ground between the *South-Sea* and *Severn* by *Bridgewater*, *Taunton*, *Lime*, and *Langport*; by which the Counties of *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, then wholly at the King's Devotion, except *Plymouth*, were in a manner block'd up from all Intercourſe with the Eaſtern Parts.

K.'s Intereſt declines in the Weſt.

July the 24th it was determined in a Council of War, that *Fairfax*, with his Army, ſhould advance farther to the Weſt, to hinder *Goring* from rallying his Forces: and the March was accordingly made as far as *Marlock*; but there the General took his own Reſolution to march back, and attempt the Taking of *Bath* and *Sherborn*, in order to the ſtraitning of *Briſtol*, and hindring Prince *Rupert* from raiſing any Recruits in thoſe Parts. With this Intention the General came to *Wells*; and Colonel *Rich*, with a Party of Horſe and Dragoons ſurprized *Bath*, by a deſperate Stratagem of the Dragooners creeping over the Bridge on their Bellies, and ſeizing the ſmall End of the Guard's Muskets, frighted them into taking Quarter, and then firing the Gate, put the Town into ſuch a Conſternation, that they yielded upon Articles to leave the common Soldiers Priſoners, and to ſuffer the Officers to march away to what Garriſon they pleas'd. The Wall of the City, and the Works, were very ſtrong and tenable; and Prince *Rupert* was advanced with a Party of fifteen hundred Horſe, and Foot, from *Briſtol*, within four Miles, to relieve it: But coming too late, Retreated.

Fairfax marches Weſtward

After this, *Fairfax* advanced to *Sherborn-Caſtle*, a ſtrong Garriſon, Commanded by Sir *Lewis Dives*; and laying cloſe Siege to it, *Auguſt* the 2d, entred a Breach *Auguſt* the 15th, and giving Quarter for Life only, took very great Plunder, and above four hundred Priſoners. The next Reſolution was, to Inveſt *Briſtol*, where Prince *Rupert* then was with a conſiderable Garriſon. This Siege was begun *Friday Auguſt* 22d by Land, and Vice-Admiral *Moulton* riding about *Milford-Haven*, ſent Ships into *Kings-Road* to block it up by Sea. So that after a brave Defence, the Prince offer'd to ſurrender upon Honourable Articles on the 8th of *September*. But *Fairfax* inſiſting upon his own Propoſitions, Stormed the City in ſeveral Places *September* the 10th, and obliged the Prince to a Surrendry upon hard Conditions *September* the 11th. For which being taxed by ſome who knew not to what Extremities he was reduced, his Highneſs drew up a *Narrative of the State and Condition of the City and Garriſon of* Briſtol *when his Highneſs Prince* Rupert *came thither, and of the Actions during the Siege, and of the Treaties and Rendition thereof:* Which he laid before the King and his Council of War at *Newark October* the 18th, who unanimouſly declared, That he had not been guilty of the leaſt want of Courage or Fidelity in that Action.

Briſtol Surrendered.

We return to the King; who, after the fatal Battle of *Naſeby*, had been driven into *Wales* to recruit his Army: From whence, about the Beginning of *Auguſt*, he advanced with a Body of three thouſand Horſe toward *Litchfield* (*b*). On *Auguſt* the 15th he came to *Welbeck-Houſe*, and was there reinforced with Horſe and Dragoons from *Newark*; with which he was moving Northward, with a Deſign (as generally believed) to join with *Montroſs*, who was by this time Maſter of the Field in *Scotland*. But to prevent that Motion, Major-General *Poyntz* was poſted with above two thouſand Horſe about *Doncaſter* and *Rotherham*; with whom Colonel *Roſſiter* and the *Staffordſhire* and *Derbyſhire* Horſe were haſtening to join. So that his Majeſty finding his Paſſage that way intercepted, turned back Southwards, and fell into the Aſſociated Counties: And having lain one Night at *Belvoir-Caſtle*, made his next Head-Quarters at *Stamford*, and took *Huntingdon* after ſome Oppoſition *Auguſt* the 24th, thence to *Woburn* and *Dunſtable*, and thence to *Oxford* Aug. the 28th, the Day after the Death of the Lord Keeper *Littleton*.

The King recruits his Army.

Marches to *Oxford*

His Majeſty taking out what Forces could be ſpared *Auguſt* 31, marched from *Oxford* to *Cambden*, with Deſign, as the Parliament ſuppos'd, to raiſe the Siege of *Hereford*, then inveſted by General *Leven* and the *Scots*; or *Briſtol*, then beleagur'd by General *Fairfax*. The *Scots*, upon the King's Advance, raiſed their Siege before *Hereford*, and began to march homewards: and ſoon after his Majeſty received the unwelcome News of the Loſs of *Briſtol*; upon which he viſited *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, and *Ludlow*, and advanced to relieve *Cheſter*. Major-General *Poyntz* (who with Colonel *Roſſiter* was commanded by the Parliament to attend the King in his Motions from *Oxford*) followed the King with great Expedition, and on *Routon-Heath*, within two

Thence towards *Hereford*.

(*a*) The fulleſt Account of the fatal Battle of *Naſeby* ſeems to be that given in *A View of the Life and Actions of* Oliver Cromwell. 1660. 8*vo*.

(*b*) See, The King's Letter to his Son the Prince of *Wales*, ordering him to convey himſelf into *France*, and there to be under his Mother's Care, who is to have the abſolute full Power of his Education in all things except Religion, and in that not to meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the Care of his Tutor the Biſhop of *Salisbury*. Dat. *Brecknock*, *Aug.* 5. 1645.

Miles

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Unfortunate at Routon-Heath.

Miles of *Cheſter*, began to engage his Majeſty's Forces, who received them ſo bravely, that they routed the Major, and were in purſuit of him; till Colonel *Jones* and Adjutant *Louthian* having drawn out five hundred Horſe and three hundred Foot from their Leaguer before *Cheſter*, came to his Aſſiſtance, and charging the King's Troops on the other Side, gave *Poyntz*'s Men an opportunity to rally, whereby the King's Forces being obliged to fight in Front and Rear, were defeated, near ſix hundred ſlain upon the Place, among whom *Bertue Stuart* Earl of *Litchfield*, and many Officers and Perſons of Quality, and above a thouſand Soldiers taken, his Majeſty not without difficulty retiring with the Remainder into *Wales*; where he once more recruited, and brought back an Army of about three thouſand fighting Men *Octob.* 2, to *Litchfield*, next Day to *Melburn*, and on the 4th to *Newark*: From whence *Oct.* 12, he marched to *Welbeck*, and drew out twelve hundred Horſe commanded by Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmadyke Langdale*, with Orders to march into *Scotland* and join *Montroſs*. They ſpeedily advanced to *Doncaſter*, took there many Parliament Soldiers, and beat up their Quarters in ſeveral other Towns; ſo proceeded to *Sherborn*, where they routed Colonel *Wren*'s Regiment of Horſe, and took almoſt a thouſand Foot Priſoners. But Colonel *Copley*, with a Party of about 1300, came up to them; upon whoſe Approach, the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke* drew out to meet them, and both Sides charged with extraordinary Gallantry, but *Copley* prevail'd, and recovered all the Foot and Arms, and took about 300 Priſoners, with the Lord *Digby*'s Coach, and his Letters and Papers, which with little Honour were Printed by Order of the two Houſes. After this Misfortune, they ſtill attempted to find a way into *Scotland*, and got very near the Borders, when Sir *John Brown*, Governour of *Carliſle*, with a Party met them about *Carliſle-Sands*, and broke their whole Body, and took many Priſoners, and above 200 Horſe and Arms. After this ſecond Defeat, they ſtill preſs'd on toward *Dumfreeze*: but finding their Paſſage intercepted by *Leſley*, they were glad to find Veſſels to tranſport themſelves to the *Iſle of Man*, and thence to *Ireland*.

The K.'s Affairs in a deſperate Condition.

The King's Intereſt was now ſinking into Ruin and Deſpair in all Parts: After the taking of *Briſtol* nothing could ſtand before the Army of *Fairfax*. The Caſtle of *Devizes*, commanded by Sir *Charles Lloyd*, was taken by *Cromwel September* 23, and *Laicock-Houſe* the ſame Day by Colonel *Pickering*, and *Berkley-Caſtle* by Colonel *Rainsborough September* 26, and *Wincheſter* by *Cromwel October* 5, and *Baſing-Houſe October* 15. Again *Tiverton-Caſtle October* 19, by General *Fairfax*, who after an Attempt upon *Exeter*, help'd to raiſe the Siege of *Plymouth*, and took *Dartmouth* by Storm *January* 18, and then cloſely block'd up *Exeter*, leaving the Command of that Siege to Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, while he himſelf, with the reſt of his Army, march'd off to watch the Motions of the Lord *Hopton*, who being Commander in chief under the Prince, had march'd to *Torrington* with near four thouſand Horſe and three thouſand Foot, expecting there ſome more Recruits from *Barnſtaple*. Here *Fairfax* engaged them, and gave them an abſolute Defeat; and then purſued the only Remains of a Royal Army into *Cornwal*, where the Prince had his own Regiment and other *Corniſh* Troops, that made a Body of about five thouſand Horſe and one thouſand Foot: But, not able to make a Stand againſt the Multitudes that *Fairfax* was pouring on upon him, he embarked with ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen, and found Refuge in the Iſle of *Scilly*. The Royal Army was left under Command of the Lord *Hopton*, who was ſo purſued and preſs'd upon by *Fairfax*, that he was glad to enter on a Treaty, and accept of Articles for disbanding all his Forces *March* 14.

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The Royal Cauſe was equally ſuffering and expiring in all other Parts of *England*. The City of *Hereford* that had bore and eſcaped a Siege from the *Scots*, was ſurpriz'd by a Stratagem under the Conduct of Colonel *Morgan* and Colonel *Birch* Decemb. 8. *Beeſton* Caſtle had been ſurrender'd *Novemb.* 16, and the ſtrong City of *Cheſter* delivered up by the Lord *Byron* into the Parliament's Hands *Feb.* 3. *Newark* (to which the King had retreated at the beginning of *October*) was commanded by the Parliament to be ſoon after beſieg'd by the *Scots* Army; and the King was forced to leave the Town by Night, and to get privately to *Oxford*, where he had leiſure to reflect how fatal the whole Year had been to him: and it concluded with one Blow that ſeemed to cut off all hopes of Recovery; this was the Defeat of the Lord *Aſtley*, who had the only Forces in the Field for the King, about 3000, the greater part Horſe, with whom he was advancing from *Worceſter* toward *Oxford* to join with his Majeſty for helping to make up an Army for the next Campaign; on theſe Troops the poor Royaliſts in *Oxford* built all their Hopes, and therefore ſent out a good Party to meet them and conduct them; but all Intelligence and Paſſages were ſo intercepted by the Enemy, that this Party from *Oxford* could hear nothing of my Lord *Aſtley*'s Motions, till they heard he was utterly defeated *Mar.* 22, near *Stow* in *Glouceſterſhire*, by Colonel *Morgan*, Sir *William Brereton*, Colonel *Birch*, &c. very few eſcap'd towards *Faringdon* and *Oxford*, and many of them taken in the way by Colonel *Fleetwood*. The Lord *Aſtley* himſelf being taken Priſoner, was ſo ſenſible of the Conſequences of this Defeat, that he told one of *Brereton*'s Officers, *You have now done your Work, and may go to Play, unleſs you will fall out among your ſelves.*

The King driven back to *Oxford*.

Lord *Aſtley* defeated.

In the midſt of theſe Victories, the Commons at *Weſtminſter* amuſed the World with Peace, and *Auguſt* 7, took into Conſideration the ſending of Propoſitions to the King, but took care to preclude all Accommodation by theſe two Votes. 1. *That in regard they had met with ſo many Deluſions in the way of Treaty they would henceforth admit of no Treaty nor Debate by Commiſſioners.* 2. *That ſuch Propoſitions as ſhall be ſent ſhall be drawn up into Bills, that ſo the Royal Aſſent being deſired and had thereunto, they may become Acts of Parliament.* Which in effect was to hold no Correſpondence, and to give no Terms but what ſhould be abſolutely impoſed upon a vanquiſh'd Prince. However the King ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes *December* 5, to ſhew *The conſtant Application of his earneſt Endeavours to find ſome Expedient for the ſpeedy ending of theſe unhappy Diſtractions*; and for that purpoſe deſires a ſafe Conduct for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, *John Aſhburnham* and *Jeffry Palmer* Eſquires, with *ſuch Propoſitions as his Majeſty is confident will be the Foundation of a happy and well-grounded Peace*(*a*). His Majeſty ſent another Meſſage in purſuance of the former *Decemb.* 15, and again a third Meſſage with Propoſitions for committing the Militia into other Hands, and for having a perſonal Treaty with the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*. At laſt the Lords and Commons ſent Anſwer *Decemb.* 25, to the two firſt Meſſages, denying ſafe Conduct and Treaty, and ſaying, *They had now under their Conſideration Propoſitions and Bills for the ſettling of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, to be preſented with all ſpeed to his Majeſty.* Many other Meſſages, Anſwers and Replies, paſſed between the King and the two Houſes, to no effect but to ſhew the Inſolence of prevailing Power (*b*). In the King's laſt Meſſage of this Year

Parliament amuſe the Nation with Peace.

The King alone in earneſt for it.

King's gracious Offer.

(*a*) See, The King's Meſſage from *Oxford* to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, again offering his Perſonal Preſence with them, that the Government of the Church may be Settled as it was in the time of the Happy and Glorious Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, with full Liberty for the Eaſe of their Conſciences who will not communicate in that Service eſtabliſh'd by Law, &c. 15, *Jan.* 1645. *Works of King* Charles, p. 106.

(*b*) See, A Collection of his Majeſty's Gracious Meſſages for Peace ſent to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter* ſince the 5th of *December* 1645, to *January* 15*th*, with their Anſwers: Commanded by the King to be Publiſhed in all Churches and Chapels. Printed at *Oxford*. 4*to*. 1646.

March

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March 23, his Majeſty propoſed, that if he may have the Faith of both Houſes of Parliament for the Preſervation of his Honour, Perſon and Eſtate; and that Liberty be given to his Adherents to go home and live quietly, enjoying their Eſtates without Oaths impoſed upon them, he will immediately diſband all his Forces, and diſmantle all his Garriſons, and return to his two Houſes of Parliament, and paſs an Act of Oblivion, and *will farther do whatever they will adviſe him for the Good and Peace of this Kingdom.* But theſe offers of the utmoſt Condeſcenſion, ſerved only to animate the prevailing Party in Parliament, who now look'd upon the King as their Priſoner, tho' in his own Garriſon at *Oxford.*

State of Religion.

As to the Confuſions in Religion, the Aſſembly of Divines on *March* 27, came with a farther Addreſs to the Houſe of Commons, touching the Non-Admiſſion of vicious and ignorant Perſons to the Sacrament. This occaſion'd ſeveral Debates in the Houſe of Commons, who order'd *April* 1, *That the Aſſembly ſhould ſet down in Particular, what meaſure of Underſtanding Perſons ought to have of the Trinity, and other Points debated, before they be admitted to the Sacrament.* In theſe Debates Mr. *Selden* and Mr. *Whitlock* in ſet Speeches deliver'd their Opinion againſt all Power of Excommunication and Suſpenſion from the Sacrament; the firſt beginning with this Aſſertion, *That for four thouſand Years there was no ſign of any Law to ſuſpend Perſons from Religious Exerciſes*; and concluding thus: *It appears Excommunication is but Humane Invention that was taken from the Heathen.*

Debates in the Aſſembly of Divines.

Bp. *Morton* Impriſoned.

April 7, the aged excellent Biſhop *Morton* was brought before the Commons, for Chriſtning a Child in the old way, and ſigning it with the Sign of the Croſs; and refuſing to deliver up his Seal of the County Palatine of *Durham*, he was committed to the *Tower* (*a*).

Triers for the Miniſtry.

April 26, an Ordinance paſſed, that *no Perſon be admitted to Preach, who is not Ordained a Miniſter, either in this or ſome other Reformed Church, except ſuch as intending the Miniſtry ſhall be allowed for the Trial of their Gifts, by thoſe who ſhall be appointed by both Houſes of Parliament* (*b*). The great Buſineſs of the Aſſembly was an Eccleſiaſtical Union with their Brethren in *Scotland*; and therefore *May* 6, a Preamble to the Proceedings in Church-Affairs to be ſent into *Scotland*, was preſented by the Aſſembly to the Commons, and aſſented to; and it was farther Order'd, *That all the Proceedings of the Parliament and Aſſembly, in the Buſineſs of the Church, ſhould be drawn up and ſent into* Scotland. We hear no more of the Aſſembly till *July* 14, when they preſented to the Commons a Book which they had examined and found to be full of Blaſphemies and Hereſies, and though the Author was dead, they deſire the Houſe to put ſome publick Example of Juſtice upon the Book. The Houſe referred it to the Committee of Examinations to find out the Printer, and order'd that all the Books ſhould be brought in by the Bookſellers, and burnt by the Hangman, and gave Thanks to the Aſſembly for their Care in this Buſineſs, or rather for their ſordid Submiſſion of Heretical Books to the better Judgment of the Lay Commons.

Correſpondence with *Scots* Brethren.

Cenſuring of Books.

Auguſt 1, ſome Divines of the Aſſembly preſented a Petition to the Commons in the Name of the Aſſembly, deſiring *ſpeedy courſe might be taken to keep from the Sacrament Ignorant, Scandalous, and Prophane People.* The Speaker in the Name of the Houſe gave anſwer, *That the Houſe was in Debate of the ſame Buſineſs long before their coming, and that they would expedite it with as much conveniency as could be.* It was debated by the Commons *Aug.* 5, whether Chapels of Eaſe and thoſe in private Houſes ſhould not be exempted from the Church in the Presbyterial way, upon occaſion of the Ordinance ſent up to the Lords for ſettling the Form of Presbytery. *Aug.* 8, the Aſſembly ſent another Petition to the Commons, inſiſting upon their Claim of *Jure Divino* Power to ſuſpend from the Sacrament all ſuch as they ſhould judge to be Scandalous or Ignorant. And a new Petition *Auguſt* 11, for puniſhing ſuch as derogated from the Directory, or uſed the Common-Prayer Book, which by *Aug.* 23, procured a new Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for the "More effectual putting in execution "the Directory for publick Worſhip, and for bringing in all Common-Prayer Books to the Committees of the reſpective Counties, to be diſpoſed of "as the Parliament ſhall direct." His Majeſty at *Oxford* by Proclamation dated *Novemb.* 13, required and commanded the "Common-Prayer to be kept "and uſed in all Churches and Chapels according to "the Statute of 1 Q. *Eliz.* and that the Directory "be in no ſort admitted, received or uſed, being "introduc'd by colour of Ordinance of Parliament, "made without and againſt our Conſent, and againſt an expreſs Act of Parliament ſtill in force." But, alas, the Proclamation was rather Proteſting for a Right than Aſſerting of it. The Force of the King's Order could go no farther than that of his Arms, confined to *Oxford*, and a very few other ſmall Garriſons.

1645. 21 *Car.* I.

Ordinance for the Directory

K.'s Proclamation for the Liturgy.

Aug. 20, it was order'd by the Commons, that no Foreign Impreſſion of *Engliſh* Bibles ſhould be vended here without peruſal and allowance of the Aſſembly. And upon occaſion of the Penalties that were to attend a Suſpenſion from the Sacrament, it was voted *Sept.* 6, *That the Presbytery ſhould not meddle with any thing of* Meum *and* Tuum, *till it were determined by the Civil Magiſtrate.* And they began now to be ſo jealous of a Presbyterian Diſcipline, that the Houſe being informed of an intended *Petition for eſtabliſhing Presbytery*, they voted it *Scandalous* even before they received it. And *October* 15, they reſolved, That the Presbytery ſhould not ſuſpend from the Sacrament at their own Diſcretion, but for ſuch Offences only as ſhould be particularly expreſſed in an Ordinance made for that purpoſe; which Ordinance was paſſed by the two Houſes *October* 20, giving Power to the *ſeveral Elderſhips to ſuſpend from the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper all Ignorant and Scandalous Perſons, according to the Rules and Directions hereafter following, and not otherwiſe* (*c*). So that the Presbyterians who had often objected to the Epiſcopal Clergy their want of Power to ſuſpend unworthy Communicants, were now themſelves under greater reſtraint; for more Authority was left by the Rubrick of the Liturgy to every private Miniſter, than was reſerved by this Ordinance to the Claſſical Aſſemblies. (*d*)

Parliament afraid of electing Presbytery.

Reſtrain the power of Presbyters.

Novemb. 8, an Ordinance long depending was paſſed for the *Ordination of Miniſters*, declaring, That the Word *Presbyter* and the Word *Biſhop* in Scripture ſignifie one and the ſame Function, and therefore Presbyters being lawfully thereunto appointed and authorized may ordain other Presbyters, according to the Rules of Examination and Faſting and Praying, and Impoſition of Hands in this Ordinance preſcribed. Provided, that this Ordinance ſhall ſtand in force for twelve Months and no longer: And indeed one twelve Months ſpace was the utmoſt Reign of Presbytery and all the Parts of it.

Ordinance for Ordaining Miniſters.

The Model of this Presbyterian Government was not yet eſtabliſh'd, nor were the Lords or Commons much Friends to it, though to hold fair with the

Parliament aw'd by the *Scots* into a Settlement of Presbyters.

(*a*) See, *Whitlock's Memoirs.* P. 136.

(*b*) See, A juſt Vindication of this Ordinance forbidding Perſons not Ordained to Preach from ſuch malignant Interpretations, as ſome faſten on it. Publiſhed according to Order. *London.* 1645. 4*to.*

(*c*) See, Rules and Directions agreed upon concerning Suſpenſion from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Caſes of Ignorance and Scandal. Dat. 20, *Octob.* 1645, with the Names of ſuch Miniſters, and others, that are appointed Tryers and Judges of the Ability of Elders in the twelve Claſſes within the Province of *London.* Printed 1645. 4*to.*

(*d*) See, The Deſires of the Diſſenting Brethren in the Aſſembly of Divines againſt the Ordinance for ſettling the Presbyterian Government, preſented in a Paper *Decemb.* 4. 1645, in *The Grand Debate.* 4*to.* 1652. p. 171.

Scots

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Scots, and to humour the *Aſſembly*, they now had it under Conſideration, and framed it into an Ordinance before the end of the Year. But in the mean time they often betray'd their Fears and Jealouſies of it. For when *Novemb.* 19, the Common-Council of *London* petition'd the Houſe of Commons, that *the Government of the Church might be ſpeedily ſettled and obſerved, and greater Power might be given to the Miniſters and Elders than was eſtabliſhed by the Parliament, according to the Word of God:* The Houſe order'd a ſharp Anſwer to be penn'd to this effect, that *the Houſe had taken much pains in debating and ſettling of Church Government, and they conceived the City and Common Council were informed falſely of their Proceedings, or elſe they would not have precipitated the Judgment of the Parliament.* And when another Petition of the ſame Import was delivered from divers Miniſters of *London*, they referred it to a Committee to find out the Deſign of the Petition, and who were the Advancers thereof; and then ſent out two of their Members to the Petitioners to tell them, They *need not attend for any Anſwer, but ſhould go home and look to the Charges of their ſeveral Congregations.*

Parliament reward the Aſſembly.

However to pleaſe the Aſſembly, the Commons ordered *Decemb.* 4, that one hundred Pounds ſhould be given to the Prolocutor Dr. *Twiſs* for a Gratuity, and that the Members ſhould have all due Encouragement to meet daily, and proceed upon the Catechiſm. But the Faction within the Aſſembly it ſelf between the Presbyterians and Independents, was now growing into ſuch a ferment, that *Decemb.* 11, the Presbyterian Divines came to the Houſe of Commons to inform them, that a printed Paper in the nature of a Remonſtrance was publiſhed by the Diſſenting Brethren of their Aſſembly, which they conceived to be ſcandalous to them, and therefore deſired they might make an Anſwer to it. The Houſe named a Committee to peruſe the Remonſtrance, and conſider of the Scandal of it, and to enquire by what Authority it was publiſh'd. *Dec.* 31, the Commons order'd Mr. *Strong* one of the Preachers that Day before them, to be added to the *Aſſembly*, and gave one hundred Pounds to Mr. *Reynolds*; and on *Feb.* 16, they appointed a Day to conſider of the Petition of the Aſſembly for ſettling the Presbyterian Government; wherein they were quicken'd with a Letter from the Parliament of *Scotland*, read *Feb.* 26, deſiring the ſpeedy ſettling of Religion, according to the Judgment and Requeſt of the *Aſſembly of Divines*. Upon which the Commons proceeded in this Church Buſineſs *de die in diem*, and ſent up to the Lords an Ordinance *Mar.* 5, which was paſſed *Mar.* 14, wherein they declare, that by the merciful Aſſiſtance of God having removed the Book of Common-Prayer, and eſtabliſhed the Directory; and having aboliſhed the Prelatical Hierarchy, and inſtead thereof laid the Foundation of a Presbyterial Government; they come now to ſupply the Defects of ſome former Ordinances and Directions of Parliament; and do ordain, 1. That there be a choice made of Elders throughout the Kingdom of *Engl.* according to the Directions of *Aug.* 19. 2. That notice of ſuch Election be given by the Miniſter in the publick Aſſembly. 3. That ſuch Elections be made by the major part of the Congregation, being ſuch as have taken the Covenant. 4. That there ſhall be Triers of Elections to hear and determine all Controverſies thence ariſing. And ſo on to three and twenty ſeveral Articles of Proviſion, that after all the Pretenſions and Title of Presbytery, made it rather a Scheme of *Eraſtian* Government, at the pleaſure of the Magiſtrate, and under the Adminiſtration of the People. (*a*)

Great quarrel between the Preſbyterian and Independant Divines.

Presbytery at laſt ſettled or rather an *Eraſtian* Form.

But one good Motion and that defeated.

One little Attempt was made by the *Aſſembly* for the promoting of Letters and the Study of the Scriptures. They ſent a Petition by ſome of their Brethren to the Commons *March* 13, that Mr. *Patrick Young* might be encouraged in the Printing of the Greek Teſtament, much expected and deſired by the Learned, eſpecially beyond the Seas: And ſeemed to prevail for having an Ordinance read that Day, *for Printing and Publiſhing the old Teſtament of the Septuagint Tranſlation, wherein Mr.* Young *had formerly taken Pains, having in his Hands as Library-Keeper of St.* James's *an Original* Tecla *Bible of that Tranſlation.* But though under the proſpect of this Encouragement Mr. *Young* made ſome progreſs in theſe Works, yet Religion and Learning were ſo little countenanc'd by the Parliament and Aſſembly, that they never more called for the performance of them, and they were left unfiniſhed by Mr. *Young* at his Death in 1652.

The Conſcience and Honour of the King in charging the Prince to be conſtant in his Religion, does appear in ſeveral Letters written by his Majeſty under his greateſt Misfortunes and Diſtreſſes. In a Letter to the Lord *Colepepper* about the beginning of *October*, the King wrote thus: —— *But that which is of more neceſſity, indeed abſolute, is, that with the beſt Conveniency, the moſt ſecrecy and greateſt Expedition, Prince* Charles *be tranſported into* France; *where his Mother is to have the ſole care of him in all things but one, which is his Religion, and that muſt ſtill be under the Care of the Biſhop of* Salisbury: *And this I undertake his Mother ſhall ſubmit unto.* Soon after the King, being ſenſible of the Temptations and Dangers in the Court of *France*, commanded him to tranſport himſelf into *Denmark*, as a Proteſtant Kingdom. After which, the Prince being in *Jerſey*, the King thought him to be in *France*; and being much afraid he might be tamper'd with to change his Religion, he ſent him this Letter, dated at *Oxford*, *Mar.* 22. 1645.

Charles,

Hoping that this will find you ſafe with your Mother, I think fit to write this ſhort, but neceſſary, Letter to you. Then know, that your being where you are, ſafe from the Power of Rebels, is under God, either my greateſt Security, or my certain Ruin. For your Conſtancy to Religion, Obedience to me, and to the Rules of Honour, will make theſe inſolent Men begin to hearken to Reaſon, when they ſhall ſee their Injuſtice not like to be crown'd with Quiet: But if you depart from thoſe Grounds for which I have all this time fought, then your leaving this Kingdom will be (with too much probability) called ſufficient Proof for many of the Slanders heretofore laid upon me. Wherefore once again I command you, upon my Bleſſing, to be conſtant to your Religion, neither hearkning to Romiſh *Superſtitions, nor the ſeditious and ſchiſmatical Doctrines of the Presbyterians and Independents; for know, that a perſecuted Church is not thereby leſs Pure, tho' leſs Fortunate.* (*b*)

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The King's Intereſt was now reduced to ſo low an Ebb, that it was impoſſible for him to take the Field. The two Houſes therefore had no apprehenſion of Danger, but from his coming in Perſon to *Weſtminſter*, and preſſing them to Peace and Reconciliation;

(*a*) They were come by this time to Nothing, but the moſt frivolous and the moſt angry Diſputes. See a Reply of the Sub-Committee of the Aſſembly of Divines, to an Anſwer brought in to the Committee of Lords and Commons, and ſome of the Aſſembly for Accommodation, *December* 23. 1645. in the Grand Debate. 4*to*. p. 43.

See an Exhorbitation to Peace and Unity, in a Letter to the Rev. Pious and Learned Aſſembly of Divines conveen'd at *Weſtminſter* by the Authority of Parliament for Conſultation in Maſters of Religion, by *Phil. Freſher.* Dat. *Lond.* 23. *Mar.* 1646. 4*to*.

(*b*) All manner of old and new Sects and Parties, began to hold up their Head, and expect a Liberty of Enthuſiaſm or Madneſs. See a brief Diſcovery of the blaſphemous Doctrine of *Familiſme*, firſt conceived and brought forth into the World, by one *Henry Nicholas*, of the Low Countries of *Germany*, about a hundred Years ago, and now very boldly taught by one Mr. *Randal*, and ſundry others in and about the City of *London*, whom Multitudes of People follow, and which Doctrine many embrace. *London* 1645. 4*to*.

So *Arians* and *Anti-Trinitarians*. See a Report made to the Houſe of Commons, by the Committee for Plundered Miniſters, of the Blaſphemies of one *Paul Beſt*, who denied the Holy Trinity, *January* 28. 1645.——Order for an Ordinance to be brought in to puniſh him with Death.——Again *March* 28. 1646. Debates in the Houſe of Commons upon the Blaſphemies of *Paul Beſt*,——Order for Divines to confer with him,——and that a Charge be prepared againſt him. *Whitlock's Memoirs*, 196, 204, 205, &c.

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ciliation; which they had the greater Reaſon to expect, becauſe he had ſent them repeated Offers of a perſonal Treaty with them. But not daring to truſt themſelves and the People with the Sight of the King, they paſſed ſeveral Votes *Mar.* 31, to this effect: *That in caſe the King ſhould, contrary to the Advice of both Houſes of Parliament, come or attempt to come within the Lines of Communication, that then the Committee of the Militia and Guards about the City ſhould conduct him to St.* James's, *and prevent all reſort to him, and Impriſon all that ſhould preſume to come with him.* So as the King found he could not go to the Parliament without being their Priſoner, nor could he long continue ſafe in his Garriſon at *Oxford,* for his ſtrong Caſtle of *Dennington* was Surrendred to the Parliament Forces *April* 1, as *Woodſtock* was by neceſſity given up *Apr.* 26, and *Exeter,* Beſieged by the Army of *Fairfax,* was glad to yield upon Articles *Apr.* 9, and *Barnſtaple* Apr. 12. And *Fairfax,* fluſh'd with irreſiſtible Succeſs, was now marching to Beſiege *Oxford.* Under theſe Extremities his Majeſty reſolved to throw himſelf into the Hands of the *Scots* Army that lay before *Newark,* communicating his Deſign to the Marqueſs of *Ormond* in a Letter dated *Apr.* 13, in theſe Words; *Having lately received very good Security that We, and all that do or ſhall adhere to us, ſhall be ſafe in our Perſons, Honours, and Conſciences, in the* Scotiſh *Army; and that they ſhall really and effectually join with us, and ſhall employ their Armies and Forces to aſſiſt us to the procuring of an happy and well grounded Peace, for the good of us and our Kingdoms, in the Recovery of our juſt Right; we have reſolved to put Ourſelves to the hazard of paſſing into the* Scots *Army now lying before* Newark. The King had the greater reaſon to truſt to this Security that he ſays was given to him, becauſe the Animoſities between the *Engliſh* Parliament and the *Scots* Commiſſioners and Army were very high. The *Scots* had in a manner proteſted againſt the Propoſitions which the two Houſes were ſending to the King, and had as it were appeal'd to the People, by Printing their Papers. At which the Houſes were ſo incenſed, that they concurr'd in a joint Vote, *That the Matter contained in the ſaid Papers was falſe and ſcandalous againſt the Parliament of* England; *That they ſhould be burnt by the common Hangman; That a Declaration ſhould be drawn up to hold forth to the whole World the Untruths therein contained, and the Innocency and Integrity of the Parliament; and that the Author or Publiſher was an Incendiary between the two Kingdoms.* Which harſh Proceeding was ſuch a Breach of the Union between the two Covenanted Nations, that like *Herod* and *Pilate,* nothing but trading for the Perſon of their Maſter could have made them Friends.

The Parl. afraid of the K.'s coming to them.

The King propoſes to throw himſelf upon the *Scots* Army.

Had ſome reaſon to truſt them.

The King leaves *Oxford.*

Upon the Approach of *Fairfax* toward *Newberry,* his Majeſty, on *Monday* April 27, about Midnight left *Oxford* in Diſguiſe, in Company only of Dr. *Hudſon* a Divine, and Mr. *John Aſhburham,* riding as a Servant to the latter with a Cloak-bag behind him. They went to *Henley, Brentford,* and *Harrow on the Hill,* thence toward St. *Albans,* making their Way to *Harborough* in *Leiceſterſhire,* where they expected Monſieur *Montril* the *French* Agent (*a*); who failing in his Appointment, his Majeſty went to *Stamford,* thence to *Downham* in *Norfolk,* where he lay from *Thurſday* April 30, to *Monday* May 4, then to *Southwell,* where meeting with the *French* Agent, he ſent to General *Leven,* and was conducted by a Troop of Horſe to Lieutenant General *David Leſley*'s Quarters on *Tueſday* May 5. A Deſign managed with ſo much Secrecy, that thoſe at *Oxford,* though they ſoon knew his Majeſty was gone, could not gueſs whither he intended his Courſe; but it was generally reported he was gone to *London.* This ſo alarm'd the two Houſes, that they publiſhed an Order, *May* 4, that *what Perſon ſoever ſhould harbour and conceal, or know of the harbouring or concealing of the King's Perſon, and ſhould not immediately reveal it to the Speakers of both Houſes, ſhould be proceeded againſt as a Traitor to the Commonwealth, forfeit his whole Eſtate and die without Mercy.*

The Parl. afraid.

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On the 6th of *May* the two Houſes received Intelligence from Colonel *Poyntz* and their Commiſſioners before *Newark,* that the King was in the *Scots* Army. Upon which the Commons voted, That the Commiſſioners and General of the *Scots* Army be deſired, that his Majeſty's Perſon be diſpoſed of as both Houſes ſhall deſire and direct; and that his Majeſty be thence diſpoſed of and ſent to *Warwick* Caſtle.

General *Leven* immediately prevail'd with the King to ſend Order to the Lord *Bellaſis* Governour of *Newark* to ſurrender it to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament; which was done by Articles ſign'd the 6th of *May.* And the ſame Day the *Scotch* General ſent Letters to the Committee of both Kingdoms at *Weſtminſter* to inform them of the *ſtrange Providence with which they are now ſurpriz'd, the King coming into their Army yeſterday in ſo private a way, that after they had made ſearch for him, they could not find him out in ſundry Houſes: A Matter of much Aſtoniſhment to them, ſeeing they did not expect he would have come in any Place under their Power.*

Hypocriſy of the *Scots.*

May 7, the *Scots* Army, with their unexpected Prize, took their March Northward, his Majeſty being with Lieutenant-General *Leſly* in the Van of them; and on *May* 13, came to *Newcaſtle,* where his Majeſty took up his Reſidence in the General's Quarters. On *May* 25, the Committee of Eſtates with the *Scots* Army ſent to the two Houſes a Paper of Reaſons for not delivering up Colonel *Aſhburnham* and Dr. *Hudſon* the King's Guides. His Majeſty on *May* 18, ſent a Meſſage to the two Houſes, offering all poſſible Conceſſions, and deſiring to *return to his Parliament for his and their mutual Comfort;* and next Day a Letter to the City of *London,* expreſſing his *Integrity and full Reſolution to comply with his Parliaments in every thing for ſettling Truth and Peace, that his Return to that his antient City may be to the Satiſfaction of his Parliament, the good liking of his Citizens, and all his good People, and to his own greater Joy and Comfort.* And again *June* 10, another Meſſage to both Houſes, propoſing that *He may come to* London *with Safety, Freedom, and Honour, where he reſolves to comply with his Houſes of Parliament in every thing which may be moſt for the Good of his Subjects.* But this unfortunate Prince was now in ſuch a helpleſs ſtate, that neither would the *Scots* Army deliver him, nor the *Engliſh* Parliament receive him, but for a Victim to their mutual Deſigns of Avarice and Empire.

The King carried to *Newcaſtle.*

Sends a Meſſage of Peace.

His unhappy Condition.

General *Fairfax* came a ſecond time before *Oxford* with his victorious Army *May* 1, and prepared for the cloſe Siege of it, and ſent to Sir *Thomas Glenham* the Governour, to demand the Surrendry of it; who entred on a Treaty *May* 18, and receiving his Majeſty's Warrant dated at *Newcaſtle* June 10, did Surrender upon honourable Articles *June* 29. Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* taking Ship at *Dover* and going over into *France,* where the Prince of *Wales* was alſo retired from the Iſle of *Jerſey,* the Duke of *York* being brought up to St. *James*'s.

Oxford Surrendred.

The few remaining Garriſons for the King made the like Terms of Surrendry; *Worceſter* on *July* 19, *Wallingford* July 22, *Pendennis* Caſtle *Aug.* 16, and *Ragland* Caſtle *Aug.* 17. So that there was not now one Garriſon in *England* or *Wales* remaining, but what was reduced to the Power of the two Houſes, ſave only thoſe in the *North,* which remained in the Hands of the *Scots.*

And alſo other Garriſons.

And therefore the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* thought their only Buſineſs was now to get Poſſeſſion of the King's Perſon, and to get a fair Riddance of the *Scots* Army. In order to this, they enter'd into many Conferences with the Commiſſioners for the

Engliſh Parl. weary of the *Scots* Army.

(*a*) See the Intrigues of this *French* Agent in waiting on the King, and undertaking for his Safety in the *Scots* Army. Cox Hiſt. *Ireland,* P. xi. p. 164.

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Kingdom of *Scotland*, and agreed with them upon what they called Propoſitions for Peace *June* 27. Gen. *Leven* and his Officers the ſame Day preſenting a mock Petition to the King, *Praying his Majeſty to compaſſionate the diſtreſſed Condition of his Kingdoms groaning under the heavy Preſſures of manifold Calamities occaſioned by the Continuance of this unnatural War; and to comply with the Counſels of his Parliaments.* The King returned Anſwer, that *He came into the* Scotiſh *Army with full intent of ſettling a happy Peace, and to ſatisfy the juſt Deſires of his good Subjects, and to comply with his Parliaments in all things which ſhall be for the Good of Religion, and the Happineſs of his People.*

Deſirous of the K.'s Perſon.

Votes againſt the *Scots.*

The Commons were more and more afraid of the good Meaning of the *Scots*, and therefore boldly voted *July* 6, that this Kingdom hath no farther need of the *Scotch* Army, and that the Kingdom is unable to pay them longer; and that therefore a Letter ſhould be ſent from both Houſes to the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, to deſire them to withdraw their Army into *Scotland.*

Propoſitions of Peace.

On *Monday* July 13, the Propoſitions for Peace were ſent to his Majeſty at *Newcaſtle* by the E. of *Pembroke*, the E. of *Suffolk*, Peers, and Sir *Walter Erle*, Sir *John Hippeſley*, Kts. *Rob. Goodwin*, *Luke Robinſon*, Eſqs. Commoners; Mr. *Marſhal* attending them as Chaplain. Theſe Propoſitions were, 1. By Act of Parliament to make null all Oaths, Declarations, and Proclamations, againſt both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, who have been neceſſitated to undertake a War in their juſt and lawful Defence. 2. That his Majeſty ſwear and ſign the late Solemn League and Covenant. 3. That a Bill be paſſed for the utter aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy. 4. That the Ordinances for the Aſſembly of Divines be confirmed. 5. That Reformation of Religion be ſettled according to the Covenant. 6. That both Kingdoms be brought to Uniformity of Religion, according to the Covenant. 7. That an Oath be adminiſtred to all Papiſts to renounce the Doctrines of Supremacy, Tranſubſtantiation, *&c.* 8. An Act for the Education of Children of Papiſts in the Proteſtant Religion. 9. An Act for the true Levy of all Penalties againſt Papiſts. 10. An Act to prevent ſaying Maſs in the Court. —— That ſuch Perſons (to a very great number) ſhall expect no Pardon: That the King ſhould part with the Power of the Militia, and the Cuſtody of the *Tower of London*: And, in ſhort, an entire Change of the ancient Government in Church and State.

Hard and unreaſonable.

The Commiſſioners not impower'd to Treat.

The Commiſſioners brought theſe Propoſitions to *Newcaſtle* on *Thurſday* July 23, and on the Day after were admitted to his Majeſty's Preſence, and kiſs'd his Hand. The King firſt demanded, *If they had any Power to Treat?* To which they anſwering *No*; his Majeſty replied, *Then ſaving the Honour of the Buſineſs, an honeſt Trumpeter might have done as much.* Then Mr. *Goodwin* read the Propoſitions, to which his Majeſty hearkned attentively, and at the end of Reading, ſaid, *Gentlemen, I hope you do not expect a very ſpeedy Anſwer, becauſe the Buſineſs is of high Concernment.* The Earl of *Pembroke* anſwer'd, That *they were limited not to ſtay above ten days after their coming to that Town, and muſt then return.* His Majeſty replied, that *he would diſpatch them in convenient time*: and ſo for the preſent diſmiſs'd them.

King's Anſwer.

Aug. 1, his Majeſty deliver'd his Anſwer in Writing to the Commiſſioners, directed to the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore* to be communicated: wherein he told them, "That the Propoſitions "tendred to him did import ſo great Alterations in "Government, both in the Church and Kingdom, "that it was difficult to return a particular and po"ſitive Anſwer before a full Debate: to which end "his Majeſty deſireth and propoſeth to come to "*London*, or any of his Houſes thereabouts; where "by his perſonal Preſence he may not only raiſe a "mutual Confidence between him and his People, "but alſo have theſe Doubts cleared, and theſe "Difficulties explained unto him, which he now "conceives to be deſtructive to his juſt Regal Pow"er, if he ſhall give a full Conſent to theſe Propo"ſitions as they now ſtand."

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Engliſh Parliament to Purchaſe,

This Anſwer was Reported to the Houſe of Commons *Aug.* 12, and the Counſels to be now taken were how to bring up the King into ſafer Cuſtody, and how to ſend the *Scots* into their own Country. And therefore the Day following, the Houſe of Commons, upon Conſideration of a Paper delivered to the Lords by the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, voted, that *the Sum of a hundred thouſand Pounds ſhould be provided for the Advance of the* Scots *Army into* Scotland. And did reſolve, that *this Houſe do well and thankfully approve of their good Affections and Zeal to this Kingdom, and their Offer to deliver up our Garriſons and depart the Kingdom. That their Arrears ſhall be audited, and in convenient time paid.* So they began to reckon with them: The *Scots* demanded two Millions from the 18th of *Jan.* 1643, to the 18th of *Septemb.* 1646. The Parliament accounted for one Million four hundred thouſand Pounds already paid; but the *Scots* excepted to ſeveral Particulars in the Account, and offer'd to accept of a Sum in groſs for a full Diſcharge of their Arrears, to be agreed on by Commiſſioners; who concluded on four hundred thouſand Pounds; of which one Moiety to be paid before their going home, and the other within ſtated terms.

Scots Army to Sell the King.

Price agreed upon.

The delivering up the King was a tacit Condition of this Agreement: therefore *Sept.* 18, the Commons took into Conſideration how his Majeſty's Perſon ſhould be diſpoſed of; and voted, 1. That whatſoever Conſultation and Debate the *Scots* Commiſſioners ſhould have concerning his Majeſty's Perſon, it ſhould not impede the March of the *Scots* Armies out of this Kingdom, nor violate or trench upon the Treaties between both Nations. 2. That his Majeſty ſhall be diſpoſed of as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſhould think fit. Upon this, the *Scots* Commiſſioners put in their Claim to a joint Right of diſpoſing of his Majeſty's Perſon; and ſeveral Conferences were held upon this Matter, and many long Papers paſs'd upon it: the *Scots* inſiſting upon a Right in his Perſon who was King of *Scotland* as well as of *England*; and the *Engliſh* keeping to this Aſſertion, *We do affirm, that the Kingdom of* Scotland *hath no Right of joint Exerciſe of Intereſt in diſpoſing the Perſon of the King, in the Kingdom of* England. The Parliament of *England* truſted to this Argument, that the *Scots* Army would not carry away the King to looſe their Contract of four hundred thouſand Pounds; and that they ſhould receive no part of it without delivering up their Security the King's Perſon.

Difficulty of making good the Bargain.

By Loan from the City, upon the Credit of a Sale of Church-Lands, the Sum of two hundred thouſand Pounds was ready at *Goldſmiths-Hall* by *Novemb.* 27, and being ſoon after ſent into the North, it was very well known that the Perſon of the King was to be given for a *Scotch* Receipt to the *Engliſh.* The King ſenſible of the Price ſet upon him, ſent one more Meſſage *Decemb.* 20, to the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter*, and the *Scots* Commiſſioners at *London*, for a Perſonal Treaty; concluding thus, "'Tis your King who deſires to be heard, (the "which if refuſed to a Subject by a King, he would "be thought a Tyrant for it) and for that End "which all Men profeſs to deſire. Wherefore his "Majeſty conjures you, as you deſire to ſhew your "ſelves really what you profeſs, even as you are "good Chriſtians and Subjects, that you will ac"cept this his offer, which he is confident God will "ſo bleſs, that it will be the readieſt Means by "which theſe Kingdoms may again become a Com"fort to their Friends and a Terrour to their Ene"mies." And his Majeſty diſcovering the Intrigues carried on, gave in ſeveral *Queries* to the *Scots* Commiſſioners then attending upon him; who declined all Anſwer, till they received a Letter and Declaration from the Parliament of *Scotland* to the Parliament of *Engl.* expreſſing their Conſent and Reſolution

King ſends another Meſſage in vain.

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to concur with them in diſpoſal of the King's Perſon.

Lords and Commons differ about cuſtody of the King's Perſon.

There was ſome Diſpute between the Lords and Commons as well as between the two Nations, about the Cuſtody of the King. The Lords voted *December* 22, that the King may come to *Newmarket*, there to remain with ſuch Attendants as both Houſes ſhall appoint. But the Commons voted, that *Holmby-Houſe* in *Northamptonſhire*, would be a Place moſt fit for his Majeſty to abide with ſuch Attendants; to which the Lords agreed, pretending to provide, that his coming thither ſhould be with reſpect to the Safety and Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon, and in Preſervation and Defence of the true Religion, the Commons adding this Explication, *According to the Covenant*. So Commiſſioners of both Houſes were named to go down to receive the King from the *Scots*, and to bring him to *Holmby*; of the Lords the Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and Lord *Mountague*; of the Commons Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Cook*, Mr. *John Crew* and Major General *Brown*, who ſet out from *London* Jan. 13, and came to *Newcaſtle* Jan. 23, and having all kiſs'd the King's Hand, the Earl of *Pembroke* told his Majeſty, *They were commanded by both Houſes of Parliament to attend him to* Holmby. The King betray'd no ill Reſentment nor any Surprize, but only enquired of the Goodneſs of the Ways: Yet he could not but take to Heart the baſe Dealing of the *Scots*, and took occaſion to tell their chief Leaders *Jan.* 28, that *he had often deſired to go into* Scotland, that *he came into their Army for Protection, but now perceived they were not willing he ſhould go with them*; he deſir'd to know *how they would diſpoſe of him, and to whom they would deliver him?* After withdrawing they came back and told his Majeſty, "They had conſider'd "of his Speech, and ſince his Majeſty had refuſed "to take the Covenant and ſign the Propoſitions, "they were to deliver him to the Commiſſioners "of both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, "who were come to attend him to *Holmby*."

The King delivered up to the Parliament.

Carried to *Holmby*.

On *Saturday* Jan. 30, (a Day of Impriſonment that within two Years became the Day of his Martyrdom) the *Scots* marched out of *Newcaſtle*, and the Parliament Commiſſioners received the King into their Charge, and conducted him to *Holmby*, where he arrived on *Tueſday* Feb. 16.

Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

The Parliament's firſt General the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had choſe rather to decline their Service than to deſert it; and was in his own Judgment too deſirous of Peace to be made the prime Inſtrument of War, was reſerv'd and melancholy at the preſent poſture of Affairs, and ſo in a viſible Diſcontent departed this Life at *Eſſex* Houſe in the *Strand* Sept. 14. of which the two Houſes having notice the next day, they both immediately adjourn'd to the morrow, and then order'd that each Houſe ſhould accompany the Corps to the Grave, and aſſiſt at the Celebration of his Funeral Rites, towards which they appointed 5000 *l.* to be paid to his Executors for defraying the Charges thereof; which was celebrated with extraordinary State on *October* 22. His Body was interr'd in ———————, the Funeral Sermon preach'd by Mr. *Vines*; his Character better drawn by the Lord *Clarendon*. "The Earl of *Eſſex* died without being "ſenſible of Sickneſs, in a time when he might "have been able to have undone much of the Miſ"chief he had formerly wrought, to which he had "great Inclinations, and had Indignation enough "for the Indignities himſelf had received from the "ungrateful Parliament, and wonderful Apprehen"ſion and Deteſtation of the Ruin he ſaw likely "to befal the King and the Kingdom. And it is "very probable, conſidering the preſent Temper of "the City at that time, and of the two Houſes, he "might, if he had lived, have given ſome Check "to the Rage and Fury that then prevail'd. But "God would not ſuffer a Man, who out of the Pride "and Vanity of his Nature, rather than the Wick"edneſs of his Heart, had been made an Inſtru"ment of ſo much Miſchief, to have any ſhare in ſo "glorious a Work. Though his Conſtitution and "Temper might very well incline him to the Lethar"gick Indiſpoſition of which he died, yet it was "loudly ſaid by many of his Friends that he was "Poiſoned. Sure it is, that *Cromwell* and his Party "(for he was now declared Head of the Army, tho' "*Fairfax* continued General in Name) were won"derfully exalted with his Death, he being the on"ly Perſon whoſe Credit and Intereſt they feared "without any eſteem of his Perſon."

His Character by Lord *Clarendon*.

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Parliament jealous of the Aſſembly of Divines.

As to the Diſtractions in Religion within this Year 1646, the Majority of Divines in the Aſſembly were often petitioning the Commons for a full and perfect Settlement of Church Government. Which being debated in the Houſe *April* 21, they began more freely to aſſert the Power of Parliaments in Spiritual Matters, which they would not ſuffer to be impeached by ſuch Petitions (*a*); and therefore *April* 30, they ſent theſe Queſtions to the Aſſembly and deſir'd Satisfaction in them.

Send Queries to them.

"I. Whether the Parochial and Congregational Elderſhips, appointed by Ordinance of Parliament, "are *Jure Divino*? And, Whether any particular "Church-Government be *Jure Divino*?

"II. Whether all the Members of the ſaid Elder"ſhips as ſuch are *Jure Divino*?

"III. Whether the ſuperiour Aſſemblies, Claſſical, "Provincial, and National, are *Jure Divino*? Whe"ther All or Any of them?

"IV. Whether Appeals from Congregational El"derſhips, to the Claſſical, Provincial, and Na"tional Aſſemblies be *Jure Divino*?

"V. Whether Oecumenical Aſſemblies and Ap"peals to them be *Jure Divino*?

"VI. Whether by the Word of God the Power "of judging and declaring the Offences for which "Perſons are to be kept from the Lord's-Supper, is "in the Elderſhip or Presbytery *Jure Divino*?

"VII. Whether there be any certain and particu"lar Rules expreſſed in the Word of God to direct "in the Exerciſe of ſuch Power?

"VIII. Whether there be any thing contained in "the Word of God, that the Supreme Magiſtracy in a "Chriſtian State, may not judge and determine of Of"fences and Suſpenſion for 'em from the Sacrament?

"IX. Whether the Proviſion of Commiſſioners "to judge of Scandals not enumerated (as they are "authoriz'd by the Ordinance of Parliament) be "contrary to that way of Government which Chriſt "hath appointed in his Church?"

In anſwer to theſe Particulars, the Houſe of Commons deſired farther of the Aſſembly of Divines, their Proofs from Scripture, and to ſet down the ſeveral Texts of Scripture in the expreſs Words of the ſame. And it is order'd, "That every parti"cular Miniſter of the Aſſembly, that is or ſhall be "preſent, at the Debate of any of theſe Queſtions, "do upon every Reſolution which ſhall be preſen"ted to this Houſe concerning the ſame, ſubſcribe "his reſpective Name, either with the Affirmative "or Negative, as he gives his Vote. And that thoſe "that do diſſent from the major part, ſhall ſet down "their poſitive Opinions, with the expreſs Texts of "Scripture upon which their Opinions are grounded."

Presbyterian Divines were ſick of their Attendance.

Theſe were ſuch hard Queſtions, that we do not find the Aſſembly could ever reſolve them (*b*): And in-

(*a*) See, A Declaration of the Commons of *England* aſſembled in Parliament concerning the Ancient and Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and Government of the Church, wherein they declare for a Presbyterial Government, but cannot conſent to the granting of an arbitrary and unlimited Power and Juriſdiction for erecting near Ten thouſand Judicatories within this Kingdom, as demanded by the Aſſembly of Divines. Dat. 17. *Apr.* 1646. *Husband's* Collect. p. 877.

(*b*) The Aſſembly gave no formal Publick Anſwer, a private Pamphlet only was publiſht with this Title, *An Anſwer to thoſe Queſtions propounded by the Parliament to the Aſſembly of Divines touching* Jus Divinum *in Matter of Church-Government*: Wherein is clearly proved from Scripture that the Presbyterial Government is *Jure Divino*, of Divine Inſtitution, and according to the Will and Appointment of Jeſus Chriſt. *London*, 1646. 4*to*.

1646. 22 Car. I. deed the Presbyterian Majority were ſo confounded at the oppoſition in their own Houſe from their warm diſſenting Brethren, and at the Checks and Repulſes they frequently met with from the Houſe of Commons, that they grew very weary of their Attendance on them, and began to fall off and retire home privately and by degrees, without any formalities of Proroguing and Diſſolving. And the wiſeſt of them were at laſt a little ſenſible of their own fatal Errors, in breaking off a Synodical Union with their Spiritual Governours, and ſubmitting to be made an independent Body of Presbyters, to quarrel eternally among themſelves; and to be made a Property to the Lay-powers, who meant no more than to ſerve a Turn by them, and then to deſpiſe them.

Petition of the City in favour of Presbytery. So that Presbytery now languiſhing within its own Aſſembly, was glad to call in the Aſſiſtance of the Common-People. Hence a Remonſtrance was procured from the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London* to both Houſes, deſiring *a ſtrict and ſpeedy Courſe for ſuppreſſing all private and ſeparate Congregations; and that all Hereticks and Sectaries who conformed not to the publick Diſcipline may be proceeded againſt; and that none diſaffected to the Presbyterian Government be employ'd in any place of publick Truſt.* The Lords gave a kind Anſwer, acknowledging the great Services and Merit of the City, and giving them Thanks for this Teſtimony of their Duty and good Affections: But the Commons expreſſed great Offence, that the City ſhould thus preſcribe to the Parliament what to do; and gave a ſhort Anſwer, That they would take their Remonſtrance and Petition into Conſideration within convenient time. The Commons offended. Amidſt theſe Party Squabbles it was obſerved, that General *Fairfax* was much inclined to the *Presbyterians*, *Cromwell* and a ſtrong Party of the deepeſt Reach for the *Independents*, or rather for a Religion alway to depend upon the Supreme, Civil and Military Power. And therefore by their ſubtilty a Counter-Petition was preſented from the City of *London* to the Houſe of Commons *June* 2, who now perceived they ſhould have ſtrength enough to aboliſh Presbytery as well as Epiſcopacy. A counter-Petition.

Letter from the Kirk of *Scotland*. The General-Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland* began to be very jealous that their *Covenant* would not have its due Effect in *England*; and therefore they reſolv'd to expoſtulate this Matter with their dear Brethren at *London* and *Weſtminſter*. Accordingly they in the Name of their whole Aſſembly ſent a Letter to both Houſes of Parliament dated *June* 18, to complain of the ſlow progreſs of the Work of God, and of the Generation of Men who retarded the Work of Uniformity, and fomented Jealouſies betwixt the Nations, ſtudying if it were poſſible to break our Bands aſunder; deſiring them to hold faſt *the Band of their Covenant as Sacred and Inviolable.* They ſent at the ſame time another Letter to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*, thanking them *for their late and ſeaſonable Teſtimony given to the Truth of the Goſpel, manifeſted in their humble Remonſtrance and Petition to the Honourable Houſes of Parliament, which revives the remembrance of their former Faith and Zeal, and makes them precious in the Lord's ſight.* And after theſe, a third Letter to the *Aſſembly of Divines* at *Weſtminſter* dated *June* 27, telling them, *If any here hath ſeemed to be more jealous than godly Jealouſie would allow, it can be imputed to nothing elſe but to the vehemency of ardent Affection, and impatient Deſire to have our Brethren there and us join'd nearer to Chriſt, and to one another, in all his Ordinances, and eſpecially in Presbyterian Government. —— No doubt Mountains of Oppoſitions ariſe, and Gulfs of Difficulties open up themſelves in this your way, but you have found it is God who girdeth you with Strength, and maketh your way plain and perfect before you. —— We exhort you to continue and abound, knowing that your Labours ſhall not be in vain in the Lord.* But their Army being now ready to be gone, theſe Exhortations were to little other purpoſe than to ſhew their Zeal and their Miſtake. (*a*) 1646. 22 Car. I.

July 22. Mr. *Herle* was voted to be Moderator of the Aſſembly, in the room of Dr. *Twiſs* deceaſed; and the Divines were now buſying themſelves in drawing up a large Confeſſion of Faith, and on *Sept.* 25, brought to the Houſe of Commons ſuch Heads of the Articles as they had already perfected; which Articles were debated by the Commons *October* 5, who received a Complaint of *October* 25, of an Indictment in the County of *Bucks*, againſt a Miniſter for not reading the Common Prayer according to Statute; upon which they reſolv'd, that an Ordinance ſhould be brought in to take away that Statute of Uniformity, and to diſable malignant Miniſters from Preaching. *October* 28, Mr. *Sympſon* formerly ſilenced from Preaching, becauſe he differed in Judgment from the Aſſembly in their beloved Points, was reſtored to his Liberty. On *Novemb.* 19, a Petition of the inferiour People of *Kent* to the Houſe of Commons, that the Miniſters may no longer receive Tythes, but be provided for ſome other way (*b*). The Houſe took it, and gave them Thanks for their good Affections. On *Dec.* 3, the Aſſembly preſented to the Commons the laſt Part of their *Confeſſion of Faith*. Which being debated *Decemb.* 7, the Commons order'd five hundred Copies to be printed for the Members of both Houſes; and that the Aſſembly ſhould bring in their Marginal Notes to prove every part of it by Scripture; and ſhould likewiſe prepare their Anſwer to thoſe Queries touching the Point of *Jus Divinum*, which they had received from this Houſe. Mr. *Herle* made Moderator. A Confeſſion of Faith.

At the King's firſt coming to *Newcaſtle*, Mr. *Henderſon* a *Scotch* Presbyter came as an Agent for the Kirk, and much importun'd his Majeſty to paſs the Propoſitions. His Majeſty affirmed to him, that he could not in Conſcience conſent to ſeveral things therein contained; eſpecially as to the change of Church-Government from the primitive Order of Epiſcopacy; and condeſcended to have ſeveral Conferences with him, and to let ſeveral Papers paſs between them upon this Subject; which being faithfully printed do demonſtrate the King's great Abilities, and his incomparable Knowledge in theſe Controverſies; being at a time when he had few or no Books, and could not have the aſſiſtance of any Chaplain. Mr. *Henderſon* returned from *Newcaſtle* to *Edinburgh* with a ſerious conviction of his Majeſty's Integrity and Learning, and died about the end of *Auguſt*, much lamented by thoſe of his Party, who themſelves ſuſpected that his Death was owing to his diſſatisfaction in his late trial of Skill with his Majeſty. The Lord *Clarendon* expreſſes it thus. " The King was ſo much too hard for Mr. *Hender-* " *ſon* in the Argumentation, that the old Man him- " ſelf was ſo far convinc'd and converted, that he Conference between the King and Mr *Henderſon*.

(*a*) By obſerving the Steps taken in the Houſe of Commons and in the Aſſembly of Divines, it is very evident that all the Attempts for ſettling *Presbytery* were ſupported by the Fear and Love of the *Scots* Army; and that as ſoon as that Army was gone home, Religion was as well govern'd by the *Engliſh* Army, who were for *Independency*, and a better Principle of *Toleration*.

(*b*) The Papiſts were very much animated by theſe unhappy Conteſts, and laboured to inflame them, as we have undoubted Authority in the Letter of Biſhop *Bramhall* to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, dat. *July* 20, 1654. ——It plainly appears, That in the Year 1646, by Order from *Rome*, above One hundred of the Romiſh Clergy were ſent into *England*, conſiſting of *Engliſh*, *Scotiſh*, and *Iriſh*, who had been educated in *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Spain*; Part of theſe within the ſeveral Schools there appointed for their Inſtructions. In each of theſe Roman Nurſeries, theſe Scholars were taught ſeveral handicraft Trades and Callings, as their Ingenuities were moſt bending, beſides their Orders or Functions of that Church: They have many yet at *Paris* a fitting up to be ſent over, who twice in the Week oppoſe one the other; One pretending *Presbytery*, the other *Independency*, ſome *Anabaptiſm*, and other contrary Tenets. —— The hundred Men that went over 1646, were moſt of them Soldiers in the Parliament Army, and were daily to correſpond with thoſe Romaniſts in the King's Army, that were lately at *Oxford*, and pretended to Fight for his Sacred Majeſty. See *Life and Letters of Archbiſhop* Uſher. Fol. p. 611.

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1646. 22 *Car.* I. "had a very deep ſenſe of the Miſchief he had himſelf been the Author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his neareſt Friends and Confidents, and died of Grief and Heart-broken within a very ſhort time after he departed from his Majeſty."

Rudeneſs of a *Scotch* Presbyter. It is very obſervable, that another *Scotch* Presbyter of much leſs Moderation and Learning, preach'd very bold ſtuff before the King in the ſame Garriſon, and after Sermon call'd for the fifty ſecond Pſalm, beginning thus:

Why doſt thou Tyrant boaſt thy ſelf,
Thy wicked Works to praiſe?

His Majeſty ſtood up, and without any Reflection on the Inſolence of the Man, with great preſence of Mind called for the fifty ſixth Pſalm, which begins;

Have Mercy, Lord, on me I pray,
For Men would me devour.

And the Congregation were ſo well pleaſed with the happy Turn, that they wav'd the Preacher's Pſalm and fell in with that which the King called for.

King deſires the Attendance of his Chaplains. When the King was firſt brought to *Holmby* Houſe, he ſent a Letter to the Lords and Commons, deſiring, That in regard he was not ſatisfied with the Presbyterian Government, and could not be content that thoſe Miniſters ſhould officiate to him, Dr. *Sheldon* and ſome other of his Chaplains, or any two of them might be permitted to come to him, by whom he might receive the proper Comforts *to his Soul.*

Delay and Denial of it. And hearing of no return to this Requeſt, he ſent another Letter to the Parliament at the beginning of *March*, to deſire that Favour of his Chaplains; and told the Commiſſioners then with him, that *indeed he had not now Power to command them or any Man; but he muſt needs importune them to be inſtrumental in ſatisfying this his Reaſonable Deſire.* But ſtill no Anſwer was return'd till after *March* 29, when it was formed into a Denial, that *they cannot conſent to his Majeſty's Deſire in ſending any of his Chaplains named in his Letter; becauſe they are diſaffected to the preſent Government of the Church; but for others of his Chaplains who have taken the Covenant, if his Majeſty pleaſe they will ſend them to him.*

"After this Anſwer, ſays the Ld *Clarendon*, His Majeſty thought it to no purpoſe to importune 'em farther in that particular: but next to the having his own Chaplains, he would have been beſt pleaſed to have been without any. They who were ſent by them being Men of mean Parts, and of moſt impertinent and troubleſome Confidence.---*Cromwel* and his Officers took upon them to Preach and Pray publickly to their Troops, and admitted few or no Chaplains in the Army, but ſuch as bitterly inveighed againſt the Presbyterian-Government as more Tyrannical than Epiſcopacy; and the Common Soldiers as well as the Officers did not only Pray and Preach among themſelves, but went up into the Pulpits in all Churches, and preached to the People, who quickly became inſpired with the ſame Spirit: Women as well as Men taking upon them to Pray and Preach, which made as great a noiſe and confuſion in all Opinions concerning Religion, as there was in the Civil Government of the State; ſcarce any Man being ſuffered to be called in queſtion for delivering any Opinion in Religion by ſpeaking or writing, how Prophane, Heretical, or Blaſphemous ſoever it was, *which* they ſaid *was to reſtrain the Spirit.*" The ſame Author well obſerves, "That it was an obſervation in that time, that the firſt publiſhing of extraordinary News was from the Pulpit." (*a*)

We left the King a Priſoner to the Parliament, and under a Guard of their Commiſſioners at *Holdenby* or *Holmby* in *Northamptonſhire*; a very ſtately Houſe built by the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*; and in K. *James*'s Reign purchaſed by the Queen for this her ſecond Son then Duke of *York*, not then foreſeeing that he ſhould make it a Royal Palace and Priſon. 1647. 23 *Car.* I. The King a Priſoner at *Holmby* Houſe. This Houſe had been prepared for the King's reception by Mr. *Clement Kinerſley* of the Wardrobe, with all ſuitable Accommodation. The two Divines Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Carrel* (who came along with the Commiſſioners) attended the King at Dinner and Supper, as ready and willing to crave a Bleſſing; but the King alway ſaid Grace himſelf. And upon *Sundays*, when thoſe Miniſters preached in the Chapel, Forenoon and Afternoon by turns, the King allowed his Servants to go if they pleas'd; but ſequeſter'd himſelf to his own private Devotions. On Week-days the King ſpent two or three Hours daily in Prayer and Reading; would after Meals play a Game at Cheſs, and walk often in the Garden; and there being no Bowling-green at *Holmby*, would ſometimes under ſufficient Guard ride to *Harrowden* and to *Althrop*, where good Greens were well kept. In going once to *Harrowden* Major *Boſvile* ſtanding on a Bridge diſguis'd like a labouring Man, gave his Majeſty a Packet from the Queen. The King told the Commiſſioners it was to obtain his leave for the Prince to accompany Monſieur that Campaign in the *French* Army. Upon which the Commiſſioners ſeemed content to diſmiſs the Perſon in diſguiſe; but he was ſent up to the Parliament and committed to *Newgate*. This Accident being reported to the two Houſes, they ſent down Inſtructions to have a ſtricter Eye upon his Majeſty's Perſon, and to diſcharge thoſe Servants who had waited upon him at *Oxford*. Put into ſtricter Cuſtody. The Commiſſioners ſoon acquainted the King with theſe Orders, who with great Expoſtulation for the ſeverity of them, was forced to diſmiſs all his old Attendants except Mr. *James Maxwel*, and Mr. *Patrick Mawl*, Grooms of his Bed-Chamber, to whom the King was willing to join Mr. *Thomas Herbert* and Mr. *Harrington*. His old Servants taken from him.

King's Health and Moderation. It is worth obſervation, that in all the time of his Majeſty's Reſtraint and Solitude, he was never Sick, nor took any thing to prevent Sickneſs, which (under God) was attributed to his quiet Diſpoſition, and moderate Exerciſe and regular Diet; eating but of few Diſhes, and drinking but twice at Dinner and Supper, once of ſmall Beer, and once of Wine and Water mix'd, or after Fiſh of pure Wine; ſeldom or never eating or drinking before Dinner or between Meals.

Apr. 21, Letters came from the Parliament's Commiſſioners at *Holmby*, acquainting the Houſe of Commons with the great reſort of People to his Majeſty, to be touched for the King's Evil: Upon which the Houſe ordered a Declaration to be drawn up, to inform the People of the fond Superſtition of being touched by the King for the Evil; and renewed their Orders for the ſtricter Cuſtody of him. At the beginning of *May*, his Majeſty told the Commiſſioners about him, that he had long waited for Propoſitions to be ſent him from *London*, but not receiving them, he had now prepared an Anſwer to thoſe He ſends an Anſwer to the Propoſitions made at *Newcaſtle*

(*a*) The *Presbyterians* called the *Independents* Schiſmaticks, and maintained a Neceſſity of giving no *Toleration* to them. See, *The Schiſmatick ſifted againſt the five Apologiſts*, 4to. 1646.

In the Diſputes about *Schiſm*, Hereſies and Blaſphemies prevail'd more and more. See, *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament concerning the Growth and Spreading of Errours, Hereſies, and Blaſphemies*, Die Jovis, 4, *Febr.* 1646.

The Papiſts took their Advantage of the Enthuſiaſtick Humour of the Times, and laid the Foundation of a new Sect called *Quakers*; by reprinting in *London* within this Year 1646, the third Part of the *Rule of Perfection*, a myſtical Book written by Father *Prenet*, a Capuchin, under a new Title, *A bright Star centring in Chriſt our Perfection.* Printed for *H. Overton*, 4to. wherein it was expreſsly laid down, that *Chriſt's Paſſion was to be practis'd and beheld in Ourſelves, rather than that which is conſidered at* Jeruſalem.

1647. 23 *Car.* I. Propoſitions delivered at *Newcaſtle*, which (not being allowed a Secretary) he muſt ſcribble over himſelf. His Majeſty ſent this Anſwer in a Letter read in the Houſes *May* 18, wherein the King conſented to ſome of the Propoſitions in whole, to others in part; and gave his Reaſons for whatever he diſſented from. "He was willing to have the Presbyterial Government ſettled for three Years; and conſented to ratifie the Aſſembly of Divines, propoſing ſome other Miniſters to be joined with them; the King and his Houſhold only having liberty to uſe the Common-Prayer Book. As to the *Militia* he would yield it up for ten Years, provided it might then be reſtored to him and his Heirs. As to the *Covenant* he could not be ſatisfied, but deſired ſome of his own Divines might be ſent to reſolve his Scruples therein. The Great Seal he will ratifie, if put into his own diſpoſal. To the City of *London* he will grant the *Tower* and all that is deſired. He will conſent to the Bills againſt Popery; and will paſs a general Act of Oblivion and free Pardon on all ſides. For all which purpoſes, his Majeſty deſired to come to the Parliament, and confer and agree with them." On *May* 20, the Lords voted for his Majeſty's coming from *Holmby*, and removing to *Oatlands*; but the Commons did not concur in it.

Factions in the Army. The two Houſes began now to be afraid of their own Armies, and therefore disbanded ſome Forces, and would have ſent others into *Ireland*. This improved into Jealouſies and Factions between the Parliament and Army. The General *Fairfax* was diſpoſed to comply with the Orders he received from above; but Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* made a ſtrong Party for Military Power, and reſolved to rob the Parliament of the Perſon of the King; for which Expedient he ſent out a Party of Horſe under Colonel *Joyce*, to bring away the King to the Army. So on *Friday* June 4, about Midnight, *Joyce* drew up his Horſe in order before *Holmby* Houſe, and demanded Entrance. Colonel *Graves* and Major-General *Brown*, who upon Alarm had doubled the Guards, asked him his Name and Buſineſs. He ſaid his Name was *Joyce* a Cornet in Colonel *Whaley*'s Regiment, and his Buſineſs was to ſpeak with the King. Being asked from whom, he ſaid, *from my ſelf, my Errand is to the King, I muſt and I will ſpeak with him. Graves* and *Brown* bid their Soldiers within ſtand to their Arms, and be ready to fire at the Word given; but they finding them to be their Fellow-Soldiers of the ſame Army, opened the Gates, and ſhook Hands with them as old Friends. *Joyce* ſet his Centinels at the Chamber-Doors of the Commiſſioners; and by the Back-Stairs went himſelf directly to the King's Bed-Chamber, and knock'd at the Door with a Piſtol cock'd in his Hand. The four Grooms were much amaz'd at this rudeneſs, and deſired *Joyce* to lay aſide his Arms, and to forbear giving diſturbance, aſſuring him, that the next Morning he ſhould have his Majeſty's Anſwer to his Errand. The Cornet with Sword and Piſtol inſiſted to have the Door open'd with ſo much Noiſe that it wak'd the King, who mildly ſent him out Word, that he would not riſe nor ſpeak with him till Morning; upon which the Cornet huff'd and retired. The King roſe early in the Morning, and after his Devotions ſent for *Joyce*, who came with great Confidence, and told his Majeſty he had Commands to remove him. The King deſired the Commiſſioners might be ſent for; *Joyce* told him the Commiſſioners had nothing to do but to return back to the Parliament. The King then asked for a Sight of his Inſtructions. *Joyce* ſaid he ſhould ſee them preſently, and ſo drawing up his Troop in the Inner-Court: *Theſe, Sir*, (ſaid he) *are my Inſtructions.* The King took a good View of them, and finding them proper Men, well mounted and armed, ſmilingly told the Cornet, his *Inſtructions were in fair Characters, legible without Spelling.* The Cornet then preſs'd the King to go along with him; the King ſaid, *He would not ſtir unleſs the Commiſſioners might attend him.* The Cornet reply'd, *He was very indifferent, they might go if they would.* So at the King's deſire the Keepers of his Perſon being now themſelves made Priſoners, went along with his Majeſty, and were by *Joyce* conducted that Night to Colonel *Mountague*'s Houſe at *Hinchingbrook*, and next Night to the Houſe of Sir *John Cuts* at *Childerſly* near *Cambridge*. Here *Fairfax, Cromwel, Ireton, Skippon*, and many other Officers, came to wait upon the King and kiſs'd his Hand. The King took General *Fairfax* aſide and diſcourſed with him about half an Hour; he diſavowed his Majeſty's ſeizure at *Holmby*, as done without his Order or Approbation.

Cromwel ſteals the King. The Inſolence of *Joyce*. The Patience of the King. General *Fairfax* diſowns the Action.

The King at *Newmarket*. From *Childerſly* the King was removed to his Houſe at *Newmarket*, and ſuffered to divert himſelf upon the Heath ſometimes in his Coach, but moſt part Riding. His Preſence-Chamber was conſtantly thronged with People, eſpecially at Dinner and Supper; and when he withdrew, their Acclamations and Prayers alway followed him. He was now to make his involuntary Progreſs according to the Motion of the Army; and ſo by ſome ſhort Stages he was brought to his Houſe at *Royſton*; and after a ſtay of two Days, was carried *June* 26, to *Hatfield* a Houſe of the Earl of *Saliſbury* in *Hertfordſhire*, where he ſtaid till the firſt of *July*, then hurried to *Windſor*, two Days after to *Caverſham*; where the Prince Elector Palatine, many of the Nobility, General *Fairfax*, and ſeveral of the chief Officers waited on him. Hence *July* 15, to *Maidenhead*, the 20th to *Woburne*; away again to *Latimers*, hence to *New-Park*, ſo to *Stoke*, and *Aug.* 14, to *Oatlands*, a large and beautiful Palace of the Queen's upon the River *Thames*; and from thence in a Day or two to *Hampton-Court*, where the King was allowed to appear in State and Luſtre; his Nobility about him; his Chaplains in waiting, and all Servants permitted to attend in their reſpective Places; the Intercourſe free betwen King and Parliament, and the Army ſeeming to endeavour a right underſtanding between them. His Majeſty had the Favour to viſit his Children then at *Sion* Houſe, under the Government of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who received the King and his Followers with a very noble Treat. Here the King met the young Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, who on their Knees begg'd a Bleſſing from their Royal Father, who heartily gave it, and was overjoy'd to ſee them ſo well in Health, and ſo honourably regarded.

Hurried from Place to Place. Settled at *Hampton-Court*, And better treated. Viſits his Children.

Jealouſies between the Parliament and the Army. We leave the King a Priſoner at large in *Hampton-Court*, and look back on ſome Proceedings in the Parliament and Army. The two Houſes were wiſe enough to apprehend, that their aſſumed Legiſlature could not poſſibly conſiſt with a Standing Army. And the leading Heads in the Army were as apprehenſive, that if they parted with their Arms, they ſhould have little ſhare in the Prizes they had won. Hence a mighty Inclination in the Parliament to disband the Army, for which Petitions were brought out of the Country. And on the other ſide, a fierce Reſolution in the Soldiery not to be diſmiſt without full Pay and Reward; for which, bold and tumultuous Papers were often read in the Field. The Commons order'd ſix Months Pay to the Army for their encouragement to be quietly disbanded; and *May* 14. reſolved that the addition of a Fornights Pay more ſhould be given to them, and ſix Weeks Pay advance to thoſe who would go into *Ireland*; and paſſed an Ordinance for Indempnity of the Soldiers in whatever they had done by Virtue of the Power committed to them by the Parliament. But the Soldiers thought it better to do themſelves Juſtice; and therefore at *Saffron-Walden* their head Quarters on *May* 15, they choſe a Committee of Troopers out of every Regiment, to conſider of their Grievances and the Remedy of them; and they referr'd it to another Committee of General Officers, who drew up a Draught of all Complaints, and delivered it to *Skippon*, deſiring him to preſent it to the Parliament. This ſo alarmed the Commons, that on *May* 18, they voted, that all the Forces of this Kingdom not ſubſcri-

The Parliament for disbanding the Army.

1647.
23 *Car.* I.

ſcribing for the Service of *Ireland* ſhall be disbanded, except thoſe for the Garriſons; and that the General be deſired forthwith to repair to the Army. And on *May* 21, they order'd, that the Soldiers Arrears ſhould be ſpedily Audited, and viſible Security given them upon disbanding; and that Proviſion ſhould be made for the maimed Soldiers, and for the Widows and Orphans of thoſe who had died in the Parliament Service. On *Friday* May 21, General *Fairfax* came to the head Quarters at *Walden*, and put the Army into ſo much Joy and Quiet, that the Commons proceeded *May* 25, to the Time and Manner of disbanding; ordering that his Excellencies Regiment ſhould firſt be disbanded on *Tueſd.* next at *Chelmsford*, Colonel *Hewſon*'s Regiment to be diſbanded at *Biſhop's-Stratford* on *June* 3, and ſo on; the General to iſſue out his Orders to the ſeveral Regiments to be at the Times and Places appointed, and to be himſelf preſent at the disbanding; and a Committee of Lords and Commons to go down and give the Thanks of the Houſes in the Head of each Regiment for their faithful Service to the Kingdom, and to be aſſiſtant to the General in disbanding the Army.

The Army refuſe to be diſbanded.

But ſtill the Army were unſatisfied with theſe Votes, and challeng'd a better Reward for their Pains and Hazards in the Cauſe of the Parliament and City. And in a Council of War *May* 29, it was reſolved, that the ſaid Votes were not ſatisfactory; and the common Soldiers ſeemed all to declare, that they would not be disbanded till their Grievances were redreſs'd. Upon which, the Commons ordered the Money ſent down for disbanding, to be recall'd; and the Committee at *Derby-houſe*, who ſate upon this Affair, ſent Letters to General *Fairfax*, to inform him, that the Parliament expected Obedience in disbanding the Army, and ſending the Train immediately to *London*. In anſwer to which, the General deſired to be excuſed; but promiſed he would do all that was poſſible to execute the Pleaſure of the Parliament. And on *June* 4, at the Rendezvous at *Kentford*, the General went to every Regiment, and aſſured the Soldiers, that the Parliament took notice of their civil and fair Carriage, and had taken a courſe for ſatisfying their Arrears; and doubted not but they would anſwer all their other Grievances; and therefore advis'd them to behave themſelves with Moderation and a due Submiſſion.

And draw up a Remonſtrance,

But next Day there was put into his Hands, *A humble Repreſentation of the Diſſatisfactions of the Army, in relation to the late Reſolutions for ſo ſudden disbanding; ſhewing the Particulars of their former Grievances. Wherein they did remain unſatisfied, and the Reaſons thereof. Unanimouſly agreed upon, and ſubſcribed by the Officers and Soldiers of the ſeveral Regiments at the Rendezvous near* New-Market *on* Friday *and* Saturday June *the 4th and 5th. Preſented to the General, to be by him humbly repreſented to the Parliament.* And the ſame Day they drew up and ſubſcribed a *ſolemn Engagement*, That without Satisfaction and Security they would not willingly disband or divide, nor ſuffer themſelves to be disbanded or divided.

And an Engagement.

Nay, and the common People of *Eſſex* were grown ſo much fonder of the Army than they were of the Parliament, that they preſented a Petition to the *General*, That he would in no caſe admit of disbanding, till the juſt and legal Requeſts of the Kingdom were embraced and ſatisfied by the Parliament. And the like Petitions were ſoon after preſented by the Inhabitants of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. On *June* 7, the Commons agreed, that new Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent down to the Army, to acquaint them what the Houſes had done farther in ſatisfaction of their Grievances, and to perſwade them to a Compliance with the Orders of the Parliament.

The Army for diſſolving the Parliament.

And beginning now to be in ſome Fears, that the Army would be for diſſolving the Parliament, as well as the Parliament for disbanding the Army, they accepted of a good Guard from the City, and were putting themſelves into a poſture of Defence; making an *Ordinance* Jun. 11, for enabling the Committee of the Militia of the City of *London* to make Searches, and raiſe Horſes. And hearing the Army was advancing toward *London*, they revived the Committee of Safety, and ſent a Committee of Parliament to ſit all Night with a Committee of the City Militia; and ordered Letters to his Excellency from both Houſes, that he ſhould by no means ſuffer the Army to come within twenty five Miles of the City: and then offered large Gratuities and Rewards to thoſe Officers and Soldiers who ſhould come off from the Army, and ſubmit to the Parliament.

The Parliament put into great Conſternation.

The General, in the mean time, made his Head-Quarters at St. *Albans*, and kept the Army in tolerable Order; where *June* 22, he received the Votes of the two Houſes for the Army's removing forty Miles from *London*: To which his Excellency only anſwered, That he would hold a Council of War, and then return a poſitive Anſwer. At which Council, held *June* 23, the Officers all ſign'd *A humble Remonſtrance from his Excellency Sir* Thomas Fairfax *and the Army under his Command, expreſſing the preſent ſtate of Affairs, in relation to themſelves and the Kingdom; with their Deſires and preſent Reſolutions thereupon. Preſented to the Commiſſioners at St.* Albans, *to be by them humbly repreſented to the Parliament.* The General removed his Head-Quarters from St. *Albans* to *Barkhamſtead*, and ſent word to the Houſes, that the Army would there expect the Reſult of their Debates concerning their Deſires; and accordingly either remove, or approach nearer to *London*. Which gave ſuch a new Alarm, that *June* 25, the Militia of *London* were deſired to ſend four full Companies for the Guard of the Houſes to morrow. On which Day other Letters came from the General, with account of the Army's nearer Advance toward *London*, renewing their Deſires, that the eleven Members charged by them may be ſuſpended the Houſe.

Army advances toward *London*.

Upon which the ſaid Members craved liberty to abſent from the Houſe; and a Treaty with the Army was voted to be carried on with Expedition. And to ſilence and ſoften them the more, the Commons declared *June* 27, that *they do own this Army as their Army, and will make Proviſion for their Maintenance.* But the Army ſent up their Impeachment of the eleven Members, and inſiſted for Juſtice upon them; ſending up their particular Charge by a Committee of Officers, of whom Colonel *Scroope* delivered in the Charge to the Commons, with this Speech: *That by the Appointment of the General, and Army under his Command, and in their Names, they came there to preſent a particular Charge or Impeachment againſt the eleven Members:* Theſe were, *Denzil Hollis* Eſq; Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Maynard*, Major-General *Maſſy*, *John Glynne* Eſq; Recorder of *London*, *Walter Long* Eſq; Colonel *Edward Harley*, *Anthony Nicol* Eſq; Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Clotworthy*; who on *July* 19, put in their Anſwer in Demurrer to the ſaid Charge and Impeachment, and at their own Deſire had leave given them to be abſent from the Houſe for the ſpace of ſix Months.

Impeach the eleven Members.

Soon after there was a ſolemn Engagement by Oath and Vow entred into by very many Citizens and others in and about *London*, for oppoſing and disbanding the Army, and for the King's preſent coming to the Parliament. This was heinouſly reſented by the General and chief Officers, and very many Papers of Expoſtulation and Excuſe paſſed between the Army and the two Houſes upon this Matter. And Jealouſies mutually improving, the Army began to advance, and the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* began to be fortified; and the two Speakers were ſo ſtruck with terrible Apprehenſions, that *July* 30, they both ran away from their attendance on their ſeveral Houſes; and the Lords were forced to chooſe the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* their Speaker, in room of the Earl of *Mancheſter*; and the Commons choſe Mr. *Pelham*, a Counſellor of *Lincolns-Inn*, to take the Chair in room of Mr. *Lenthal*: After which the Commons voted, 1. That the King ſhould come to *London*. 2. That the Militia of the City ſhould have full Power to raiſe

The two Speakers run away.

1647. 23 *Car.* I. raiſe ſuch Forces as they ſhall think fit for Defence thereof. And 3. That they make choice of a Commander in chief to be approved by the Houſe. Then they reſolved to receive the eleven Members impeached by the Army, to ſit and vote in their Places. And both Houſes paſſed ſeveral Votes and Orders for bringing the King's Majeſty to ſome of his Houſes near *London*, to receive Propoſitions from both Kingdoms for Peace and Safety: And *Auguſt* 2, they ſent this Meſſage to the King.

And the two Houſes invite the King.

By a very civil Meſſage.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE *your Majeſty's moſt humble and loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of* England, *have agreed upon theſe incloſed Votes; and do humbly preſent them to your Majeſty: Remaining*

Weſtm. Aug. 2. 1647. Your Majeſty's moſt humble and loyal Subjects,

Hunſdon, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore.*

H. Pelham, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

The Votes are as follow: *viz.*

WHereas the King hath been ſeized upon, and carried away from Holmby *without his conſent, or the conſent of the Houſes of Parliament, by a Party, into the Army, where his Majeſty yet remaineth; the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, do deſire that his Majeſty will be pleaſed immediately to come to ſuch Places as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall appoint.* And they do declare, *That he ſhall there be with Honour, Freedom, and Safety; and that they, with the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *will make their Addreſſes unto his Majeſty for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace.*

Reſolved upon the Queſtion, by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament; that London *be the Place whither the King ſhall be deſired to come: Where both Houſes of Parliament, and the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *may make their Addreſſes to him for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace.*

It is a matter of Wonder, that theſe great Jealouſies between the Parliament and Army could not be turned into any Advantage to the King's Intereſt or Liberty. On *Auguſt* 5, the whole Army advanced nearer *London*: The General removing his Head-Quarters from *Thiſtleworth*, came to *Hammerſmith*; and at the end of the Town was met by the Commiſſioners of the City, who aſſured him, that the City were well ſatisfied with his Excellency's Advance: and next Morning ſeveral Members of Parliament, driven away by Tumults from *Weſtminſter*, met the General at the Earl of *Holland*'s Houſe at *Kenſington*, and ſubſcribed the Declaration of the Army, and a farther Declaration of their approving and joining with the Army in their laſt Proceedings, making null all Acts paſſed by the Members at *Weſtminſter* ſince *July* 26. Then the General march'd in great ſtate to the Houſe of Sir *Abraham Williams* in *New-Palace-Yard*; and both Houſes being ſate with their old Speakers, the Earl of *Mancheſter* and *William Lenthal* Eſq; they invited the General into each Houſe, and gave him ſolemn Thanks for his faithful Services to them and the Kingdom, and order'd *Thurſday* next for a *Day of Thankſgiving*, for the great Mercies of God in reſtoring the Members of both Houſes to their juſt Privileges without the Effuſion of Blood, and for the Settlement of Peace. On the ſame Day they conſtituted the General *Conſtable of the Tower of* London, and ordered the Gratuity of a Month's Pay to the Officers and private Soldiers. So fatally did Things conſpire for a Peace and Union between all Parties except the King and his People.

But the Army was ſtronger than the Parliam.

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The *Scots* now began to repent of Selling the King, and on *Auguſt* 13, publiſhed a *Declaration and Remonſtrance of the preſent Engagement of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *with their Reſolutions and Intentions (according to their ſolemn League and Covenant) to redeem his Majeſty from the Hands of Schiſmaticks, and to place him in his Parliament with Honour and Safety, to procure the Peace of the three Kingdoms, and to vindicate the worthy Members of Parliament falſely impeached by the Army, with the true Privileges of Parliament and Liberty of the Subject: all which are not only endangered, but by likelihood ready to be deſtroyed by the Power of an over-awing, tyrannical Army, under the Conduct of Sir* Thomas Fairfax. *With an Oath taken by the Parliament of* Scotland, *and by them preſcribed to be taken by all his Majeſty's loyal Subjects.* But this was now too late: Major-General *Lambert* collected all the Forces in the North, and was preparing to march to the Borders of *Scotland*; while the *Scots*, hearing of the Agreement between the Army, Parliament, and City, were aw'd into Silence and Quiet.

The *Scots* ſeem to Repent.

The two Houſes began now to be at leiſure to reaſſume their Pretence of a well-grounded Peace between the King and his Subjects. And having made ſome few Amendments to the Propoſitions ſent to *Newcaſtle*, on *Sept.* 2, it was reſolved by the Lords and Commons, that a Day be appointed for the delivering of the Propoſitions of both Kingdoms to the King's Majeſty for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace: and that on *Tueſday* next the Commiſſioners of both Houſes ſhould attend his Majeſty to deliver the ſaid Propoſitions; with ſix Days to be limited for receiving his Majeſty's Anſwer. They delivered them accordingly, and were only told by his Majeſty, *That he would return Anſwer with all conveniency.* The Commiſſioners reported to the Houſes on *Sept.* 13, "That to ſeveral of the Propoſitions his Majeſty "is willing to aſſent: To ſettle Presbytery in this "Kingdom for three Years; and the Militia as he "before offered: That he cannot aſſent to ſome "others, but deſires to put himſelf upon the Pro"poſals of the Army, and that they may be ta"ken into conſideration by the Houſes, profeſſing "his Reſolution to whatſoever ſhall concern the "ſettling the Proteſtant Religion, with Liberty to "tender Conſciences, and the ſecuring the Laws, "Liberties and Properties of all his Subjects, and "juſt Privileges of Parliament, for the future." On *September* 14, his Majeſty's full Anſwer in Writing was read to both Houſes to that effect; That he could not conſent to all their Propoſitions, but deſires them to take into conſideration the Propoſals of the Army, and to have a perſonal Treaty upon them. *His Majeſty therefore conjures his two Houſes of Parliament, by the Duty they owe to God, and his Majeſty their King, and by the Bowels of Compaſſion they have to their Fellow-Subjects, both for Relief of their preſent Sufferings and to prevent future Miſeries; that they will forthwith accept of his Majeſty's Offer, whereby the joyful Tidings of Peace may be reſtored to this diſtreſſed Kingdom.*

The two Houſes begin again to treat with his Majeſty.

They ſend Propoſitions,

And have the King's Anſwer reported;

Sept. 21, the two Houſes reſumed the Debate of the King's Anſwer, and voted it to be a *flat Denial*: and on *Sept.* 23, the Commons voted, That they would once more make application to his Majeſty for his Aſſent to ſuch Things in the Propoſitions as they conceive will moſt make for the Good of this Kingdom: and then ordered ſeveral of the Propoſitions to be turned into Bills, and ſent to his Majeſty for his poſitive Aſſent. This took up long Debates, and occaſioned ſeveral Alterations, and many additional Propoſitions. But in a Conference of the two Houſes *Nov.* 8, the Scheme was diſpatched, with a Preface to perſuade his Majeſty to give his Royal Aſſent; declaring that he ought not to deny to paſs whatever is preſented to him from the two Houſes of Parliament.

The Houſes diſſatisfied.

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The Army had ſtill their Head-Quarters at *Putney*(*a*); where a general Council of Officers, and then a Cabal of Agitators, were continually ſending Petitions, and Demands, and Caſes to the Parliament. The King finding he could have no honourable Terms of Peace, and hoping that in his Abſence the Diſſention between the Houſes and the Army might in time recall him to be the only Centre of Unity, reſolved to break from his Confinement at *Hampton-Court*: and ſo on *Thurſday* Night *Nov.* 11, between the Hours of Eight and Nine, the King in Diſguiſe went from his privy Lodgings through a Door into the Park, and taking a Boat there laid for him, he croſſed over to *Thames-Ditton*, where Sir *John Berkley*, Mr. *Aſhburnham*, and Mr. *Leg*, were placed with Horſes ready for Eſcape. His Majeſty left a Letter in his withdrawing Room for the Commiſſioners of Parliament, to be communicated to both Houſes; dated *Hampton-Court* Novemb. 11, 1647, and beginning thus.

The King breaks from his Priſon of *Hampton-Court*, and leaves a Letter to the two Houſes.

Liberty being that which in all times hath been, but eſpecially now is, the Condition, the Aim, and the Deſire of all Men; common Reaſon ſhews, that Kings leſs than any ſhould endure Captivity. Yet I call God to witneſs, with what Patience I have endured a tedious Reſtraint, which ſo long as I had any hope that this ſort of my Sufferings might conduce to the Peace of my Kingdoms, or the hindring more effuſion of Blood, I did willingly undergo: But now finding by too certain Proofs, that this my continued Patience would not only turn to my perſonal Ruin, but likewiſe be of much more prejudice than furtherance to the publick Good; I thought I was bound, as well by natural as political Obligations, to ſeek my Safety by retiring my ſelf for ſome time from the publick view both of my Friends and Enemies. And ending thus: *To conclude, Let me be heard with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, and I ſhall inſtantly break through this Cloud of Retirement, and ſhall ſhew my ſelf ready to be* Pater Patriæ.

Charles Rex.

The King when eſcaped, knew not where to fly.

The King had ſeemed rather ſollicitous how to eſcape, than where to fly (*b*). We are told, that Mr. *Aſhburnham* diſſwaded him from going to *London*, and led him into *Hampſhire*, and then propoſed the *Iſle of Wight*, where he had a Confidence in Colonel *Hammond* the Governour. His Majeſty ſaid, He would not adventure himſelf, without Aſſurance under the Governour's Hand for his Security; and therefore ſent Mr. *Aſhburnham* and Sir *John Berkley* into the Iſle to treat with *Hammond*, ſtaying himſelf with Colonel *Leg* at *Tichfield-Houſe*; charging them not to let *Hammond* know where he was, without aſſurance under his Hand of Protection and Freedom. But contrary to theſe Directions, they came back, and brought *Hammond* with them: The King in ſome amaze, asked them if they had a Promiſe under *Hammond*'s Hand for his Security; they replying *No*, but they could truſt him as a Man of Honour; the King ſaid, *Then you have betrayed me, and I am his Priſoner.* Which ſharp Reſentment touch'd them ſo near, that they offer'd to kill *Hammond*, and take ſome other courſe for his Majeſty's Safety. But the King utterly rejected the Propoſal, and committing himſelf to Colonel *Hammond*, was on *Nov.* 13, carried croſs to *Cowes* (*c*), and thence through *Newport* to *Cariſbrook-Caſtle*, where he had for ſome Weeks the Attendance of his Servants, and the Liberty of the Iſland. The King immediately wrote a Letter to the two Houſes, *Novemb.* 16, ſignifying, "That "he was confident before this time they had receiv"ed the Meſſage which he left behind at *Hampton-*"*Court* the 11th of this Month; that he would ſtill "have the ſame Endeavours for ſettling a ſafe and "well-grounded Peace. And becauſe *Religion* would "be the greateſt Foundation of Peace, he would "begin with that particular: And though he could "not, as a Chriſtian and a King, aſſent to aboliſh"ing Epiſcopacy; yet he would be content that "the Presbyterial Government, as now in practice, "ſhould continue for three Years. As to the *Mili*"*tia*, tho' by right it was inſeparably inherent to "the Crown by the Laws of the Nation; yet he "would agree, that during his whole Reign, it "ſhould be ordered and diſpoſed by the two Hou"ſes of Parliament. That he would concur in any "thing for Payment of the Army and other publick "Debts. And for the farther ſecuring all Fears, he "will conſent to an Act, That all the great Offices "of State, and naming of Privy Counſellors for "his whole Reign, ſhall be diſpoſed by the two "Houſes of Parliament. And to wipe away the "Memory of all Diſtractions, there ſhould be an "Act to ſuppreſs and annul all Declarations againſt "the Parliament; and an Act of Oblivion to ex"tend to all Subjects. To which purpoſes, his "Majeſty earneſtly deſires a Perſonal Treaty at "*London* with his two Houſes in Honour, Freedom, "and Safety, as the only Means to a firm and ſet"led Peace."

Was in effect, betrayed into the *Iſle of Wight*.

Sends a Letter to the two Houſes.

But the Power being now lodged in two ſeveral Bodies the Parliament and the Army, they were both ſo jealous of one another, that this obſtructed the King's making any Terms with either of them. On *Nov.* 27, the Commons concurred with the Lords to admit of a Perſonal Treaty with his Majeſty, upon his firſt conſenting to theſe four Propoſitions.

Preliminary Propoſitions.

"I. That a Bill be drawn up by conſent of both "Houſes for his Majeſty to paſs into an Act for the "ſettling of the *Militia* of the Kingdom.

"That a Bill be paſſed for his Majeſty's calling "in of all Declarations, Oaths and Proclamations, "againſt that Parliament and thoſe who have ad"hered to him.

(*a*) There has been a conſtant Tradition, that at *Hampton-Court* a ſecret Contract was made between the King and *Cromwell*, that the Army ſhould reſtore his Majeſty, and that *Cromwell*, for his Part in it, ſhould have ten thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* be Earl of *Eſſex*, and have a Garter: And that this Bargain had certainly taken Effect, had not the King made an Apology for it in a Letter to the Queen; and ſufficiently implied, that he did it by Conſtraint, and when at Liberty, and in Power, he ſhould think himſelf diſcharged of the Conditions put upon him. This Letter was ſew'd up in the Skirt of a Saddle, to be ſent to *France*, and was ſeiz'd by *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, waiting themſelves, upon private Intelligence, at an Inn in *Holborn*, and upon it, *Cromwell* declared, there were no Terms to be kept with *Charles Stuart*. It is ſaid, that Dr. *Lane* of the Commons frequently declared, that he had ſeen this Original Letter, that he knew it to be the King's Hand, and that the Contents of it were as before mentioned.

(*b*) If we may credit the Relation given by Sir *John Bowring* Kt. of his own ſecret Tranſactions relating to K. *Ch.* I. delivered in Manuſcript to his Son and Succeſſor K. *Ch.* II. and ſince printed in the *Collection of Private Papers*, 1703. 8*vo*, the King had before thought of the *Iſle of Wight*, and depended there on the Favour of Mr. *Liſle*, who had the greateſt Property and Intereſt in that Iſland. Sir *John Bowring* ſays, upon the King's coming to *Sion-Houſe*, to viſit and dine with the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, and to meet with the Prince Elector, where I was waiting in the Gallery to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand, in ſome Buſineſs: the Prince Elector obſerving his Majeſty to ſpeak ſomewhat privately and kindly to me, told the King, that he knew me, and that I was an Acquaintance of Mr. *Liſle*'s, of the *Iſle of Wight*, who was Chairman of his Revenue, which the Parliament allowed him. The King immediately ſends the Elector into the next Room, and takes me aſide into the Gallery, and his Majeſty was pleaſed to ask me how I came acquainted with Mr. *Liſle* of the *Iſle of Wight?* --The King gave me ſpecial Charge to keep my Friendſhip with Mr. *Liſle*, for ſays his Majeſty, I ſhall in a ſhort time, for ought I know, be in that Man's Power, *&c.* p. 80. —— His Majeſty knew that *Hammond* received his Orders from *Liſle* in all Things, by reaſon *Hammond* was otherwiſe a Stranger to the Iſland. *Ib.* p. 81, &c.

(*c*) The Reverend Mr. *Gilbert*, Miniſter of *Newport* in the *Iſle of Wight*, in the Year 1713, ſhewed to the Reverend Mr. *Willey* an old Carved Bedſtead, on which King *Charles* lay the firſt Night he came aſhore at *Cowes*; on the Head-board of which Bed-ſtead, was carved upon the Wood, in Letters gilt over, *Remember thy End*; which, when the King took notice of in the Morning, he applied it as a Warning for his own Death, and ſo kneeled down by the Bed-ſide, and prayed, and wept, looking upon the Words as a kind of *Sentence* againſt him.

"III. For

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"III. For paſſing an Act that thoſe Lords who were made after the Great-Seal was carried to *Oxford*, may be made uncapable of Sitting in the Houſe of Peers thereby.

"IV. That Power may be given to the two Houſes of Parliament to adjourn as the two Houſes of Parliament ſhall think fit."

The King had applied to Sir *Tho. Fairfax* as General, for the uſe of his Chaplains, and he ſent over Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Holdſworth* and Dr. *Heywood*, for which good reſpect the King thanked him by Letter *Nov.* 27, and on *Decemb.* 6, the King ſent a Meſſage to the two Houſes, to lay before them with what *Patience he had expected their leiſure in acknowledging the receipt of his Meſſage of* Novemb. 16, *that he cannot yet forbear the vehement Proſecution of a perſonal Treaty*; and expoſtulates with them, *whether he had not done his part by diveſting himſelf of ſo much Power and Authority*, and whether he *had met with that Acknowledgment from his two Houſes, which his great Grace and Favour juſtly deſerved?* The Houſes took no notice at all of theſe Meſſages, but having paſſed the four Bills to be ſent to his Majeſty, and drawn their Inſtructions for the Commiſſioners who were to carry them; the Lords named the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *Rutland*, *Pembroke*, *Saliſbury*, *Warwick* and *Mulgrave*; the Commons Mr. *Bulkeley*, Mr. *Liſle*, Mr. *Goodwin*, and Mr. *Kemp*, and theſe were order'd *December* 15, to go to the *Iſle of Wight* with the ſaid Bills and Propoſitions, and there for a certain time to attend his Majeſty's Anſwer; Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Nye* being three Days after voted to go Chaplains with them.

The King paſſionately deſires a Treaty.

Parliam. Commiſſioners.

The *Scots* Commiſſioners being not included in this Treaty, ſent a large Declaration in very high Language to the Parliament, proteſting againſt the ſending of the four Bills, and preſſing for a perſonal Treaty with his Majeſty at *London*, upon ſuch Propoſitions as ſhall be agreed upon by the Advice and Conſent of the two Kingdoms. But the two Houſes were to be frighted by nothing but the Army, and therefore they order'd the Printer of the *Scots* Declaration to be committed; and then returned them an Anſwer full enough of Contempt and Correction.

The *Scots* angry, but deſpis'd by the two Houſes.

The Parliament Commiſſioners coming ſafe to the *Iſle of Wight*, preſented the Bills and the Propoſitions on them to his Majeſty *Decemb.* 24, and he was pleaſed to ſay, that *he was aſſured they could not expect a preſent Anſwer; but he would take the ſame into Conſideration, and give his Anſwer within few Days* (*a*). The *Scots* Commiſſioners came the next Day to the King, and put in their Proteſtation to this effect; "That they had endeavour'd by all Ways and Means to the Parliament of *England* for farthering a happy Peace; having ſeen the Propoſitions and Bills brought to his Majeſty, which they apprehended prejudicial to Religion, the Crown and the Union between the Kingdoms, and therefore in the name of the Kingdom of *Scotland* declare their diſſent."

The King receives the Commiſſioners.

General *Fairfax* wrote to the Houſe of Commons *Decemb.* 31, that there had been ſome Meeting in the *Iſle of Wight*, and a deſign to carry away the King, for which reaſon he had given order to Colonel *Hammond* to have a ſtricter Guard upon his Majeſty's Perſon. Upon which both Houſes agreed, that his Excellency be required to take ſpecial care for ſecuring the Perſon of his Majeſty in *Carisbrook* Caſtle, and that the Governour ſhould obey his farther Orders and Directions. On the ſame Day their Commiſſioners came back from the King, and brought but little Satisfaction with them, reporting, that his Majeſty ſhewed little Inclination to paſs the Bills, or to make a Compoſure in that way, but had barely offer'd a perſonal Treaty (*b*). Upon which, after long Debate *Jan.* 3, the Commons upon the Queſtion, *Whether any Addreſſes ſhould be made hereafter to his Majeſty?* Did reſolve, *That no more Addreſſes be made from the Parliament to the King; nor any Letters or Meſſages received from him*; and at the ſame time certified a good Agreement between the General and the Parliament. And immediately Orders were ſent to Colonel *Hammond* to diſmiſs the King's Servants, and to confine him cloſe within the Bounds of the Caſtle.

The King to be made a ſtricter Priſoner.

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Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert* were the only Perſons allowed to wait upon his Majeſty in his Bed-Chamber. The latter gives this account of the King's Studies in that Confinement: *The ſacred Scripture was the Book he moſt delighted in. He read often in Biſhop* Andrews's *Sermons*, Hooker's *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*, *Dr.* Hammond's *Works*, Villalpandus *upon* Ezekiel, Sandy's *Paraphraſe upon King* David's *Pſalms*, Herbert's *Divine Poems, and alſo* Godfrey *of* Bologin, *writ in* Italian *by* Torquato Taſſo, *and done into* Engliſh *Heroick Verſe by Mr.* Fairfax, *a Poem his Majeſty much commended; as he did alſo* Arioſto, *by Sir* John Harrington, *a facetious Poet, much eſteemed of by Prince* Henry *his Maſter*; Spencer's *Fairy Queen, and the like, for alleviating his Spirits after ſerious Studies. And at this time it was (as is preſumed) he compoſed his Book called* Suſpiria Regalia, *publiſhed ſoon after his Death, and entitled*, The King's Pourtraicture in his Solitudes and Sufferings, *which Manuſcript Mr.* Herbert *found amongſt thoſe Books his Majeſty was pleaſed to give him. And though he did not ſee the King write that Book, his Majeſty being always private when he writ, and thoſe his Servants never coming into the Bed-Chamber when the King was private until he called; yet comparing it with his hand writing in other things, found it ſo very like as induces his Belief that it was his own hand writing, having ſeen ſo much of the King's writing before: and to inſtance Particulars, in that his Majeſty's Tranſlation of Dr.* Saunderſon, *the late Biſhop of* Lincoln's *Book*, De Juramentis, *or like Title, concerning Oaths; all of it Tranſlated into* Engliſh, *and writ with his own Hand, and which in his Bed-Chamber he was pleaſed to ſhew to his Servants Mr.* Harrington *and Mr.* Herbert, *and commanded them to examine it with the Original, they found it accurately Tranſlated.*

How he ſpent his time.

As to this obſervation of Sir *Tho. Herbert*, in preſuming the King while a Priſoner in the *Iſle of Wight* compoſed his Book, it can be meant only of ſome part of it. For indeed it was not a compoſure under any one Confinement, or with any one train of Thoughts; but it was rather an occaſional common place of his Reflections and Meditations, as this and that Juncture and Seaſon did ſuggeſt. Some Chapters were finiſhed before the fatal Battle of *Naſeby*, as among many other Authorities is expreſsly affirm'd by an Eye-witneſs, Major *Huntingdon*, who gave this Account to Sir *William Dugdale*. —— "And as to ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, he ſaith, That after the King was brought to *Hampton-Court*, his Majeſty there acquainting him with the loſs of that Book at *Naſeby* Fight, and deſiring him to uſe his Intereſt to regain it, he did apply himſelf to General *Fairfax*, and by his means obtained it, it being bound up in a white Vellum Cover, and (as he well remembers) all the Chapters in it were written by the Hand of Sir *Edward Walker*, but much corrected with Interlineations by the King's own

Account of the King's Book.

(*a*) See, His Majeſty's moſt Gracious Anſwer to the Bills and Propoſitions preſented to him at *Carisbrook* Caſtle, *Dec.* 24, 1647, declaring he had fulfilled the Offices both of a Chriſtian and a King, and will patiently wait the good Pleaſure of Almighty God. Printed *London*, 1648. *4to.*

(*b*) By the ſeveral Accounts given by two Perſons here attending on the King, the Lord *Lauderdale* and Sir *John Bowring*, it ſeems too plain that the King choſe rather to depend on the *Scots* Commiſſioners, who promis'd to raiſe an Army for him, than on the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners of a Parliament in Arms againſt him. This made his Majeſty fluctuate in his Anſwers, and decline a Compliance which might have reſtor'd him to his Throne, and by degrees to all the Dignities and Powers of it.——His Majeſty himſelf afterwards repented that he did not Sign the Bills, with ſome few Explanations. See the Apology of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and the ſecret Tranſactions of Sir *John Bower*, both printed in the *Collection of Papers*, 1703, ſaid to be found in the Study of the Marqueſs of *Hallifax*.

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“ Hand (the Prayers being all written with the “ King's own Hand) which, he ſays, he very well “ knew ſo to be.”

It is not the buſineſs of a Hiſtorian to collect Authorities for a Matter of Fact, thought to be evident and granted by Mankind, till there aroſe a Set of Men who delighted once more to Judge and Execute this Royal Martyr. And therefore to murder his Name, when they could reach no farther, they pretended his Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ was a Sham put upon the World in his Name by another Hand. But after all the confidence with which this Story has been told, it ſtands apparently convicted of Falſehood by a cloud of Witneſſes. And it really has its Self-conviction; for to ſay, that not King *Charles* but Dr. *Gauden* was the Author of it, carries along two of the moſt improbable things in the World; ſince the private Letters and other uncontested Writings of the King ſhew the Capacity and the Vein of writing that Book; while the profeſt Works of Dr. *Gauden* are a demonſtration that he did not, that he could not write it. It may be confeſt, that Dr. *Gauden* might be employ'd to convey the Sheets to the Preſs; and it was not unlikely that ſuch a forward Man might ſuggeſt ſome things, and might preſume to add ſome others: But that he was the ſole or prime Author of it, can never be believed by the rational part of Mankind. The moſt unhappy Objections againſt the King's Honour in this Caſe, were the known prejudice of his two Sons, and the more remarkable Silence of the Earl of *Clarendon* (*a*).

No more Addreſſes.

To return to the ſevere Reſolution of no longer Addreſſing to the King, the Lords concurred with the Commons in their Votes to that unmerciful purpoſe, and drew up this Preamble which was order'd *Jan.* 17, to be publiſh'd with the Votes. *The Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, after many Addreſſes to his Majeſty, for the preventing and ending this unnatural War raiſed by him againſt his Parliament and Kingdom, having lately ſent four Bills to his Majeſty, which did contain only Matter of Safety and Security to the Parliament and Kingdom, referring the Compoſure of all other Differences to a perſonal Treaty with his Majeſty, and having received an abſolute Negative, do hold themſelves obliged to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours ſpeedily to ſettle the preſent Government in ſuch a way as may bring the greateſt ſecurity to this Kingdom, in the enjoyment of the Laws and Liberties thereof; and in order thereunto, and that the Houſes may receive no Delays and Interruptions in ſo great and neceſſary a Work, they have taken theſe Reſolutions,* &c.

Information to the Commons about the King.

Feb. 4, the Houſe of Commons was certified by Letters from the *Iſle of Wight*, “ That the King was “ in good Health in *Carisbrook* Caſtle, but is obſer- “ ved to be more melancholy than uſual. His Ma- “ jeſty had ſome Diſcourſe lately with the Gover- “ nour Col. *Hammond* about his Reſtraint, and the “ ſtrict Guard upon him; and, in ſhort, his Majeſty “ told the Governour, that that ſhould be the laſt “ Argumentation he would hold with him about it, “ and that he might yet e'er long be beholden to one “ of his Sons for his Life. The Expreſſions ſeem as “ ſtrange as the Reports now alſo ſpread, that Prince “ *Charles* is gone into *Holland*, and that the King “ hath made a Reſignation unto the Prince of the “ Crown of *Scotland*, that he ſhould engage all In- “ tereſts for reſtoring the King in this Kingdom.” And by Expreſs dated *Feb* 5, it was farther certified, “ That his Majeſty takes uſually every Morning a “ Walk about the Caſtle-Wall, and the like in the “ Afternoon if fair; much time ſpent every Day in “ private; he ſpeaks moſt to us at Dinner, asks “ News, particularly concerning *Ireland*, *Scotland*, “ the City of *London*, and the Army; the Death of “ Capt. *Burley* quarter'd at *Wincheſter* is little ſpoken “ of. His Majeſty is as merry as formerly; all “ quiet and fair between his Majeſty and Colonel “ *Hammond* the Governour.”

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A bitter Declaration of the Parliament.

The Parliament, to ſatisfie the People and the Army why they had proceeded to ſuch ſtrange Reſolutions as to ſuffer no farther Addreſſes to the King; drew up a ſolemn *Declaration* for the Reaſons of it, publiſh'd on *Febr.* 15, wherein they load the King with every thing that was odious: “ With making “ all their Addreſſes fruitleſs; with Cruelties done “ at *Brentford*, and a bloody Maſſacre intended up- “ on *London*; with laying a Foundation of all Ty- “ ranny, in ſaying he ow'd an Account of his Acti- “ ons only to God; with a Guilt in the Death of “ his Father King *James*; with betraying *Rochel*, “ and the *Engliſh* Fleet, into the hands of the *French* “ King; with a Deſign of bringing over *German* “ Horſe to enſlave this Nation; with grinding his “ People by Loans, Privy-Seals, Coat and Conduct “ Money, Patents, Monopolies, and that one Com- “ pendium of Slavery, *Ship-Money*; with torturing “ the Bodies of Men by Whipping, ſlitting Noſes, “ cutting off Ears, branding Cheeks, Racks, Pillo- “ ries, and cloſe Impriſonment, with Lording it “ over Souls by Oaths *ex officio*, Excommunications, “ Ceremonies, Articles, new Canons, and Canon “ Oaths; with a ſcandalous Declaration for Diſſol- “ ving the Parliament in 1640; with a Cabal for “ bringing up the Northern Army to awe the Par- “ liament; with ſealing a Commiſſion to the *Iriſh* “ Rebels; with an Unwillingneſs to disband the “ Popiſh *Iriſh* Army; with writing Letters to the “ Pope, and to the Duke of *Lorrain*; with charging “ Members of Parliament with Treaſon, and co- “ ming to the Houſe in that unparallel'd way, as a “ deſigned Prologue to a bloody Tragedy; with the “ Preparation of a Fleet from *Denmark*, and expe- “ cting another from *Holland*; with ſigning the “ moſt illegal Commiſſion of Array, a Commiſſion “ for ten thouſand Rebels to conquer the Parliament “ and *London*:” And at laſt they conclude, that *they could give many Reaſons more why they will make no more Addreſſes, but uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to ſettle the preſent Government, as may beſt ſtand with the Peace and Happineſs of this Kingdom.* A Declaration ſo extremely virulent and falſe, that the Framers of it ſeem'd already to erect the *High Court of Juſtice*, and to draw up the very *Form of Impeachment* againſt the King (*b*).

The People thought the Parliament the greateſt Grievance.

This Proceeding was of ſuch infinite Scandal to all indifferent People, who had yet a Reaſon and a Conſcience left within them; that Diſcontents and Murmurs grew very high, and many Pamphlets were now publiſh'd that ſhew'd the Parliament to be the great Grievance of the Nation; ſuch as, *The Parliament's Ten Commandments*, &c. another intitled, *The New Teſtament of our Lords and Saviours the Houſe of Commons ſitting at* Weſtminſter; and ſeveral others; the Parliament in vain burning the Books, and bidding Money for Diſcovery of the Authors of them.

Death of Lord *Ferdinando Fairfax*.

Monday March 13, *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*, Father of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General, died at *York*, upon a Sickneſs occaſioned by a Bruiſe on his Foot, where he had a Corn growing, which feſter'd and turn'd to a Gangreen; and with the pain of this he fell into a Fever that took away his Life. Upon Information of his Death, the Commons, on *March* 16, order'd, That his Excellency the now Lord *Fairfax* ſhould be Keeper of *Pontefract* Caſtle; *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for *Yorkſhire*, and chief Ranger, *&c.* the Places before held by his deceaſed Father.

(*a*) After all poſſible Enquiries and Diſcoveries, the Truth ſeems to be this; The King himſelf wrote moſt of thoſe Chapters contain'd in that Book upon immediate occaſion of the Subject of them. His looſe Papers came thro' ſeveral Hands into thoſe of Mr. *Symmonds*, a Learned and Loyal Clergyman in *Eſſex*, who communicated them to his Neighbour Dr. *Gauden*, who in order to publiſh them, dreſs'd them up with ſome additional Chapters ſaid to be written by Dr. *Earl*, and threw in Soliloquies and Ejaculations, and put a ſwelling Title to it, and took care of the firſt Impreſſion. Which was enough to value himſelf upon as in effect the Author of the Work in that Form; tho' the King himſelf was certainly the Writer of the beſt Parts of it.

(*b*) See, *The Regal Apology*: Or, the Declaration of the Commons made *Febr.* 11, 1647, canvaſſed, wherein every Objection, and their whole Charge againſt his Majeſty is cleared, and for the moſt part retorted. Printed in the Year 1648. 4*to*.

1647. 23 *Car.* I.

State of Religion.

Religion was to be the Shew in all theſe Proceedings: and therefore *April* 9, the Commons ordered, that on *Thurſday* Fortnight they would debate the Buſineſs of the Church for fourteen Days together, and no private Buſineſs to interveen. And farther ordered, that ſuch Miniſters as are recommended from the Lords to be put into Livings, be referred to the *Aſſembly* to be examined concerning their Abilities for the Miniſtry. According to the foreſaid Order, on *April* 20, the Buſineſs of the Church was taken into Conſideration; and the Obſtructions to the Government of the Church in Presbytery, and the Amendments to the Remedies thereof were reported to the Houſe, and aſſented to. They referred it to a Committee to draw up an Ordinance for the aboliſhing of all Feſtival and accuſtomed Holidays; and to appoint the ſecond *Tueſday* in every Month for a Day of Recreation to all Apprentices, Scholars, and Servants. Next Day they proceeded to order, that the *Aſſembly* ſhould be requeſted to return to the Houſe the Articles of the Church of *England*, and the ſeveral places of Scripture thereunto: and that a Declaration ſhould be drawn up to inform the People of the fond Superſtition of being Touch'd by the King for the Evil.

Proceedings of the Commons.

Of the Aſſembly of Divines.

April 29, the Aſſembly of Divines attended the Commons, and being call'd in acquainted the Houſe, That according to their Orders, they had attended them with their Advice upon the *Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of* England, and the Texts of Scripture thereunto; and upon the *Confeſſion of Faith*, with the Texts of Scripture likewiſe to it. Upon which the Houſe ordered ſix hundred Copies of the Aſſembly's Advice herein ſhould be Printed for the Service of the Houſes and the Aſſembly; and gave the Divines Thanks for their Pains therein.

A Provincial Aſſembly of *London*.

May 3, the Provincial Aſſembly of *London* met in the Convocation-houſe at St. *Paul*'s Church, according to an Ordinance in Parliament of the 29th of *April* laſt paſt, for the farther ſettling Presbytery; and Dr. *Gouge* was choſen Prolocutor. The Ordinance directing that Aſſembly was to this purpoſe; That the Elders of the Claſſis of the Province of *London* ſhould hold this Provincial Aſſembly in the Convocation-houſe at *Paul*'s Church in *London*, upon the firſt *Monday* in *May* next enſuing; and may adjourn their Meeting *de die in diem*, and conclude their Meeting with Adjournments unto the next Opportunity. And that no Act ſhall paſs or be valid in the ſaid Province of *London*, but what ſhall be done by the number of 36 preſent, or the major part of them, whereof 12 to be Miniſters, and 24 to be Ruling Elders. On this ſame Day an Ordinance paſſed both Houſes for regulating the Univerſity of *Oxford* by certain Viſitors, who ſhould *examine upon Oath concerning Neglect of the Covenant, Directory, or Diſcipline, or ſuch as write falſe Doctrine, or have been Enemies to the Parliament* (a).

Ordinance for the Viſitation of *Oxford*.

May 11, Mr. *Byfield* (by appointment of the Aſſembly of Divines) delivered the printed Books of the *Confeſſion of Faith*, with Scripture Notes, to the Members of the Houſes of Parliament. And no more being to be diſperſed, every Member ſubſcribed his Name to a Paper at the Receipt thereof. After the Members have well peruſed and examined them, the Houſes are to conſider, whether they ſhall approve the Publication of them. On *May* 19, the Commons debated the *Confeſſion of Faith*, and ſpent the whole Day therein, paſſing particularly from the firſt Paragraph to the eleventh of the firſt Chapter (b).

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Confeſſion of Faith to be determin'd by the two Houſes.

Attempt of Accommodation between the Presbyterians and Independents.

The Faction between *Presbyterians* and *Independents* was now grown ſo near the Level, that *June* 29, a Committee was appointed in the Houſe of Commons to propoſe godly and able Perſons to conſider of the Matters of Accommodation in Religion, and to preſent their Names to the Houſe. And on *July* 1, they ordered, that the ſaid Committee of Accommodation ſhould meet, and report their Opinion with all convenient ſpeed.

Hereſies and Blaſphemies abound.

Theſe Diviſions gave Encreaſe to all ſorts of Hereſie, with which the Preſs and very Pulpits now ſwarm'd. Among others, Complaint was made to the Houſe of Commons *Sept.* 6, againſt a dangerous Pamphlet wrote by Mr. *John Biddle*, and called his *Twelve Arguments upon the Deity*; expreſsly denying the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, and running out into other abſurd and blaſphemous Tenets. Upon Debate it was ordered, That this Pamphlet ſhould be called in, and burnt by the Hangman; and the Author ſhould be referred to the Examination of the Committee for plunder'd Miniſters. And for a ſhew of preventing the like Poiſon, an Ordinance paſſed both Houſes *Sept.* 27, for ſuppreſſing ſcandalous Papers and Pamphlets; and that no Writing be publiſhed, except the ſame be Licens'd by one or both Houſes of Parliament, or by ſome Perſon authorized by them.

Houſe of Commons much exerciſed in the Debates of Religion.

Octob. 2, the Commons in debating the *Confeſſion of Faith* preſented by the Aſſembly, had got as far as the fourth Chapter; and order'd that theſe Divinity Diſputations ſhould be brought on every *Wedneſday*. The Ordinance for ſettling the Government of the Church in a Presbyterial way was reported to the Houſe of Commons *Octob.* 6, and after the Debate upon it had took up the whole Day, it was order'd to be committed, and to be brought in again with a Clauſe for giving eaſe to tender Conſciences of ſuch as are godly and make a Conſcience of their ways. On the ſame Day a ſtrong Petition was preſented to both Houſes, that able and gifted Men might have liberty to preach without Ordination, being approved by the Parliament (c). To which perfection of Enthuſiaſm, the Lords were forc'd to anſwer, that they *took well this good Affection of the Petitioners to the advancement of the Goſpel.* And the Commons thought fit to give them a yet greater Encouragement, by thanking them for their good Affection to the Kingdom, and by aſſuring them that their Petition was referred to a Committee, to conſider of a way for

Men to preach without Ordination.

(a) See, Ordinance of Lords and Commons for appointing Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, Mr. *Edward Corbet*, and other Commiſſioners, for the Viſitation and Reformation of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, dat. 1. *May* 1647.

See, Reaſons of the preſent Judgment of the Univerſity of *Oxford* concerning I. The Solemn League and Covenant. II. The Negative Oath. III. The Ordinances concerning Diſcipline and Worſhip; approved by general Conſent in a full Convocation, on the firſt of *June* 1647. Printed in Latin *Judicium Univerſitatis*, &c. and then in Engliſh.

(b) The Commons had likewiſe ordered ſix hundred Copies of *the Proceedings of the Aſſembly of Divines upon the Thirty nine Articles of the Church of England*, to be printed for the Service of both Houſes: To which the Aſſembly of Divines put a Preface as an Apology for their ſlow Proceedings; complaining grievouſly of the *Limitations* put upon them.

(c) How far the Papiſts were concern'd in fomenting the War, and driving it on to the very Murder of the King, was ſeriouſly related by Biſhop *Bramhall* to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, in a Letter dat. *July* 20, 1654.——In this Year 1647, many of thoſe Romiſh Orders, who came over the Year before, were in Conſultation together, knowing each other. And thoſe of the King's Party asking ſome, why they took with the Parliaments ſide, it was declared between them, there was no better Deſign to confound the Church of *England*, than by pretending Liberty of Conſcience. It was argued then, that *England* would be a ſecond *Holland*, a Commonwealth, and if ſo, what would become of the KING? It was anſwered, *Would to God it were come to that Point?* It was again reply'd, *Yourſelves have preached ſo much againſt Rome and his Holineſs, that Rome and her Romaniſts will be little the better for that Change:* But it was anſwered, *You ſhall have Maſs ſufficient for a hundred thouſand in a ſhort ſpace, and the Governours never the wiſer.* Then ſome of the mercifulleſt of the Romaniſts ſaid, *This cannot be done unleſs the King die*; upon which Argument the Romiſh Orders thus Licenſed, and in the Parliament Army, wrote unto their ſeveral Convents, but eſpecially to the *Sorboniſts*, *Whether it may be ſcrupled to make away our late Godly King, and his Majeſty his Son?* It was returned from the *Sorboniſts*, that it was lawful for Roman Catholicks to work Changes in Governments for the Mother Church's Advancement, and chiefly in an Heretical Kingdom, and ſo LAWFULLY MAKE AWAY THE KING. Thus much to my Knowledge have I ſeen and heard ſince my leaving your Lordſhip. Life and Letters of Archbiſhop *Uſher*. Fol. P. 611.

examining

1647. 23 *Car.* I. examining ſuch as ſhould be ſo allowed. Thus the Care of Religion was transferred from a Convocation to a new Aſſembly of Divines, from them to a Houſe of Commons, and thence to the Mob.

Presbytery to be eſtabliſh'd. *Octob.* 13, both Houſes ſate upon the Buſineſs of Religion, the Lords were for an Act to be paſſed by the King for ſettling the Presbyterial Government for three Years; with liberty to Diſſenters for the Service and Worſhip of God in any other way, provided ſuch liberty ſhould not extend to any Toleration of the Popiſh Religion, nor to tolerating the practice of any thing contrary to the practice of the Chriſtian Religion, contained in the Apoſtles Creed as expounded in the firſt fifteen Articles of the Church of *England*, according to the true Senſe and meaning of them cleared and vindicated by the *Aſſembly of Divines*. The Commons agreed with them except in thoſe Particulars; They would have the time of eſtabliſhing Presbytery to be until the end of the next Seſſions of Parliament after this, or the end of the ſecond Seſſions: And of doing nothing contrary to the firſt fifteen Articles, they would except the eighth which mentions the three Creeds, made, ſay they, many Years after the Apoſtles: And that the Indulgence to tender Conſciences ſhould not extend to the uſe of the Common Prayer in any Place whatſoever.

Aſſembly's Catechiſm. *Octob.* 20, the Prolocutor attended with many of the Aſſembly, came to the Houſe of Commons, and preſented to their Conſideration a *Catechiſm*, which they had drawn up according to the Order of that Houſe. The Commons it ſeems, thought this Catechiſm too prolix and ſuperfluous, and therefore ſent back their holy Workmen to bring it into a leſs compaſs. So they ſet themſelves to abridging of it, and upon *Novemb.* 25, the Houſe being informed that the *Aſſembly of Divines* were at the Door, they were called in and preſented a Catechiſm, which they called *A ſhorter Catechiſm.* The Houſe ordered, that four hundred Copies of them ſhould be printed for the Service of the Houſe, with the ſeveral places of Scripture in the Margin. Then the Aſſembly were called in again, and Mr. Speaker by command of the Houſe gave them Thanks; and told them that the Houſe did expect, that the *Aſſembly* ſhould give a ſpeedy Anſwer to the Queries formerly ſent unto them; and deſired them to go on in perfecting thoſe things which the Houſe had referred to them.

Abp. *Uſher* allow'd to preach. *Decemb.* 20, a great Debate in the Houſe of Commons, Whether Dr. *Uſher* (Primate of *Armagh*) ſhould continue Preaching at *Lincoln*'s-*Inn*, he having formerly adhered to the Enemy (the King) againſt the Parliament? The Houſe divided, and it was carried in the Affirmative, on condition he take the *Negative Oath*. But leaſt delinquent Miniſters ſhould be encouraged by this Vote, they order'd immediately, that it ſhould be referred to a Committee for plunder'd Miniſters, to ſend for and examine ſuch Miniſters as have adhered to the Enemy, and preach now in the Kingdom, and ſuch as have of late, or now do cauſe the Book of Common-Prayer to be read, and to take care for Silencing of them. And *Decemb.* 24, the Houſe order'd that the Militia ſhould take ſtrict Courſe to put out of the late Lines of Communication all Delinquent Miniſters (*a*).

Severity againſt malignant Miniſters. And next Day, being *Chriſtmas-Day*, the Houſes Sitting (though without a Faſt) complaint was made to the Commons that ſome malignant Miniſters had preached that Morning in honour of the Day. Upon which it was order'd, that the Committee for plunder'd Miniſters have Power given them to examine and puniſh Churchwardens, Sequeſtrators and others, that do countenance delinquent Miniſters to Preach, and to commit them if they ſee Cauſe; and upon which ſome were taken into Cuſtody (*b*).

Jan. 31, an Ordinance paſſed the two Houſes for the ſpeedy dividing and ſettling the ſeveral Counties of this Kingdom into diſtinct Claſſical Presbyteries and Congregational Elderſhips, according to a former Ordinance of *Aug.* 19, 1645, and that a Committee of Lords and Commons ſhall have power to bound the Provincial Aſſemblies in this Kingdom; and to conſtitute Tryers within the Province of *London* where need ſhall require. 1647. 23 *Car.* I.

Ordinance for Repair of Churches. *Feb.* 8, the Commons ſpent much time in Debate of the Advice of the Aſſembly concerning the *Confeſſion of Faith*. The next Day an *Ordinance* paſſed both Houſes for *Repair of Churches*, and paying of Church Rates, to be approved by two Juſtices of Peace; Collectors to be choſen *Monday* and *Tueſday* in *Eaſter-Week*, to give in their Accounts within four Days after the Year is ended, the Goods of Defaulters to be diſtreſſed, and Oppoſers to be committed to the Jayl without Bail or Mainprize. This Ordinance to be read in all Churches and Chapels.

Confeſſion of Faith. *March* 1, the Commons taking into conſideration the Buſineſs of the Church, order'd, that a Return ſhould be made for the *Claſſes* of the ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom by the firſt of *May* next; and that the ſaid Returns ſhould be printed, to the end they may the better know what Counties have failed of their Returns. On *March* 22, the Commons at a Conference preſented the Lords with the *Confeſſion of Faith* paſſed by them with ſome Alterations, *viz.* That they do agree with their Lordſhips, and ſo with the Aſſembly in the Doctrinal part, and deſire the ſame may be made publick, that this Kingdom and all the Reformed Churches of Chriſtendom may ſee the Parliament of *England* differ not in Doctrine. In ſome Particulars they would have ſome Phraſes alter'd, as in that of *Tribute* to the Magiſtrate, they would have it *Dues*; the *Degrees of Marriage* they refer to the Law eſtabliſh'd; Particulars in *Diſcipline* they will have recommitted; and for the *Title* they would not have it *A Confeſſion of Faith*, becauſe not ſo running, *I confeſs*, at the beginning of every Section; but rather *Articles of Faith agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament*, as moſt ſuitable to the former Title of the *Thirty nine Articles*.

On the firſt Day of this new Year *March* 25, 1648, Letters from the *Iſle of Wight* informed the Commons of a new Deſign to carry away the King, which had been diſcovered before it came to perfection. Upon which, ſome in Attendance upon his Majeſty were diſcharged. On *April* 13, other Letters from the Iſle gave account, that the King was in good Health and Pleaſant; had bowled ſeveral times upon the new Bowling-Ally with the Governour, Colonel *Herbert*, and others; and had talked merrily in relation to this Army and the *Scots*. Indeed the *Scots* began now to threaten a new War, for recovering the King out of thoſe Hands into which they had ſold him; and ſome Counties in *England* brought up ſuch bold Petitions to the Parliament, *to condeſcend to the Royal Intimations of his Majeſty for a Perſonal Treaty*; that the Houſe of Commons began to think it their Intereſt to recede from their former Reſolutions of *Non-Addreſſing*: And on *May* 5, they fell to conſider of making ſome farther Application to the King, and paſt a Declaration, "That they will be ready to join "with the Kingdom of *Scotland* in the Propoſitions "agreed upon by the two Kingdoms, and formerly "preſented to his Majeſty at *Hampton-Court*." On *May* 24, the Commons voted, that after his Majeſty had Signed the Bills to be tender'd him by Parliament, for ſettling the Militia of the Kingdom, and the Presbyterian Government, and had recalled all his Declarations, Proclamations, *&c.* againſt both or either Houſes of Parliament; that then a Treaty 1648. 24 *Car.* I. Condition of the King. Voice of the People for a new Treaty.

(*a*) See, Two Petitions of the Sequeſtred Clergy of *England* and *Wales*, one to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty; the other to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, with a Declaration of the General and his Council thereupon, on *Thurſday July* 22, 1647. Printed for *Rich. Royſton* 2, *Aug.* 1647.

(*b*) See, A brief Martyrology and Catalogue of the Learned, Grave, Religious, and Painful Miniſters of the City of *London*, impriſon'd, and plundered and depriv'd from 1641, to 1647, for their Conſtancy in the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſht in this Kingdom, and their Loyalty to their Sovereign. Printed ſheet, 1648, put into *Heylyn's Hiſt. Presb.* p. 446.

See, *Biſhop* Hall's *Hard Meaſure*; written *May* 29, 1647.

ſhould be had with his Majeſty upon the reſt of the Propoſitions preſented to his Majeſty at *Hampton-Court*. On *May* 30, the three Bills to be preſented to his Majeſty in relation to a Treaty were aſſented to by the Commons, and ſent to the Lords for their concurrence; and then to be forthwith ſent to the Parliament of *Scotland*. This good Diſpoſition of the Members was owing to their Danger from ſeveral Inſurrections in moſt Counties of *England* in great Bodies declaring for the King; eſpecially in *Kent* and *Eſſex*. On *June* 23, the Commons were in long debate concerning his Majeſty's Perſon, and put the Queſtion, whether he ſhould be removed from *Cariſbrook-Caſtle* to *Windſor-Caſtle*, in order to a Perſonal Treaty upon ſuch things as both Kingdoms ſhall conclude to be proper? But they could come to no Reſolution. *June* 28, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of *London*, preſented an earneſt Petition to both Houſes, that a perſonal Treaty might be obtained between his Majeſty and the Parliament in the City of *London*, or ſome other convenient Place. This was ſo much the Voice of the Nation, that in a Committee of both Houſes *Jun.* 30, it was agreed; *Firſt*, That the Vote of the third of *January* 1647, forbidding any Addreſſes to be made to, or received from his Majeſty, ſhould be made null. *Secondly*, That the three Propoſitions ſent into the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and to be preſented to his Majeſty before a perſonal Treaty to be had, ſhould not be inſiſted upon. And *Thirdly*, That his Majeſty be removed to ſome of his Houſes within ten Miles of *London*. And yet on *Monday* July 3, thinking their Affairs more hopeful, they reſolved, that the three Bills ſhould be drawn up and ſent as Propoſitions; to which his Majeſty is to give his Approbation by ſubſcribing his Hand before a Perſonal Treaty, and to give aſſurance to paſs them into Acts, ſo ſoon as he ſhall come to *London* and ſit in Parliament; but would not yet conclude on the Time or Place of Treaty. On the contrary, the Lords were for a Treaty without any preceeding Terms; and *July* 8, deſired a Conference with the Commons about the three Propoſitions, that they ſhould not be inſiſted on before the Treaty; and gave their Reaſons in the ſaid Conference *July* 10. 1. *That ſo there may be no delay in the thing, a ſpeedy Perſonal Treaty being ſo much deſired and petitioned for.* 2. *It's the deſire of the Parliament of* Scotland. 3. *The Agreement upon the Treaty will be the more Authentick.* 4. *It is probable, having no Army in being, his Majeſty will condeſcend to that which at* Uxbridge *and* Oxford *he refuſed.* 5. *It's not the way of Treaties to confirm any before all is agreed, eſpecially thoſe of moſt concernment, and that which chiefly will be inſiſted upon.* But the Succeſs of *Cromwel* in *Wales*, of *Lambert* in the *North*, and of the Forces before *Colcheſter*, gave new Spirits to the irreconcileable Members of the Houſe of Commons, who declared *July* 15, that they would adhere to their former Vote, *That his Majeſty ſhould ſign the three Propoſitions before any Perſonal Treaty be had with his Majeſty.* And ſoon after made a Declaration of their *calling to mind the great Victories that God hath pleaſed to give the Parliament's Forces within theſe few late Months over the Enemy, and how God had owned the great Cauſe of the Parliament and Army*; appointing a Day of Thankſgiving for it. But after all, the Citizens of *London* were ſo importunate and poſitive for an immediate Treaty; and Duke *Hamilton* had made ſuch Advances with an Army out of *Scotland* for the King, that the Commons were forced to give back and agree with the Lords for a Treaty without the King's ſigning any Propoſitions (*a*). And it was then reſolved *July* 28, that his Majeſty in Perſon ſhould be treated with by Commiſſioners of both Houſes of Parliament in the *Iſle of Wight*, upon the whole Matter of the Popoſitions at *Hampton-Court*, for ſettling the Peace of this Kingdom. And both Houſes concurr'd in theſe Votes *Aug.* 2. Firſt, "That a Meſſage be "ſent to the King to acquaint him that the Houſes "deſire a Treaty with his Majeſty's Perſon, in what "Place of the *Iſle of Wight* he ſhall appoint, upon the "Propoſitions tendered to his Majeſty at *Hampton-Court*, and concerning Wards and Liveries, and "to treat with Honour and Freedom and Safety to "his Majeſty's Perſon. Secondly, To receive ſuch other Propoſitions to be treated on, as ſhall be preſented by his Majeſty. Thirdly, That Commiſſioners be diſpatched away to his Majeſty by *Friday* next "with the ſaid Votes, and return within ten Days."

The Parliament recal their Votes of Non-Addreſſing.

The Commons decline a perſonal Treaty.

The Lords preſs for it.

The Commons forced to agree with the Lords.

Commiſſioners ſent to the King.

Theſe Commiſſioners were the Earl of *Middleſex*, Sir *John Hippeſley* and Mr. *Bulkley*, who on *Monday* Aug. 7, had Acceſs and Audience of the King at *Cariſbrook-Caſtle*; at which time the Earl of *Middleſex* read the Votes of the Houſes concerning a Perſonal Treaty, and delivered them to his Majeſty, who received them with much cheerfulneſs, and ſpoke to this effect, that *no Man deſired Peace ſo much as he (look on him in his ſeveral Relations, as a King, a Husband, a Father, a Maſter) and that he would give ear to any Motion or Overture which might conduce to a good Accommodation. For* (ſaid he) *whoever they be that gain by theſe Troubles, I muſt needs be a loſer.* His Majeſty demanded of the Commiſſioners, *How long they were to ſtay in the Iſland?* To which it was anſwered by my Lord of *Middleſex*, that they were confined by the two Houſes to ten Days from the time they ſet forth from *London*. His Majeſty replied, "That the Time "was ſhort, and that he had no Clerk to write for "him; but he would nevertheleſs diſpatch them "within the time limited."

And kindly received.

King's Letter to the Parliament.

His Majeſty ſent back his Anſwer in this Letter to the two Houſes. *Cariſbrook-Caſtle Aug.* 10. 1648. *If the Peace of my Dominions were not much dearer to me than any particular Intereſt whatſoever, I had too much Reaſon to take notice of the ſeveral Votes which paſſed againſt me, and the ſad Condition I have been in now above theſe ſeven Months. But ſince you, my two Houſes of Parliament have opened, as it ſeems to me, a fair Beginning to a happy Peace, I ſhall heartily apply my ſelf thereunto. And to that end I will as clearly and ſhortly as I may, ſet you down thoſe things which I conceive neceſſary to this bleſſed Work: ſo that we together may remove all Impediments that may hinder a happy Concluſion of this Treaty, which with all chearfulneſs I do embrace.* The King proceeds to demand firſt, *That they will recall all ſuch Votes and Orders by which People are frighted from Coming, Writing, or Speaking freely to him.* Next, *That Men of neceſſary uſe to him in this Treaty may be admitted to wait upon him.* Then, *That the* Scots *may be invited to ſend ſome Perſons authorized by them to treat upon ſuch Propoſitions as they ſhall make.* As to the Place, *He will name* Newport *in this Iſle; though he cannot but think it a great loſs of Time, to treat ſo far from the Body of the two Houſes.* Concluding, *I have now no more to ſay, but to conjure you by all that is dear to Chriſtians, honeſt Men, or good*

(*a*) It is very plain, that the good Diſpoſition of the Parliament was the moſt part owing to their Fear of *Oliver Cromwel*: Sir *John Bowring*, who had waited on the King, during the late Treaty, and had ſince convers'd with the Members of the Houſe of Commons, tells King *Charles* II. in the Relation of his ſecret Tranſactions, that he had told the Houſe as News out of *Scotland*, that *Cromwell* was to fight and beat Duke *Hamilton*'s Army.——They deſired to know what he thought would be the event of *Cromwell*'s Victory.——I told them 'tis my Opinion, if *Cromwell* beats Duke *Hamilton*'s Army, he will return to *London*, purge the Houſe, and ſet up his own Party the Independents.——They asking my Opinion what to do.——I ſaid, the ſafeſt way is for the Parliament to take off the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and fetch his Majeſty out of the *Iſle of Wight*, and ſettle him ſpeedily in his Throne at *Weſtminſter*, which will prevent *Cromwell* upon preſuming any Deſign with his victorious Army.——The Members made no Anſwer, but returned into the Houſe, after they had talked a while together, and that Afternoon, being *Friday* 28 *July* 1648, they voted a Treaty to be had with the King by the Lords and Commons in the *Iſle of Wight*, &c.——The King was much pleaſed with the News brought privately by Sir *John Bowring* and ſaid to him, I have had a ſad time of it ever ſince the two Houſes impriſoned me in this Caſtle, expecting every hour when I ſhould have been murthered, but you have relieved my Heart now.

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Patriots, that you will make all the Expedition poſſible to begin this happy Work, by haſtening down your Commiſſioners fully authorized and well Inſtructed; and by enabling me (as I have ſhewed you) to Treat. Praying the God of Peace ſo to bleſs our Endeavours, that all my Dominions may enjoy a ſafe and well-grounded Peace.

Good Votes of the Lords.

Upon this Letter the Lords readily voted, "1. That the Votes of both Houſes of Parliament "againſt no farther Addreſſes and Applications to "his Majeſty, be recalled. 2. That ſuch Perſons "as his Majeſty ſhall ſend for, as of neceſſary uſe "to him in the Treaty, be admitted to wait on him. "And that his Majeſty be in the ſame eſtate of "Freedom, as he was laſt in at *Hampton-Court.* "3. That ſuch Servants as his Majeſty ſhall appoint "be ſent to wait on him. 4. That the Place for the "Treaty be *Newport* in the *Iſle of Wight.* 5. That the "*Scots* be invited to treat with his Majeſty; and his "Majeſty admitted to invite them." But Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* having obtained a great Victory againſt Duke *Hamilton*, and the *Scots* Army near to *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire* (*a*); and *Colcheſter* being reduced by *Fairfax* to the utmoſt Extremity; the Commons would not concur in the Votes of the Lords without great Reſtrictions; that no Perſon lately in Arms againſt the Parliament, ſhould be of the number of thoſe to be admitted to the King; and, that he paſs his Royal Word not to go out of the Iſland during the Treaty, nor 28 Days after, without the Advice of both Houſes of Parliament.

The Commons more refractory.

Sir *Peter Killigrew* being ſent from the two Houſes, returned with this Anſwer from his Majeſty, dated *Aug.* 28. *My Lord, and Mr. Speaker, I have received your Letter of the* 25*th of this Month, with the Votes that you ſent me; which though they are not ſo full as I could have wiſhed for the perfecting of a Treaty, yet becauſe I conceive by what you have done, that I am in ſome meaſure fit to begin one, ſuch is my inceſſant and earneſt Deſire to give Peace to theſe my now diſtracted Dominions, as I accept the Treaty: And therefore deſire, that ſuch five Lords and ten Commons as ſhall be appointed, be ſpeedily ſent, fully authorized and inſtructed, to treat with me; not doubting but what is now wanting, will at our Meeting, upon debate, be fully ſupplied, not only to the Furtherance of this Treaty but alſo to the Conſummation of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace. So I reſt your good Friend,* Charles R.

King's Anſwer to the two Houſes.

Colcheſter ſurrender'd.

The ſame Day this Letter was read in the Houſes, *Aug.* 29, News came, that the Town of *Colcheſter* was ſurrendered Yeſterday according to Articles, all the Priſoners at Mercy, the Town preſerved from Plunder paying Fourteen thouſand Pounds. That Afternoon a Council of War was called; at which it was reſolved, that Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Liſle*, and Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne*, ſhould be ſhot to Death. The two firſt were barbarouſly ſo executed, the latter, being the only Papiſt, was reprieved and ſaved by the General. The Characters of the two Gentlemen that ſuffered, are thus drawn by the Lord *Clarendon:* "The two that were thus murdered, "were Men of great Name and Eſteem in the War; "the one being held as good a Commander of Horſe, "and the other of Foot, as the Nation had, but of "very different Tempers and Humours. *Lucas* "was the younger Brother of the Lord *Lucas*, and "his Heir both to the Honour and Eſtate, and had "a preſent Fortune of his own. He had been bred "in the *Low Countries*, under the Prince of *Orange*, "and always amongſt the Horſe. He had little "Coverſation in that Court, where great Civility "was practis'd and learned. He was very brave in "his Perſon, and, in a Day of Battle, a gallant "Man to look upon, and follow; but at all other "Times and Places, of a Nature ſcarce to be lived "with, of no good Underſtanding, of a rough and "proud Humour, and very moroſe Converſation; "yet they all deſired to accompany him in his "Death. *Liſle* was a Gentleman who had the ſame "Education with the other, and at the ſame time "an Officer of Foot; had all the Courage of the "other, and led his Men to a Battle with ſuch an "alacrity, that no Man was ever better followed; "his Soldiers never forſaking him; and the Party "which he commanded never left any thing undone "which he led them upon. But then to his Fierceneſs of Courage he had the ſofteſt and moſt gentle "Nature imaginable; was kind to all, and belov'd "by all, and without a Capacity to have an Enemy. The Manner of taking the Lives of theſe "worthy Men was new, and without Example, and "concluded by moſt Men to be very barbarous; and "was generally imputed to *Ireton*, who ſway'd the "General, and was upon all Occaſions of an unmerciful and bloody Nature."

The King haſtens on the Treaty.

Sept. 7. Sir *Peter Killigrew* returned again from the *Iſle of Wight*, with an Anſwer from his Majeſty, *That he deſires the Treaty may be haſtened; that he could have wiſhed all thoſe he deſires might have been admitted to him, but will not let that hinder the Treaty; and now deſires, that Dr.* Duck *and Dr.* Reeves, *two Civil Lawyers, may be admitted for his Service in the Treaty.* Sir *Peter* farther reported, That his Majeſty ask'd a Gentleman, who wore Black-Ribbon, and was there with him, *Who he mourned for?* He anſwer'd, for Sir *Charles Lucas:* And being told of his Death, his Majeſty wept. Letters came from the Iſland *September* 11, with Advice, that his Majeſty had his Liberty out of *Cariſbrook-Caſtle* Wedneſday laſt: that after he had dined, the Gentlemen about him rid with him to *Newport*, and his Majeſty was now at Sir *William Hodges*'s, the Place appointed for the Treaty: that ſome of his new Attendants were come, others expected; and the Book of Common-Prayer was uſed again. *September* 14, Intelligence was given, that the Duke of *Richmond*, and moſt of the Lords, Miniſters, Lawyers, and Gentlemen, nominated in the Liſt to attend the King upon the Treaty, were now with him, and had kiſs'd his Hand; and that the King told them, *He was glad they were admitted to be with him in the Treaty:* That his Majeſty had given them Inſtructions, and daily expected the Commiſſioners from the Parliament. Other Letters from thence, read *September* 16, (*b*) ſaid, the Parliament Commiſſioners were come, a good Correſpondence on both ſides, and the Treaty to begin on *Monday* Morning. *Saturday* Sept. 16, the Commiſſioners waited on the King, kiſs'd his Hand, and acquainted him with their Meſſage from the Parliament. His Majeſty made a ſhort Speech in Anſwer to them; *That he was glad they were come to Treat with him, for the ſettling of his poor bleeding Kingdom in Peace; and deſired God to perfect this bleſſed Work; profeſſing, that he was in Charity with all of them, and not willing to ſeek Revenge againſt any, nor give occaſion of Delays: deſiring that there may be no procraſtinating of Time; but that being only a broken piece of a Day, and the laſt Day of the Week too, he deſired the Treaty might begin at Nine a Clock on* Monday *Morning; and from thence the Treaty to commence.* Accordingly on *Monday* Sept. 18, the King and Commiſſioners met at the Houſe of Sir *William Hodges*, and began the Treaty. The Commiſſioners firſt preſented the three Bills, for Religion, the Militia, and the Recalling his Majeſty's Proclamations and Declarations againſt the Parliament. Then the two firſt Days were ſpent in laying down the Method that was to be obſerved: *viz.* That *nothing ſhould be binding on either ſide, but*

The Commiſſioners attend the King.

Opening of the Treaty.

(*a*) See ſundry Reaſons inducing Major *Robert Huntingdon* to lay down his Commiſſion, humbly preſented to the Honourable Houſes of Parliament, dat. *Aug.* 2. 1648, diſcovering many Intrigues of the Hypocriſy and falſe dealing of *Cromwell* and *Ireton.* Printed in the Year 1648. 4*to.*

(*b*) See a Form of Prayer uſed at *Newport* in the *Iſle of Wight*, by his Majeſties Direction, upon the 15th of *September* 1648, being the Day of Faſting and Humiliation for the obtaining a Bleſſing upon the Perſonal Treaty between the King and his two Houſes of Parliament. *London*, Printed for *Richard Royſton*, 1648. 4*to.*

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what ſhould be expreſſed in Writing; and not that, till the Concluſion of the Treaty. His Majeſty deſired that the Preamble to the Propoſitions might be laid aſide, becauſe it charged all the Blood, ſhed in the three Kingdoms, upon himſelf and Thoſe who adhered to him. The Commiſſioners inſiſted on the Preamble to be made part of the Act of Parliament, till the King, againſt Judgment, yielded to it. Upon which Conceſſion, the Commiſſioners wrote to the Parliament, that on *September* 25, the King had declared, he would conſent to paſs the Preamble as was deſired: Which being done, great Hope is given to all Hearts, that this is the Fore-runner of a happy Peace and Eſtabliſhment; the King having declared, That nothing of his particular Intereſt ſhall hinder the Progreſs of this Treaty.

King agrees to the hard Preamble.

Propoſals of the K.

October 2, A Letter from his Majeſty was brought to both Houſes by Captain *Titus*, with Propoſals, that as to *Religion*, his Majeſty will conſent, that the Calling and Sitting of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and the *Directory*, and *Presbyterian Government*, ſhall be confirmed for three Years; provided his Majeſty, and thoſe of his Judgment, be not obliged to comply with the ſame. Concerning the *Biſhops Lands and Revenue*, his Majeſty will conſent to an Act whereby legal Eſtates for Lives or for Years, not exceeding 99, ſhall be made for thoſe Lands towards the Satisfaction of the Purchaſers; provided the Propriety and Inheritance of thoſe Lands may ſtill remain to the Church. His Majeſty will give his Royal Aſſent for the better *Obſervation of the Lord's-Day*; for ſuppreſſing of *Innovations* in Churches and Chapels; for Acts againſt Plurality and *Non-Reſidence*; for Regulating and Reforming *Univerſities* and *Colleges*; for the better Diſcovery and ſpeedy Conviction of *Popiſh Recuſants*; for the Education of their Children by Proteſtants; and for preventing the Hearing or Saying of Maſs, and for putting the *Militia* into the Parliament's Hands for ten Years, *&c.* But the Commons, upon Debate of this Meſſage, voted the ſame to be unſatisfactory. (*a*)

Voted not ſatisfactory.

October 7, Letters were ſent to the Parliament from their own Party, that the great Buſineſs inſiſted on was the Propoſition for ſettling Religion, which was like to take up ſome time: That his Majeſty had given a Paper to the Commiſſioners, of the Reaſons wherefore he could not condeſcend to take away Biſhops, and the Government by Biſhops, which he conceived to be of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, and alledged ſeveral Scriptures to that purpoſe: He alſo propounded ſome Queries concerning Presbyterial Government, which were referred to the Parliament Miniſters who waited on the Commiſſioners, Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caryll*, and Mr. *Seaman*. A Day or two after, his Majeſty had ſaid, that *He was bred and inſtructed in the way he ſtands for, by his Father the wiſeſt King and beſt in the World, and therefore could not eaſily yield*; and yet he had already yielded far, having denied in effect nothing but the abſolute Sale of Biſhops Lands, which he thought to be Sacrilege, and to be againſt his Coronation-Oath. That in a Debate about the *Directory* the King had asked, *What Fault they found in the Common Prayer Book?* It was replied, That the Liturgy was taken out of the Maſs-Book, only ſpoiled in the Tranſlation; and that his Majeſty's Father, King *James*, had ſo confeſſed it to be: to which his Majeſty had ſaid, *That if it were good in it ſelf, that did not make it ill.* As to the aboliſhing of Biſhops, his Majeſty would by no means conſent to it; but had ſince made Offer of a limited and regulated Epiſcopacy. The Form of this Offer (which ſhall be recited among the Affairs of Religion) was read and debated in the Houſe of Commons, who voted that his Majeſty's Paper concerning Religion was not ſatisfactory. And then ordered their Commiſſioners not to proceed to the Debate of any new Propoſition, till this concerning the Church were firſt ſigned by his Majeſty. This was on *October* 11, on which very Day the King had given his Conſent to the Propoſition concerning *Ireland*; and preſently after to another Propoſition for taking away all Honours conferred ſince *May* 20, 1642, and to great part of the Propoſition concerning *Delinquents*; ſubjecting them to any Penalties except the loſs of Life. *October* 23, his Majeſty farther conſented to theſe other Propoſitions: 1. To that of the Nomination of the great Officers of the Kingdom, as deſired. 2. To that concerning the City of *London*, as deſired. 3. To that concerning the Great Seal, as deſired. 4. And to that concerning the Court of Wards, as deſired; a Recompence being aſſured to his Majeſty of one hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum* to him and his Heirs in lieu of it. (*b*)

Debates of Religion.

... and Compliance of the King.

Cromwel's Victory exalts the Commons.

But ſuch now was the Miſery of this vanquiſhed Prince, and ſuch the Inſults of the conquering Party, that ninety and nine Conceſſions would not have ſatisfied, if any ſingle one of a hundred had been denied. And therefore, upon the returning of *Cromwel* with Victory out of *Scotland*, the Commons voted *October* 27, that his Majeſty's Anſwer concerning the taking of the *Covenant* was *Unſatisfactory*; and that his other Anſwers concerning the taking away Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, *&c.* concerning the aboliſhing of Popery, and concerning the alienating of Biſhops-Lands, were all *Unſatisfactory*: and within few Days after, that his Meſſage as to *Delinquents*, his Anſwer concerning the Church, and concerning *Ireland*, were likewiſe *Unſatisfactory*.

The Army breaks off the Treaty.

(*c*) Upon this, the Army, inſtructed by their Leaders, preſented to the Houſe of Commons a large *Remonſtrance*; wherein they declare, that the Parliament hath abundant cauſe to lay aſide any farther Proceeding in this Treaty, and to return to their Votes of *Non-Addreſſes*, that the King may come no more to Government, but be *brought to Juſtice*, as the capital Cauſe of all Evils. In this was the hand of *Cromwel*; who, being at the Leaguer before *Pontefract* in his Return from *Scotland*, induced all the Regiments under him to petition againſt the Treaty,

(*a*) Sir *John Bowring* tells us, that coming down from *London*, and being admitted into the King's Cloſet with Sir *Edward Walker* only; Sir, ſaid I, this Treaty is not obtained of any Intention your Majeſty ſhould or can poſſibly make your Peace by it, but it is deſign'd only of purpoſe to get your Majeſty liberty to go away, and to have Friends to help you. But looking the King in the Face, I found his Majeſty's Countenance to alter very much, and to grow pale as I ſpake to his Majeſty. Whereupon I immediately apprehended his Majeſty miſliked my Advice of getting away. Upon which I inſtantly ſaid, *Yet, Sir, if your Majeſty does think* in your better Judgment, you can make your more certain Peace by Treating than you can by going away; then I beg of your Majeſty to make your Majeſty's Conceſſions in one Declaration, and at one Inſtant, and in one Day.——Forty Days was only a Trick of *Cromwel*'s Party——that within that time *Cromwel* may have diſpatched in *Scotland*, and return to *London* with his Army, &c.

(*b*) See, A Journal dated from *Newport*, *Octob.* 28, 1648, of the King's Conference with the Biſhops and Clergy: the Biſhop of *London*'s Speech; the Sermon on the Faſt-Day, &c. Printed *4to.* 1648.

In the Collections of Archbiſhop *Teniſon* in the *Lambeth* Library, are ſeveral Original Letters of Biſhop *Duppa*, Dr. *Robert Sanderſon*, and others attending on the King. Dated from *Newport* in *September* and *October* 1648, giving an Account of the King's Conceſſions, and the ſad Neceſſity of them, &c.

(*c*) The firſt Notice brought to the King of the bloody Intention of the Army againſt him, was by Sir *Peter Killigrew*, who came to *Newport* to the King in the Preſence-Chamber, Sir *J. Bowring* being by, and ſeveral other Perſons. The King enquiring what News, and from whence he came: without much Circumſtance he ſaid, He came from *London* yeſterday, and to Day from *Windſor*. But, Sir, I am loth to tell your Majeſty how things are like to be with your Majeſty, if God does not pleaſe to preſerve you miraculouſly: and yet, ſays he, I came on purpoſe to let your Majeſty underſtand it, that you may provide for your Safety in time, I may go to Priſon for this. Sir, The Army have reſolved at *Windſor* in Council, and in Council in ſeveral other Places in and about *London*, to take you out of the *Iſle of Wight* by force, and bring your Majeſty to *London*, try you for your Life, and murther you publickly. His Majeſty not at all daunted, anſwered, He could not believe they would Murder him, and that he believed it would be a more difficult thing for them to attempt any ſuch thing than was imagined, and moſt unſafe to themſelves, &c.

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and for Juſtice on the King. The *Remonſtrance* not being immediately conſidered in the Houſe of Commons, another Declaration of the General and his Council of Officers was agreed upon *November* 30, in farther Proſecution of the Ends of their late *Remonſtrance*, and to ſhew the Grounds of the Army's Advance toward *London*.

And ſeize upon the King.

This Cabal in the Army reſolved once more to ſeize upon the Perſon of the King, the manner of which is thus related by Colonel *Edward Cook*, who drew up the Narrative next Morning, by Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Lindſey*, at the King's Command (*a*). "Upon rumour of ſuch an "Attempt upon the King—— the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Lindſey*, upon Advice of Colonel *Cook*, agreed for the King's attempting an immediate Eſcape, as the readieſt way to procure a "perſonal Treaty with the Parliament ——— But "before they could proceed to debate the Manner "of this Eſcape, the King prevented it, arguing a"gainſt the Eſcape it ſelf. *Firſt*, He urged the "great Difficulty, if not Impoſſibility, of accom"pliſhing it. Next, that in caſe he ſhould miſ"carry in the Attempt, it would exaſperate the "Army, and diſhearten his Friends. And Laſtly, "if the Army ſhould ſeize him, they muſt preſerve "him for their own ſakes; he being convinced, "that no Party could ſecure their own Intereſt "without joining his to it, his Son being out of "their Reach——After ſome Conſult, the King "commanded Colonel *Cook* to give his Advice; who "did it thus: *Suppoſe I ſhould not only tell your Ma"jeſty that the Army deſigned ſuddenly to ſeize your Ma"jeſty, but by concurring Circumſtances ſhould fully con"vince you that it would be ſo: Alſo, that I have the "Word, and Horſes ready at hand (they being not far "off in a readineſs under the Penthouſe;) That I had "alſo a Veſſel attending me by the Cows, nay hourly "expecting me; My ſelf likewiſe both ready and deſirous "to attend your Majeſty; and the Darkneſs of the Night "as it were ſuited to the Purpoſe; ſo that I can foreſee "no viſible Difficulty in the Thing; which I ſuppoſe in "all its Particulars to be the true ſtate of this preſent "Caſe: The only now remaining Queſtion is, If ſo, "what will your Majeſty reſolve to do?* The King, af"ter a ſmall Pauſe, delivered this poſitive Anſwer, "*They have promiſed Me, and I have promiſed Them, "and I will not break firſt.* The Duke of *Richmond* "preſſing the Colonel to ſpeak, he craved Leave "to argue the Point with the King: His Majeſty "replied, *With all my Heart. I preſume Sir* (then "ſaid the Colonel) *your Majeſty intends by theſe "Words* They *and* Them *the* Parliament, *to whom "your Majeſty made that Promiſe you mention. If ſo, "the Scene is now quite changed, the preſent Appre"henſion ariſing from the Army, who have already ſo "far violated the Votes and Promiſes of the Parlia"ment, as to invade your Majeſty's Freedom and Safety, "by changing the ſingle Centinel of State at the outward "Door, contrary to their declared Promiſe, into ſtrong "Guards on your very Bed-Chamber; which in it ſelf is "no better than a Confinement, and in all probability a "Forerunner of ſomething worſe.*"

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"The King replied (*b*), *However he would not do any "thing that ſhould look like a breaking of his Word;* "and ſo bad him and the Earl of *Lindſey* good "Night, and *that he would go and take his reſt too as "long as he could. Which, Sir* (replyed Col. *Cook*) "*I fear will not be long.* The King perceiving a great "Uneaſineſs and Diſturbance in Col. *Cook*, ſaid, "Ned *what troubleth thee, tell me?* Who anſwered, "*Sir, to conſider the greatneſs of your Majeſty's Danger, "and your unwillingneſs to obviate it.* To which the "King made this Reply, *Never let that trouble you, "were it greater I would not break my Word to prevent "it.* ——— Next Morning, *December* 1, juſt at "break of Day the King hearing a great knocking "at his outward Door, ſent the Duke of *Richmond* "to ask, *What it meant?* Who demanding *who was "there?* It was anſwered, my Name is *Mildmay:* "One of thoſe Servants the Parliament had put to "the King, and Brother to Sir *Henry*. The Duke "demanded, *What he would have?* Who anſwered, "*There were ſome Gentlemen from the Army very deſirous "to ſpeak with the King.* Which account the Duke "gave the King; but the knocking rather increa"ſing, the King commanded the Duke to let them "into the Room. No ſooner was this done, but "before the King could get from his Bed, thoſe Of"ficers ruſhed into his Bed-Chamber and abruptly "told the King, that they had Orders to receive him. "*From whom*, ſaid the King? they reply'd, *from the "Army.* The King then ask'd, *to what Place? To "the Caſtle*, ſaid they. The King demanded, *To "what Caſtle?* Again they anſwered, *to the Caſtle. "The Caſtle*, ſaid the King, *is no Caſtle:* And added, "*he was well enough prepared for any Caſtle*, requiring "them to name the Caſtle. After a ſhort whiſper "together, they ſaid, *Hurſt-Caſtle. Indeed*, ſaid the "King, *you could not have named a worſe.* Where"upon the King called to the Duke of *Richmond* to "ſend for the Earl of *Lindſey* and Col. *Cook*. At "firſt they ſcrupled at the Earl of *Lindſey*'s coming, "the King ſaid, *Why not both, ſince both lye together?* "Then having whiſper'd together, they promiſed to "ſend for both, but ſent for neither. And tho' the "Duke of *Richmond* had order'd the King's Breakfaſt "to be haſten'd, preſuming there was little Proviſion "made in that deſolate Caſtle; nevertheleſs when his "Majeſty was ſcarce ready, the Horſes being come, "they hurried him away, permitting only the Duke "of *Richmond* to attend him two Miles, and then tel"ling him he muſt go no farther; where he ſadly "took leave of his Majeſty, ſcarce being permitted "to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand, whoſe laſt Words to the "Duke were, *Remember me to my Lord of* Lindſey, "*and to Col.* Cook, *and command Col.* Cook *from me "never to forget the Paſſages of this Night.*"

(*a*) See, Certain Paſſages which happened at *Newport* in the *Iſle of Wight*, *Novemb.* 29, 1648, relating to King *Charles* I. written by Mr. *Edward Cook* of *Highnam* in *Glouceſterſhire*, ſometime Colonel of a Regiment under *Oliver Cromwel*; firſt publiſht in 4*to.* 1690, with a Preface. [Written by Dr. *Tho. Teniſon*, as he himſelf when Archbiſhop told me, and at the ſame time he complain'd, that the Preface was left out in a following Edition.]

(*b*) Sir *John Bowring*, Kt. in his Account of Secret Tranſactions in the *Iſle of Wight*, ſpeaks much of the frequent Importunities and convenient Offers he made to the King for an Eſcape out of the Iſland, and had brought him at laſt to ſome Inclination to it: when on the ſudden his Majeſty made me a private Sign to follow him into his Cloſet. As ſoon as I was in, his Majeſty was pleas'd to tell me, he had received this Morning early ſome Letters from a Friend beyond Seas, wherein he was adviſed not to go out of the Iſland by any means, for it was not in the power of the Army to do his Majeſty the leaſt harm, or to touch one Hair of his Head, and ſhew'd me the Letter. So that, ſays his Majeſty, if I ſhould go with you now, as I thought to have done, and things fall out otherwiſe than well with me, and the rather becauſe my Treaty hath had ſo fair an End as you ſee by their Votes, *That my Conceſſions are Satisfactory*, and eſpecially ſince I have received this Advice [you gueſs from whence it comes] I ſhall be alway blamed hereafter; and ſo told me ſome more private and material Reaſons, which I durſt die, if ever they ſhould happen. I anſwered his Majeſty, and ſhall [ſays Sir *John Bowring* to King *Charles* II.] if your Majeſty be pleaſed tell them to your Majeſty, but thought not fit to write them in this Paper. And his Majeſty further ſaid, the Duke of *Richmond* was of the ſame Opinion with him. *Therefore*, ſays his Majeſty, *I am Reſolved to ſtay here, and God's Will be done.* ——— I doubt there is a Key to this Secret piece of Hiſtory in a Letter from the Queen to his Majeſty in the *Iſle of Wight*, once in the Hands of Mr. *Lenthal* Son of the Speaker, who ſhew'd it to a particular Friend who ſpoke of it to Perſons of great Worth and Figure, that he had ſeen and read ſuch a Letter from the Queen diſſuading his Majeſty from attempting to ſave his Life by any Eſcape to *France:* Whether She did this from a timerous Apprehenſion of greater Danger if he ſhould be taken; or (as intimated) from an indifference to the King's Perſon, and a familiar Acquaintance contracted with the Lord *Aubigney*, is not ſo eaſy or fit to determine. But if the King was really detain'd by ſuch a Letter of Advice from the Queen, when he would and might otherwiſe have eſcap'd; the Match was the more fatal to him, when She chiefly brought Him to his Troubles, and now prevented his only Deliverance from a violent Death.

The

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The Two Houſes made Priſoners as well as the King.

The next Day after this perfidious Exploit, the General *Fairfax* with ſeveral Regiments of Horſe and Foot marched to *London*, and took up their Quarters in *White-hall*, St. *James's*, the *Mews*, *York-Houſe*, and other parts of *Weſtminſter* and the adjacent Villages. By which means the Parliament who had ſo long kept their King a Priſoner, were themſelves made Priſoners of War to the Army; and had only leiſure to repent, that this Treaty was in this manner diſſolved, which they might have concluded with ſo much Honour and Intereſt at leaſt to themſelves. While all that the Commons could now do was to Vote *Decemb.* 4, *That the ſeizing upon the Perſon of the King, and carrying him Priſoner to* Hurſt-Caſtle, *was without the Advice or Conſent of the Houſe.* A ſorry Confeſſion, that they would not prevent it, and could not now help it. (*a*)

Excellent Sayings of the King.

And here, becauſe the private Converſation and occaſional Sayings of a Prince (eſpecially in times of Trial) repreſent him better than any other Marks and Characters whatever. Take this Account of ſome Paſſages given by an Ear-Witneſs, Sir *Philip Warwick*. "In the Treaty at *Newport*, two Replies "which the King made to two Gentlemen that Day "were obſervable; the one to a Gentleman who is "now a Lord, who preſs'd ſomewhat upon him hard-"ly: *A good Nature, Sir,* (ſays he) *would not offer* "*this you ſay, nor is it true Logick:* And then made "another kind of ingenious Reply unto Mr. *Buckly* "(who was a Gentleman of that Iſland, and now "a Commiſſioner) when he prayed the King to "make right uſe of this Treaty.—— *Conſider* "(ſays he) *Mr.* Buckly, *if you call this a Treaty,* "*whether it be not like the Fray in the Comedy; where* "*the Man comes out and ſays there has been a fray and* "*no fray. And being asked, how that could be? Why,* "*ſaith he, there have been three Blows given and I had* "*them all. Look therefore whether this be not a pa-*"*rallel Caſe, obſerve whether I have not granted abſo-*"*lutely moſt of your Propoſitions, and with great modera-*"*tion limited only ſome few of them; nay conſider, whe-*"*ther you have made me any Conceſſion, and whether at* "*this preſent Moment you have not confeſſed to me, that* "*though upon any Propoſition you were all concurrently* "*ſatisfied, yet till you had remitted them up to your Su-*"*periors, you had not Authority to concur with me in* "*any one thing.*—— About the latter end of the "Treaty, finding it was like to be ineffectual: *I* "*wiſh* (ſays he) *I had conſulted no Body but my own* "*ſelf; for then where in Honour or Conſcience I could* "*not have comply'd, I could early have been poſitive:* "*For with* Job *I would have willinglier choſen Miſery* "*than Sin.* When he was preſs'd by the Parliament "Miniſters to give way for a ſmall Catechiſm for "Children, *I will not* (ſays he) *take upon me to de-*"*termine all theſe Texts you quote are rightly applied,* "*and have their true ſenſe given them: And I aſſure* "*you, Gentlemen, I would licenſe a Catechiſm at a ven-*"*ture ſooner for Men than I would for Children, be-*"*cauſe they can judge for themſelves: And I make a* "*great Conſcience to permit that Children ſhould be cor-*"*rupted in their firſt Principles.* —— I remember "one Evening, when I waited on the King with the "Notes that paſſed that Day (and then ſometimes "he would eaſe himſelf by ſome Diſcourſe on the "by) his Majeſty told me, *That he ſhould be like a* "*Captain that had defended the Place well, and his Supe-*"*riours not being able to relieve him, he had leave to* "*ſurrender it; but he reply'd, though they cannot relieve* "*me in the time I demand it, let them relieve me when* "*they can; elſe I will hold it out till I make ſome Stone* "*in this Building my Tomb-ſtone: And ſo will I do* "(ſays he) *by the Church of* England. Another "time talking of the unreaſonableneſs of the two "Houſes Propoſitions about the Civil Government, "*Well,* (ſays he) *they will ask ſo much, and uſe it ſo* "*ill, that the People of* England *will be one Day glad* "*to relodge the Power they had taken from the Crown* "*where it is due; and I have offended againſt them more* "*in the Things I have granted them, than in any thing* "*I ever deſigned againſt them.* —— Theſe were the "moſt material things my Memory will ſerve me "to recollect.——Things of a leſſer Nature were "theſe; That obſerving him drink two parts Wa-"ter and one Sack, I preſumed to ask, how he came "to leave *French* Wine, he told me, *They afforded* "*him not good, and then he thought this the better* "*brewage. Nay,* (ſays he) *whilſt I have been here* "*among them, I have wanted Linnen, which tho' I took* "*notice of I never complained of.* Another time he "looking out of his Preſence-Chamber Window at "*Newport*, I being in the Room he beckoned me, "and ſhewed me in the Street an old little crump-"ling Man, and ask'd whether I knew him; *No,* "*Sir,* (ſaid I) *I never ſaw him before. I ſhew him* "*you* (ſays he) *becauſe that was the beſt Companion* "*I had for three Months together in* Cariſbrook-Caſtle, "*where he made my Fires.* Methinks, becauſe it "ſhews his diſeſteem of a common Court-Vice, it "is not unworthy the relating of him, that one "Evening his Dog ſcraping at the Door, he com-"manded me to let in *Gipſey*; whereupon I took "the boldneſs to ſay, *Sir, I perceive you love a Grey-*"*hound better than a Spaniel. Yes* (ſays he) *for they* "*equally love their Maſters, and do not flatter them* "*ſo much.*"

(*b*) We ought not to leave the *Iſle of Wight* without obſerving, that the King drew up a full account of the Treaty in a Letter to the Prince, which he began before the firſt forty Days was expired, and continued it as the Treaty was lengthen'd, even to the Hour it was concluded, and finiſhed it the 29th of *Nov.* after the Commiſſioners were departed, and with it ſent a very exact Copy of all the Papers which had paſſed in the Treaty; the perfect Copies whereof are lately printed in the *Hiſtorical Diſcourſes* of Sir *Ed. Walker*, who was the chief Clerk employed by his Majeſty during that Treaty. The Lord *Clarendon* relates, that the Letter to the Prince was all in the King's own Hand, and contained above ſix Sheets of Paper; in which he made a very particular Relation of all the Motives and Reaſons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to make thoſe Conceſſions. The Concluſion of the Letter, as it was dated the 25th of *November* (what was added to it after till the 29th, was but the additional Paſſages

(*a*) In a Paper intituled by Mr. *Griffyth*, into whoſe Hands it came, *Several Remarks concerning the Intrigues of Sir* Henry Vane, *by Mr.* Coytmore *Servant to* Robert *Earl of* Warwick, now in the Hands of this Writer, it is ſaid; Sir *Henry Vane* was one of the Commiſſioners returning out of the *Iſle of Wight*, who were about a Fortnight after to make Report to the Houſe of their Proceedings with the King, but they ſtaid the longer from making their Report, until *Oliver* returned with his Army from the Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*. Moſt of the Commiſſioners were for the Conceſſions, ſaving Mr. *St. John*, and Sir *Henry Vane*, who (as it is reported) made many invective Speeches againſt the Proceedings there, and, in fine, Sir *Henry Vane* ſaid then in the Houſe, that there was no Truſt to be given to any thing that the King had ſaid there. After that he had ended his Speech, with the which the Army was ſo much taken, he retired to his Houſe at *Deptford*, and gave forth he would come to the Parliament-Houſe no more. MS.

(*b*) The beſt Relation of the ſurprizing Removal of the King to *Hurſt*-Caſtle ſeems to be that given by Sir *John Bowring*, who was a Witneſs of it. He firſt tells the Story how Col. *Evres* came over to the *Iſle of Wight*, and carried away Col *Hammond* his Priſoner. And then (ſays he) as ſoon as *Evres* had got over from *Cows* to *Titchfield* with Col. *Hammond*, he diſmounts him, puts him into a Hackney-Coach brought thither for that purpoſe, and with a ſmall Guard ſends this great Governour *Hammond* to *Windſor*-Caſtle a Priſoner, and his Horſe back again into the Iſland. Night being at hand, *Evres* returns with all haſte by *Cows* Harbour into the *Iſle of Wight*; by which time a Troop of Horſe and a Company of Foot were conducted into the Iſland by one *Cobbett* and *Merriman* from *Southampton*, and landed at *Cows* harbour by eleven of the Clock, which this *Evres* commanded to *Newport*, and commanded Mr. *Mildmay* from his Lodging to ſhew where the King's Chamber was, and ſo in the Name and by the Command of General *Fairfax*, and the Council at *Windſor*, *Evres*, aſſiſted by *Cobbett* and *Merriman*, takes the King out of his Bed at *Newport*, and hurries him over to *Hurſt*-Caſtle about ſix a Clock that Morning, where the King (as I think) was ſhut up near ten Days, and they put away all Perſons and Servants about him, except *Mildmay*.

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upon the enlargement of Time) deſerves to be preſerved in Letters of Gold, and gives the beſt Character of that excellent Prince, and was in theſe Words.

“ By what hath been ſaid, you ſee how long we “ have laboured in the ſearch of Peace: Do not you “ be diſheartened to tread in the ſame Steps. Uſe “ all worthy ways to reſtore your ſelf to your Right, “ but prefer the way of Peace. Shew the Greatneſs “ of your Mind, if God bleſs you (and let us comfort you with that which is our own Comfort, “ that tho' Affliction may make us paſs under the “ Cenſures of Men, yet we look upon it ſo, as if it “ procure not, by God's Mercy, to us a Deliverance, “ it will to you a Bleſſing) rather to conquer your “ Enemies by pardoning than puniſhing. If you “ ſaw how unmanly and unchriſtian the implacable “ Diſpoſition is in our ill Wiſhers, you would avoid “ that Spirit. Cenſure us not for having parted “ with ſo much of our own Right; the Price was “ great, but the Commodity was ſecurity to us, “ Peace to our People; and we were confident another Parliament would remember how uſeful a “ King's Power is to a People's Liberty: of how “ much thereof we diveſted our ſelf, that We and “ They might meet once again in a due Parliamentary way, to agree the Bounds of Prince and People. And in this give belief to our Experience, never to affect more Greatneſs or Prerogative than that which is really and intrinſically for “ the Good of Subjects, not the Satisfaction of Favourites. If you thus uſe it, you will never want “ means to be a Father to all, and a bountiful Prince “ to any you would be extraordinary gracious to. “ You may perceive all Men entruſt their Treaſure “ where it returns them Intereſt; and if Princes, “ like the Sea, receive and repay all the freſh Streams “ the River intruſts with them, they will not grudge “ but pride themſelves to make them up an Ocean. “ Theſe Conſiderations may make you as great a “ Prince as your Father is now a low one; and your “ State may be ſo much the more eſtabliſh'd as “ mine hath been ſhaken. For our Subjects have “ learned, we dare ſay, that Victories over their “ Princes are but Triumphs over themſelves, and ſo “ will be more unwilling to hearken to Changes “ hereafter: The *Engliſh* Nation are a ſober People “ however at preſent infatuated. (*a*)

“ We know not but this may be the laſt time we “ may ſpeak to you or the World publickly; we “ are ſenſible into what Hands we are fallen, and “ yet, we bleſs God, we have thoſe inward refreſhments the malice of our Enemies cannot perturb. “ We have learned to buſie our ſelf by retiring into our ſelf, and therefore can the better digeſt what “ befalls us; not doubting but God's Providence “ will reſtrain our Enemies Power, and turn their “ fierceneſs to his praiſe.

“ To conclude, if God gives you ſucceſs, uſe it “ humbly and far from Revenge. If he reſtore you “ to your Right upon hard Conditions, whatever “ you promiſe keep. Theſe Men, who have forced “ Laws, which they were bound to preſerve, will “ find their Triumphs full of Troubles. Do not “ think any thing in this World worth the obtaining by foul and unjuſt means.

“ You are the Son of our Love, and as we direct “ you to weigh what we here recommend to you, “ ſo we aſſure you we do not more affectionately “ pray for you (to whom we are a Natural Parent) than we do, that the ancient Glory and “ Renown of this Nation be not buried in Irreligion “ and Phanatick Humour; and that all our Subjects “ (to whom we are a Politick Parent) may have “ ſuch ſober Thoughts as to ſeek their Peace in the “ Orthodox Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion, as “ was eſtabliſhed ſince the Reformation in this Kingdom, and not in new Revelations; and that the “ ancient Laws, with the Intepretation according “ to the known practice, may once again be a Hedge “ about them; that you may in due time govern, “ and they be governed as in the fear of God, which “ is the Prayer of

“ *Your very loving Father,*

“ Newport, *Nov.*
“ 25. 1648. C. R.”

To return to the King's Sufferings and Trial, on *Dec.* 6, ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons, who were thought leſs inclinable to the Wickedneſs in agitation, were excluded, ſeized upon, and kept in Cuſtody by ſpecial Order from the General and Council of Army (*b*). And when the Houſe was thus purged, Lieutenant Colonel *Axtel* came in, and preſented the *Propoſals of the Army*, ſetting forth, *That they had for a long while ſadly beheld and taſted in their Proceedings the miſerable Fruits of Counſels divided and corrupted by Faction and perſonal Intereſt; that all faithful Members muſt acquit themſelves by a Proteſtation of their not concurring in the late Proceedings; and muſt then ſpeedily and vigorouſly proceed to take Order for the Execution of Juſtice.* Next Day Lieutenant General *Cromwell* came into the Houſe, and received their hearty Thanks for his great and faithful Services. On *Dec.* 13, the Remnant of the Commons voted, that they will make no farther Addreſſes or Applications to the King; and that the late Treaty with him was highly diſhonourable and deſtructive to the good of the Kingdom. On *Dec.* 16, a Party of Horſe was ſent over to *Hurſt-Caſtle* to bring the King from thence to *Windſor*, where *Cromwel* was now ready to receive him: He lay at *Farnham* December 22, and was delivered up at *Windſor* Caſtle on *Saturday* Night *Dec.* 23. Colonel *Thomlinſon* commanding the Guards of Horſe and Foot about him. The Council of War ordered, *Dec.* 27, that all Ceremonies of State uſed to the King ſhould be left off, and his Attendance ſhould be with fewer Perſons and at leſs Charges. Next Day a Committee of the Commons appointed to draw up a Charge againſt the King, reported an Ordinance for Attainting *Charles Stuart* of High-Treaſon, and for trying him by Commiſſioners to be nominated in the ſaid Ordinance, which was tumultuouſly agreed to, and carried up to the Lords *Jan.* 2, their Lordſhips with

Members excluded.

The Army governs under *Cromwell.*

The King brought to *Windſor.*

Ordinance for Attainting the King. Rejected by the Lords.

(*a*) Sir *John Bowring* in his Narrative to King *Charles* II. writes thus: The Parliament proteſted againſt the Army for ſeizing on the King, and taking of his Majeſty by force out of the *Iſle of Wight* to *Hurſt-Caſtle*, and voted a Letter to *Fairfax* to charge him to recall his Letter to Col. *Evre*, which was to ſeize on the King, and to command *Fairfax* to command Col. *Evre* to return the King to *Newport*, and to put his Majeſty in the ſame freedom he was in, and reſtore *Hammond* to his Command and Charge. But inſtead of obeying the Command of the Lords and Commons, the King was violently removed from *Hurſt-Caſtle* to *Windſor-Caſtle*; where his Majeſty was kept in cloſe Lodgings in the Upper Court, with a great Guard at the Chamber door, and ſometimes in his Chamber, under the Command of one Col. *Thomlinſon*; *Mildmay* waiting as Carver, and one *Muſchamp* as Cup-Bearer, and no other Servants as I could hear of. I adventured to wait on his Majeſty at *Windſor-Caſtle*,—— to acquaint the King of ſome Succeſs of vaſt Importance to his Majeſty, and what foreign Sollicitations were made to the Army againſt him.——

(*b*) See the Subſtance of a Speech made in the Houſe of Commons by *William Prynne* of *Lincoln's-Inn*, Eſq; on *Monday* the 4th of *November*, 1648, to prove the King's Anſwer to the Propoſitions of Both Houſes to be Satisfactory for the Settlement of a firm laſting Peace, and to prove the Army's *Declaration* to bring the King to Juſtice to be a Jeſuitical and Popiſh Deſign. *London*, 1648. 4*to.*

In that Speech he refers to a Council of War ſitting at *Whitehall*, and a Reſolution in it carried by two Voices, that all Papiſts ſhall have free Liberty and Toleration of Conſcience, and that all Sequeſtrations and Forfeitures as Papiſts only ſhall be taken off from them.

See another printed Sheet, intituled, *Mr.* Prynne's *Demand of his Liberty to the General, with his Publick Declaration and Proteſtation againſt his preſent Reſtraint, and the preſent Deſtructive Counſels and Jeſuitical Proceedings of the General Officers and Army.* Dated from the *King's-Head* in the *Strand, December* 26, 1648.

juſt

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juſt Indignation threw out the Bill, and adjourned to *Thurſday* Seven-night. Upon which the Commons were made to declare, that they had a Power to proceed without the concurrence of the Lords, having in themſelves the ſupreme Authority of the Nation; and ſo paſs the Ordinance in the new name of the *Commons of* England only.

Commiſſioners for Trial of the King.

Jan. 10. The Commiſſioners appointed to try the King, met in the *Painted-Chamber*, and nominated Serjeant *Bradſhaw* to be Preſident of their Court (*a*), Mr. *Steel* to be Attorney-General, Mr. *Cook* Sollicitor, Dr. *Doriſlau* and Mr. *Ask* to be Pleaders againſt him. On *Jan.* 13, they agreed, that *Weſtminſter-Hall* ſhould be the Place of Trial; and that, in order thereto, the King ſhould be brought up from *Windſor* on *Monday* next. On *Wedneſday* Jan. 17, they ordered that the King ſhould be brought to the Houſe of Sir *Robert Cotton*, for the better Conveniency of his Trial in the Hall adjoining.

Call'd a High Court of Juſtice.

Jan. 20. This execrable *High Court of Juſtice* met in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and after reading the Ordinance, the Names of the Commiſſioners, as Judges, were called over: Every Man anſwering to his Name as he was called, and the Preſident being firſt called and making Anſwer, the next who was called being the General, Lord *Fairfax*, and no Anſwer being made, the Officer called him the ſecond time, when there was a Voice heard that ſaid, *He had more Wit than to be there*, which put the Court into ſome Diſorder; and ſome body asking who it was? there was no other Anſwer but a little Murmuring. But preſently when the Impeachment was read, and that Expreſſion uſed, *Of all the good People of* England, the ſame Voice, in a louder Tone, anſwered, *No, nor the hundredth Part of them:* upon which one of the Officers bid the Soldiers give Fire into that Box from whence thoſe preſumptuous Words were uttered. But it was quickly diſcerned that it was the General's Wife, the Lady *Fairfax*, who had uttered both thoſe ſharp Sayings; who was preſently perſuaded or forced to leave the Place to prevent any new Diſorder. Sixty ſeven Commiſſioners anſwered to their Names; and then the Court commanded the Serjeant at Arms to ſend for the Priſoner, who was brought up in the Face of the Court by Colonel *Thomlinſon*, under a ſtrong Guard, and delivered to the Serjeant at Arms, who conducted him to the Bar, where a Crimſon Velvet Chair was ſet before him. After a ſtern looking upon the Court, and the People in the Galleries on each ſide of him, he placed himſelf in the Chair, not at all moving his Hat; all the impudent Judges ſitting cover'd, and fixing their Eyes upon him without the leaſt Shew of Reſpect. The King preſently roſe up again, and turn'd about, looking downwards on the Guards and Multitude of Spectators. Being again placed in his Chair, and Silence proclaimed, the Preſident acquainted him, "That the *Commons* (*b*) of *England* aſſembled in Parliament being deeply ſenſible of "the Evils and Calamities that had been brought "upon this Nation, and of the innocent Blood that "had been ſpilt in it, which was fixed upon him as "the principal Author, had reſolved to make Inquiſition for this Blood, and according to the Debt "they did owe to God, to Juſtice, to the Kingdom, "and Themſelves, and according to that fundamental Power and Truſt repoſed in them by the "People, other Means failing through his Default, "had reſolved to bring him to Trial and Judgment, and had therefore conſtituted that Court "of Juſtice before which he was then brought, "where he was to hear his Charge, *upon which the* "*Court would proceed according to Juſtice.*" Upon which, Mr. *Cook*, Sollicitor, offer'd to ſpeak: but the King having a Staff in his Hand, held it up, and ſoftly laid it upon *Cook*'s Shoulder two or three times, bidding him *Hold:* But, at Command of the *Preſident*, *Cook* went on, and in the Name and on the Behalf of the People of *England*, exhibited a Charge of High-Treaſon, and other high Crimes, and did therewith accuſe the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*; praying, that the ſaid Charge might be received and read, and due Proceedings had thereupon. The King interrupted the Reading of it; but the Clerk, at Command of the Court, read the *Charge*, concluding, *That he the ſaid* Charles Stuart *hath been and is the Occaſioner, Author, and Continuer of the ſaid unnatural, cruel, and bloody Wars; and therein guilty of all the Treaſons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Deſolations, Damages, and Miſchiefs to this Nation, acted and committed in the ſaid Wars, or occaſioned thereby.*

The King brought before this execrable Court.

Bradſhaw, after he had inſolently reprehended the King for not having ſhew'd more Reſpect to that high Tribunal, told him, "That the Parliament of "*England* had appointed that Court to Try him "for the ſeveral Treaſons and Miſdemeanours which "he had committed againſt the Kingdom during the "Evil Adminiſtration of his Government; and "that, upon the Examination thereof, Juſtice might "be done." And after a great Sawcineſs and Impudence of Talk, he asked the King, "What Anſwer "he had to make to that Impeachment?"

The King, without any Alteration in his Countenance by all that inſolent Provocation, told them, "He would firſt know of them, by what Authority "they preſumed by Force to bring him before "them, and who gave them Power to judge of his "Actions, for which he was accountable to none "but God, though they had been always ſuch as "he need not be aſham'd to own them before all "the World. *He told them*, That He was their "King, They his Subjects; who owed him Duty "and Obedience: That no Parliament had Authority to call him before them; but, that they were "not the Parliament, nor had any Authority from

(*a*) Mr. Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, the Preſident, was afraid of ſome Tumult upon ſuch new and unprecedented Inſolence as that of ſitting Judge upon his King; and therefore beſide other Defenee, he had a thick high crown'd Beaver Hat lin'd with plated Steel to ward off Blows. This Hat had long hung uſeleſs, when the Reverend Dr. *Biſſe*, Preacher at the Rolls, lighting on it, ſent it for a Preſent to the *Muſæum* in *Oxford*, with a Latin Inſcription to preſerve the Hiſtory of it.

(*b*) See, *A Brief Memento to the Preſent Unparliamentary Junto, touching their preſent Intentions and Proceedings to Depoſe and Execute* Charles Stuart, *their Lawful King of* England. *By* William Prynne *a Member of the Houſe, and Priſoner under the Army's Tyranny.* Dated from the *King's-Head* in the *Strand, Jan.* 1. 1648. *London*, 1648. 4*to*.

See, The Proteſtation of *John Gauden*, D.D. againſt the preſent declared Purpoſes and Proceedings of the Army, and others, about the Trying and Deſtroying our Sovereign Lord the King, ſent to a Colonel to be preſented to the Lord *Fairfax* and his Council of War this 5th of *January*, 1648. *London*, Printed for *Richard Royſton*, 4*to*. 1648.

An Humble Addreſs of *Henry Hammond* to the Lord *Fairfax*, and Council of War, to prevent the Horrid Deſign of putting the King to Death, *January* 15, 1648. Printed for *Richard Royſton*; 4*to*.

A Serious and faithful Repreſentation of the Judgments of Miniſters of the Goſpel within the Province of *London*, contained in a Letter from them to the General and his Council of War, declaring againſt any Hurt to the King's Perſon; and expreſſing their Fears, that Jeſuitical Principles and Counſels had too great a concurrence with, if not influence upon their late Tranſactions. Delivered to his Excellency, by ſome of the Subſcribers 18, *January* 1648. Printed *London*, 1649. 4*to*.

A Letter from the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland* reſiding here in *London* to *William Lenthal*, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, concerning the preſent Proceedings againſt Religion, the King, and Government, with their Declaration and Proteſtation againſt the taking away his Majeſty's Life. Dated 22, *January* 1648. Printed 1648. 4*to*.

The humble Advice and earneſt Deſires of Nineteen Miniſters of the Lectures of *Banbury* in *Oxfordſhire*, and *Brackley* in *Northamptonſhire*, ſent up to the General, declaring their utter Diſſent from all Proceedings againſt his Majeſty's Crown and Life; Preſented *January* 25, 1648. Printed *London*, 1648. 4*to*.

[*Theſe printed Copies, and ſome other Teſtimonials of the Voice of the Nation againſt the Murder of the King, were in the Hands of the Dean of* Peterborough, *at this time*, February 1717.]

"the

1648. "the Parliament to ſit in that manner: That of all
24 *Car.* I. "the Perſons who ſat there, and took upon them "to judge him, (except thoſe Perſons who being "Officers of the Army, he could not but know "whilſt he was forced to be amongſt them) there "were only two Faces which he had ever ſeen be-"fore, or whoſe Names were known to him." And after urging their Duty that was due to him, and his Superiority over them, by ſuch lively Reaſons and Arguments as were not capable of any Anſwer, he concluded, "That he would not ſo much betray "himſelf, and his Royal Dignity, as to anſwer any "thing they objected againſt him, which were to "acknowledge their Authority; though he belie-"ved that every one of themſelves, as well as the "Spectators, did in their own Conſciences abſolve "him from all the material things which were ob-"jected againſt him."

Bradſhaw adviſ'd him, in a very arrogant manner, "Not to deceive himſelf with an Opinion that any "thing he had ſaid would do him any Good: That "the Parliament knew their own Authority, and "would not ſuffer it to be call'd in queſtion or de-"bated: *therefore requir'd him*, To think better of "it againſt he ſhould be next brought thither, and "that he would anſwer directly to his Charge; "otherwiſe, he could not be ſo ignorant as not to "know what Judgment the Law pronounced againſt "thoſe who ſtood mute, and obſtinately refuſed to "Plead." So the Guard carried his Majeſty back to St. *James*'s, where they treated him as before.

Second Day. *Monday* Jan. 22. The Court being ſat, and the Sollicitor requiring that the Priſoner might make a poſitive Anſwer to his Charge, the Lord *Preſident* ſaid,

Sir, You may remember, at the laſt Court you were told the Occaſion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge read againſt you, containing a Charge of High-Treaſon, and other high Crimes againſt this Realm of *England:* and inſtead of anſwering, you interrogated the Court's Authority and Juriſdiction. *Sir*, The Authority is the Commons of *England* in Parliament aſſembled, who require you to anſwer to the Charge, either by Confeſſing or Denying.

"*King*. When I was laſt here, 'tis very true I "made that Queſtion; and truly, if it were only "my own particular Caſe, I would have ſatisfied "Myſelf with the Proteſtation I made the laſt time "I was here, againſt the Legality of this Court; "and that a King cannot be tried by any ſuperiour "Juriſdiction on Earth. But it is not my Caſe "alone; it is the Freedom and the Liberty of the "People of *England*; and, do you pretend what "you will, I ſtand more for their Liberties: For, "if Power without Law may make Laws, may al-"ter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; I do "not know what Subject he is in *England* that can "be ſure of his Life, or any thing he calls his own. "Therefore when that I came here, I did expect "particular Reaſons by what Law, what Authority, "you did proceed againſt me here: and therefore "I am a little to ſeek what to ſay to you in this "Particular; becauſe the Affirmative is to be pro-"ved; the Negative often is very hard to do. But "ſince I cannot perſwade you to it, I ſhall tell you "my Reaſons as ſhort as I can. My Reaſons why, "in Conſcience and Duty I owe to God firſt, and "my People next, for the Preſervation of their "Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates. I conceive I can-"not anſwer this, till I be ſatisfied of the Legality "of it. All Proceedings againſt any Man what-"ſoever"——

L. Preſident. Sir, I muſt interrupt you; which I would not do, but that what you do is not agreeable to the Proceedings of any Court of Juſtice. You are about to enter into Argument and Diſpute concerning the Authority of this Court; before whom you appear as a Priſoner, and are charged as a high Delinquent. If you take upon you to diſpute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it. You are to ſubmit to it: You are to give a punctual and direct Anſwer, whether you will anſwer your Charge or no, and what your Anſwer is. 1648. 24 *Car.* I.

"*King*. Sir, By your Favour, I do not know the "Forms of Law: I do know Law and Reaſon, tho' "I am no Lawyer profeſſed. But I know as much "Law as any *Gentleman* in *England:* and therefore, "under favour, I do plead for the Liberties of the "People of *England* more than you do: and there-"fore if I ſhould impoſe a Belief upon any without "Reaſons given for it, it were unreaſonable. But I "muſt tell you, that by that Reaſon I have as thus "informed, I cannot yield unto it."——

L. Preſident. Sir, I muſt interrupt you, you may not be permitted: You ſpeak of Law and Reaſon; it is fit there ſhould be Law and Reaſon, and there is both againſt you. Sir, The Vote of the Commons of *England* aſſembled in Parliament, it is the Reaſon of the Kingdom; and they are theſe too that have given Being to that Law according to which you ſhould have Ruled and Reigned. Sir, You are not to diſpute our Authority; you are told it again by the Court. Sir, It will be taken notice of, that you ſtand in Contempt of the Court, & your Contempt will be recorded accordingly.

"*King*. I do not know how a King may be a De-"linquent, by any Law that ever I heard of. All Men "(Delinquents or what you will) let me tell you, they "may put in Demurrers againſt any Proceeding as "Legal; and I do demand That, and demand to be "heard with my Reaſons. If you deny That, you "deny Reaſon."

L. Preſident. Sir, You have offer'd ſomething to the Court, I ſhall ſpeak ſomething to you the Senſe of the Court. Sir, Neither you nor any Man are permitted to diſpute that Point: You are concluded, you may not demur to the Juriſdiction of the Court. If you do, I muſt let you know they over-rule your Demurrer. They ſit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predeceſſors, and you, are reſponſible to them.

"*King*. I deny that: Shew me one Precedent."

L. Preſident. Sir, You ought not to interrupt while the Court is ſpeaking to you. This Point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it. If you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Juriſdiction of the Court, they have concluded of their Juriſdiction: They do affirm their own Juriſdiction.

"*King*. I ſay, Sir, By your favour, that the Com-"mons of *England* was never a Court of Judicature: "I would know how they came to be ſo."

L. Preſident. Sir, You are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and theſe Diſcourſes.

[Then the Clerk of the Crown read as follows:]

Charles Stuart, King of *England*, You have been accuſed, on the behalf of the People of *England*, of High-Treaſon, and other high Crimes; and the Court have determined, that you ought to anſwer the ſame.

"*King*. I will anſwer the ſame, ſo ſoon as I know "by what Authority you do this."

L. Preſident. If this be all that you will ſay, then Gentlemen, you that brought the Priſoner hither, take Charge of him back again.

"*King*. I do require, that I may give in my Rea-"ſons why I do not Anſwer, and give me time for "that."

L. Preſident. Sir, It is not for Priſoners to Require.

"*King*. Priſoners! Sir, I am not an ordinary "Priſoner"

L. Preſident. The Court has conſidered of their Juriſdiction, and they have already affirmed their Juriſdiction: If you will not anſwer, we will give Order to Record your Default.

"*King*. You never heard my Reaſons yet."

L. Preſident. Sir, Your Reaſons are not to be heard againſt the higheſt Juriſdiction.

"*King*. Shew me that Juriſdiction where Reaſon "is not to be heard."

L. Pre-

1648. 24 *Car.* I. *L. Preſident.* Sir, We ſhew it you here, *the Commons of England:* And the next time you are brought you will know more of the Pleaſure of the Court, and it may be their final Determination.

" *King.* Shew me where ever the *Houſe of Commons* " were a Court of Judicature of that kind."

L. Preſident. Serjeant, Take away the Priſoner.

" *King.* Well, Sir, Remember that the King is not " ſuffer'd to give in his Reaſons for the Liberty " and Freedom of all his Subjects."

L. Preſident. Sir, You are not to have Liberty to uſe this Language. How great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the People, let all *England* and the World judge.

" *King.* Sir, Under favour, it was for the Liberty, " Freedom, and Laws of the Subject, that I ever " took to defend Myſelf with Arms: I never took " up Arms againſt the People, but for the Laws."

L. Preſident. The Command of the Court muſt be obey'd, no Anſwer will be given to the Charge.

" *King.* Well, Sir."

[*And ſo he was guarded forth to Sir* Robert Cotton's *Houſe, and the Court adjourn'd till to Morrow.*]

Third Day of Trial. *Tueſday* Jan. 23. Mr. Sollicitor *Cook* moved the Court, that the Charge againſt the Priſoner may be taken *pro confeſſo*, and ſpeedy Judgment pronounced againſt him. And the Lord Preſident requiring him to give a poſitive and final Anſwer in plain *Engliſh*; the King, after a little Pauſe, ſaid:

" *King.* When I was here Yeſterday, I did deſire " to ſpeak for the Liberties of the People of *England*; I was interrupted, and deſire to know yet, " whether I may ſpeak freely or no."

L. Preſident. —— Sir, I muſt let you know from the Court, as their Commands, that you are not permitted to iſſue out into any other Diſcourſes, till ſuch time as you have given a poſitive Anſwer concerning the Matter that is charg'd upon you.

" *King.* For the Charge I value it not of a Ruſh: " it is the Liberty of the People of *England* I ſtand " for. For me to acknowledge a new Court that " I never heard of before, I that am your King, that " ſhould be an example to all the People of *England* " to uphold Juſtice, to maintain the old Laws, in- " deed I do not know how to do it. You ſpoke " very well the firſt Day that I came here (on *Saturday*) of the Obligations that I had laid upon " me by God, to the Maintenance of the Liberties " of my People: The ſame Obligation you ſpake of " I do acknowledge to God that I owe to him and " to my People, to defend, as much as in me lies, " the ancient Laws of the Kingdom. Therefore " until that I may know that this is not againſt the " fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, by your fa- " vour, I can put in no particular Anſwer. If you " will give me time, I will ſhew you my Reaſons, " why I cannot do it. And thus"——

[Here being interrupted, he ſaid,]

" By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me; " how I came here I know not; there is no Law for " it to make your King your Priſoner. I was in a " Treaty upon the publick Faith of the Kingdom, " that was the known —— two Houſes of Parlia- " ment, that was the Repreſentative of the King- " dom. And when that I had almoſt made an end " of the Treaty, then I was hurried away and " brought hither: And therefore"——

L. Preſident. Sir, You muſt know the Pleaſure of the Court.

" *King.* By your favour, Sir."

L. Preſident. Nay, Sir, By your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into thoſe Diſcourſes. You appear as a Delinquent; you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court *craves* it not of you, but once more they *command* you to give your poſitive Anſwer.—— Clerk, Do your Duty.

" *King.* Duty, Sir!

[*The Clerk reads a Paper, requiring the King to give a poſitive and final Anſwer, by way of Confeſſion or Denial of the Charge.*]

" *King.* Sir, I ſay again to you, ſo that I might " give Satisfaction to the People of *England* of the " clearneſs of my Proceedings, not by way of An- " ſwer, not in *this* way; but to ſatisfie them that I " have done nothing againſt that Truſt that hath " been committed to me, I would do it: but to ac- " knowlege a new Court againſt their Privilege, to " alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, Sir, " you muſt excuſe me." 1648. 24 *Car.* I.

L. Preſident. Sir, This is the third time that you have publickly diſowned this Court, and put an Affront upon it. How far you have preſerved the Privileges of the People, your Actions have ſpoke it; and truly, Sir, Men's Intentions ought to be known by their Actions. You have written your meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom. But, Sir, You underſtand the Pleaſure of the Court. ——Clerk, Record the Default. —— And, Gentlemen, You that took Charge of the Priſoner take him back again.

" *King.* I will ſay this one Word more to you. " If it were my own Particular, I would not ſay any " more, nor interrupt you."——

L. Preſident. Sir, You have heard the Pleaſure of the Court, and you are (notwithſtanding you will not underſtand it) to find that you are before a Court of Juſtice.

[*Then the King was guarded back to Sir* Robert Cotton's *Houſe, where he lay laſt Night and this, and the Court adjourned till the next Day.*]

Wedneſday Jan. 23, the Court ſate in the Painted-Chamber upon Examination of Witneſſes againſt the King, where theſe wretched Fellows gave in their formal Depoſitions, as taken upon Oath *Jan.* 25. Fourth Day. *Will. Cuthbert* of *Patrington* in *Holderneſs*, Gent. *John Bennet* of *Harwood* in the County of *York*, Glover. *William Brayne* of *Wixhall* in the County of *Salop*, Gent. *Henry Hartford* of *Stratford* upon *Avon*. *Robert Lacy* of the Town of *Nottingham*, Painter. *Edward Roberts* of *Biſhop's-Caſtle* in the County of *Salop*, Ironmonger. *Robert Loads* of *Cottam* in *Nottinghamſhire*, Taylor. *Samuel Morgan* of *Wellington* Com. *Salop*, Feltmaker. *James Williams* of *Roſs* in *Herefordſhire*, Shoemaker. *John Pyneger* of *Hayner* in Com. *Derby*, Yeoman. *Samuel Lawſon* of *Nottingham*, Maltſter. *Arthur Young*, Barber Chirurgion of *London*. *Thomas Whittington* of *Nottingham*, Shoemaker. *John Thomas* of *Llangollen* Com. *Denbigh*, Husbandman. *Richard Blomfield* of *London*, Weaver. *William Jones* of *Uske* Com. *Monmouth*, Husbandman. *Humphry Brown* of *Whitſondine* Com. *Rutland*, Husbandman. *David Evans* of *Abergenny*, Smith. *Diogenes Edwards* of *Carſton* Com. *Salop*, Butcher. *Giles Gryce* of *Wellington* Com. *Salop*, Gent. *John Vinſon* of *Damorham* Com. *Wilts*, Gent. *George Seely* of *London*, Cordwainer. *John Moore* of *Corke* in *Ireland*, Gent. *Thomas Joes* of *Boyſet* Com. *Northamptonſhire*, Gent. *Thomas Rawlins* of *Hanſlope* Com. *Bucks*, Gent. *Thomas Read* of *Maidſton*, Gent. *James Crosby* of *Dublin*, Barber. *Samuel Burden* of *Lyneham* Com. *Wilts*, Gent. *Michael Potts* of *Sharperton* Com. *Northumberland*, Vintner. *George Cornwal* of *Aſton* Com. *Hereford*, Ferryman. *Henry Gooche* of *Gray's-Inn*, Gent. *Robert Williams* of St. *Martin's* in *Cornwal*, Husbandman. *Richard Price* of *London*, Scrivener: Whoſe Names are here given only to be Recorded upon Infamy, Men of the meaneſt Condition, and the moſt profligate Life: Scarce one who aſſumed the Name of Gentleman had any Title to it. All curſed in their Evidence, and in their Poſterity.

[Thurſday *and* Friday *the Court ſate in private, to reſolve upon the Condemnation and Execution of the King.*]

Saturday Jan. 27, the Court being ſate, the King was brought into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, ſome of the Soldiers calling for *Juſtice*, *Juſtice* and *Execution*. Silence being commanded, his Majeſty began. Laſt Day.

" *King.* I deſire to be heard a little, and I hope I " ſhall give no occaſion of Interruption."

Preſident.

1648. 24 Car. I.

Preſident. You may anſwer in your time, hear the Court firſt.

" *King.* If it pleaſe you, Sir, I deſire to be heard, " and I ſhall not give any occaſion of Interruption, " and 'tis only in a Word; a ſudden Judgment." — *Preſident.* Sir, You ſhall be heard in due time, but you are to hear the Court firſt.

" *King.* Sir, I deſire it, it will be in order to what " I believe the Court will ſay; and therefore, Sir, " ——a haſty Judgment is not ſo ſoon recalled." — *Preſident.* Sir, You ſhall be heard before the Judgment be given, and in the mean time you may forbear.

" *King.* Well, Sir, Shall I be heard before the " Judgment be given?"

[*Then the* Preſident *gave account how the Priſoner had been charged, and how he refuſed to anſwer; and told him he ſhould not be heard in any thing againſt the Juriſdiction of the Court; but if he had any thing to ſay in Defence of himſelf, concerning the Matter charged they would hear him.*]

" *King.* Since I ſee that you will not hear any thing " of Debate concerning that, which I confeſs I thought " moſt material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and " Liberty of the Subject, I ſhall wave it; I ſhall ſpeak " nothing to it. But only I muſt tell you, that this " many a Day all things have been taken away from " me, but that that I call dearer to me than my Life, " which is my Conſcience and my Honour. And " if I had a reſpect to my Life more than the Peace " of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, " certainly I ſhould have made a particular Defence " for myſelf; for by that, at leaſtwiſe, I might have " delayed an ugly Sentence which I believe will paſs " upon me. Therefore, certainly Sir, as a Man " that hath ſome Underſtanding, ſome Knowledge " of the World, if that my true Zeal to my Country " had not overborn the Care that I have for my " own Preſervation, I ſhould have gone another way " to work than that I have done.

" Now, Sir, I conceive then an haſty Sentence " once paſſed may ſooner be repented of than re- " called: And truly the ſelf-ſame deſire that I have " for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of " the Subject, more than my own particular Ends, " makes me now at laſt deſire, that I have ſome- " thing to ſay that concerns both, before Sentence " be given, that I may be heard in the Painted- " Chamber before the Lords and Commons. This " delay cannot be prejudicial to you, whatſoever I " ſay. If that I ſay be not Reaſon, thoſe that hear " me muſt be Judges; if it be Reaſon, and really " for the Welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty " of the Subject, I am ſure of it, it is very well worth " the hearing. Therefore I do conjure you, as you " love that that you pretend (I hope it is real) the " Liberty of the Subject, the Peace of the Kingdom, " that you will grant me this Hearing before any " Sentence be paſt. I only deſire this, that you will " take this into your Conſideration; it may be you " have not heard of it before-hand. If you will, I " will retire, and you may think of it. But if I " cannot get this liberty, I do proteſt, that theſe " fair ſhews of Liberty and Peace are pure ſhews, " and that you will not hear your King."

[*The* Preſident *made this to be a farther declining the Juriſdiction of the Court; but for a pretence, the Court withdrew for half an Hour into the Court of* Wards, *and then returning, and calling for the Priſoner, the* Preſident *ſaid,*]

Sir, You were pleaſed to make a Motion here to the Court, to offer a Deſire of yours, touching the propounding of ſomewhat to the Lords and Commons in the Painted-Chamber for the Peace of the Kingdom. Sir, You did in effect receive an Anſwer before the Court adjourned. Truly, Sir, their withdrawing and adjournment was *pro forma tantum*, for it did not ſeem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing. —— And notwithſtanding what you have offer'd, they are reſolved to proceed to Sentence and to Judgment, and that is their unanimous Conſent.

" *King.* Sir, I know it is in vain for me to Diſ- " pute; I am no Sceptick for to deny the Power that " you have, I know that you have Power enough. " Sir, I muſt confeſs, I think it would have been " for the Kingdom's Peace, if you would have ta- " ken the Pains to have ſhewn the lawfulneſs of " your Power. For this Delay that I have deſired, " I confeſs it is a Delay, but it is a delay very im- " portant for the Peace of the Kingdom: For it is " not my Perſon that I look at alone, it is the King- " dom's Welfare, and the Kingdom's Peace. 1648. 24 Car. I.

" It is an old Sentence, that *We ſhould think long* " *before we reſolve on great Matters ſuddenly.* Therefore, " Sir, I do ſay again, that I do put at your Doors " all the Inconveniency of a haſty Sentence.—— " A little delay of a Day or two farther may give " Peace; whereas a haſty Judgment may bring on " that Trouble and perpetual Inconveniency to the " Kingdom, that the Child that is unborn may re- " pent it. And therefore again, out of the Duty I " owe to God and to my Country, I do deſire that " I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the " Painted-Chamber, or any other Chamber that you " will appoint me."

Preſident. You have been already anſwer'd to what you even now moved, being the ſame you moved before, ſince the Reſolution and the Judgment of the Court in it. And the Court now requires to know, Whether you have any more to ſay for your ſelf than you have ſaid, before they proceed to Sentence?

" *King.* I ſay this, Sir, that if you hear me, if " you will give me but this delay, I doubt not but " I ſhall give ſome Satisfaction to you all here, and " to my People after that. And therefore I do re- " quire you, as you will anſwer it at the dreadful " Day of Judgment, that you will conſider it once " again."

Preſident. Sir, I have received Directions from the Court.

" *King.* Well, Sir!"

Preſident. If this muſt be re-inforced, or any thing of this Nature, your Anſwer muſt be the ſame, and they will proceed to Sentence, if you have nothing more to ſay.

" *King.* I have nothing more to ſay, but I ſhall " deſire that this may be enter'd what I have ſaid."

Preſident. The Court then, Sir, hath ſomething to ſay unto you, which I know will be very unacceptable, yet notwithſtanding they are willing and reſolved to diſcharge their Duty.

" *King.* I will deſire only one Word before you " give Sentence, and that is, that you would hear " me concerning thoſe great Imputations that you " have laid to my Charge."

Preſident. Sir, You muſt give me now leave to go on: For I am not far from your Sentence, and your time is now paſt.

" *King.* But I ſhall deſire you will hear me a few " Words to you; for truly whatever Sentence you " will put upon me, in reſpect of thoſe heavy Im- " putations that I ſee by your Speech you have put " upon me. Sir, It is very true that."——

[*Then the* Preſident *interrupted him, and told him, he had not owned them as a Court, and therefore they would admit of no farther delay; concluding,*]

Preſident. We are not here *Jus dare*, but *Jus dicere*, to do that which the Law preſcribes; we cannot be unmindful of what the Scripture tells us; *For to acquit the Guilty is of equal Abomination as to condemn the Innocent:* We may not acquit the Guilty. What Sentence the Law affirms to a Traitor, Murderer, and a publick Enemy to the Country, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you.

[*The Clerk read the Sentence, concluding,*]

Clerk. For all which Treaſons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, that he the ſaid *Charles Stuart* as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and a publick Enemy, ſhall be put to Death, by the ſevering of his Head from his Body.

[*The*

1648. 24 Car. I.

[*The Preſident added,*]

Preſident. The Sentence now read and publiſhed is the Act, Sentence, Judgment and Reſolution of the whole Court.

To which they all expreſſed their Aſſent by ſtanding up, as was before agreed and order'd: and let the World know, that tho' moſt of their *Names are clean put out*, and the Families in Extinction or Ruin; yet the Names of thoſe Subjects who adjudged their King to a Criminal Death were theſe,

John Bradſhaw, *Preſident.*	Adrian Scroope.
John Liſle.	Richard Dean.
William Say.	John Okey.
Oliver Cromwell.	John Hewſon.
Henry Ireton.	William Goffe.
Sir Hardreſs Waller, *Kt.*	Cornelius Holland.
Sir John Bourchier, *Kt.*	John Carew.
William Heveningham.	John Jones.
Iſaac Pennington.	Miles Corbet.
Henry Martin.	Francis Allen.
William Purefoy.	Peregrine Pelham.
John Barkſtead.	Daniel Blagrave.
Matthew Thomlinſon.	Valentine Wauton.
John Blackiſtone.	Thomas Harriſon.
Gilbert Millington.	Edward Whalley.
Sir Will. Conſtable, *Bar.*	Thomas Pride.
Edmund Ludlow.	Iſaac Ewers.
John Hutchinſon.	Tho. *Lord* Grey *of* Groby.
Sir Michael Liveſey, *Bar.*	*Sir* John Danvers.
Robert Tichbourne.	*Sir* Thomas Maltrever.
Owen Roe.	John Moore.
Robert Lilbourn.	John Alvred.
Henry Smith.	William Cawley.
Humphry Edwards.	Anthony Stapeley.
Gregory Clement.	John Downs.
Thomas Wogan.	Thomas Horton.
Sir Gregory Norton.	Thomas Hammond.
Edmund Harvey.	Nicholas Love.
John Venn.	Vincent Potter.
Thomas Scot.	Auguſtine Garland.
Thomas Andrews.	John Dixwell.
George Fleetwood.	Peter Temple.
Simon Mayne.	Thomas Waite.
James Temple.	

After Sentence, his Majeſty ſaid, *Will you hear me a Word, Sir?*

Preſident. Sir, You are not to be heard after the Sentence.

" *King.* No Sir!"

Preſident. No Sir; by your Favour, Sir. Guard, Withdraw your Priſoner.

" *King.* I may ſpeak after Sentence, by your Fa-" vour, Sir. I may ſpeak after Sentence ever. By " your Favour hold——the Sentence Sir.——I ſay " Sir, I do——I am not ſuffer'd to ſpeak, expect " what Juſtice other People will have."

His Majeſty being taken away by the Guard, as he paſſed down the Stairs the Soldiers ſcoffed at him, blowing the Smoak of their Tobacco in his Face, and throwing their Pipes in his way; and even one ſpit in his Face, his Majeſty taking no more notice of that barbarous Indignity, than to wipe it off with his Handkerchief. As he paſſed along, hearing the Rabble of Soldiers crying out, *Juſtice, Juſtice*; he ſaid, *Poor Souls! for a piece of Money they would do ſo for their Commanders.*

In the Evening, a Member of the Army acquainted the Committee with his Majeſty's Deſire, That *ſeeing they had paſs'd a Sentence of Death upon him, and his time might be nigh, he might ſee his Children: and Dr.* Juxon *Biſhop of* London *might be admitted to aſſiſt him in his private Devotions, and receiving the Sacrament.* Both which at length were granted.

The King prepares for Death. *Sunday* Jan. 28, the King was attended by a Guard from *Whitehall* to St. *James*'s; where the Biſhop of *London*, after Prayers, Preach'd before him on theſe Words, *Rom.* 2. 16. *In the Day when God ſhall judge the ſecrets of all men by Jeſus Chriſt according to my Goſpel.* Upon which he explain'd the Doctrine of a future Judgment, and made an Application ſuited to the ſad Occaſion, and after that adminiſter'd the Sacrament. The King ſpent the Remainder of the Day in Prayer and Meditation, and pious Conference with the good Biſhop, avoiding all Interruption, and for that reaſon refuſing to admit the Prince Elector, the Duke of *Richmond*, Marqueſs of *Hertford*, Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, and ſome others, who came to offer their laſt Duties to him; but, ſaid the King, *My Time is ſhort and precious, and I am deſirous to improve it the beſt I may in Preparation: I hope they will not take it ill that none have Acceſs to me but my Children: The beſt Office they can do now, is to pray for me.*

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King takes Leave of his Children. *Monday* Jan. 29. the King's Children being brought to take their Leave of him, he firſt gave his Bleſſing to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and bid her remember to tell her Brother *James*, whenever ſhe ſhould ſee him, that *it was his Father's laſt Deſire, that he ſhould no more look upon* Charles *as his eldeſt Brother only, but be obedient unto him as his Sovereign*; *and that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies.* Then ſaid the King to her, *Sweet heart, you will forget this. No*, ſaid ſhe, *I ſhall never forget it whilſt I live.* He wiſh'd her not to grieve and torment herſelf for him; for *it would be a glorious Death that he ſhould die, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion.* He bid her read Biſhop *Andrews*'s Sermons, *Hooker*'s Eccleſiaſtical Policy, and Biſhop *Laud*'s Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground her againſt Popery. He told her, *He had forgiven all his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them.* He bid her tell her Mother, that *his Thoughts had never ſtrayed from her, and that his Love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt.*

Then taking the Duke of *Glouceſter* on his Knees, he ſaid, *Sweet heart, now they will cut off thy Father's Head*, (upon which Words the Child look'd very ſtedfaſtly upon him) *Mark Child what I ſay; They will cut off my Head, and perhaps make thee a King: but mark what I ſay, You muſt not be a King ſo long as your Brothers* Charles *and* James *do live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at laſt; and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them.* At which the Child ſighing, ſaid, *I will be torn in pieces firſt:* which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly. At parting, the King commanded them both to be obedient to their Mother, and bid the Lady *Elizabeth* ſend his Bleſſing to the reſt of her Brothers and Siſters, with Commendation to all his Friends.

The Prince, then in *Holland*, had convey'd a Letter to his Majeſty by Mr. *Seamour*, and by the *States* Ambaſſadours had interceded with the Parliament, and uſed all poſſible Means with the Army, to prevent, or at leaſt to defer, the Execution. But all in vain; for a Warrant was this Day ſign'd and ſeal'd by 59 of thoſe execrable Judges, directed to Colonel *Francis Hacker*, Colonel *Huncks*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Phray*, and to every of them, *Willing and requiring them to ſee the ſaid Sentence executed in the open Street before* Whitehall, *upon the Morrow, being the 30th Day of this inſtant Month of* January, *between the Hours of Ten in the Morning and Five in the Afternoon of the ſame Day, with full effect.* Which original Warrant has been lately diſcovered, and now remains a Record of Infamy to this Nation. A Warrant for Execution.

Tueſday Jan. 30, the King having ſlept ſoundly for about four Hours, awak'd near two Hours before Day; and calling to Mr. *Herbert*, who lay by his Bed-ſide, bid him riſe; *For* (ſays the King) *I will get up, having a great Work to do this Day.* Herbert, *This is my ſecond Marriage-Day: I would be as trim to Day as may be, for before Night I hope to be eſpouſed to my bleſſed Jeſus.* He then appointed what Cloaths he would wear; and, ſays he, *Let me have a Shirt on more than ordinary, by reaſon the Seaſon is ſo ſharp as* Day of Execution.

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as probably may make me ſhake: which ſome Obſervers will imagine proceeds from Fear: I would have no ſuch Imputation; I fear not Death; Death is not terrible to me: I bleſs my God, I am prepared. Soon after the King was dreſs'd, came Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, preciſely at the time his Majeſty had the Night before appointed; and being firſt an Hour in private with him, call'd in Mr. *Herbert*, and pray'd in the Prayers of the Church, reading the 27th Chapter of St. *Matthew*, which relates the Paſſion of our Saviour. After Service, the King thank'd the Biſhop for making choice of that Chapter, being ſo applicable to his preſent Condition: The Biſhop reply'd, *May it pleaſe your gracious Majeſty, it is the proper Leſſon for the Day, as appears by the Calender.* At which the King was much affected, and thought it a providential Preparation for his Death.

About Ten a-Clock Colonel *Hacker* knock'd eaſily at the King's Chamber-door; and knocking louder a ſecond time, the King commanded Mr. *Herbert* to go to the Door, who demanding why he knock'd? *Hacker* ſaid, He would ſpeak with the King: The King ſaid, *Let him come in.* He came in trembling, and told his Majeſty, It was time to go to *White-Hall*, where he might have ſome farther time to reſt. *Well* (ſays the King) *Go forth, I will come preſently.* Soon after, the King took the Biſhop by the hand, and ſaid, *Come, let us go*; and ſpoke thus to Mr. *Herbert*, *Open the Door*, Hacker *has given us a ſecond Warning.* The King paſs'd through the Garden into the *Park*, where ſeveral Companies of Foot were drawn up, and made a Guard on each ſide, the Biſhop walking on the King's Right-hand, and Colonel *Thomlinſon* on his Left, both bare-headed: the King walk'd very faſt, and calling on them to walk faſter, ſaid, *He now went before them to ſtrive for a heavenly Crown, with leſs ſolicitude than he had often encouraged his Soldiers to fight for an earthly Diadem.* At the end of the *Park* the King went up the Stairs leading to the *Long-Gallery*, and ſo into the *Cabinet-Chamber*, where, after ſeveral Prayers and pious Diſcourſe, about Twelve he eat a bit of Bread, and drunk a Glaſs of Claret. Soon after Colonel *Hacker* came to the Chamber-door, and gave his laſt Signal. The Biſhop and Mr. *Herbert* weeping fell upon their Knees, and the King gave them his Hand to kiſs, and help'd up the aged Biſhop, and ſaid, *Open the Door*; and bidding *Hacker* go on, ſaid, *I'll follow.* So he was conducted through the *Banquetting-houſe* to the Scaffold by a Paſſage made through a Window. Many Companies of Foot and Troops of Horſe were placed to keep off the Spectators, whereby his Majeſty was diſappointed of ſpeaking to the People: and therefore directing himſelf chiefly to Colonel *Thomlinſon*, he ſaid,

King's laſt Speech.

"I Shall be very little heard of any body here, I "ſhall therefore ſpeak a Word unto you here. "Indeed I could hold my Peace very well, if I did "not think, that holding my Peace would make "ſome Men think, that I did ſubmit to the Guilt as "well as to the Puniſhment. But I think it is my "Duty to God firſt, and to my Country, for to "clear my ſelf, both as an honeſt Man, a good "King, and a good Chriſtian.

"I ſhall begin firſt with my Innocence. In troth, "I think it not very needful for me to inſiſt long "upon this; for, all the World knows, that I ne-"ver did begin a War firſt with the two Houſes of "Parliament: And I call God to witneſs, to whom "I muſt ſhortly make an Account, that I never did "intend for to encroach upon their Privileges: they "began upon me. It is the Militia they began up-"on: They confeſs'd that the Militia was mine, "but they thought it fit for to have it from me. "And, to be ſhort, if any body will look to the "Dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and "mine, and likewiſe to the Declarations, they will "ſee clearly, that they began theſe unhappy Trou-"bles, not I. So that as to the Guilt of theſe "enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope "in God that God will clear me of it. I will not, "I'm in Charity, God forbid that I ſhould lay it "on the two Houſes of Parliament; there is no "Neceſſity of either: I hope they are free of this "Guilt; for I do believe that ill Inſtruments be-"tween them and me have been the chief Cauſe of "all this Bloodſhed: ſo that by way of ſpeaking, "as I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope and pray "God that they may too. Yet for all this, God "forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not "to ſay, that God's Judgments are juſt upon me: "Many times he does pay Juſtice by an unjuſt "Sentence; that is ordinary. I only ſay this, that "an unjuſt Sentence that I ſuffer'd to take effect, is "puniſh'd now by an unjuſt Sentence upon me. "That is———So far I have ſaid to ſhew you "that I am an innocent Man.

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Meaning the Earl of Straſford.

"Now to ſhew you that I am a good Chriſtian, "I hope there is a good Man that will bear me "witneſs, that I have forgiven all the World; and "even thoſe in particular that have been the chief "Cauſes of my Death. Who they are, God knows; "I do not deſire to know: I pray God forgive "them. But this is not all; my Charity muſt go "farther: I wiſh that they may repent; for in-"deed they have committed a great Sin in that "Particular. I pray God, with St. *Stephen*, that "this be not laid to their Charge; nay, not only "ſo, but that they may take the right way to the "Peace of the Kingdom: For, my Charity com-"mands me not only to forgive particular Men, "but my Charity commands me to endeavour to "the laſt Gaſp the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, "I do wiſh with all my Soul (and I do hope there "is ſome here will carry it farther) that they may "endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.

Pointing to Biſhop Juxon.

Turning to ſome Gentlemen who wrote.

"Now, Sirs, I muſt ſhew you both how you are "out of the Way, and will put you in a Way.

"*Firſt*, You are out of the Way: For certainly "all the Way you have ever had yet, as I could "find by any thing, is in the Way of Conqueſt. Cer-"tainly this is an ill way; for Conqueſt, Sirs, in "my Opinion is never juſt, except there be a good "juſt Cauſe, either for Matter of wrong or juſt Ti-"tle; and then if you go beyond it, the firſt Quar-"rel you have to it, that makes it unjuſt at the "end, that was juſt at the firſt. But if it be only "Matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery; "as a Pirate ſaid to *Alexander the Great*, that he was "the great Robber, himſelf was but a petty Robber. "And ſo, Sirs, I do think the way that you are "in is much out of the way.

"Now, Sirs, for to put you in the way, believe "it, you will never do right, nor will God ever "proſper you, until you give God his due, the King "his due, (that is, my Succeſſors) and the Peo-"ple their due: I am as much for them as any of "you.

"You muſt give God his due by regulating right-"ly his Church (according to his Scripture) which "is now out of order. For to ſet you in a way "particularly, now I cannot, but only this, a Nati-"onal Synod freely called, freely debating amongſt "themſelves muſt ſettle this, when that every Opi-"nion is freely and clearly heard.

"For the King, indeed I will not" [then turning to a Gentleman who touch'd the Axe, he ſaid, *Hurt not the Axe, that may hurt me.*] "For the "King, the Laws of the Land will clearly inſtruct "you for that. Therefore becauſe it concerns my "own particular, I only give you a touch of it. "For the People: and truly I deſire their Liberty "and Freedom as much as any body whomſoever; "but I muſt tell you, that their Liberty and Free-"dom conſiſts in having of Government, thoſe Laws "by which their Life and their Goods may be moſt "their own. It is not for having a ſhare in Govern-"ment, Sirs, that is nothing pertaining to them; "a Subject and a Sovereign are clear different things.

"And

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"And therefore until they do that, I mean, that you "do put the People in that Liberty as I ſay, certain-"ly they will never enjoy themſelves. Sirs, it was "for this that now I am come here: If I would have "given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all "Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, "I needed not to have come here: And therefore I "tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your "Charge) that I am the Martyr of the People.

"In troth, Sirs, I ſhall not hold you much lon-"ger, for I will only ſay this to you, that in truth "I could have deſired ſome little time longer, be-"cauſe that I would put this that I have ſaid in "little more Order, and a little better digeſted than "I have done, and therefore I hope you will excuſe "me. I have delivered my Conſcience, I pray God "that you do take thoſe Courſes that are beſt for the "good of the Kingdom and your own Salvation.

[Then the Biſhop ſaid, *Tho' it be very well known what your Majeſty's Affections are to the Proteſtant Religion, yet it may be expected, that you ſhould ſay ſomewhat for the World's Satiſfaction in that particular.*]

Whereupon the King reply'd, "I thank you hear-"tily, my Lord, for that, I had almoſt forgotten "it. In troth, Sirs, my Conſcience in Religion, "I think is very well known to all the World; and "therefore I do declare before you all, that I die "a Chriſtian, according to the Profeſſion of the "Church of *England*, as I found it left me by my "Father; and this honeſt Man, I think, will wit-"neſs it." Pointing to the Biſhop.

Then turning to the Officers, he ſaid, *Sirs, excuſe me for this ſame, I have a good Cauſe, and I have a gracious God, I will ſay no more.* Then to Colonel *Hacker*, he ſaid, *Take care that they do not put me to Pain, and, Sir, this and pleaſe you*—— But here a Gentleman coming near the Axe, he ſaid, *Take heed of the Axe, pray take heed of the Axe.* Then he ſpoke to the Executioner, *I ſhall ſay but very ſhort Prayers, and when I thruſt out my Hands*—— Then he called to the Biſhop for his Cap, and having put it on, he ask'd the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you?* Who deſired him to put it all under his Cap; and as he was doing this, by the help of the Biſhop and (*a*) Executioner, he ſaid, turning to the Biſhop, *I have a good Cauſe and a gracious God on my Side.* The Biſhop ſaid, "There is but one Stage more, which tho' turbulent "and troubleſome, yet it is a very ſhort one; you "may conſider, it will ſoon carry you a very great "way: It will carry you from Earth to Heaven, "and there you ſhall find to your great Joy the "Prize you haſten to, a Crown of Glory." The King adjoined, *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the World.* The Biſhop added, "You are exchanged from "a temporal to an eternal Crown, a good Exchange." 1648. 24 Car. I.

Then the King ask'd the Executioner, *Is my Hair well?* And taking off his Cloak and George, he delivered his George to the Biſhop, ſaying, *Remember.* Then putting off his Doublet, and being in his Waſtcoat, he put on his Cloak again, and looking upon the Block, ſaid to the Executioner, *You muſt ſet it faſt.* The Executioner ſaying, it was faſt; the King ſaid, *It might have been a little higher.* Being told by him it could be now no higher, the King ſaid, *When I put out my Hands this way, then.* —— And ſaying a few Words to himſelf as he ſtood, with Hands and Eyes lift up, immediately ſtooping down, he laid his Neck upon the Block, and the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, his Majeſty thinking he had been going to ſtrike, bad him *ſtay for the Sign*; to which the Executioner ſaid, "Yes I will "and it pleaſe your Majeſty." So after a ſhort pauſe, his Majeſty ſtretching forth his Hands, the Executioner (who was all the while in a Mask) at one Blow ſevered his Head from his Body, which being held up and ſhewed to the aſtoniſh'd People, was with his Body put into a Coffin covered with black Velvet, and carried into his Lodging-Chamber in *Whitehall*. (*b*)

It muſt be dreadfully remember'd, that the then cruel Powers did ſuſpect, that the King would not ſubmit his Head to the Block; and therefore to bring him down by violence to it, they had prepared Hooks and Staples (made by a Smith in *Aldgate*) to hawl him as a Victim to the Slaughter. But by the Example of his Saviour, he reſiſted not, he diſappointed their Wit, and yielded to their Malice.

Apology for General *Fairfax*.

There be grounds for the Charity of thinking, that General *Fairfax* was not conſenting to the King's Murder, but was amuſed by *Cromwell* to the very Day of Execution, and even then drawn by him into ſeeking God by Prayer, till the Blow was over. Sir *Thomas Herbert* aſſures us, That while the Biſhop and he were going with the King's Body to be embalm'd, he ſtep'd into the Long-Gallery, and the General there meeting him, ask'd him, *How the King did?* Which he at firſt thought ſtrange; but he afterward perceived, that the General knew not what had paſſed, being all that Morning uſing his Power and Intereſt to have the Execution deferred for ſome Days, forbearing to come among the Officers, and fully reſolving with his own Regiment to prevent the Blow, or to defer it till he could make a Party in the Army to ſecond his Deſign: but being with the Officers of the Army then at Prayer in Colonel *Harriſon*'s Apartment, he came from thence without knowledge of the matter, and was much ſurprized when Mr. *Herbert* told him of it.

Application was made to the Men in Power, for leave to bury the Royal Corps in King *Henry* VII.'s

(*a*) It was never yet prov'd or diſcover'd, who was the bold Executioner of the King; that which moſt led to the Knowledge of him, was a Story I heard related by Archbiſhop *Teniſon*, who when Vicar of St. *Martins*, had a young Woman came to him to viſit her dying Father, in a Yard or Lane in *King's-ſtreet Weſtminſter*, and importuning him much to go with her; She ſaid, that her Father lay under the Horrour of having cut off the King's Head. When he came, the Perſon was dead, and no Confeſſion was left in writing, nor any other Account to be got, but that the Perſon had been a ſort of Butcher, or Cattle Drover at St. *Ives* in *Huntingdonſhire*, was ſent for up by *Oliver Cromwell* about the end of 1648, had ever ſince lived obſcurely by a feigned Name, and received a Yearly Penſion, which died with him. The Archbiſhop ſent me to enquire at the *Griffin* or *Green-Dragon* Tavern in *Fleet-ſtreet*, about the ſaid ſurviving Daughter, but the People of the Houſe being changed, I could learn nothing.

(*b*) The *Philiſtines*, the *Jeſuits* triumph at this Spectacle. Father *Sarabras*, the Queen's Confeſſor, is reported to have been preſent at the King's Death, and there on Horſeback, toſſing up his Cap in the Air, and brandiſhing his Sword: And when he was asked what he did there, he anſwered, that there were twenty more Prieſts there beſide himſelf, and that the greateſt Enemy to their Religion fell that Day.

This Paſſage of the Prieſt flouriſhing with his Sword when the King's Head was cut off, was printed thrice (ſays Dr. *Pet. du Moulin*) before I ventured upon it, twice by Mr. *Prynne*, and once by Mr. *Foulis*. And upon Mr. *Prynne*'s Credit, I alledged it. To him I did write (tho' a Stranger to me) upon the Noiſe made about it; and he confirmed it to me by his Letters, which I keep.——Another Paſſage is true. An underſtanding Gentleman viſiting the Friers at *Dunkirk*, who are *Flemiſh* or *French*, put them upon the Diſcourſe of the King's Death, and to pump out their Senſe of it, ſaid, that the *Jeſuits* had laboured very much to compaſs that great Work. To which they anſwered, that the *Jeſuits* would engroſs to themſelves the Glory of all great and good Deeds; whereas they had laboured as diligently and effectually to advance it as they.

So there was ſtriving among the Papiſts for the Glory of that Atchievement; and the Friers ſhewed themſelves as much Jeſuited as the *Jeſuits*. *Du Moulin* of Papal Tyranny. 4*to*. p. 51.

The Brother of the laſt Writer Dr. *Lewis Du Moulin*, was himſelf an *Independent*, and would therefore vindicate his own Party from the Guilt and Odium of the King's Murder, in theſe Words; As for the Odium that is caſt upon the Congregational Way, and thoſe who are called *Independents*, as being the more immediate Authors and Abettors of the King's Murder, and of taking away Monarchy, it can be eaſily wiped off, and made out, that *Oliver Cromwell*'s Army, like that of King *David*'s in the Wilderneſs, was a Medley or a Collection of all Parties that were diſcontented, as ſome *Courtiers*, ſome *Epiſcoparians*, few of any Sect, but moſt of none, or elſe of the Religion of *Thomas Hobbes*, and Dr. *Scarborough*, not mentioning the *Papiſts*, who had the greateſt Hand in the Death of King *Charles* the Firſt.

1648. 24 Car. I. Chappel; but the Requeſt was denied upon this Reaſon, that it might attract great Numbers of People to that Place, which might be inconvenient and unſafe. And therefore upon a ſecond Addreſs to the Committee of Parliament, an Order was given dated *Feb* 6, to authorize Mr. *Herbert* and Mr. *Mildmay* to bury the King's Body in the Royal Chapel of St. *George* within the Caſtle of *Windſor*. Hence the Body being embalmed and laid in a Coffin of Lead, to be ſeen for ſome Days by the People, was on *Feb.* 7, carried from St. *James*'s in a Hearſe covered with black Velvet, and drawn by ſix Horſes, with four Coaches following, and ſo brought to *Windſor* Caſtle, where the Order for Interment was ſhewn to the Governor Colonel *Whichcot*. Next Day came the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, and the Biſhop of *London*, with two Votes paſſed that Morning, whereby the ordering of the King's Burial was committed to the Duke, provided the Expences thereof exceeded not 500 Pounds. Theſe Lords agreed, that the King's Body ſhould be interr'd in a Vault about the middle of the Choir, over againſt the eleventh Stall upon the Sovereign's Side, in which Vault were laid the Bodies of King *Henry* VIII. and Queen *Jane Seymour*. This Vault being opened, the King's Body was brought from his Bed-Chamber into St. *George*'s-Hall, and thence with a ſlow and ſolemn Pace carried by Gentlemen, the Lords following, and ſet down in the Choir near the place of Burial, where the Biſhop of *London* ſtood ready with the Service-Book in his Hands to have performed that laſt Duty by the publick Form of Burial; but the rude Colonel would not ſuffer it to be done; and tho' the Lords earneſtly deſired it, and inſiſted on the Parliaments leave for it, yet ſtill he denied, and ſaid, it was improbable the Parliament would permit the uſe of what they had ſo ſolemnly aboliſhed, and therein deſtroy their own Act. So the Body was ſilently depoſited with this Circumſcription in capital Letters upon Lead.

KING CHARLES.
1648.

It has been made a Queſtion and a Wonder by ſome Perſons, why a Monument was not erected for him after the Reſtauration of his Son, when the Commons were well inclined to have given a Sum of Money for that grateful Purpoſe. We are afraid, the true Reaſon was, that the Royal Body could not be found; thoſe who murther'd it had diſturbed it in the very Grave, and had carried it away to ſome other Place, and God alone knows whether they gave it any ſecond Interment. The Lord *Clarendon* ſpeaks ſoftly of this Matter, when he ſays, "Upon "the Return of King *Charles* II, with ſo much Con- "gratulation and univerſal Joy of the People, a- "bove ten Years after the Murther of his Father, "it was generally expected that the Body ſhould be "removed from that obſcure Burial, and with ſuch "Ceremony as ſhould be thought fit, ſhould be ſo- "lemnly depoſited with his Royal Anceſtors in King "*Henry* VII.'s Chappel in the Collegiate Church of "*Weſtminſter*. And the King himſelf intended no- "thing more, and ſpoke often of it, as if it were "only deferred till ſome Circumſtances and Ceremo- "nies in the doing it might be adjuſted. But, by "degrees, the diſcourſe of it was diminiſhed, as if "it were totally laid aſide upon ſome Reaſons of "State, the ground whereof ſeveral Men gueſſed at "according to their Fancies; and thereupon caſt "thoſe Reproaches upon the States-men as they "thought reaſonable, when the Reaſons which were "ſuggeſted by their own Imaginations, did not ſa- "tisfie their Underſtanding. For the ſatisfaction "and information of all Men, I chuſe in this place "to explain that Matter, which, it may be, is not "known to many, and at that time was not, for "many Reaſons thought fit to be publiſhed.

"The Duke of *Richmond* was dead before the "King returned; the Marqueſs of *Hertford* died in a "ſhort time after, and was ſeldom out of his Lodg- "ing after his Majeſty came to *Whitehall*; the Earl "of *Southampton* and the Earl of *Lindſey* went to "*Windſor*, and took with them ſuch of their own "Servants as had attended them in that Service, "and as many others as they remember'd had been "then preſent, and were ſtill alive; who all amount- "ed to a ſmall number, there being at the time of "the interment great ſtrictneſs uſed in admitting "any to be preſent, whoſe Names were not inclu- "ded in the Order which the Lords had brought. "In a Word, the confuſion they had at that time "obſerved to be in that Church, and the ſmall Alte- "rations which were begun to be made towards de- "cency, ſo totally perplexed their Memories that "they could not ſatisfie themſelves in what place or "part of the Church the Royal Body was interred; "yet where any concurred upon this or that place, "they cauſed the Ground to be opened at a good "diſtance, and upon ſuch Enquiries found no cauſe "to believe that they were near the place; and up- "on their giving this Account to the King, the "Thought of that Remove was laid aſide, and the "Reaſon communicated to very few, for the better "diſcountenancing farther Enquiry."

His Character is thus drawn by the maſterly Hand of the Lord *Clarendon*. "It will not be un- "neceſſary to add a ſhort Character of his Perſon, "that Poſterity may know the ineſtimable Loſs "which the Nation then underwent, in being depri- "ved of a Prince whoſe Example would have had a "greater influence upon the Manners and Piety of "the Nation than the moſt ſtrict Laws can have. "To ſpeak firſt of his private Qualifications as a "Man, before the mention of his Princely and "Royal Virtues; he was, if ever any, the moſt "worthy of the Title of an honeſt Man; ſo great "a Lover of Juſtice, that no Temptation could diſ- "poſe him to a wrongful Action, except it was ſo "diſguiſed to him that he believed it to be juſt. He "had a tenderneſs and compaſſion of Nature, which "reſtrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted "Thing; and therefore he was ſo apt to grant Par- "don to Malefactors, that the Judges of the Land "repreſented to him the Damage and Inſecurity to "the Publick that flowed from ſuch his Indulgence. "And then he reſtrained himſelf from pardoning ei- "ther Murders or High-way Robberies, and quick- "ly diſcerned the Fruits of his Severity by a won- "derful Reformation of thoſe Enormities. He was "very punctual and regular in his Devotions; "he was never known to enter upon his Recreati- "ons or Sports, though never ſo early in the Mor- "ning before he had been at publick Prayers; ſo "that on hunting Days his Chaplains were bound "to a very early Attendance. He was likewiſe ve- "ry ſtrict in obſerving the Hours of his private Ca- "binet Devotions; and was ſo ſevere an exacter of "Gravity and Reverence in all mention of Religion, "that he could never endure any light or prophane "Word, with what ſharpneſs of Wit ſoever it was "cover'd: And though he was well pleaſed and de- "lighted with reading Verſes made upon any occaſi- "on, no Man durſt bring before him any thing that "was prophane or unclean; that kind of Wit had "never any countenance then. He was ſo great an "Example of Conjugal Affection, that they who did "not imitate him in that particular durſt not brag of "their Liberty: And he did not only permit, but "directed his Biſhops, to proſecute thoſe ſcandalous "Vices in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, againſt Perſons "of Eminence and near Relation to his Service.

Character of King *Charles*.

"His Kingly Vertues had ſome mixture and allay "that hinder'd them from ſhining in full Luſtre, and "from producing thoſe Fruits they ſhould have been "attended with. He was not in his Nature very "bountiful, though he gave very much. This ap- "peared more after the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Death, "after which thoſe Showers fell very rarely; and he

"paused

1648. 24 Car. I. "paused too long in giving, which made thoſe to "whom he gave leſs ſenſible of the Benefit. He kept "State to the full, which made his Court very orderly; no Man preſuming to be ſeen in a Place "where he had no pretence to be. He ſaw, and obſerved Men long before he received them about "his Perſon; and did not love Strangers nor very "confident Men. He was a patient hearer of Cauſes "which he frequently accuſtomed himſelf to at the "Council-Board, and judged very well, and was "dexterous in the mediating part; ſo that he often put an end to Cauſes by Perſwaſion which "the ſtubborneſs of Men's Humours made dilatory "in Courts of Juſtice.

"He was very fearleſs in his Perſon, but, in his "riper Years not very enterprizing. He had an excellent Underſtanding, but was not confident "enough of it, which made him often times change "his own Opinion for a worſe, and follow the Advice of Men that did not judge ſo well as himſelf. "This made him more irreſolute than the conjuncture of his Affairs would admit: If he had been "of a rougher and more imperious Nature, he would "have found more Reſpect and Duty. And his not "applying ſome ſevere Cures to approaching Evils "proceeded from the Lenity of his Nature, and the "Tenderneſs of his Conſcience, which in all caſes of "Blood made him chuſe the ſofter way, and not "hearken to ſevere Counſels how reaſonably ſoever "urged. This only reſtrained him from purſuing his "Advantage in the firſt *Scotiſh* Expedition, when "humanly ſpeaking, he might have reduced that "Nation to the moſt entire Obedience that could "have been wiſhed. But no Man can ſay he had then "many who adviſed him to it, but the contrary, by "a wonderful indiſpoſition all his Council had to "the War, or any other Fatigue. He was always a "great Lover of the *Scotiſh* Nation, having not only "been born there but educated by that People, and "beſieged by them always, having few *Engliſh* about "him till he was King, and the major number of his "Servants being ſtill of that Nation, who he thought "could never fail him: And among theſe no Man "had ſuch an aſcendant over him by the humbleſt "Inſinuations as Duke *Hamilton* had.

"As he excelled in all other Virtues, ſo in Temperance he was ſo ſtrict, that he abhorr'd all Debauchery to that Degree, that, at a great Feſtival "Solemnity, where he once was when very many "of the Nobility of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* were entertained, being told by one who withdrew from "thence, what vaſt draughts of Wine they drank, "and *That there was one Earl who had drunk moſt of the reſt down, and was not himſelf moved or altered*, the "King ſaid, *That he deſerved to be hanged*; and that "Earl coming ſhortly after into the Room where his "Majeſty was, in ſome gaiety, to ſhew how unhurt "he was from that Battle, the King ſent one to bid "him withdraw from his Majeſty's Preſence; nor did "he in ſome Days after appear before him.

"So many miraculous Circumſtances contributed "to his Ruin, that Men might well think that Heaven and Earth conſpir'd it. Though he was from "the firſt declenſion of his Power ſo much betray'd "by his own Servants, that there were very few "who remained faithful to him; yet that Treachery "proceeded not always from any treaſonable purpoſe to do him any harm, but from particular and "perſonal Animoſities againſt other Men. And, "afterwards the Terror all Men were under of the "Parliament, and the Guilt they were conſcious of "themſelves, made them watch all opportunities to "make themſelves gracious to thoſe who could do "them good; and ſo they became Spies upon their "Maſter, and from one piece of Knavery were harden'd and confirm'd to undertake another, till at laſt "they had no hope of Preſervation, but by the Deſtruction of their Maſter. And after all this, when a 1648. 24 Car. I. "Man might reaſonably believe that leſs than a univerſal Defection of three Nations could not have reduced a great King to ſo ugly a Fate; it is moſt certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus "wickedly murthered in the Sight of the Sun, he "had as great a Share in the Hearts and Affections "of his Subjects in general, was as much beloved, eſteemed, and long'd for by the People in "general of the three Nations, as any of his Predeceſſors had ever been. To conclude, He was "the worthieſt Gentleman, the beſt Maſter, the "beſt Friend, the beſt Husband, the beſt Father, and the beſt Chriſtian, that the Age in "which he lived produced. And if he were not "the greateſt King, if he were without ſome Parts "and Qualities which have made ſome Kings "great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy who was poſſeſſed of half his Vertues and "Endowments, and ſo much without any kind of "Vice."

It ſeems a Scandal to think of the Name of *Religion* in this Land within the Year wherein a moſt lawful, moſt religious, moſt condeſcending King was murder'd in ſtate by his own Subjects before his own Palace. But to keep on the Method of ſeparating Eccleſiaſtical Affairs from Civil, we muſt give ſome ſhort Account of them; which Account will hardly be capable of any Order or Method; for indeed Fanaticiſm was in this one Year at the very height of Perfection or Confuſion: it improved from the Beginning of the Civil Wars to the *Effuſion* of the King's Blood; and then, as if it had attain'd its utmoſt Glory, it declined by ſenſible degrees, till being weaker and weaker, it did at laſt ſuffer the Reſtoration of Monarchy and an eſtabliſhed Church. Religion a Reproach to the Saints.

Apr. 14, ſome of the *Aſſembly of Divines* waiting at the Door of the Houſe of Commons, were called in, and did acquaint the Houſe, that they had perfected the *Catechiſm*, according to the former Order of the Houſes, and had inſerted the Places of Scripture in the Margin. Upon which the Houſe ordered, that ſix hundred Copies of the ſaid Catechiſm ſhould be Printed for the Service of the Members of both Houſes, and no more; and gave Thanks to the Aſſembly for their Pains and Endeavours in perfecting this *Catechiſm*. Aſſemblys Catechiſm.

Such a Spirit of Loyalty and Uniformity was ſtill left in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, that it was found neceſſary to ſend down the Chancellor, the Earl of *Pembroke*, to execute the Viſitation, or rather the Inquiſition, that had been lately made in that Place. He came thither *Apr.* 11, and by Power of Parliament and Arms put Mr. *Reynolds* into Poſſeſſion of the Deanry of *Chriſt-Church* in the room of Dr. *Fell* ejected. Dr. *Palmer* into the Wardenſhip of *All-Souls*, in the room of Dr. *Sheldon*. Mr. *Harris* into the Preſidentſhip of *Trinity-College*, in room of Dr. *Potter*. Dr. *John Wilkinſon* into the Preſidentſhip of *Magdalen-College*, in room of Dr. *Oliver*. Mr. *John Wilkins* into the Wardenſhip of *Wadham*, in room of Dr. *Pitts*. Mr. *Cheynell* into the Preſidentſhip of St. *John's*, in room of Dr. *Bayly*. Mr. *Greenwood* into the Principality of *Brazen-Noſe-College*, in room of Mr. *Radcliff*. And ſeveral others were thruſt into the Places of ejected Heads and Members. For which, on *April* 21, the Commons gave the Thanks of their Houſe to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Pembroke*, Chancellor, for his great Care and Pains in ſettling and reforming the Univerſity of *Oxford*. (*a*) Reformation of *Oxford*.

May 1, the Houſe of Commons took into Conſideration the Buſineſs of the Church, for ſettling the Government and Diſcipline thereof; and voted that all Ordinances referred to Committees concerning Church-Government and Diſcipline, be brought in and determined; and that the Ordinance againſt

(*a*) See the Proceedings of the Earl of *Pembroke* in the ſevere Viſitation of the Univerſity of *Oxf. Whitlock's Memoirs*. p. 300. See a Pamphlet Croſs'd and Intituled, ✕ *Lord have Mercy upon us*: Or the Viſitation at *Oxf.* begun *April* 11th, 1648. Printed in 1648. 4to.

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Blaſphemy and Hereſy be immediately brought in and debated. (*a*)

Letter of the *Engliſh* to the *Scotch* Aſſembly.

June 7, the Houſe of Commons being informed that many of the *Aſſembly* were at the Door, they were called in, and preſented to the Houſe the Draught of a Letter to be ſent from the *Aſſembly* here to the *Aſſembly* in *Scotland*, in order to ſtrengthen the Amity and Union of both Kingdoms; and deſired the Approbation of the Houſe thereunto. The Houſe debated on the Letter, and approv'd it.

New Articles of Faith.

June 21, the Ordinance for the more effectual ſettling the Presbyterian Government throughout the Kingdom, was read the ſecond time by the Commons, and committed. After which, the Articles of Faith and Texts of Scripture to them, brought in by the *Aſſembly*, were ordered to be Printed, with this Title; *Articles of Chriſtian Religion approved and paſſed by both Houſes of Parliament, after Advice had with the Aſſembly of Divines, by Authority of Parliament ſitting at* Weſtminſter, *June* 27. 1648.

On *July* 24, the Commons ſpent much time upon a Paragraph of the large Catechiſm, which was committed, and the Aſſembly were deſired to explain ſome Words therein.

At opening the Treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*, the King kept a Faſt on *Saturday* Septemb. 16, with his Houſhold and Attendance, for a Bleſſing on that Treaty, and had a particular Prayer, drawn by his own ſpecial Direction and Dictates, to be uſed with the Form of Common-Prayer. By the Papers now remaining which paſſed between his Majeſty and the Divines which attended the Commiſſioners of the two Houſes concerning Epiſcopacy and Church-Government, the Learning, Judgment, and Conſcience of this Prince appeared great, beyond the Denial and Doubt of his Enemies. It was near this time that Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, principal Miniſter of the Word of God at *Edinburgh*, and chief Commiſſioner from the Kirk of *Scotland* to the Parliament and Synod of *England*, made a ſolemn Declaration upon his Death-bed, grounded on the Experience he had in converſing and diſputing in Matters of Religion with the King; wherein he prays for the good King's being reſtored to his juſt Rights: and, among other Things, ſays thus: "I do declare before God and the World, that ſince I had the Honour and Happineſs to converſe and confer with his Majeſty, with all ſorts of Freedom, eſpecially in Matters of Religion, whether in Relation to the Kirk or State, that I found him the moſt intelligent Man that ever I ſpoke with; as far beyond my Expreſſion as Expectation. I profeſs, that I was oft-times aſtoniſhed with the Solidity and Quickneſs of his Reaſons and Replies, wondered how he, ſpending his time ſo much in Sports and Recreations, could have attained to ſo great Knowledge; and muſt confeſs ingenuouſly, that I was convinced in Conſcience, and knew not how to give him any reaſonable Satisfaction; yet the Sweetneſs of his Diſpoſition is ſuch, that whatſoever I ſaid was well taken. I muſt ſay, that I never met with any Diſputant of that mild and calm Temper; which convinc'd me the more, and made me think, that ſuch Wiſdom and Moderation could not be without an extraordinary meaſure of Divine Grace. I had heard much of his Carriage towards the Prieſts in *Spain*, and that King *James* told the Duke of *Buckingham*, upon his going thither, that he durſt venture his Son *Charles* with all the Jeſuits in the World, he knew him to be ſo well grounded in the Proteſtant Religion; but could never believe it before. I obſerved all his Actions, more particularly thoſe of Devotion, which I muſt truly ſay are more than ordinary.—— If I ſhould ſpeak of his Juſtice, Magnanimity, Charity, Sobriety, Chaſtity, Patience, Humility, and of all his both Chriſtian and moral Virtues, I ſhould run my ſelf into a Panegyrick, and ſeem to flatter him to ſuch as do not know; if the preſent Condition that I lie in did not exempt me from any Suſpicion of worldly End, when I expect every hour to be called from all tranſitory Vanities to eternal Felicity, and the diſcharging of my Conſcience before God and Man, did not oblige me to declare the Truth ſimply and nakedly, in ſatisfaction of that which I have done ignorantly, tho' not altogether innocently."

Repentance of Mr. *Henderſon*.

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And with this Character of King *Charles*, given by a *Scot*, a Presbyterian, an Opponent, we might conclude this fatal Year, unwilling to reveal the farther Iniquities of it. Though in Juſtice to the greater part of the Presbyterian Miniſters, it muſt be acknowledged, that when they ſaw too late the ſad Iſſues of Separation and Rebellion, they did then repent of them; and they did then labour to prevent the execrable Fact of putting the King to Death: They drew up and publiſh'd, *A ſerious and faithful Repreſentation of the Judgments of the Miniſters of the Goſpel within the Province of* London, *in a Letter to the General and Council of War*, Jan. 18, 1648, *delivered by ſome of the Subſcribers*. But alas (which was more, we hope, than they knew) it was all to no purpoſe. (*b*)

Remonſtrance of the Preſbyterian Miniſters againſt the King's Murder.

1649.

On the Day of the Father's Murder, an Act was paſſed to diſinherit the Son; ordaining, *That no Perſon whatſoever do preſume to proclaim, declare, publiſh, or any ways to promote* Charles Stuart, *Son of the ſaid* Charles *late King of* England, *commonly called Prince of* Wales, *or any other Perſon, to be King or chief Magiſtrate of* England *or* Ireland, *or of any Dominions belonging to them; under pain of being adjudged a Traitor.* Soon after a Committee was appointed to reſtrain the Preaching and Printing any Thing againſt the Proceedings of the Houſe, and of the High Court of Juſtice. They preſently after voted, That the Houſe of Peers in Parliament was uſeleſs and dangerous, and ought to be aboliſhed, and that an Act ſhould be brought in to that Purpoſe. Then they reſolved upon the Queſtion, "That it hath been found by Experience, and this Houſe doth declare, That the Office of a King in this Nation, and to have the Power thereof in any ſingle Perſon, is unneceſſary, burthenſome, and dangerous to the Liberty, Safety, and Publick Intereſt of the People of this Nation, and therefore ought to be aboliſh'd; and that an Act be brought in to that purpoſe (*c*)." Then the Form of Government was declared to be a *Commonwealth*, and the executive Power was put into the Hands of a Council of State, conſiſting of thirty eight Perſons, to act with full Powers for one Year: The Qualifications of every Member of this *Council of State*, or *Committee of Eſtates*, was, to ſubſcribe unto approving the King's Execution. After this, another High Court of Juſtice was erected for Trial of Delinquents; before whom the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, under the Title of Earl of *Cambridge*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Goring*, and Sir *John Owen*, were condemned to Death for adhering to the King. After Sentence, their Reprieve, or their Execution, was put to the Vote of the Commons, who voted

An Act to exclude K. *Ch.* II.

The H. of Lords voted Uſeleſs.

Monarchy aboliſhed.

Commonwealth ſet up.

Another High Court of Juſtice.

(*a*) See, Ordinance of Lords and Commons, 2 *May* 1648. for puniſhing Blaſphemies and Hereſies as Felony, without Benefit of the Clergy.

(*b*) The Papiſts had certainly their Hand in it. There is this Paſſage in Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s Idolatry of the Church of *Rome*, 8vo. 1672. p. 301. By the Anſwer to *Philanax* may appear what Influence the Jeſuitical Party had upon the barbarous Murther of a moſt excellent Prince. I ſhall only add this, that *Anno* 1648, a Book was printed with this Title, *Several Speeches delivered at a Conference, concerning the Power of Parliament, to proceed againſt their King for Miſgovernment.* Licenſed by *Gilbert Mabbot*, which is Word for Word, taken out of *Parſons* the Jeſuits Book of *Succeſſion to the Crown of* England, as will appear to any one who will take the Pains to compare them.

(*c*) See a Declaration of the Parliament of *England*, expreſſing the Grounds of their late Proceedings, and of ſettling the Preſent Government in the Way of a free State, *March* 22. 1648. Printed for *Edw. Husband*. 4to.

by

J Ryley pinx.
Trouvain Sculp.
KING CHARLES THE II^d.

1649. by great Majority, that the Earl of *Cambridge* and
Car. II. the Ld. *Capel* ſhould not be Reprieved, and Sir *John*
Owen ſhould be Reprieved: and on the like Queſti-
on of Life and Death to the Earl of *Holland*, and the
Lord *Goring*, the firſt was ſacrific'd, and this latter
ſav'd by one ſingle Vote, which was that of the
Speaker. Upon which, the Earl of *Cambridge*, the
Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel*, were all Be-
headed in the Palace-Yard at *Weſtminſter* Mar. 9.

The Characters and Sufferings of theſe three No-
blemen, are thus deliver'd by the Lord *Clarendon*.

“ A Scaffold was erected before *Weſtminſter-Hall*,
“ and all the Priſoners Condemn'd were brought
“ from St. *James*'s (as well the two who were Re-
“ prieved, as the three who were to ſuffer) upon
“ the 9th of *March*, that was at the End of the Year
“ 1648, a little more than a Month after the Mur-
“ der of the King, to Sir *Thomas Cotton*'s Houſe, at
“ the upper End of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where they
“ were ſuffer'd to repoſe themſelves about the ſpace
“ of an hour, and then were led ſucceſſively through
“ the Hall to the Scaffold, Duke *Hamilton* being
“ firſt, who ſeem'd yet to have ſome hope of a Re-
“ prieve, and made ſome ſtay in the Hall, till the
“ Earl of *Denbigh* came to him; and after a ſhort
“ Whiſper, in which he found there was no hope,
“ he aſcended the Scaffold. He complain'd much
“ of the Injuſtice that was done him; and that he
“ was put to Death for obeying the Laws of his
“ Country; which if he had not done, he muſt have
“ been put to Death there. He acknowledged the
“ Obligations he had to the King, and ſeem'd not
“ ſorry for the Gratitude he had expreſſed, how dear
“ ſoever it coſt him. His natural Darkneſs and
“ Reſervation in his Diſcourſe, made him to be
“ thought a Wiſe-man; and his having been in
“ Command under the King of *Sweden*, and his con-
“ tinual Diſcourſes of Battles and Fortifications,
“ made him be thought a great Soldier: and both
“ theſe Miſtakes were the Cauſe that made him be
“ looked upon as a worſe and a more dangerous
“ Man than in truth he deſerv'd to be.

“ The Earl of *Holland* (*a*) was brought next, who,
“ by his long Sickneſs, was ſo ſpent, that his Spirits
“ ſerv'd not to entertain the People with long Diſ-
“ courſe. He ſpoke of his Religion, as a Matter
“ unqueſtionable, by the Education he had had in
“ the religious Family of which he was a Branch:
“ which was thought a ſtrange Diſcourſe for a dy-
“ ing Man; who, tho' a Son, knew enough of the
“ Iniquity of his Father's Houſe; which ſhould
“ rather have been buried in Silence, than by ſuch
“ an unſeaſonable Teſtimony have been revived in
“ the Memory and Diſcourſe of Men. He took
“ more care to be thought a good Friend to Parlia-
“ ments, than a good Servant to his Maſter, and
“ was thought to ſay too little of his having failed
“ ſo much in his Duty to him, which moſt good
“ Men believed to be the Source from whence his
“ preſent Calamity ſprang. He was a very well-
“ bred Man, and a fine Gentleman in good times;
“ but too much deſired to enjoy Eaſe and Plenty
“ when the King could have neither; and did think
“ Poverty the moſt inſupportable Evil that could
“ befall any Man in this World. He was then ſo
“ weak, that he could not have liv'd long; and
“ when his Head was cut off, very little Blood fol-
“ low'd.

“ The Lord *Capel* was then called; who walked
“ through *Weſtminſter-Hall*, ſaluting ſuch of his
“ Friends and Acquaintance as he ſaw there, with
“ a very ſerene Countenance, accompanied with his
“ Friend Dr. *Morley*, who had been with him from
“ the time of his Sentence; but at the Foot of the 1649.
“ Scaffold the Soldiers ſtopping the Doctor, his 1 Car. II.
“ Lordſhip took his Leave of him, and embracing
“ him, thank'd him, and ſaid he ſhould go no far-
“ ther, having ſome Apprehenſion that he might
“ receive ſome Affront by that rude People after his
“ Death, the Chaplains who attended the two other
“ Lords being Men of the Time, and the Doctor
“ being well known to be moſt contrary.

“ As ſoon as his Lordſhip had aſcended the Scaf-
“ fold, he look'd very vigorouſly about, and ask'd,
“ Whether the other Lords had ſpoken to the Peo-
“ ple with their Hats on? And being told that they
“ were bare, he gave his Hat to his Servant, and
“ then with a clear and ſtrong Voice he ſaid, That
“ he was brought thither to Die for doing that
“ which he could not repent of: That he had been
“ born and bred under the Government of a King
“ whom he was bound in Conſcience to obey; un-
“ der Laws, to which he had been always obedient;
“ and in the Boſom of a Church, which he thought
“ the beſt in the World: That he had never vio-
“ lated his Faith to either of thoſe, and was now
“ Condemn'd to Die againſt all the Laws of the
“ Land; to which Sentence he did ſubmit.

“ He enlarged himſelf in commending the great
“ Virtue and Piety of the King, whom they had
“ put to Death; who was ſo juſt and ſo merciful a
“ Prince; and pray'd to God to forgive the Nation
“ that innocent Blood. Then he recommended to
“ 'em the preſent King; who he told them, was their
“ true and lawful Sovereign, and was worthy to be
“ ſo: That he had the Honour to have been ſome
“ Years near his Perſon, and therefore he could not
“ but know him well; and aſſured them, that he
“ was a Prince of great Underſtanding, of an excel-
“ lent Nature, of great Courage, an entire lover of
“ Juſtice, and of exemplary Piety; that he was not
“ to be ſhaken in his Religion, and had all thoſe
“ Princely Virtues which could make a Nation hap-
“ py; and therefore adviſed them to ſubmit to his
“ Government, as the only means to preſerve them-
“ ſelves, their Poſterity, and the Proteſtant Religion.
“ And having with great vehemence recommended
“ it to them, after ſome Prayers very devoutly pro-
“ nounced upon his Knees, he ſubmitted himſelf
“ with an unparallel'd Chriſtian Courage to the
“ fatal Stroke, which deprived the Nation of the
“ nobleſt Champion it had.

“ He was a Man in whom the Malice of his
“ Enemies could diſcover very few Faults, and
“ whom his Friends could not wiſh better accom-
“ pliſh'd, whom *Cromwel*'s own Character well de-
“ ſcribed, and who indeed would never have been
“ contented to have lived under that Government.
“ His Memory all Men lov'd and reverenced, tho'
“ few followed his Example. He had always lived
“ in a ſtate of great Plenty and general Eſtimation,
“ having a very noble Fortune of his own by deſcent,
“ and a fair addition to it by his Marriage with an
“ excellent Wife, a Lady of very worthy Extraction,
“ of great Virtue and Beauty, by whom he had a
“ numerous Iſſue of both Sexes, in which he took
“ great Joy and Comfort: So that no Man was
“ more happy in all his Domeſtick Affairs; and he
“ was ſo much the more happy, in that he thought
“ himſelf more bleſſed in them.

“ And yet the King's Honour was no ſooner vio-
“ lated, and his juſt Power invaded, than he threw
“ all thoſe Bleſſings behind him; and having no
“ other Obligations to the Crown than thoſe which
“ his own Honour and Conſcience ſuggeſted to him,
“ he frankly engaged his Perſon and his Fortune

(*a*) Dr. *Plume*, in his Life of Biſhop *Hacket*, tells us, That being then retired to his Church of *Cheam* in *Surrey*, he was call'd to Town by the Earls of *Holland* and *Norwich*, who both requeſted his Aſſiſtance at their expected Deaths. The Earl of *Holland* was very penitent, for that he had deſerted ſo good a Maſter in the beginning of the Wars. *Norwich* was very chearful in the Comforts of a good Conſcience. Dr. *Hacket* would much admire, how God ſometimes gives ſecret Admonition of things contrary to all humane Expectations. For the Earl of *Holland* had many Meſſengers came and told him, they had Votes enough, and to ſpare for his Life. Yet nothing would perſuade him but he ſhould Die within a few Days, and ſo he did. The Earl of *Norwich* that knew no Friends, yet would not believe but he ſhould eſcape, and ſo he did.

“ from

1649. "from the beginning of the Troubles, as many
1 *Car.* II. "others did, in all Actions and Enterprizes of the "greateſt hazard and danger; and continued to the "end without ever making one falſe Step, as few "others did, though he had once, by the Iniquity of "a Faction that then prevail'd, an Indignity put up- "on him that might have excuſed him for ſome re- "miſſion of his former Warmth: But it made no "other Impreſſion upon him than to be quiet and "contented whilſt they would let him alone, and "with the ſame chearfulneſs to obey the firſt Sum- "mons when he was called out, which was quickly "after. In a Word, he was a Man that whoever "ſhall after him deſerve beſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, "he can never think himſelf undervalued, when he "ſhall hear that his Courage, Virtue, and Fidelity "is laid in the Ballance with and compared to that "of the Lord *Capel*." (*a*)

After this an Act was made, declaring and conſtituting the People of *England* to be a Commonwealth and Free-State; and an Oath was enjoin'd, called an *Engagement* to be faithful to the Commonwealth without King or Houſe of Lords.

Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* was now appointed to be Commander in chief of all the Forces in *Ireland*, and the Lord *Fairfax* was continued General of all the Forces in *England*; *Whitlock* and *Liſle* were made Commiſſioners of the new Republican Broad Seal. An Act was made to remove all malignant and diſaffected Magiſtrates, and to make them incapable of bearing any Office in the Common-wealth.

Lords content to be Commons. The Houſe of Lords being diſſolv'd and aboliſh'd, the Earl of *Pembroke* humbly ſubmitted to be choſen Knight of the Shire for *Berks*, and was admitted an inglorious Member of the Houſe of Commons; and the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* ſoon after choſen and admitted to be Burgeſs for *Carliſle*; and the Earl of *Salisbury* did likewiſe deſcend to the like Honour. New Money was ordered to be coined, on one ſide the Arms of *England* between a Laurel and a Palm, with this Inſcription, *The Common-wealth of* England; on the other ſide the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inſcription, *God with us*. Dr. *Doriſlaus* being ſent a publick Miniſter from the Powers of *England* to the States of *Holland*, was ſtabb'd at Supper in the *Hague*, by ſeveral of the old deſperate Cavaliers, one of them ſaying, *Thus Dies one of the King's Judges.* Murmurs and Complaints were ſo very high that the Powers in Being made an Act *May* 14, to declare it Treaſon to affirm the preſent Government to be Tyrannical, Uſurp'd or Unlawful, or to endeavour to alter the ſaid Government, or to kill any Member of Parliament or Judge in their Duty.

Doriſlaus kill'd.

New Judges. *June* 1, upon a Report of fit and truſty Perſons to be Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, it was voted by the Commons, that Serjeant *Nicholas*, and Mr. *Ask*, be Judges of the Upper-Bench, that Serjeant *Pulesſton*, and *Peter Warburton* Eſq; be Judges of the Common-Pleas, that Serjeant *Thorp*, and Mr. *Rigby*, be Barons of the Exchequer. To make a firm Union between the three Principles of Power, the Parliament, the Army, and the City of *London*, it was contrived that the Speaker with the Houſe of Commons, the General with the chief Officers, and the Council of State, ſhould, after hearing two Sermons, be feaſted at *Grocer's-Hall* without drinking of Healths, by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, on *June* 7.

Army and City combine. This ſealed up ſuch a Friendſhip, that the Houſe referred it to a Committee, to conſider what Mark of Honour and Favour the Parliament ſhould beſtow upon the City for their great Affection. And the City preſented to the Lord-General a large Baſon and Ewer of beaten Gold, and to Lieutenant General *Cromwel* Plate to the value of 300 *l.* and 200 pieces in Gold.

By this, and other Arts of Policy and Popularity, 1649.
Cromwel began to make the firſt Figure in the Nation, 1 *Car.* II.
having more and more obliged the Houſe by reducing of the Levellers, by accepting the difficult Cromwel aſcends. Poſt of *Ireland*, and by ſuppreſſing the Mutinies of the Soldiers who refuſed to go upon that Service, ſo that *June* 22, he had a pompous Commiſſion in *Latin* and *Engliſh* to Command all Forces to be ſent into *Ireland*, and to have all the Civil and Military Power of that Kingdom for three Years; and *July* 10, he went out of Town with a very noble Equipage and Life-Guard; and on the morrow, being a Day of publick Humiliation, he himſelf and ſome of his chief Officers fell upon the work of the Day, and prayed and expounded the Scriptures.

Before *Cromwel* could land his Forces in *Ireland*, Goes into Ireland. the buſineſs was in effect over: For Colonel *Jones*, who had kept Poſſeſſion of *Dublin* till it was in a manner blocked up by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, ſallied out and fell upon *Ormond*'s Army with that advantage that he put them to an entire Rout, and the Marqueſs himſelf very narrowly eſcaped. So that *Cromwel* landed and enter'd *Dublin* without any oppoſition, with a mighty concourſe of People, to whom he made a long Speech with his Hat in his Hand, and they all cryed out that they would live and die with him. He immediately publiſhed a Proclamation for Thankſgiving for the late Defeat given to the Rebels, and commanded the Magiſtrates to execute the Laws againſt Swearing and Drunkenneſs, the Sins that he would have to be thought peculiar to his Enemies. Soon after with his Army of fifteen thouſand Horſe and Foot, he marched toward *Tredagh*, the ſtrongeſt Garriſon of the Enemy, and after a ſhort Siege took the Town by Storm, and for Terror put all the Men of Arms to the Sword, near three His great Succeſs. thouſand, with Sir *Arthur Aſton* Governour. After theſe Streams of Blood *Cromwel* march'd towards *Wexford*, and took in many Garriſons by the way, giving a conſtant account of his Proceedings to the Parliament and Council of State, with the Art of aſſuming greater Glory to himſelf, by exhorting them in all his Letters to *give the Glory unto God.* And he carried all things now with that abſolute Command, that there was printed and diſpers'd a Book, entitled, *The Character of King* Cromwel, which tho' ſuppreſt for a Libel, was even received as a kind of Prophecy.

In *January* the Parliament alarm'd with the Pre- Alarms in Scotland. parations for the King in *Scotland*, reſolved to ſend an Army thither to divert the War from *England*, and offer'd the Command to General *Fairfax*, but he declined the Service, and was the more ſuſpected becauſe his Lady was a zealous Presbyterian, and a Friend to the Kirk. Upon this juncture the Parliament and Council of State found it neceſſary to employ *Cromwel* in this other Expedition, and gave him the Honour of reducing *Scotland* as well as *Ireland.* The Ambition of doing ſuch double Service inflamed *Cromwel* into a quicker Diſpatch; ſo that before the end of *March* he had made the Lord *Inchequin* deſert his remains of an Army, and had forced the Marqueſs of *Ormond* to fly into *France*, and had little to do but to ſail home in triumph; yet he had one ſore Mortification in the Death of his Son-in-Law *Ireton*, who died at the Siege of *Limerick* in a Death of Ireton. peſtilential Feaver; and (ſays Sir *Philip Warwick*) *being a Man of Blood (for he had deeply dy'd himſelf in the King's) expired with that Word in his Mouth (for in his raving as I was told by one that was then there, he cried out)* I will have more Blood, Blood, Blood.

Prince *Charles* at the Death of his Father juſtly Condition of King Charles II. took his Titles, and alas nothing but his Titles, on him; yet he kept up a ſort of Court at the *Hague*, (*b*) and

(*a*) See, The ſeveral Speeches of Duke *Hamilton*, Earl of *Cambridge*, *Henry* Earl of *Holland*, and *Arthur* Lord *Capel*, upon the Scaffold, on *Friday* the 9th of *March*, 1648. Printed 4*to*, 1649.

(*b*) See, *Allocutio D. D.* Lotii *ad Regem Carolum ejus nominis ſecundum Regem Magnæ Britanniæ, &c. in nomine Conſiſtorii* Hagenſis, *& præſentiâ Aliorum iſtius Eccleſiæ Paſtorum ſuper morte Regis* Caroli *Primi nuper Angliæ defuncti, ſeptimo Calend.* Martii, 1649. 4*to*.

received

1649. 1 *Car.* II. received Commiſſioners from *Scotland*, who were ſent from the Kirk not to ſubmit to him as their King, but to treat with him as a late Enemy coming into Alliance with them. The *Swediſh* Ambaſſador addreſt him as a Crown'd Head, and he and the *Daniſh* Miniſter invited the States to join with them in aſſiſting his *Britannick* Majeſty to regain his Birth-right. But the States were for no Rupture with their young Siſter the Common-wealth of *England*. The diſtreſſed King had no proſpect but toward *Scotland*; and yet the (*a*) Commiſſioners were ſo impoſing in their Terms, that he was forced to Remonſtrate againſt them, and to give Reaſons why he could not comply with their high Demands. However, with the little Supplies he had from a few of his faithful Subjects, and from ſome few generous Princes, he made ſome Preparations for an Army in *Scotland*, and ſent *Montroſs* before with ſome Men and Money, intending to follow in his Royal Perſon; but the States refuſed him neceſſary Shipping, and *Montroſs* was ſo hated and perſecuted by the Kirk, that his Majeſty thought fit to decline the Expedition; and inſtead of going to *Scotland* he was content to take ſome Refuge in the Iſle of *Jerſey*, where he was invited and loyally received by the Governor *George Carteret*. In his way hither he had been nobly entertained by the Archduke and the Magiſtrates at *Antwerp*, and thence to the Court of *France*, where the Queen his Mother ſent to him *Jermyn* and *Piercy*, to let him know, *It was the Advice of the Council of* France, *and Hers, that he agree with the* Scots *upon any Terms*. Which Advice indeed was falſe and fatal; for the longer the King had reſerv'd himſelf, the more Honour and Intereſt it would have been to him. The Hearts of the People of *England* ſeemed to be kept from him by nothing but the Sword. At *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire* he was proclaimed *Charles* the Second, King of *England*, &c. at the Market-Croſs, without the offer of any oppoſition. And the *Levellers*, who made up formidable Bodies in ſeveral Counties, though their demands for taking away Tithes, and Engliſhing Proceedings at Law, *&c.* were extravagant, yet their laſt Article was alway this, *That Prince* Charles *ſhould be brought in*.

Invited to Scotland upon hard Terms.

Takes refuge in Jerſey.

The King came into *Jerſey* with a Retinue of not above three hundred, and when he left the Court of *France* had brought away no more than three hundred Piſtoles to defray the Expences of his Journey and Voyage. The Truth is, Cardinal *Mazarine* ſeems alway to have thought, that the extirpation of Monarchy in *England* would raiſe the Grandeur of it in *France*; and therefore he always obſtructed and retarded the King's Reſtauration; and when his Royal Brother the Duke of *York* was at this time ſolliciting and humbly beſeeching the King, Queen, and Cardinal, to have Compaſſion upon the King his Brother, and to give him all Aſſiſtance poſſible for the regaining of his Eſtate and Kingdom, the Cardinal coldly anſwer'd, That *they might be hereafter in a Capacity to ſerve him, but it could not now be*.

Cardinal Mazarine obſtructed the King's Reſtoration.

As ſoon as it was known in *Scotland* that the King was arrived at *Jerſey*, Mr. *Windram Layds* of *Libberton* was diſpatch'd away with a Meſſage to him; who being admitted to the King's Preſence, preſented theſe Deſires and Offers of the States of *Scotland*; "1. That he would Sign the Covenant, and paſs "an Act for all Perſons to take it. 2. That he "would paſs the Acts of Parliament in *Scotland*, "which were ratified by their two laſt Seſſions. "3. That he would withdraw his Commiſſion to "*Montroſs*. 4. That he would put away all Papiſts from about him. 5. That he would appoint "ſome Place in *Holland* to Treat with Commiſſioners "from the Eſtates of *Scotland*. And, 6thly, That "he would give a ſpeedy Anſwer." Some of the King's Council were for rejecting theſe Propoſitions as hard and diſhonourable; others were for accepting of them as in a Caſe of Neceſſity; of this latter Opinion was the Queen Mother, who by her Letters urged a Compliance to the preſent exigency of Affairs; and even *Montroſs* adviſed the King to yield to their Deſires, and to make his perpetual Baniſhment one Condition of Agreement. But the King at preſent had too great a Senſe of Honour, however his Neceſſities did afterward extort a more unreaſonable Submiſſion. In the mean time, the King ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, the Duke of *Muſcovy*, the States of *Venice*, the Grand Seignior, and the King of *Spain*, who all returned Anſwer much to the ſame effect, "That they were "ſorry for his Father's ill Succeſs, and condoled his "Death; but as to the Differences between him and "the People of *England*, they were Matters out of "their Cognizance, and they ſhould not meddle in "them." About the ſame time the King ſent over Sir *John Berkley* and Colonel *Slingsby* to ſollicite his Cauſe in the Weſt of *England*; but they had there the misfortune to be apprehended, and ſent up Priſoners to the *Tower*. And the Powers in being had prepared a Fleet againſt the Iſle of *Jerſey*, ſo that it was thought proper for the King to leave that Place, and return thro' *France* to *Breda*, where he fell into new Treaties with the *Scots* Commiſſioners, who ſtill inſiſted upon the moſt rigorous Terms, That he ſhould diſclaim all Perſons Excommunicated by the Kirk, meaning *Montroſs*, and other his moſt Loyal Subjects; that he ſhould take, and enforce the taking of the National Covenant, and ratifie all Acts concerning Presbyterian Government, and conſent to all Matters Civil, as determined by the preſent and ſubſequent Parliaments; and to all Matters Eccleſiaſtical as order'd by the General-Aſſembly of the Kirk.

The Scots ſend inſolent Demands.

Foreign Princes and States were afraid to aſſiſt him.

The King forced to leave Jerſey.

In Matters of Religion, the Commons who now called themſelves the Parliament of *England*, were ſo jealous of the Pulpits, that they order'd, no Miniſters ſhould teach in their Sermons any thing relating to State-Affairs, but only to preach Chriſt in Sincerity, and ordained Penalties to thoſe who ſhould preſume to do otherwiſe: Suppreſſing the liberty of the Pulpits as ſoon as this Liberty to an infinite Scandal had ſerved their ſeditious Purpoſes. Then *April* 3, they made a Declaration that Tythes ſhould be taken away, but not till another Maintenance be provided for the Miniſtry as large and as honourable as that by Tythes; that the Presbyterian Government ſhould be eſtabliſhed; and a way provided for admiſſion of all ſuch Churches as tend to Godlineſs, and to advance the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt. In their following Debates for a ſufficient Maintenance of Miniſters, it was propoſed to be by an Aſſeſſment of twelve pence in the Pound upon Lands, and ſome allowance out of Deans and Chapters Lands and Impropriations; but they never formed their Project into an Act.

State of Religion.

Liberty of the Pulpit reſtrain'd.

Presbyterian Government.

April 20, it was enacted to aboliſh and take away the Name and Office of Dean, Subdean, Dean and Chapter, Archdeacon, Chancellor, Chantor, Treaſurer, Canon, Prebend, Choiriſter, and all other Titles and Offices belonging to any College or Collegiate Church or Chappel, excepting the Univerſities, the Deanery of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and the Foundations of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter*, and *Eaton*, and to ſettle the Lands and Hereditaments of them in the hands of Truſtees called Contractors, to ſell and diſpoſe of them for the Benefit of the Publick. To make this Alienation more plauſible, they enacted *June* 8, that out of the Tythes Impropriate belonging to the late Eſtates of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, there ſhould be Augmentations made to the Incumbents of ſmall Livings, ſo as

Augmentation of Livings.

(*a*) Sir *John Bowring*, in the Narrative of his ſecret Services, tells K. *Charles* II. I was in *Scotland* two Months, with great Expences by Intelligence; there I found it neceſſary to ſend your Majeſty word, by Sir *Thomas Glemham*, that for ſome private material Reaſons I thought it not ſafe for you by any means to come into *Scotland*, and to put yourſelf into the Head of Duke *Hamilton*'s Army, as was expected every Hour, *&c.*

1649.
1 *Car.* II.

to make up the Maintenance of every Miniſter to be One hundred Pounds a Year.

For another ſpecious ſhew of Zeal, they enacted in *July* following, that there ſhould be a Corporation for the promoting and propagating the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt in *New-England*, to be called by the Name of *The Preſident and Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in* New-England; and for their Stock of Charity, a Collection ſhould be made in all the Pariſh-Churches of *England*, and they ſhould be enabled to receive or purchaſe any Eſtate to the value of two thouſand Pounds *per Ann.*

Society for propagating the Goſpel.

But the State of Religion was to be new modell'd by the Army, rather than by any other Power; and therefore in *Auguſt* the General and his Council of Officers petition'd the Houſe, that all Penal Statutes, formerly made, and late Ordinances, whereby many conſcientious People were moleſted, and the propagation of the Goſpel hinder'd, might be removed; to which the Houſe were bound to aſſent, and to order the bringing the Matter of the Petition into an *Act for eaſe of tender Conſciences*; which was but a Stratagem of the Independents to overthrow the Presbyterian Government and Diſcipline. There was little more of Religion in Acts or Votes till *March* 12, when it was reſolved, that a late Book aſſerting the Obſervation of the *Jewiſh* Sabbath, and condemning the obſervation of the Lord's-Day as the Chriſtian Sabbath, was Erroneous, Scandalous and Prophane, contrary to the practice of the Apoſtles and all the Chriſtian Churches, and ſhould be therefore burnt, and the Author and Printer puniſhed. And it was indeed high time to think of repreſſing Hereſies and Blaſphemies, which now ſwelled up againſt Heaven to a moſt prodigious height. One *Salmon* a Preacher in *Coventry* taught his People to Swear and Curſe and commit Whoredom upon this profeſt Principle, *That it was God which did ſwear in them; and that it was their Liberty to keep Company with Women to ſatisfie their natural Appetites.* And one *Wyke* ſet up for *breathing the Spirit of God into Men*, by kiſſing them three times. (*a*)

Independent Army too hard for the Presbyterian Government.

Prodigious growth of Hereſies and Blaſphemies.

Some Examples were made of puniſhing thoſe blaſphemous Wretches; among others, one *Boutholmey* a Quarter-Maſter was tried by a Council of War for Blaſphemy, and ſentenc'd to have his Tongue bored through with a hot Iron, his Sword broke over his Head, and to be Caſhier'd the Army. Theſe Spiritual Wickedneſſes gave the greater hopes to the Papiſts, who were never more numerous and buſie; and Letters from *Rome* received *Feb.* 1, adviſed, that they had there an Agent from *England*, and that the *Engliſh* Prieſts there were very confident, that within few Years their Religion would be eſtabliſhed in *England*. Moſt certainly the Prieſts and Jeſuits well knew that a confuſion in Church and State would be their Seed-time and Harveſt; for which reaſon they help'd to deſtroy Abp. *Laud*, and the King himſelf. What was deliver'd upon knowledge by Dr. *Peter du Moulin* ſince the Reſtauration, and promiſed to be made good by a publick Charge and Challenge, deſerves to be here inſerted. *This certain Intelligence ſhall be juſtified whenſoever Authority will require it, that the Year before the King's Death, a ſelect number of* Engliſh *Jeſuits were ſent from their whole Party in* England, *firſt to* Paris *to conſult with the Faculty of* Sorbon, *then altogether Jeſuited, to whom they put this Queſtion in writing*, "That ſeeing the State of *England* was in a "likely poſture to change Government, whether it "was lawful for the Catholicks to work that Change "for the advancing and ſecuring of the Catholick "Cauſe in *England*, by making the King away, "whom there was no hope to reclaim from his He- "reſy?" *This was anſwer'd Affirmatively. After which, the ſame Perſons went to* Rome, *where the ſame Queſtion being propounded and debated, it was concluded by the Pope and his Counſel, that it was both Lawful and Expedient for the Catholicks to promote that alteration of State. What followed that Conſultation and Sentence all the World knoweth; and how the Jeſuits went to work God knoweth, and Time the bringer forth of Truth will let us know.* (*b*)

Advantage taken by the Papiſts.

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Cromwel had now a great mind to leave *Ireland*, but wanted a more publick Call from it. He had received many private Intimations of the Parliament's pleaſure for his coming over, and Copies of their Votes; but he deſired the Honour of a more ſolemn Invitation; and therefore in a Letter dated from *Carrick* Apr. 2, he begg'd a *more clear Expreſſion of their Command and Pleaſure. Profeſſing, as before the Lord, that I am moſt ready to obey your Commands herein with all alacrity; rejoycing only to be about that Work which I am called to, by thoſe whom God hath ſet over me, which I acknowledge to be you, and fearing only in obeying you to diſobey you.* When he had farther enlarged his Conqueſts, and left his Army under true Diſcipline, he came over into *England*, and at the end of *May* was met on *Hounſlow-Heath* by the prime Members of Parliament and Officers of the Army; at *Hide-Park* he was ſaluted with the great Guns, and with a Volly of Shot from Colonel *Barkſtead*'s Regiment, and ſo conducted like a King to *Whitehall*, where he next Day received the Viſits and Complements of all the People in Authority, who are ſaid to congratulate his ſafe Arrival, after ſo many Dangers both by Sea and Land, wherein God had preſerved him; and the wonderful Succeſſes which the great God had given to him.

Cromwel deſires to be recall'd from *Ireland*.

The King was at *Breda* in a new Treaty with the *Scots* Commiſſioners, where the Prince of *Orange* was to aſſiſt in the Councils and in the Expedition. But the Kirk, who were the treating Party, kept up a Bigotry for Covenant and Diſcipline, and retarded all the Meaſures that might have been otherwiſe eaſily concerted. *Montroſs* had his Majeſty's Commiſſion to prepare a little Army for him; but becauſe he would not ſubmit to the Sentences of the Kirk, they purſued him as a Common Enemy; and getting him into their mercileſs Hands, they brought him before the Parliament, and accuſed him of nothing but Covenant breaking; he made a ſtout Defence, and told them, *his Cauſe was good; he had not only a Commiſſion but particular Orders for what he did from his Majeſty, to whom he was engaged to be a Loyal Subject, and they themſelves profeſt to be ſo.* That *if they would take away his Life for doing his Duty, the World knew he did not regard it. It was a Debt that muſt once be paid; and now in good ſeaſon, when he ſhould rejoice to go the ſame way his Royal Maſter had lately done. And for his preſent Majeſty, it would be another Joy of his Heart, not only to do but to ſuffer for him.* But at the inſtigation of the Aſſembly Men, the Parliament gave Sentence beyond all Precedent, that he ſhould be

The King at *Breda*.

Montroſs betray'd in *Scotland*.

(*a*) Even the *Turkiſh Alcoran* was coming in. On the 16th of *March*, 1648-9, the Commons were forc'd to make an Order for ſuppreſſing the *Turks Alcoran*, ſaid to be Licens'd by One of the Miniſters of *London*, and to be printed in *Engliſh*. With Inſtructions for the preſent Stop and ſuppreſſing thereof.

Nay, ſome of our mad Chriſtians were turning *Jews*, and Crucifiers, and Sacrificers, and what not. Judge *Whitlock* in his Memoirs gives ſome Account of a Woman executed in *York* 1648, for Crucifying her own Mother, and ſacrificing a Calf and Cock, *&c.*

(*b*) The Papiſts were encourag'd to Addreſs the New Powers for a Toleration of Popery; and accordingly on *March* 26, 1649, there was *An Humble Petition of divers well Affected of the County of* Leiceſter *to the Parliament, that every one may enjoy the juſt Freedoms to worſhip God according to his Word without any Coercive or Reſtrictive Courſes.* Christian Moderator. 2 Part. 4*to.* p. 1.

See, *A* Venice *Looking-Glaſs, or a Letter written very lately from* London *to* Rome, *by a* Venetian *Clariſſimo to Cardinal* Barberini, *concerning the late Proceedings againſt the King. London.* 1648, 4*to.*

In this Year 1649, thoſe in the Houſe were acquainted with divers Papers taken in a *Frenchman's* Trunk at *Rye*, diſcovering a Popiſh Deſign to be ſet on Foot in *England*: With Commiſſions from the Biſhop of *Chalcedon* by Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, to Popiſh Prieſts, and others, for ſettling the Diſcipline of the *Romiſh* Church in *England* and *Scotland*. *Exact Collect.* p. 425.

hanged

1650. 2 Car. II. hanged upon a Gibbet of ſix Ells and a half high, and when dead his Head to be ſevered from his Body, and ſet upon the Tolbooth at *Edinburgh*; his Right Hand to be cut off and ſent to *Glaſcow*, his Left to *Aberdeen*, his Right Foot to St. *Johnſtown*, and his left to *Dundee*: All which Barbarities he ſuffered with an unmoved Meekneſs and Courage. His Character is thus given by the Lord *Clarendon*. “Thus died the gallant Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, after he had given as great a Teſtimony of Loyalty and Courage as a Subject can do, and performed as wonderful Actions in ſeveral Battles, upon as great inequality of Numbers, and as great diſadvantages in reſpect of Arms, and other preparations for War, as have been performed in this Age. He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Extraction, many of whoſe Anceſtors had exerciſed the higheſt Charges under the King in that Kingdom, and had been allied to the Crown it ſelf. He was of very good Parts, which were improv'd by a good Education: He had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the Marqueſs of *Argyle* (as he was too apt to contemn thoſe he did not love) who wanted nothing but Honeſty and Courage to be a very extraordinary Man, having all other good Talents in a very great degree. *Montroſs* was in his Nature fearleſs of Danger, and never declined any Enterprize for the Difficulty of going through with it; but exceedingly affected thoſe which ſeemed deſperate to other Men, and did believe ſomewhat to be in himſelf above other Men, which made him live more eaſily towards thoſe who were, or were willing to be inferior to him (towards whom he exercis'd wonderful Civility and Generoſity) than with his ſuperiors or equals. He was naturally jealous, and ſuſpected thoſe who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean ſo well as he. He was not without Vanity, but his Virtues were much ſuperior, and he well deſerved to have his Memory preſerved and celebrated amongſt the moſt illuſtrious Perſons of the Age in which he lived.”

And barbarouſly executed.

Some others were executed only for joining with *Montroſs*: Theſe Indignities and Cruelties might have juſtly provoked the King to break off the Treaty and deſert a People given up to Bigotry and Blood; yet ſuch were his Majeſty's Neceſſities, and ſo great the Importunities of his Relations and Friends to comply at any rate, that he was forced to connive at all this Inſolence, and to write to *Edinburgh* in no harder Words than theſe, *That he was very ſorry at a Report he heard, that there was ſome Blood of his good Subjects ſhed of late; but not knowing how it is, he deſires to underſtand the Buſineſs more fully.* To which the Parliament took a liberty to anſwer, that *they hoped for a happy Agreement with his Majeſty, and deſired him not to be diſcouraged at ſome ſeeming Obſtacles, ſuch as the Death of* Montroſs *and ſome few others, they doing nothing therein but to accompliſh his Intereſt.* And his Majeſty was bound to ſeem as if he did believe 'em, tho' they were ſo conſcious of their own guilt as to queſtion the King's forgiveneſs of it; ſo that after long Negotiations, in the Month of *June* they put it to the Vote in Parliament, *Whether they ſhould make any more Addreſſes to the King?* But with ſome difficulty it was carried, “That they ſhould deſire the King's ſpeedy coming thither, and would promiſe to endeavour to ſet him on his Throne; and would paſs by many things contrary to his Agreement in the caſe of *Montroſs*, provided he would now come in and comply with them.” And he did ſo comply with their Conſcience and Honour.

The *Scots* importune the King to come among 'em.

A Juncto of the Council of State in *England* having Intelligence of the Dangers, were adviſed by *Cromwel* not to wait the coming of them, nor to truſt to any after-game, but rather to prevent their Invaſion of *England* by carrying the War directly into *Scotland*. Some Men of Scruple did object, *That to begin a War upon* Scotland *would be contrary to the Covenant*; but it was anſwered, that the *Scots* had already broken the Covenant, and that therefore it was not now binding on the one ſide after it had been diſſolved on the other. So it was reſolv'd, *That having a formed Army, well provided and experienced, they would march it forthwith into* Scotland, *to prevent the Scots marching into* England, *and the Miſeries which might thence enſue.* The Lord General *Fairfax* was taught by the Presbyterian Miniſters, and his own Lady a great Patroneſs of them (and perhaps by *Cromwel* himſelf) to object, that *he was unſatisfied, whether there was a juſt ground for the Parliament of* England *to ſend their Army to invade Scotland*: *But in caſe the Scots ſhould firſt enter* England, *he was then ready to oppoſe and engage them in defence of his own Country.* The Council of State were ſo far troubled about theſe ſcruples in the General, that they appointed a Committee to give him ſatisfaction, *Cromwel*, *Whitlock*, *Lambert*, *Harriſon* and *Saint John*, the Debates of this Conference are publiſhed by one of the Committee, the General concluding thus, *What would you have me do? As far as my Conſcience will give way, I am willing to join with you ſtill in the Service of the Parliament; but where the Conſcience is not ſatisfied, none of you, I am ſure, will engage in any Service, and that is my condition in this, and therefore I muſt deſire to be excuſed.* So the General laid down his Commiſſion; and by good contrivance an Act was immediately paſſed, for conſtituting and appointing *Oliver Cromwel*, Eſq; to be Captain-General in chief of all the Forces raiſed and to be raiſed by Authority of Parliament within the Common-wealth of *England*; and on *June* 29, this new General march'd his Army Northward, to the great alarm of the *Scots*, who in vain alledg'd, that by the Covenant and Articles of Pacification, they ought not to be invaded without three Months warning.

Reſolutions in *England* to invade *Scotland*.

General *Fairfax* excuſes himſelf, and ſo lays down his Commiſſion.

Cromwel made General.

The King landed in *Scotland* June 16, after a demand from the Council, *That he would ſign the Covenant himſelf before he ſet his Foot on Shore.* He ſtaid many Days at *Dundee*, attended with one Committee from the Parliament and another from the Kirk, who were preſſing his Majeſty to ſign ſeveral Propoſitions, and before his doing ſo would not agree for his coming to *Edinburgh* in order to his Coronation. His Majeſty ſubmitted to all their Demands, and was proclaimed King but not yet crowned (*a*). Toward the end of *July Cromwel* with his Army enter'd *Scotland*, and without oppoſition advanced to *Haddington* within 12 Miles of *Endinburgh*, not above ſix Miles from the *Scot*'s Army now encreaſed to above thirty thouſand. *Cromwel* reſolutely march'd on, and drew up his whole Army before *Edinburgh*, and beat the Enemy from King *Arthur*'s Hill, but could not force them out of their Trenches, till by fall of Rains and want of Victuals, he was forced to retreat to *Muſſleborough*, and had only ſome Skirmiſhes that were commonly to the diſadvantage of the *Scots*. When the Army was refreſhed, *Cromwel* march'd back to the view of *Edinburgh*, and pitch'd his Tents on *Pentland* Hills, being well furniſhed with Proviſions by the Parliament's Ships that attended his motion. In the mean time, upon ſafe Conduct, ſeveral of the *Scots* Officers came to a Conference with the *Engliſh*, and perfidiouſly ſaid, that *they were deluded by the Malignants*, and that *the King refuſed to ſign the diſowning of his Father's Action, and to adhere to the Covenant, and repent for the Blood ſhed by his Father himſelf*, and that *they had thoughts of relinquiſhing him.* And indeed the poor King had as much difficulty to deal with his own Lieutenant-General, and his other Officers, as he had with the powerful *Engliſh* Army,

The King lands in *Scotland*.

Cromwel advances.

Comes near *Edinburgh*.

The *Scots* ſending out a Party to take in *Muſcleborough*, *Cromwel* to prevent it decamped from the

Dunbar Fight.

(*a*) See a Declaration of the King's Majeſty to his Subjects of the Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*.——— Renouncing the Sins of his Father and Mother,—and taking the Holy Covenant. Given at *Dunfermlin* 16 *Auguſt* 1650. in the ſecond Year of our Reign. Printed at *Edinburgh* 1650. 4to.

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Cromwel's compleat Victory.

Weſt ſide of *Edinburgh* on *Saturday* Auguſt 31, and came next Day to *Dunbar*, cloſely followed by the *Scot s* Army; the fight began early on *Tueſday* Morning *Sept.* 3, wherein the divided *Scots* ſoon threw down their Arms and ran away, loſing in the Battle and Purſuit above four thouſand ſlain, and ten thouſand taken Priſoners. *Cromwel* himſelf drew up a Narrative of this great Victory, and ſent it by a Courier to the Council of State, who ordered it to be read in all the Churches of *London* with ſolemn Thankſgiving.

The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, "Their Horſe did not "ſuſtain one Charge, but fled and were purſued "with a great Execution. The Foot depended "much upon their Miniſters, who preached and "prayed, and aſſured them of the Victory, till the "*Engliſh* were upon them, and ſome of the Preachers "were knock'd in the Head whilſt they were pro- "miſing the Victory.——— Never Victory was "attended with leſs Lamentations; for as *Cromwel* "had great Argument of Triumph in the total de- "feat and deſtruction of the only Army that was in "*Scotland*, which defeat had put a great Part of that "Kingdom, and the chief City of it under his Obe- "dience; ſo the King, who was then at St. *Johnſton*'s "was glad of it, as the greateſt Happineſs that "could befal him, in the loſs of ſo ſtrong a Body of "his Enemies; who, if they ſhould have prevailed, "his Majeſty did believe that they would have ſhut "him up in Priſon the next Day."

The *Engliſh* Army the ſame Day poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, the King, whom the *Scots* would not ſuffer to be in the Battle, retiring to St. *Johnſtown*, and the Lieutenant-General *Leven* endeavouring to rally his Forces about *Sterling*, the *Scots* Presbyters preaching it up, that *their late Overthrow was owing to their too much complying with the King*, whoſe ill treatment made him incline to eſcape privately from St. *Johnſtown*, for which purpoſe he had ſent to *Orkney* for ſhipping; and the Earl of *Cleveland* and many of his beſt Friends for refuſing the Covenant were forc'd to run away from him. And the King himſelf, with the Duke of *Buckingham* and ſome few Servants, was in the way of eſcape, but being diſcovered was brought back again, and to attone for many Indignities was crown'd at *Scone*. But ſoon after the Commiſſioners of the Kirk preſented a Remonſtrance to him, preſſing him *to humble himſelf, and to repent of his own and his Father's Sins, that he might be thereby able to quit the Nation of their Enemies now in the Bowels of the Kingdom*; and ſet forth an Exhortation to their Brethren *not to communicate with any who deſerted the Kirk*. And the King coming to *Aberdeen* about the end of *February* to haſten his Levies, the Presbytery there openly oppoſed his Proceedings, and would not ſuffer him to receive the Marqueſs of *Huntley*, nor to erect the Office of a Lord Chancellor. Under which ſtate of Perſecution we leave his Majeſty for this Year.

The King weary of the *Scots*.

The King's Ambaſſadors commanded by the K. of *Spain* to depart.

Only we may obſerve, that the hopeleſs condition of the King did incline the Court of *Spain* to favour the *Engliſh* Parliament; and therefore a Meſſage was delivered to the King's Ambaſſadors to deſire them to be gone; and when they preſſed for a longer ſtay, they had ſevere Orders to depart immediately. Sir *Edward Hide* went away to *Antwerp* in *Flanders*, and obtained ſo good recommendations to the Magiſtrates of that City, that he kept up the Name of an Ambaſſador, and enjoyed the Privilege of his Chapel; and all the *Engliſh*, who were numerous then in that City, repaired thither with all freedom for their Devotion and the Exerciſe of their Religion, which Liberty had never been before granted to any Man there; and which the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Prieſts, and the *Roman* Catholicks of thoſe Nations exceedingly murmured at, and uſed all the Endeavours they could to have taken away, tho' in vain. The other Ambaſſador, the Lord *Cottington*, who relapſed to Popery, petition'd and obtain'd leave to abide in *Spain* as a private Perſon, and ſo retired to *Valledolid*, where he died within one Year after in the 77th Year of his Age. His Brother Ambaſſador has left him this Character.

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Death and Character of Lord *Cottington*.

"He was a very wiſe Man by the great and long "Experience he had in buſineſs of all kinds, and by "his natural Temper, which was not liable to any "tranſport of Anger or any other Paſſion; but could "bear Contradiction, and even Reproach, without "being moved or put out of his way: For he was "very ſteady in purſuing what he propoſed to him- "ſelf, and had a Courage not to be frighted with "any oppoſition. It is true he was illiterate as to "the Grammar of any Language, or the Principles of "any Science, but by his perfectly underſtanding "the *Spaniſh* (which he ſpoke as a *Spaniard*) the "*French* and *Italian* Languages, and having read "very much in all, he could not be ſaid to be ig- "norant in any part of Learning, Divinity only "excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary "underſtanding in the Nature of Beaſts and Birds, "and above all in all kind of Plantations and Arts "of Husbandry. He was born a Gentleman both "by Father and Mother, his Father having a "pretty entire Seat near *Bruton* in *Somerſetſhire*, "worth about two hundred Pounds a Year, which "had deſcended from Father to Son for many hun- "dred Years, and is ſtill in the Poſſeſſion of his El- "der Brother's Children, the Family having been "always *Roman* Catholicks. His Mother was a "*Stafford*, nearly allied to Sir *Edward Stafford*, who "was Vice-Chamberlain to Queen *Elizabeth*, and "had been Ambaſſador in *France*; by whom this "Gentleman was brought up, and was Gentleman "of his Horſe, and left one of the Executors of his "Will, and by him recommended to Sir *Robert Ce- "cil* then Principal Secretary of State, who preferr'd "him to Sir *Charles Conwallis* when he went Ambaſ- "ſador into *Spain*, in the beginning of the Reign "of King *James*, where he remained for the ſpace "of eleven or twelve Years in the Condition of Se- "cretary or Agent, without ever returning into "*England* in all that time. He raiſed by his own "Virtue and Induſtry a very fair Eſtate, of which, "tho' the Revenue did not exceed above four thou- "ſand Pounds by the Year, yet he had four very good "Houſes and three Parks, the Value whereof was "not reckoned into that Computation. He liv'd very "nobly, well ſerv'd and attended in his Houſe; "had a better Stable of Horſes, better Proviſion for "Sports (eſpecially of Hawks, in which he took "great Delight) than moſt of his Quality, and li- "ved all Ways with great Splendor; for tho' he lo- "ved Money very well, and did warily enough con- "ſider the Circumſtances of getting it, he ſpent it "well always but in giving, which he did not af- "fect. He was of an excellent Humour and very "eaſy to live with; and under a grave Countenance "cover'd the moſt of Mirth, and cauſed more, than "any Man of the moſt pleaſant Diſpoſition. He ne- "ver uſed any Body ill, but uſed many very well "for whom he had no regard: His greateſt fault "was that he could diſſemble, and make them be- "lieve that he loved them very well, when he cared "not for them. He had not very tender Affections, "nor Bowels apt to yearn at all Objects which de- "ſerved Compaſſion. He was heartily weary of the "World, and no Man was more willing to die; "which is an Argument that he had peace of Con- "ſcience. He left behind him a greater eſteem of "his Parts than love to his Perſon."

The Parliament ingratiate themſelves with the City of *London*.

The Parliament (as a Houſe of Commons muſt be now called) were not wanting in the Politicks of ſecuring the City of *London* to a faſt Friendſhip with them. And for a Token of Love they preſented *New-Park*, a fair Lot of the Crown-Lands to the City and Chamber of *London* for *ever* in their Term of Conveyance, with ſeveral Houſes and Appurtenances, and one thouſand Pounds for diſtribution to the Poor. For which the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council were taught to come to the Parliament Doors

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April 2, with their Addreſſes of Thanks, *Declaring and Reſolving (through God's aſſiſtance) with the hazard of their Lives and Eſtates, to ſtand and fall with the Parliament againſt all wicked Practices, and oppoſite pretended Powers whatſoever.* To which the Speaker was inſtructed to anſwer, *That the Houſe took notice of this their good Reſolution, and of the ſeaſonableneſs of it; and the Houſe kindly accepted it, and gave them their Thanks for it.* Yet Loyalty and Honeſty remained in many of the chief Citizens, who in this ſame Month preſented a Petition to the Parliament, expoſtulating with them about the change of Rights, Liberties, and Religion; for which reaſon it was rejected and cenſured, *That the Scope thereof was to bring Scandal and Reproach upon the juſt and neceſſary Laws and Proceedings of the Parliament, and to weaken the preſent Government, to give thereby Advantage to the common Enemy, and to raiſe new Tumults and Troubles in the Nation.*

Ordinances of Parliament againſt profaneneſs.

To gain the Reputation of Godlineſs and preciſe Juſtice, the Parliament paſſed an Act *May* 10, againſt Inceſt, Adultery, and Fornication; making the two firſt to be Felony without Benefit of the Clergy, and the latter to be puniſhed with Impriſonment for the firſt Offence, and Death for the Second. This Bill was ſmartly oppoſed by Mr. *Henry Martin*, who argued, *That the ſeverity of the Puniſhment would cauſe the Sins to be the more frequently committed, becauſe People would learn to be the more ſly and cautious in the commiſſion of them, and the Parties ſo obliged to mutual Secrecy, that a Conviction would be impracticable.* They paſſed another Act *June* 28, againſt Swearing and Curſing, with a Penalty of 30 *s.* on a Lord, 20 *s.* on a Baronet or Knight, 10 *s.* on an Eſquire, 6 *s.* 8 *d.* on a Gentleman, and 3 *s.* 4 *d.* on every other Perſon for the firſt Offence, and for the ſecond the Penalty doubled.

Project for altering the Laws.

The Matter that occaſioned moſt Debates in the Houſe, was the Project of altering the Forms of Law, and making all Writs and Proceedings to run only in the *Engliſh* Tongue. This was the Subject of ſeveral Petitions from the Soldiers and the Country Farmers, who indeed had reaſon to think themſelves impoſed upon by Languages which they did not underſtand. Hence it was at laſt enacted *Nov.* 22, that all Report Books of the Reſolutions of Judges, and other Books of the Law of *England*, ſhall be tranſlated into the *Engliſh* Tongue, and all Writs, Proceſs and Returns thereof, Pleadings, Rules, Orders, Indictments, Inquiſitions, Certificates, Patents, and all Acts, Deeds and Proceedings whatſoever, ſhall be only in the *Engliſh* Tongue, in the ordinary uſual Hand, and not in Court-Hand.

New Council of State.

The Council of State, who had the Executive Power, under direction of the Parliament and Army, was on *Feb.* 11, voted to be altered for the Year enſuing, twenty one of the old Members to continue, and twenty new Members to be choſen. The old Members continued in were *Cromwel*, *Bradſhaw*, *Rolles*, *Saint John*, *Skippon*, &c. the new Members taken in were Major-General *Harriſon*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Prideaux*, *Strickland*, &c.

The King had ſent the Lord *Cottington* and Sir *Edward Hide* as his Ambaſſadors into *Spain*, where they found ſometimes a kind and ſometimes a cold Reception. The Parliament ſent likewiſe their Agent or Envoy Mr. *Aſcham* a Scholar, who had been concerned in drawing up the King's Trial, and had written a Book to determine in what time, and after how many Years, the Allegiance which is due from Subjects to their Sovereign comes to be determined after a Conqueſt, and that from that time it ought to be paid to thoſe who had ſubdued them. This new Agent was no ſooner come to *Madrid*, but the next Morning ſome *Engliſh* Officers and Soldiers who had ſerved in the *Spaniſh* Armies, went to his Lodgings, and without asking any Queſtions walk'd directly up the Stairs into his Chamber, drew their Swords, and beſides their Intentions in diſorder killed the Friar as well as the Agent, and ſo return'd

Aſcham killed at Madrid.

to their Companions with their Swords naked and bloody, and ſome fooliſh Expreſſions of Triumph, as if they had performed a very gallant and juſtifiable Service. The King's two Ambaſſadors abhorr'd this Action, but had the misfortune to have one of their own Servants *Henry Progers* in it. In great trouble of Mind they immediately writ a Letter to the prime Miniſter *Don Lewis de Haro*, to expreſs the ſenſe they had of this unfortunate raſh Action; *of which, they hoped, he did believe, if they had had any Notice or Suſpicion, they would have prevented it.* Don *Lewis* returned them at that time a dry and a ſevere Anſwer. But when ſome Weeks were paſſed, the Ambaſſadors went to confer with Don *Lewis* upon ſome other Occurrence, with no purpoſe of mentioning any thing of that matter: but Don *Lewis* then ſpoke of it in a manner they did not expect; one Expreſſion was, *Yo lengo invidia de eſtos Cavaleros*, &c. *I envy thoſe Gentlemen for having done ſo noble an Action; how Penal ſoever it may prove to them, to revenge the Blood of their King:* Whereas he ſaid, *The King his Maſter wanted ſuch Reſolute Subjects; otherwiſe he would never have loſt a Kingdom, as he had done* Portugal, *for want of one brave Man, who by taking away the Life of the Uſurper, might at any time, during the firſt two Years, have put an end to that Rebellion.* The Perſons concerned in this bloody Fact might have diſperſed themſelves and been ſecure, but in confuſion they went into a little Chappel for Sanctuary, from whence in a Day or two they were taken by a principal Officer after Examination, and ſent to the Priſon, and were condemned to die, but then were delivered back into the ſame Chappel, and were kept there till they had all opportunity to make their eſcape; only one was apprehended and ſuffer'd Death. Mr. *Progers* had ſeparated from the reſt upon the firſt commiſſion of the Fact, and had got ſafely into *France*.

State of Religion.

In matters of Religion, the Parliament made an additional Act for Truſtees to pay out of the Rents of Appropriations formerly belonging to Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, all ſuch Augmentations and Allowances as ſhould be made and ſettled by Parliament, for the Maintenance of preaching Miniſters, the Advancement of Learning, and other pious Uſes. For which there had been many other Acts and Orders, and an Office eſtabliſh'd for the execution of them, and yet with little effect but that of Suits and Delays. Another holy Act was made for the due obſervation and ſanctification of the Lord's-Day, and the Days of publick Humiliation and Thankſgiving; wherein the Penalties for profaning the Parliamentary Faſts and Thankſgivings were equal with thoſe for the profanation of the Lord's-Day, and made ſo by thoſe Men who had abrogated the Church Feſtivals and Faſts, on a pretence that thoſe Days aſſum'd a ſanctity due only to the Sabbath.

Blaſphemies and Witchcrafts.

Blaſphemies, Hereſies, Enthuſiaſms and Witchcrafts were in a full Tide. At *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire* one Man and two Women were condemn'd; of whom the Man confeſt, that he had a Familiar ſuck'd him at ſome Paps which he then ſhew'd; that he had ſign'd a Writing to the Devil to deny God and Jeſus Chriſt; and that the Familiar drew Blood from thoſe Paps, and appeared to him in the ſhape of a white Chicken; that he ſigned the Devil's Covenant with a Piece of a Stick, with the ſame mark he now made at the bottom of his Examination; and both the Women confeſs'd the like. Four Men out of *Somerſetſhire* pretending to have an immediate Call from God to go and preach the Goſpel in *Galilee*, ſold their Eſtates and came to *London* in order to imbark for their own Miſſion. The Hereſies and Blaſphemies of the time are ſumm'd up in the Act made to reſtrain them. " Every Perſon that ſhall preſume " avowedly in Words to profeſs, or by writing pro- " ceed to affirm and maintain Him or Her, or any " meer Creature to be God, or to be Infinite or Al- " mighty, or in Honour, Excellency, Majeſty and " Power, to be equal and the ſame with the true " God; or that the true God or the eternal Majeſty

dwells

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"dwells in the Creature, and no where elſe; or ſhall deny the Holineſs and Righteouſneſs of God; or profeſs that Unrighteouſneſs in Perſons, or Acts of Uncleanneſs, profane Swearing, Drunkenneſs, and the like Filthineſs, are not forbidden in the Word of God; or that theſe Acts are approved of God, or that ſhall profeſs that theſe Acts of denying or blaſpheming of God, or the Acts of Curſing God, or of Swearing profanely or falſely by the Name of God; or the Acts of Lying, Stealing, Cozening, Murder, Adultery, Inceſt, Fornication, Uncleanneſs, Sodomy, Drunkenneſs, and laſcivious Speaking, are not of themſelves wicked, ſinful, impious or deteſtable in any Perſon, or to be done and practiſed by any Perſon; or ſhall profeſs that the Acts of Adultery, Drunkenneſs, Swearing, are in their Natures as holy and righteous as the Duties of Prayer, Preaching, Giving of Thanks to God; or ſhall profeſs that whatſoever is acted by them is without Sin; or that ſuch Acts are acted by the true God; that Heaven and all Happineſs conſiſts in acting theſe things, which are Sin and Wickedneſs; or that ſuch Men and Women are moſt perfect, or like to God, which do commit the greateſt Sins with leaſt Remorſe or Senſe; or that there is no ſuch thing really as Unrighteouſs, Unholineſs, or Sin; or that there is neither Heaven nor Hell, neither Salvation nor Damnation, and that theſe are one and the ſame thing. All and every Perſon or Perſons ſo avowedly profeſſing —— and thereof convicted, ſhall be committed to Priſon for ſix Months.—— And if after, they maintain or publiſh any of the ſaid Atheiſtical or blaſphemous Opinions, they ſhall be baniſhed this Commonwealth, and upon return ſhall be adjudged Felons, and ſuffer as in caſe of Felony." All theſe Suggeſtions of Horror and Hell do ſhew the diſtracted and deplorable Condition of theſe Times; and that the Fear of God was now as little as the Honour of the King. (a)

The Spirit of Presbytery ſhewed it ſelf to Perfection in *Scotland*; where, as the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, upon the King's Arrival, "The firſt Welcome he received was a new Demand, that *He would ſign the Covenant himſelf, before he ſet his Foot on ſhore*; which all about him preſs'd him to do: and he now found, that he had made haſte thither upon very unskilful Imaginations and Preſumptions; yet he conſented unto what they ſo imperiouſly required. —— They removed his *Engliſh* Servants, and placed others about the King's Perſon, but principally relied upon their Clergy, who were in ſuch a continual Attendance about him, that he was never free from their Importunities, under pretence of inſtructing him in Religion; and ſo they obliged him to their conſtant hours of their long Prayers, and made him obſerve the *Sundays* with more Rigour than the *Jews* accuſtomed to do their Sabbath, and reprehended him very ſharply if he ſmiled on thoſe Days, and if his Looks and Geſtures did not pleaſe them, whilſt all their Prayers and Sermons, at which he was compelled to be preſent, were Libels and bitter Invectives againſt all the Actions of his Father, the Idolatry of his Mother, and his own Malignity.——Yet after their Defeat at *Dunbar*, they all look'd upon the King as one they might ſtand in need of; they permitted his Servants, who had been ſequeſtred from him from his Arrival in the Kingdom, to attend and wait upon him, and began to talk of calling a Parliament, and of a Time for the King's Coronation; which had not hitherto been ſpoken of. Some Miniſters began to preach Obedience to the King; the Officers who had been caſhier'd for their Malignity, talking aloud of the Miſcarriages in the Government, and that the Kingdom was betray'd to the Enemy for want of Confidence in the King, who alone could preſerve the Nation. So that the King did, in a good degree, enjoy the Fruit of this Victory, as well as *Cromwell.* — Yet again when the King was marching at the Head of an Army into *England*, and had ſent *Maſſey* with ſome Troops to march before; then was it fatal to all *Scotiſh* Armies, to have always in them a Committee of Miniſters, who ruin'd all; and tho' there had been now all the Care taken that could be, to chuſe ſuch Men for that Service as had the Reputation of being the moſt ſober and moderate of that whole Body, and who had ſhewed more Affection, and advanced the King's Service more than the reſt; yet this moderate People no ſooner heard that *Maſſey* was ſent before to call upon their Friends, and obſerved that from the Entrance into *England*, thoſe about the King ſeem'd to have leſs regard for the Covenant than formerly, but they ſent an Expreſs to him, without communicating it in the leaſt degree with the King, with Letters and a Declaration, wherein they required him to publiſh that Declaration, which ſignified the King's, and the whole Army's Zeal for the Covenant, and their Reſolutions to proſecute the Intereſt of it; and forbid him to receive or entertain any Soldiers in his Troops, but thoſe who would ſubſcribe that Obligation. The King had ſoon notice of this, and loſt no time in ſending to *Maſſey* not to publiſh any ſuch Declaration, and to behave himſelf with equal Civility towards all Men who were forward to ſerve his Majeſty." But before this Inhibition was receiv'd, the Matter had taken Air in all Places, and was ſpread over the Kingdom: All Men fled from their Houſes, or conceal'd themſelves, who wiſh'd the King very well. (b)

1651. Proceedings of the K. in *Scotland*.

The King was at the Head of a conſiderable Army in *Scotland*, but had not the proper Command of them; for a ſelect Committee of Sixty was appointed to manage the Affairs of the War with the Conſent of the Kirk. *Cromwel* had order'd a Rendezvous of all his Horſe at *Muſcleborough*, and march'd thence to *Glaſcow*, and again return'd to *Edinborough*, where he lay ſo very ill of an Ague, that on *May* 27, the Parliament ſent two Phyſicians, Dr. *Wright* and Dr. *Bates*, to attend upon him; and deſired him to retire for his Health to ſome convenient Place in *England* for freſh Air, and to intruſt the Army in the mean time in ſuch hands as he ſhould think fit. But he ſoon recovered, and gain'd ſeveral Advantages over the *Scots* Army, much divided by the Factions of *Hamilton* and *Argyle*; and eſpecially in the Battle of *Fife*, where two thouſand of the *Scots* were Slain, and fourteen hundred taken Priſoners. By which *Cromwel* got between the King and the North Parts of *Scotland*; and ſo cutting off all Communication, forced the King upon the Neceſſity of marching into *England*. *Cromwel* ſent away Letters to the Parliament, that the *Scots* Army, in Fear and Deſperation, and out of inevitable Neceſſity, were run away into *England*; and doubts not but the Deſperateneſs and Folly of this Counſel of theirs would ſoon appear, for that he had ſent after them Major General

Cromwel gains Advantages.

(a) The very *Jews* were compounding to be a ſort of Motley Chriſtians. One *Manaſſ h Ben-Iſrael*, a noted *Jew*, wrote and publiſh'd a Book, called, *The Hope of* Iſrael, which he ſent to the ſupreme Power of *England* in 1650, offering to prove from the ancient *Rabbi's*, that there are two *Meſſiahs*, one the Son of *David*, the other the Son of *Joſeph*, which latter was now coming to die in the laſt War of *Gog* and *Magog*, and afterward to riſe again, and ſit in the Throne of *Meſſiah* the Son of *David*.

(b) The *Papiſts* were inſolent and active in the preſent Troubles. See *Mutatus Polemo*, or the horrible Stratagems of the *Jeſuits* lately practis'd in *England* during the Civil Wars, and now diſcovered by a reclaimed *Romaniſt*, employed before as a Workman of the Miſſion from his Holineſs, by *A. B. Norice*. Publiſhed by ſpecial Command. Dedicated to the Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*.—— Wherein are two Letters to a Lord about the probable courſe for the King's Re-advancement and the Reſtitution of Monarchy, by his Majeſty's returning to the Catholick Church, &c. *London* 1645, 4to.

Lambert,

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Lambert, with a conſiderable Body of Horſe, to attend the Rear of the Enemy; and that he himſelf was haſting after them; and that he ſhould leave behind him a ſufficient Force under Lieutenant-General *Monk* to keep *Scotland* in awe.

The King flies into *England*.

The King deſerted by many of the *Scotch* Nobility, and great Numbers of common Soldiers, made rather a flying Retreat than a regular March to *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, hoping his *Engliſh* Subjects would have come in to his aſſiſtance; but all thoſe Parts had either ſuch an averſion to the *Scots*, or ſuch a reſtraint and terror from the cloſe purſuit that *Cromwel* and *Lambert* and *Harriſon* made after the King, that no Succour at all came in to him; which diſappointment the King took with patience, and marched his poor Army of twelve thouſand without committing any Violence, or doing any Injury to the Country.

Purſued by *Cromwel*.

The brave Earl of *Derby* was the only *Engliſhman* who made any attempt to ſupport the King; he got together a Body of 1500 Men, but before he could join the Royal Army, he was ſet upon by Colonel *Lilburn* near *Wiggan* and entirely routed, he himſelf wounded retreated into *Cheſhire* with about eighty Horſe, and being afterward taken Priſoner upon Quarter given, was ſentenc'd to Death, and loſt his Head at *Bolton*.

The King comes to *Worceſter*.

The King brought his Army much fatigu'd to *Worceſter*, where ſome Parliament Forces were got in and made a ſharp reſiſtance; but the worthy Citizens laying down their Arms, and even firing out of their Windows upon the Parliament Soldiers, the King obtain'd a quiet Poſſeſſion. Hence the King ſent a Letter to the City of *London*, but it was burnt by the common Hangman; and a Declaration of the Parliament was publiſh'd by Beat of Drum and Sound of Trumpet through all the Streets, proclaiming all thoſe to be Traitors and Rebels that do or ſhall adhere to the King and his Party. The King ſent out a Summons to all the adjacent Country, that all his loving Subjects, within the Age of 16 and 60, ſhould come in to him to *Worceſter*; but none came: ſo that finding himſelf not able to take the Field, he fortified the Town as well as the Time would allow, and kept up a ſtrict Diſcipline; and when any *Engliſh* Priſoners were brought to him, he treated them courteouſly, gave them his Hand to kiſs, and ſo diſcharg'd them.

Cromwel marches up to *Worceſter*, And gets a ſignal Victory.

Before the end of *Auguſt*, *Cromwel* was got up with his Foot and Baggage, and had his Head-Quarters within two Miles of *Worceſter*; and upon *Septemb.* 3, the ſame day Twelvemonth that he obtain'd the Victory at *Dunbar*, ſtorm'd the City, entred it, and gave the *Scots* an abſolute Defeat: and ſent this Account of it in a Letter to the Parliament.

Account of it in his own Letter.

I *Am not able yet to give you an exact Account of the great things the Lord hath done for this Commonwealth, and for his People; and yet I am unwilling to be ſilent, but, according to my Duty, ſhall repreſent it to you as it comes to hand. This Battle was fought with various Succeſs for ſome hours, but ſtill hopeful on your part, and in the end became an abſolute Victory, and ſo full an one, as proved a total Defeat and Ruin of the Enemy's Army, and Poſſeſſion of the Town: Our Men entring at the Enemies heels, and fighting with them in the Streets, with very great Courage took all their Baggage and Artillery. What the Slain are I can give you no Account, becauſe we have not taken an exact View; but they are very many, and muſt needs be ſo, becauſe the Diſpute was long, and very near at hand, and often at puſh of Pike, and from one Defence to another. There are about ſix or ſeven thouſand Priſoners taken here, and many Officers and Noblemen of Quality: Duke* Hamilton, *the Earl of* Rothes, *and divers other Noblemen, I hear the Earl of* Lauderdale, *many Officers of great Quality, and ſome that will be fit Subjects of your Juſtice.———The Dimenſions of this Mercy are above my Thoughts; it is, for ought I know, a crowning Mercy; ſurely if it be not, ſuch a one we ſhall have, if this provoke thoſe that are concerned in it to Thankfulneſs, and the Parliament to do the Will of him who hath done his Will for it, and for the Nation; whoſe Good pleaſure is to eſtabliſh the Nation, and Change of the Government, by making the People ſo willing to the Defence thereof, and ſo ſignally to bleſs the Endeavours of your Servants in this late great Work. I am bold humbly to beg, that all Thoughts may tend to the promoting his Honour who hath wrought ſo great Salvation, and that the Fatneſs of theſe continued Mercies may not occaſion Pride and Wantonneſs, as formerly the like hath done to a choſen People; but that the Fear of the Lord even for his Mercies may keep an Authority and a People ſo proſper'd and bleſſed, and witneſſed to humble and faithful, that Juſtice and Righteouſneſs, Mercy and Truth, may flow from you, as a thankful Return to our glorious God. This ſhall be the Prayer of*

Your moſt humble and obedient Servant,

Worceſt. Sept. 4, 1651. O. Cromwel.

Defeat of the Earl of *Derby*.

The firſt ill Omen of the King's Misfortunes, was the News of the Defeat of the Earl of *Derby* at *Wigan* in *Lancaſhire*, and the total Deſtruction of thoſe gallant Perſons who accompanied him. The Earl, after his Horſe had been ſhot under him, made a ſhift to mount again; and ſo, with a ſmall Party of Horſe, through many Difficulties and Dangers, eſcap'd wounded to the King to *Worceſter*. The Lord *Withrington*, after he had received many Wounds, and given as many, and merited his Death by the Vengeance he took upon theſe who aſſaulted him, was kill'd upon the Place. Of whom my Lord *Clarendon* gives this Character,

Character of Lord *Widrington*.

"He was one of the moſt goodly Perſons of that Age, being near the Head higher than moſt tall Men, and a Gentleman of the beſt and moſt ancient Extraction of the County of *Northumberland*, and of a very fair Fortune, and one of the four which the laſt King made choice of to be about the Perſon of his Son the Prince as Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, when he firſt ſettled his Family. His Affection to the King was always remarkable; and ſerving in the Houſe of Commons, as Knight of the Shire for the County of *Northumberland*, he quickly got the Reputation of being amongſt the moſt Malignant. As ſoon as the War broke out, he was of the firſt who raiſed both Horſe and Foot at his own Charge, and ſerv'd eminently with them under the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, with whom he had a very particular and entire Friendſhip. He was very nearly allied to the Marqueſs; and by his Teſtimony that he had performed many ſignal Services, he was, about the middle of the War, made a Peer of the Kingdom. He was a Man of great Courage, but of ſome Paſſion, by which he incurr'd the Ill-will of many, who imputed it to an Inſolence of Nature, which no Man was farther from; no Man of a Nature more civil, and candid towards all, in Buſineſs or Converſation. But having ſat long in the Houſe of Commons, and obſerv'd the Diſingenuity of the Proceedings there, and the groſs Cheats, by which they deceived and cozened the People, he had contracted ſo hearty an Indignation againſt them, and all who were cozen'd by them, and againſt all who had not his Zeal to oppoſe and deſtroy them, that he often ſaid things to ſlow and flegmatick Men which offended them, and it may be injur'd them; which his Good-nature often obliged him to acknowledge, and aſk Pardon of thoſe who would not queſtion him for it. He tranſported himſelf into the Parts beyond the Sea at the ſame time with the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, to accompany him, and remain'd ſtill with him till the King went into *Scotland*, and then waited upon his Majeſty, and endured the ſame Affronts which others did during the time of his Reſidence there: And, it may be, the Obſervation of their Behaviour, the Knowledge of their Principles, and the Diſdain of their Treatment, produced that Averſion from their Conver-

1651. 3 *Car.* II.

"Converſation, that prevailed upon his Impatience "to part too ſoon from their Company, in hope "that the Earl of *Derby*, under whom he was very "willing to ſerve, and he Himſelf, might quickly "draw together ſuch a Body of the Royal Party, "as might give ſome Check to the unbounded Ima- "ginations of that Nation. It was reported by the "Enemy, that, in reſpect of his brave Perſon and "Behaviour, they did offer him Quarter, which he "refuſed; and that they were thereby compelled, "in their own Defence, to kill him: which is pro- "bable enough; for he knew well the Animoſity "the Parliament had againſt him, and it cannot be "doubted but that if he had fallen into their hands, "they would not have uſed him better than they "did the Earl of *Derby*, who had not more Ene- "mies."

The King could provide for no Safety but that of his own Perſon; nor could he have done this without a wonderful Providence. He went out of St. *Martin*'s Gate about Seven at Night in the Duſk, with the Earl of *Derby*; by whoſe Direction he got to an obſcure Houſe called *Whiteladies*, twenty five Miles from *Worceſter*, betwixt Three and Four the next Morning, and there committed himſelf to the Fidelity of the *Penderils*, two Brothers, who put him immediately into the Habit of a Wood-cutter, and ſent him to work in an adjoining Coppice all Day *Sept.* 4, and in the Night following *Richard Penderil* carried him to the Houſe of Mr. *Wolſe* of *Madeley*, and there lodg'd him in a Barn, and thence guided him to *Boſcobel*, where he hid himſelf in an Oak in the Day-time, and ſtole into the Houſe at Nights. Hence *John Penderil*, ſent hither by the Lord *Wilmot*, brought him, in the Habit and on the Horſe of a Miller, to Mr. *Whitgrave*'s Houſe at *Moſely*, and ſo, by the Lord *Wilmot*'s Advice, to *Bentley*, (*a*) where Colonel *Lane* contrived that the King ſhould ride as a Servant before his Siſter Mrs. *Jane Lane*, to *Briſtol*. Upon the Road the King was very near Diſcovery upon ſhooing his Horſe at a Forge, but happen'd to paſs free to *Eveſham* and *Cirenceſter*, and ſo to the Houſe of Mr. *Norton* at *Leigh* within three Miles of *Briſtol*, where he was diſcovered by the Butler *John Pope* (a Soldier formerly in his Maje- ſty's Army) who kept the Secret. The King was conducted hence by the Lord *Wilmot* to the Houſe of Colonel *Windham* at *Trent* in *Dorſetſhire*, where he continued three Weeks, not without the Privity of ſix or ſeven Perſons in the Family, in Expectation of a Paſſage from *Lime*; but being diſappointed of theſe Hopes, he was forc'd to wander on to *Bridport*, where an Oſtler claiming Knowledge of him, he haſted away to *Broad-Windſor*, and hurried back again to Colonel *Windham*'s; thence to the Houſe of Mr. *Hide* at *Heal*, and after ſtrange Eſcapes came to *Brighthamſtead* in *Suſſex*, where Colonel *Gunter* and Mr. *Maunſel* had hired a Ship to carry him over to *France*. The Maſter, one *Tetterſhal*, diſcover'd the King, having ſeen him in the *Downs*, where he had obtained a Releaſe of his Veſſel bound from *Newcaſtle*; but encourag'd with Money, and Proſpect of Honour, he promiſed to tranſport his Royal Paſſenger: but going home for a Bottle of Strong-water, his Wife became Partaker of the Secret; yet for Loyalty or Lucre ſhe encourag'd her Husband to perform the Contract, and the King landed ſafely at *Diep* in *France* on *Octob.* 21. A ſignal Mercy of God in the miraculous Protection of his Anointed.

The K.'s wonderful Eſcape.

The Royal Oak.

In the Fight at *Worceſter*, Duke *Hamilton*, who had charged the Enemy with great Vigour, had his Leg broke with a Shot; and falling into the Enemy's hands, he died the next Day of his Wounds, and thereby prevented the being made a Spectacle as his Brother had been; which the Pride and Animoſity of his Enemies would, no doubt, have cauſed to be, having the ſame Pretence for it, being a Peer of *England*, as the other was. The Lord *Clarendon* gives him this Character: "He was in all reſpects "to be much preferred before the other; a much "wiſer, tho' it may be a leſs cunning Man: for he "did not affect Diſſimulation, which was the other's "Maſter-piece. He had unqueſtionable Cou- "rage; he was in truth a very accompliſh'd Per- "ſon, of an excellent Judgment, and clear and "ready Expreſſions; and tho' he had been driven "into ſome unwarrantable Actions, he made it ve- "ry evident he had not been led by any Inclinati- "ons of his own, and paſſionately and heartily "ran to all Opportunities of redeeming it: And, "in the very Article of his Death, he expreſſed a "marvellous Cheerfulneſs, *That he had the Honour* "*to loſe his Life in the King's Service, and thereby to* "*wipe out the Memory of his former Tranſgreſſions,* "*which he always profeſſed were odious to himſelf.*"

1651. 3 *Car.* II.

Death and Character of Duke *Hamilton*.

Cromwel, in triumph, order'd the Walls of *Worceſter* to be levell'd with the Ground, and the Dikes fill'd up; and then march'd up to *London*, driving his Priſoners like Sheep before him, and making Preſents of them, on occaſion, as of ſo many Slaves; and ſelling the reſt for that purpoſe into the Plantations. He was met beyond *Aylesbury* by four Members of Parliament, ſent from the Houſe to pay him all the Marks of Favour and Honour. When he came to *Acton*, he was met by the Speaker and Members, and within the City-Liberties by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen: and on *Septemb.* 16, he took his Place in Parliament, and had exceſſive Complements from the Speaker in the Name of the Houſe, and was the ſame Day feaſted in the City of *London* with all poſſible State and Plenty. And two Acts were drawn up in Honour of him; one for a ſolemn Thankſgiving-Day, and another for a yearly Obſervation of the third Day of *September* in all the three Kingdoms, with a Narrative of the grounds thereof.

Cromwel triumphs.

In *Scotland*, the rigid Presbyterians had the Conſcience to impute the Defeat of their Brethren in *England* to their want of inſiſting upon ſtricter Terms with the King: And divers *Scots* Miniſters had the Grace to deſire a Permiſſion from General *Monk* to meet in *Edinburgh* to keep a Day of Humiliation for this Sin, *their too much Compliance with the King*. Whatever they thought their Sin, they had certainly a grievous Puniſhment; for *Monk*, left there by *Cromwel* with a piece of an Army, ſoon took *Sterlin* their chief Strength; and not long after ſurprized a Convention of the *Scotch* Nobility, old General *Leſley* among them, and went on to the abſolute Reduction of that Kingdom, which *Cromwel* kept in Subjection as a conquer'd Province.

Scots perfidious and ſtill rebellious.

Humbled by *Monk*.

Soon after *Worceſter* Fight, the *Iſle of Man* generouſly defended by the Counteſs of *Derby*, and the *Iſle of Jerſey* bravely maintained by Sir *George Carteret*, were both reduced under the Power of the Parliament: ſo as the new Commonwealth extended now as far as the late Monarchy.

It muſt be obſerved, that after *Worceſter* Fight

(*a*) Father *Hudleſton*, who aſſiſted King *Charles* II. in his laſt Scene of dying a Papiſt, now waited on him in his abſcondings, and took the opportunity to perſwade him to be a Papiſt, as he told the World, in his republiſhing a little Treatiſe in 1685, called, *A ſhort and plain way to the Faith of the Church*; that this Treatiſe had formerly made great Impreſſions upon the Mind of King *Charles* in the Year 1651, in his Retirement ſoon after the Battle of *Worceſter*, when he himſelf was ſo great an Inſtrument of his Eſcape; and that upon peruſal of it his Majeſty then declared, that *He had not ſeen any thing more plain and clear upon the Subject; and the Arguments drawn from Succeſſion were ſo concluſive, he did not conceive how they could be deny'd.* This was an early advance toward Popery. But even the Foundation was laid before this time, at leaſt in the Opinion of him who diſcover'd the Plot of the Papiſts to *Andrew ab Habernfeld* in *Holland*, 1640, whoſe expreſs Words are, that King *Charles* I. was to permit a univerſal Toleration for the free exerciſe of all Religions; to which *Si difficiliorem ſeſe exhibuerit, remedium erit in promptu: Adoleſcente enim cumprimùm Regio FILIO (qui à teneris ut Parti Pontificiæ adſueſcat educatur) de Rege actum eſt. Nux quippe Indica acutiſſimo veneno referta in Societate ſervatur,* &c.

Order

1651. 3 Car. II. Order was taken for the Trial of the Earl of *Derby*, and ſuch other notorious Priſoners as they had voted to Deſtruction. The Lord *Clarendon* gives this Character, and this Account of his Execution. "The "Earl of *Derby* was a Man of unqueſtionable Loyalty to the late King, and gave clear Teſtimony "of it before he receiv'd any Obligations from the "Court, and when he thought himſelf diſobliged "by it. This King, in his firſt Year, ſent him the "Garter, which in many Reſpects he had expected "from the laſt: And the Senſe of that Honour "made him ſo readily comply with the King's Command in attending him, when he had no Confidence in the Undertaking, nor any Inclination "to the *Scots*; who, he thought, had too much "Guilt upon them, in having depreſſed the Crown, "to be made Inſtruments of repairing and reſtoring "it. He was a Man of great Honour and clear "Courage; and all his Defects and Miſfortunes, "proceeded from his having liv'd ſo little time "among his Equals, that he knew not how to treat "his Inferiors; which was the Source of all the Ill "that befel him, having thereby drawn ſuch Prejudice againſt him from Perſons of inferior Quality, who yet thought themſelves too good to be "contemn'd, that they purſu'd him to Death."

Character of the Earl of *Derby*.

His Trial. The King's Army was no ſooner defeated at *Worceſter*, but the Parliament renewed their old method of Murdering in cold Blood; and ſent a Commiſſion to erect a High Court of Juſtice to Perſons of ordinary Quality, many not being Gentlemen, and all notoriouſly his Enemies, to try the Earl of *Derby* for his Treaſon and Rebellion; which they eaſily found him guilty of, and put him to Death in a Town of his own, againſt which he had expreſſed a ſevere Diſpleaſure for their obſtinate Rebellion againſt the King, with all the Circumſtances of Rudeneſs and Barbarity they could invent. The ſame Night, one of thoſe who was amongſt his Judges ſent a Trumpet to the *Iſle of Man*, with a Letter directed to the Counteſs of *Derby*, by which he required her, To deliver up the Caſtle and Iſland to the Parliament: Nor did their Malice abate, till they had reduced that Lady (a Woman of very high and Princely Extraction, being the Daughter of the D. *de Trimouille* in *France*, and of the moſt exemplary Virtue and Piety of her time) and that whole moſt noble Family, to the loweſt Penury and Want, by diſpoſing, giving, and ſelling all the Fortune and Eſtate ſhould ſupport it.

Cromwel propoſes to Reign. The Care of *Cromwel* was to improve his Victories to his own Intereſt: and for this purpoſe he deſired a Meeting with divers Members of Parliament and ſome chief Officers of the Army, at the Speaker's Houſe. Where (as *Whitlock*, one of the Number, tells us) he propoſed to them, *That now the old King being dead, and his Son being defeated, he held it neceſſary to come to a Settlement of the Nation: and in order thereto he had requeſted this Meeting, that They together might conſider and adviſe what was fit to be done, and to be preſented to the Parliament.* When the Speaker and Colonel *Harriſon* had delivered themſelves in general Words; *Whitlock*, who knew *Cromwel*'s mind, offer'd a Queſtion, *Whether the Settlement deſired ſhould be by way of an abſolute Republick, or with any mixture of Monarchy?* Then *Cromwel* took the hint, and anſwered, *My Lord Commiſſioner* Whitlock *hath put us upon the right Point; and indeed it is my Meaning, that we ſhould conſider whether a Republick or a mixt Monarchical Government will be beſt to be ſettled; and if any thing Monarchical, then in* Whom *that Power ſhall be placed.* When he had heard Colonel *Deſborough* and *Whaley* declaring for a ſtrict Republick, and Sir *Thomas Widdrington* pleading for a mixt Monarchichal Government, to be placed upon Terms in one of the King's Sons; *Cromwel* replied, *That will be a Buſineſs of more than ordinary Difficulty: but really I think, if it may be done with Safety, and Preſervation of our Rights, both as Engliſhmen and as Chriſtians, that a Settlement with ſomewhat of Monarchical Power in it would be very effectual.* In Concluſion, after a long Debate, the Company parted without coming to any Reſult at all; only *Cromwel* diſcovered by this Meeting the Inclinations of the Perſons that ſpake, for which he fiſh'd, and made uſe of what he then diſcerned. 1651. 3 Car. II.

Cromwel weary of the Parliament. *Cromwel* made one other Step toward his Deſigns, by bringing the Houſe into a Vote *Nov.* 18. *That the time for Continuance of this Parliament, beyond which they reſolve not to Sit, ſhall be the third Day of November* 1654. Which help'd much to draw off the Eyes and Hearts of the People from a Parliament near unto Extinction; and fix'd them upon the General and his Army, that were not likely to be diſſolv'd. So that from this time all Petitions and other Applications were to the General and his Officers, not to the Speaker and the Commons; who did little in the remainder of this Year, but appoint a *Committee to conſider of the Inconveniences and Delays in the Proceedings of Law*: wherein one of the Council to this Committee tells us, "That none of "them was more active in this Buſineſs than Mr. "*Hugh Peters* the Miniſter, who underſtood little "of the Law, but was very opinionative, and "would frequently mention ſome Proceedings of "Law in *Holland*, wherein he was altogether miſtaken." This Committee for regulating the Law preſented to a Committee of Parliament, to be reported to the Houſe, the Draughts of ſeveral Acts: 1. For taking away Fines upon Bills, Declarations, and Original Writs. 2. Againſt cuſtomary Oaths of Fealty and Homage to Lords of Mannors. 3. For taking away common Recoveries, and the unneceſſary Charge of Fines, and to paſs and charge Lands entailed, as Lands in Fee-ſimple. 4. For aſcertaining arbitrary Fines upon Deſcent and Alienation of Copyholds of Inheritance. 5. For the more ſpeedy Recovery of Rents. 6. Touching Pleaders, and their Fees. 7. For the more ſpeedy regulating and eaſie Diſcovery of Debts and Damages, not exceeding 4 *l.* and under. 8. For Marriages to be made before Juſtices of the Peace.

State of Religion. Presbyterians out-witted and over-power'd by the Independents. Nothing obſervable in the State of Religion, (*a*) but the Decay and approaching Downfall of Presbytery. The *Engliſh* Presbyterians had been ſtartled at the Murder of the King, and more diſturbed at the Prevalence of an Independent Faction in the Army. Under theſe Grievances and Jealouſies, they leaned much toward Hopes and Help from their *Scotch* Brethren, and for their ſakes were inclined for the Reſtoration of the King as in Covenant with them. This Zeal for their own Cauſe carried many of the Presbyterian Miniſters in *London* into a Correſpondence with the Kirk, and ſo into a Plot for the King, diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of the Presbyterian Plot. This was ſoon diſcovered by the Vigilancy of the Government, and by the Forwardneſs of the Men concern'd: So Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Drake*, very eminent Presbyterian Divines, were ſeized by Order of the Council of State, and in order to their Trial, were on *May* 7, brought before the High Court of Juſtice; and Mr. *Love* was firſt charged with High-Treaſon againſt the State and Commonwealth of *England*, for holding Correſpondence with the King and his Party, and ſupplying them with Arms and Money, contrary to an Act of Parliament in that Caſe provided. He at firſt diſputed the Authority of the Court, and then inſiſted upon his own Merits in promoting the Cauſe of the Parliament; and terrified Mr. *Jackſon* a Miniſter from giving in Evidence againſt him; for which obſtinate Refuſal he was fined by the Court 500 *l.* Mr *Love*'s Plot.

(*a*) Except the increaſing Madneſs of Sectaries and Enthuſiaſts incredible. At the Quarter Seſſions at *Weſtminſter*, on 24, *June* 1651, there were five *Ranters* convented before Col. *Baxter* and other Juſtices, upon ſufficient proof, that they had maintained that one *Robins* a Glazier was a Prophet, and that his Wife was with Child of the *Meſſias*, &c. *Birchley's Chriſtian Moderator.* 4*to.* 1652. p. 51.

1651. 3 *Car.* II. and committed to the *Fleet*. At another Appearance *June* 25, he did at laſt confeſs, That the Conſpirators met at his Houſe for furthering the *Scots* Deſigns; and that Letters were received, and Anſwers were ſent from thence; but equivocated in Excuſes, that he did not do it *Himſelf*, and that he did not *Perſonally* act any thing, &c. In ſhort, tho' he had Mr. *Matthew Hale* for an Advocate, and the whole Party for Sollicitors, on *July* 5, he received Sentence to be Beheaded; and the Day of Execution was appointed on the 15th. Before the Day, very fervent Petitions were preſented from himſelf and his Friends, to the Parliament, for Pardon of his Life; which, on long Debate, paſs'd in the Negative. And on the very Day appointed for Execution, ſeveral Miniſters in and about *London* came with a moſt importunate Petition to the Houſe, praying earneſtly, and in the Bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, who when we were Sinners died for us, if not totally to ſpare the Life of our dear Brother; that yet you would ſay of him, as *Solomon* of *Abiathar*, that *at this time he ſhall not be put to Death*. Upon which the Parliament granted him a Reprieve for one Month. Within this time, all poſſible Sollicitations were uſed to the Men in Power; and particular Application was made to *Cromwel*, then in *Scotland*, who ſent back a Letter of his free Conſent to the Pardon of him: but the Poſt-Boy being ſeized by ſome Cavaliers, they ſearch'd his Pacquet, and with ſpecial Indignation tore the Letter relating to Mr. *Love*, as thinking him not worthy to live who had been ſuch a Firebrand in the Treaty at *Uxbridge*.

The Council of State and Leaders in the Parliament hearing nothing from *Cromwel*, and not finding the ingenuous diſcovery and humble Submiſſion which they expected from Mr. *Love* (after the Condemnation of two other of his Accomplices Mr. *Potter* and Mr. *Gibbons*) they vacated his Reprieve, and recommitted him to the High Court of Juſtice, by whoſe Order he was executed on *Tower-Hill* with Mr. *Gibbons* on *Aug.* 22 (*a*). The Lord *Clarendon* gives this Character. "This poor Man *Love*, who had "been guilty of as much Treaſon againſt the King "from the beginning of the Rebellion as the Pulpit "could contain, was ſo much without remorſe for "any Wickedneſs of that kind that he had committed, that he was jealous of nothing ſo much as of "being ſuſpected to repent, or that he was brought "to ſuffer for his Affection to the King. And therefore when he was upon the Scaffold, where he appeared with a marvellous undauntedneſs, he ſeemed ſo much delighted with the Memory of all that "he had done againſt the late King, and againſt the "Biſhops, that he could not even then forbear to "ſpeak with Animoſity and Bitterneſs againſt both, "and expreſſed great Satisfaction in Mind for what "he had done againſt them, and was as much tranſported with the inward Joy of Mind that he felt "in being brought thither to die as a Martyr, and "to give Teſtimony for the Covenant, whatſoever "he had done being in the purſuit of the Ends, he "ſaid, of that ſanctified Obligation to which he was "in, and by his Conſcience engaged. And in this "raving Fit, without ſo much as praying for the "King, otherwiſe than that he might propagate the "Covenant, he laid his Head upon the Block with "as much Courage as the braveſt and honeſteſt Man "could do on the moſt pious occaſion." (*b*)

Love and *Gibbons* executed.

This blow help'd to widen the Breach between the Presbyterians and the prevailing Powers: For from this time the Presbyterians were alway ſuſpected of Loyalty to the King, and the Parliament and the Army were alway jealous of them. *Aug.* 31, was appointed a Day of Thankſgiving for the Succeſs of the Parliament's Forces in *Scotland* and againſt the Earl of *Derby*; and we are told, *That the Miniſters who were not of the rigid Presbyterian Judgment, were zealous in the Duties of the Day; but ſome of the more rigid Perſons did not think fit to obſerve that Order, but dropt it in publick, and had their private Meetings to pray to God to bleſs their Brethren of the Presbytery and the Cauſe they were engaged in.* And *Oct.* 24, being kept for a ſolemn Rejoycing over the King's defeat at *Worceſter*, was ſo much ſlighted and ſlovenly obſerved by ſome of them, that they hardly eſcaped a publick Cenſure. Tho' it was the Policy of the governing People to make them eaſy, by granting a Pardon upon humble Acknowledgment and Submiſſion to Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Drake*, and others, who had confeſt themſelves guilty of Mr. *Love*'s Conſpiracy. The Petition of Mr. *Jenkins* for his Life went high, and expreſly owned the Authority of the prevailing Powers to be from God; for which reaſon it is ſaid to have been printed here, and reprinted in *Holland* by Order and Procurement of the Houſe of Parliament, to ſtop the Mouths of all other Presbyterians, and gain the reputation of a Divine Right to them and their Cauſe. 1651. 3 *Car.* II.

The poor Church of *England* being baniſhed from its home, met with another Perſecution abroad, of which this Account is well given by a Witneſs of it, the Lord *Clarendon*. "There was another inſtance "of the King's extreme low Condition, and of the "higheſt diſreſpect the Court of *France* could expreſs "towards him, and of which all the Proteſtant Party of the Queen's Family complained very vehemently. From the time of the Queen's being in "*France*, the late King had appointed a Chaplain "of his own, Dr. *Coſins*, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Durham*, to attend upon her Majeſty, for "the conſtant Service of that part of her Houſhold, "the number of her Proteſtant Servants being much "ſuperiour to thoſe who were Roman Catholicks: "And the Queen had always punctually comply'd "with the King's directions, and uſed the Chaplain "very graciouſly, and aſſigned him a competent "Support with the reſt of her Servants. An under "Room in the *Louvre*, out of any common Paſſage, "had been aſſigned for their Morning and Evening "Devotions, the Key whereof was committed to "the Chaplain, who cauſed the Room to be decently furniſhed and kept, being made uſe of to no "other purpoſe. Here, when the Prince came thither, and afterwards whilſt he ſtaid, he perform'd "his Devotions all the Week, but went *Sundays* ſtill "to the Reſident's Houſe to hear Sermons. After this "time an Order was ſent from the Queen Regent, "that that Room ſhould be no more apply'd to "that purpoſe, and the *French* King would not permit the Exerciſe of any other Religion in any of "his Houſes than the *Roman* Catholick; and the "Queen gave notice to the Chaplain, that ſhe was "no longer able to continue the payment of the "Exhibition ſhe had formerly aſſign'd to him. "The Proteſtants, whereof many were of the beſt "Quality, lamented this alteration to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and deſired him to interceed "with the Queen, which he had the more Title to "do, becauſe at his going into *Spain* ſhe had vouchſafed to promiſe him (upon ſome Rumours of "which he took notice) that the ſame Privilege "which had been ſhould ſtill be continued, and enjoy'd by the Proteſtants of her Houſhold; and "that ſhe would provide for the Chaplain's ſubſiſtence. He preſum'd therefore to ſpeak with her "Majeſty upon it; and beſought her to conſider "what ill impreſſion this new Order would make "upon the Proteſtants of all the King's Dominions,

(*a*) See, *A full Narrative of the late dangerous Deſigns againſt the State*; Written with Mr. *Love*'s own Hand; and by him ſent to the Parliament. Declaring the ſeveral Meetings and ſecret Actings with Major *Alford*, Major *Adams*, &c. Dated from the *Tower* of *London* 22, *July* 1651. Mr. *Love*'s *Caſe*. 1651. 4*to*.

(*b*) His Brother *Jenkins* was pardon'd upon a moſt ſneaking Submiſſion made by him, call'd, *The Humble Petition of* William Jenkins *Priſoner, declaring his unfeigned Sorrow for all his late Miſcarriages, and promiſing to be true and faithful to the preſent Government.*——With *three Queries from Mr.* William Jenkins, *being the Grounds of his late Petition and Submiſſion to the preſent Power. London.* 1651. 4*to*.

" upon

1650. 3 Car. II.

"upon whom he was chiefly to depend for his Reſtauration; and how much prejudice it might be to her ſelf, to be look'd upon to be a greater Enemy to Proteſtants than ſhe had been taken notice of to be; and likewiſe, whether this Order, which had been given ſince the departure of the Duke of *York*, might not be made uſe of as an excuſe for his not returning, or indeed for his going away at firſt, ſince the preciſe time when it iſſued would not be generally underſtood. The Queen heard him very graciouſly, and acknowledged, That what he ſaid had Reaſon in it; but proteſted that ſhe knew not what Remedy to apply to it; that ſhe had been her ſelf ſurprized with that Order, and was troubled at it; but that the Queen Regent was poſitive in it, and blamed her for want of Zeal in her Religion; and that ſhe cared not to advance it, or to convert any of her Children. She wiſhed him to confer with Mr. *Mountague* upon it; and imply'd, that his bigotry in his new Religion, had contributed much to the procuring that Order. He had newly taken Orders, and was become Prieſt in that Church, and had greater Power with the Queen Regent, as well for his Animoſity againſt that Religion he had profeſt, as for his vehement Zeal for the Church of which he now was. Upon this occaſion, her Majeſty expreſſed a great ſenſe of the loſs ſhe had ſuſtained by the Death of her old Confeſſor, Father *Philips*, who ſhe ſaid, was a prudent and diſcreet Man, and would never ſuffer her to be preſſed to any paſſionate Undertakings under pretence of doing good for Catholicks; and always told her, that as ſhe ought to continue firm and conſtant to her own Religion, ſo ſhe was to live well towards the Proteſtants, who deſerved well from her, and to whom ſhe was beholden. She ſaid, it would not be poſſible to have the ſame or any other Room ſet aſide, or allowed to be uſed as a Chappel; but that ſhe would take ſuch courſe, that the Family might meet for the exerciſe of their Devotion in ſome private Room that belonged to their Lodgings; and that tho' her own Exhibition was ſo ill paid that ſhe was indebted to all her Servants, yet ſhe would give Order that Dr. *Coſins* (againſt whom ſhe had ſome perſonal Exceptions) ſhould receive his Sallary in proportion with the reſt of her Servants. She bid him aſſure the Duke of *York*, that he ſhould have a free Exerciſe of his Religion as he had before, tho' it muſt not be in the ſame place. (*a*)

"The Chancellor conferr'd with Mr. *Mountague* upon the Subject, and offer'd the ſame Reaſons which he had done to the Queen; which he look'd upon as of no Moment, but ſaid, That the King of *France* was Maſter in his own Houſe, and he was reſolved, tho' the King of *England* himſelf ſhould come thither again, never to permit any ſolemn Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion in any Houſe of his. The Conſideration of what the Proteſtants in *England* might think on this occaſion was of leaſt moment to him; and it was indeed the common Diſcourſe there, that the Proteſtants of the Church of *England* could never do the King Service, but that all his hopes muſt be in the *Roman* Catholicks and the Presbyterians; and that he ought to give all ſatisfaction to both Parties. (*b*)

Anno 1652, The *Scots* finding their Army in *England* ſwallowed up, and their own Country ravaged and reduced to a Conqueſt by the *Engliſh* Arms, the Deputies of their Shires and Boroughs drew up their Form of Conſent, required from them by the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, *to an Union with* England *in one Commonwealth, without a King or Houſe of Lords, and to live peaceably in Submiſſion to the Authority of the Parliament of* England. And an Act was ſoon after prepar'd at *Weſtminſter*, for Incorporating *Scotland* into one Commonwealth and Free State with *England*, and for aboliſhing the Kingly Office in *Scotland*. 1652. 4 Car. II. *The Conqueſt of Scotland makes an Union of it with England.*

Cromwel had laid a Scheme, that was now to be artfully carried on. Hence *May* 11, a Committee was reviv'd for ſetting a Period to this Parliament, and providing for the due Qualification of future Repreſentatives. This amus'd the Houſe, and opened the Inclination of the reſpective Members. *Policy of Cromwel.*

Cromwel had loſt much of his Influence on the Affairs of *Ireland* by the Death of his Son-in-Law Lieutenant-General *Ireton*, who died of the Plague in *Limerick* Nov. 27, 1651, ſucceeded in the Government of that Army by *Edmund Ludlow* Eſq; who would have thereby aſſumed the Regency of that Kingdom, at leaſt till the coming over of Major-General *Lambert*, who was named by the Parliament to be Lord Lieutenant. But a Vote of Parliament was obtained *June* 16, that the Act of Parliament conſtituting *Oliver Cromwel* Captain-General and Commander in chief of the Armies and Forces raiſed by their Authority within *England*, ſhall extend to the Forces in *Ireland* as if *Ireland* had been therein particularly named. And that the Lord-General be required to appoint ſuch Perſon as he ſhall think fit to command the Forces in *Ireland*, and to Commiſſionate him accordingly. Whereby to the great offence of *Lambert* and *Ludlow*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* had the Command in chief of the Forces in *Ireland*, to hold under the Lord-General *Cromwel*; and under his Conduct that Kingdom was ſoon brought into perfect Subjection. *Death of Ireton.* *Fleetwood placed in Ireland.*

This Character is given of *Ireton* by the Lord *Clarendon*. "He was of a melancholick, reſerv'd, dark Nature, who communicated his Thoughts to very few; ſo that for the moſt part he reſolved alone, but was never diverted from any Reſolution he had taken; and he was thought often by his obſtinacy to prevail over *Cromwel* himſelf, and to extort his Concurrence contrary to his own Inclinations. But that proceeded only from his diſſembling leſs; for he was never reſerved in the owning and communicating his worſt and moſt barbarous Purpoſes, which the other always concealed and diſavowed. Hitherto their Concurrence had been very natural, ſince they had the ſame Ends and Deſigns. It was generally conceived by thoſe who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that *Ireton* was a Man ſo radically averſe from Monarchy, and ſo fixed to a Republick Government, that if he had lived, he would either by his Council and Credit have prevented thoſe exceſſes in *Cromwel*, or publickly oppoſed and declared againſt them, and carried the greateſt part of the Army with him; and that *Cromwel*, who beſt knew his Nature and his Temper, had therefore carried him into *Ireland* and left him there, that he might be without his Counſels or Importunities, when he ſhould find it ne-

(*a*) *James* D. of *York*, under his Mother's greater Influence, was a very early Convert to Popery. The Author of *The Myſtery of Iniquity working in the dividing of Proteſtants.* 1689. 4*to.* had good authority, to ſay, *p.* 6. within theſe five Years, there was in the Cuſtody of a very worthy honeſt Gentleman, a Letter written to the late Biſhop of *D.* by a Doctor of Divinity, then attending upon the Royal Brothers, wherein the Apoſtacy of the Duke of *York*; and how he abjured the Proteſtant Religion, and was reconciled to the *Romiſh* Church at St. *Germanes* in *France* is particularly related; and an Account given, how much the Dutcheſs of *Tremouille*, who (without being her ſelf obſerved) had heard the Queen Mother glorying of it, bewailed it as a diſhonour to the Royal Family, &c.

(*b*) They who ſuſpected K. *Charles* II. to be a Papiſt, objected, that while he was at *Paris*, he never came to Sermon at *Charenton*. To which *Monſ. L' Angle* anſwers; 'tis well known the King of *England* had his Exerciſes of his Religion, which is ours, in his Palace, and there had the Word of God preached, and the Sacraments adminiſtred after the manner of *Charenton*. I ſhould certainly have been glad he had been there, and 'tis to be wiſhed, that thoſe who were then about him, had brought him hither. So great an Example had brought Joy and Conſolation to our Churches, and confuſion to our Enemies, who thereby had been deprived of their moſt ſpecious Pretext, to abuſe the Religion of this Prince. *Letter of Monſ. L' Angle.* Printed 1660. 4*to*.

"ceſſary to put off his Mask, and to act that part which he foreſaw it would be requiſite to do. Others thought his Parts lay more towards Civil Affairs, and were fitter for the modelling that Government which his Heart was ſet upon (being a Scholar, converſant in the Law, and in all thoſe Authors who had expreſſed the greateſt Animoſity and Malice againſt the Regal Government) than for the Conduct of an Army to ſupport it; his Perſonal Courage being never reckon'd among his other Abilities."

And to render the new Commonwealth more glorious, or rather to make *Cromwel* more abſolute, the *Engliſh* Navy under Admiral *Blake*, Vice-Admiral *Pen*, and Sir *Gerge Aſcue*, was this Year proſper'd with very great and repeated Succeſſes againſt the *Dutch* Fleet commanded firſt by *Van Trump*, and afterward by *De Wit*. So that Victories and Conqueſts waiting upon the preſent Powers by Sea and Land, the only Queſtion that ſeem'd now remaining, was how to make this Proſperity ſettle into Peace and eſtabliſhed Government.

Cromwel affects to be King.

Upon this Juncture *Cromwel* adviſes with Commiſſioner *Whitlock* how to maintain all things in Order and Obedience; *What if a Man ſhould take upon him to be King? Whitlock*, "I think that Remedy would be worſe than the Diſeaſe. *Cromwel. Why do you think ſo? Whitlock.*" "As to your own Perſon the Title of King would be of no Advantage, becauſe you have the full Kingly Power in you already concerning the Militia, as you are General. As to the nomination of Civil Officers, thoſe whom you think fitteſt are ſeldom refuſed: and altho' you have no negative Vote in the paſſing of Laws, yet what you diſlike will not eaſily be carried; and the Taxes are already ſettled and in your Power to diſpoſe the Money raiſed. And as to Foreign Affairs, tho' the Ceremonial Application be made to the Parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad Succeſs in it is from your Excellency; and particular Sollicitations of Foreign Miniſters are made to you only. So that I apprehend indeed leſs Envy and Danger and Pomp, but not leſs Power and real opportunities of doing good in your being General, than would be if you had aſſumed the Title of King." *Cromwel* went on to argue, that *Whoever was actually King by Election, the Acts done by him were as lawful and juſtifiable as if done by a King who had the Crown by Inheritance; and that by an Act of Parliament in* Henry VII*'s time, it was ſafer for the People to act under a King (let his Title be what it will) than under any other Power. Whitlock* agreed to the Legality, but queſtioned the Expediency of it; and being ask'd what danger he apprehended, anſwered thus, "The danger I think would be this, One of the main Points of Controverſy between us and our Adverſaries is whether the Government of this Nation ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Monarchy or in a free State or a Common-wealth; and moſt of our Friends have engaged with us upon the hopes of having the Government ſettled in a free State; and to effect that, have undergone all their Hazards and Difficulties. They being perſwaded (tho' I think much miſtaken) that under the Government of a Common-wealth they ſhall enjoy more Liberty and Right, both as to their Spiritual and Civil Concernments than they ſhall under Monarchy, the preſſures and diſlikes whereof are ſo freſh in their Memories and Sufferings. Now if your Excellency ſhall take upon you the Title of King, this State of your Cauſe will be thereby wholly determined, and Monarchy eſtabliſhed in your Perſon, and the Queſtion will be no more, Whether our Government ſhall be by a Monarch or by a free State, but whether *Cromwel* or *Stuart* ſhall be our King or Monarch? And that Queſtion wherein before ſo great Parties of the Nation were engaged, and which was univerſal, will by this means become in effect a private Controverſy only. Before it was National, What kind of Government we ſhould have? Now it will become particular, Who ſhall be our Governour? Whether of the Family of the *Stuarts*; or of the Family of the *Cromwels*? Thus the ſtate of our Controverſy being totally chang'd, all thoſe who were for a Common-wealth (and they are a very great and conſiderable Party) having their Hopes therein fruſtrate, will deſert you: your Hands will be weaken'd, your Intereſt ſtraitned, and your Cauſe in apparent Danger to be ruin'd."

Is diſſuaded by Whitlock.

Cromwel confeſs'd he ſpoke Reaſon, and deſired to know if he could find any other Expedient. *Whitlock*, after ſuggeſting the Dangers he was in from his own Officers and from the Parliament, who were plotting to bring him down, or to clip his Wings, proceeded thus. "Pardon me, Sir, in the next place, a little to conſider the Condition of the King of *Scots*. This Prince being now by your Valour, and the Succeſs which God hath given to the Parliament, and to the Army under your Command, reduced to a very low Condition, both he and all about him cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any Terms, whereby their laſt Hopes may be revived of his being reſtored to the Crown, and they to their Fortunes and native Country. By a private Treaty with him, you may ſecure your ſelf and your Friends, and their Fortunes: You may make your ſelf and Poſterity as great and permanent, to all human Probability, as ever any Subject was, and provide for your Friends: You may put ſuch Limits to Monarchical Power, as will ſecure our ſpiritual and civil Liberties: and, you may ſecure the Cauſe in which we are all engaged. And this may be effectually done, by having the Power of the Militia continued in your ſelf, and whom you ſhall agree upon after you."

Cromwel adjourned the Diſcourſe to ſome farther time, and went off with a Countenance and Carriage of Diſpleaſure. And *Whitlock* ſays, "That *Cromwel*'s Carriage toward him from that time was altered, and his adviſing with him not ſo frequent and intimate as before; and, that it was not long after, he found an occaſion, by an honourable Employment, to ſend him out of the way, that he might be no Obſtacle or Impediment to his ambitious Deſigns." For certainly *Cromwel* in his Thoughts and Intentions, was for bringing the Crown upon his own Head; and it was a great Providence that his Friends would not permit him to have his own way. However, to carry it as far as it would bear, he and his Officers were alway complaining of the Grievance of the Long Parliament, and were zealous and loud in recommending to the People the common Pretences of Right and Juſtice, and publick Liberty, to put a Period to their Seſſion; and if they would not ſhortly do it themſelves, the Army and the People muſt do it for them. (*a*)

King Charles in the Court of France.

The King was a Refugee in the Court of *France*, and was to live there upon Words and Air, tho' he was truly inſtrumental in compoſing the Differences between the *French* King and the Princes of the Blood; and the Duke of *York* was actually in the

(*a*) *Harry Nevil* who was then one of the Council of State, and lived long after the Reſtauration of the King, uſed to tell it as a Story of his own Knowledge, that *Cromwel* upon this occaſion ſent for ſome of the chief City Divines, as if he made it a Matter of Conſcience, to be determined by their Advice, among whom was the grave Mr. *Calamy*, who very boldly oppoſed the Project of *Cromwel*'s ſingle Government, and offer'd to prove it both *Unlawful* and *Impracticable*. *Cromwel* anſwered readily upon the firſt Head of *Unlawful*, and appeal'd to the Safety of the Nation being the Supreme Law. But, ſays he, Pray Mr. *Calamy* why *Impracticable*? Oh! ſays Mr. *Calamy*, 'tis againſt the Voice of the Nation, there will be Nine in Ten againſt you. Very well, ſays *Cromwel*, but what if I ſhould diſarm the Nine, and put a Sword in the Tenth's Man's Hand, would not that do the Buſineſs? and ſo in a ſort of Banter, he ſeem'd to thank Mr. *Calamy*, and to think him a Fool.

French

1652. *French* Service under the Marſhal *de Turenne*, who
4 *Car.* II. gave him a high Character for his Behaviour in the Battle of *Eſtampes*. For which Obligations the King of *France* was in himſelf diſpoſed to aſſiſt, and, if poſſible, to reſtore the Royal Family of *England*: But his commanding Miniſter, the Cardinal *Mazarine*, was alway averſe to it: So that all that our diſtreſſed Prince could do, was to ſend abroad his Envoys and Agents to ſollicite, in vain, for Juſtice and Relief. He ſent into *England* the noble Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, for private Intelligence and Supplies; but he was taken up Priſoner in *London*, and committed to the *Tower* in *September*, where he was threatened with a ſpeedy Trial, and worſe puniſh'd with a long Confinement. The Lord *Hopton*, a Man of admirable Valour, lay in Proſecution of the Royal Cauſe at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, where he died in Affliction about the end of *September*. The Ld. *Wentworth* was employed to the King of *Denmark*, the Ld. *Colepepper* to *Moſco*, Mr. *Crofts* to *Poland*, Mr. *Taylor* to the Imperial Court, and the Ld. *Wilmot* (made E. of *Rocheſter*) to the Dyet at *Ratisbone*: But all their Negotiations for a righteous Cauſe, without Men and Money, were made cold and ineffectual. The *States of Holland*, in War with the People of *England*, were indeed the more kind and friendly to the King: they granted him the Freedom of Ports for harbouring his Men of War, and ſelling the Prizes they ſhould take; and invited Prince *Rupert* to Command a Squadron; and talk'd much of committing their whole Fleet to the Command of the King in Perſon, as their ſuperior Admiral; which Honour he had offered to them: nay, he propoſed to have gone Aboard as a private Perſon, to invite and receive the *Engliſh* Ships that ſhould come over to him. But the *States* were afraid, and all their good Inclinations were owing to their Enmity to the new Common-wealth, more than to any Love or Reſpect to the King; and therefore went off, in order to prepare and purchaſe a Peace with the *Engliſh* Republick.

The King tempted to leave the Communion of the Ch. of *England*.

But the greateſt Trial to which the King was now brought, was, how to ſecure himſelf from the continual Sollicitations to pervert him from the good old Communion of the Church of *England*. The Relation of this Difficulty is beſt given by a Witneſs of it, the Lord *Clarendon*, who writes thus:

“ The Lord *Jermyn*, who in his own Judgment was
“ very indifferent in all matters relating to Reli-
“ gion, was always of ſome Faction that regarded
“ it. He had been much addicted to the Presbyte-
“ rians from the time that there had been any Trea-
“ ties with the *Scots*, in which he had too much
“ Privity: And now, upon the King's Return into
“ *France*, he had a great Deſign to perſwade his
“ Majeſty to go to the Congregation at *Charenton*,
“ to the end that he might keep up his Intereſt in
“ the Presbyterian Party: which he had no reaſon
“ to believe would ever be able to do the King Ser-
“ vice, or willing if they were able, without ſuch
“ odious Conditions as they had hitherto inſiſted
“ upon in all their Overtures. The Queen did not,
“ in the leaſt degree, oppoſe this; but rather ſeem'd
“ to countenance it, as the beſt Expedient that might
“ incline him, by degrees, to prefer the Religion
“ of the Church of *Rome*. For tho' the Queen had
“ never to this time, by her ſelf, or by others with
“ her Advice, uſed the leaſt means to perſwade the
“ King to change his Religion, as well out of Ob-
“ ſervation of the Injunction laid upon her by the
“ deceaſed King, as out of the Conformity of her
“ own Judgment, which could not but perſwade
“ her that the Change of his Religion would infal-
“ libly make all his hopes of recovering *England* de-
“ ſperate; yet it is as true, that from the King's
“ Return from *Worceſter*, ſhe did really deſpair of
“ his being reſtored by the Affections of his own
“ Subjects, and believed that it could never be
“ brought to paſs without a Conjunction of Catho-
“ lick Princes on his Behalf, and by an united Force
“ to reſtore him; and that ſuch a Conjunction 1652.
“ would never be enter'd into, except the King him- 4 *Car.* II.
“ ſelf became a Roman Catholick. Therefore from
“ this time ſhe was very well content that any At-
“ tempts ſhould be made upon him to that purpoſe;
“ and, in that regard, wiſhed that he would go to
“ *Charenton*, which ſhe well knew was not the Re-
“ ligion he affected, but would be a little Diſcoun-
“ tenance to the Church in which he had been bred,
“ and from which as ſoon as he could be perſwaded
“ in any degree to ſwerve, he would be more expo-
“ ſed to any other Temptation. The King had not
“ poſitively refuſed to gratify the Miniſters of that
“ Congregation, who, with great Profeſſions of Du-
“ ty, had brought him to do them that Honour,
“ before the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to
“ him; in which it was believed that they were
“ the more like to prevail by the Death of Doctor
“ *Steward*, for whoſe Judgment in Matters of Reli-
“ gion the King had Reverence, by the earneſt Re-
“ commendation of his Father: and he died after
“ the King's Return within fourteen Days, with
“ ſome Trouble upon the Importunity and Artifice
“ he ſaw uſed to prevail with the King to go to
“ *Charenton*, tho' he ſaw no Diſpoſition in his Ma-
“ jeſty to yield to it.

“ The Lord *Jermyn* ſtill preſſed it, as a thing
“ that ought in Policy and Diſcretion to be done,
“ to reconcile that People which was a great Body
“ in *France* to the King's Service, which would
“ draw to him all the foreign Churches, and there-
“ by he might receive conſiderable Aſſiſtance. He
“ wondered, he ſaid, why it ſhould be oppoſed by
“ any Man, ſince he did not wiſh that his Majeſty
“ would diſcontinue his own Devotions according
“ to the Courſe he had always obſerved, nor pro-
“ poſe that he ſhould often repair thither, but on-
“ ly ſometimes, at leaſt once, to ſhew that he did
“ look upon them as of the ſame Religion with
“ him, which the Church of *England* had always ac-
“ knowledged; and that it had been an Inſtruction
“ to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, that they ſhould keep
“ a good Correſpondence with thoſe of the Religion,
“ and frequently reſort to Divine Service at *Charen-*
“ *ton*, where they had always a Pew kept for them.

“ The Chancellor of the *Exchequer* diſſwaded
“ his Majeſty from going thither with equal Ear-
“ neſtneſs: told him, That whatever Countenance
“ or Favour the Crown or Church of *England* had
“ heretofore ſhewed to thoſe Congregations, it was
“ in a time when they carried themſelves with Mo-
“ deſty and Duty towards both, and when they
“ profeſſed great Duty to the King, and much Re-
“ verence to that Church; lamenting themſelves,
“ that it was not in their Power, by the Oppoſition
“ of the State, to make their Reformation ſo perfect
“ as it was in *England*. And by this kind of Beha-
“ viour they had indeed receiv'd the Protection and
“ Countenance from *England* as if they were of the
“ ſame Religion, tho', it may be, the Original of
“ that Countenance and Protection proceeded from
“ another leſs warrantable Foundation; which he
“ was ſure would never find Credit from His Ma-
“ jeſty. But, whatever it was, that People now
“ had undeſerv'd it from the King; for, as ſoon as
“ the Troubles began, the Huguenots of *France* had
“ generally expreſſed great Malice to the late King,
“ and very many of their Preachers and Miniſters
“ had publickly and induſtriouſly juſtified the Re-
“ bellion, and prayed for the good Succeſs of it:
“ and their Synod it ſelf had in ſuch a manner in-
“ veigh'd againſt the Church of *England*, that they,
“ upon the Matter, profeſſed themſelves to be of
“ another Religion; and inveigh'd againſt Epiſco-
“ pacy, as if it were inconſiſtent with the Prote-
“ ſtant Religion: That one of their great Profeſ-
“ ſors at their Univerſity of *Saumur*, who was look-
“ ed upon as a Man of the moſt moderate Spirit
“ amongſt their Miniſters, had publiſhed an Apo-
“ logy for the general Inclination of that Party to

“ the

1652. 4 *Car.* II.

“ the Proceedings of the Parliament of *England*, “ leſt it might give ſome Jealouſy to their own “ King, of their Inclination to Rebellion, and of “ their Opinion that it was lawful for Subjects to “ take up Arms againſt their Prince; which, he “ ſaid, could not be done in *France* without mani- “ feſt Rebellion, and incurring the Diſpleaſure of “ God for the manifeſt Breach of his Command- “ ments, becauſe the King of *France* is an abſolute “ King, independent upon any other Authority: “ but that the Conſtitution of the Kingdom of *Eng- “ land* was of another Nature; becauſe the King “ there is ſubordinate to the Parliament, which hath “ Authority to raiſe Arms for the Reformation of “ Religion, or for the executing the publick Juſtice “ of the Kingdom againſt all thoſe who violate the “ Laws of the Nation: ſo that the War might be “ juſt there, which in no caſe could be warranted in “ *France*.

“ The Chancellor told the King, That after ſuch “ an Indignity offered to him, and to his Crown, “ and ſince they had now made ſuch a Diſtinction “ between the Epiſcopal and the Presbyterian Go- “ vernment, that they thought the Profeſſors were “ not of the ſame Religion, his going to *Charenton* “ could not be without this effect; that it would be “ concluded every where, that his Majeſty thought “ the one or the other Profeſſion to be indifferent: “ which would be one of the moſt deadly Wounds “ to the Church of *England* that it had ever yet ſuf- “ fered. Theſe Reaſons prevailed ſo far with the “ King's own natural Averſion from what had been “ propoſed, that he declared poſitively, He would “ never go to *Charenton:* which Determination ca- “ ſed him from any farther Application of that “ People. The Reproach of this Reſolution was “ wholly charged upon the Chancellor of the Exche- “ quer, as the implacable Enemy of all Presbyterians, “ and as the only Man who diverted the King from “ having a good Opinion of them; whereas, in “ truth, the daily Information he receiv'd from the “ King himſelf of their barbarous Behaviour in *Scot- “ land* towards him, and of their inſupportable Pride “ and Pedantry in their Manners, did confirm him “ in the Judgment he had always made of their Pro- “ feſſion: and he was the more grievous to thoſe of “ that Profeſſion, becauſe they could not, as they “ uſed to do all thoſe who oppoſed and croſſed them “ in that manner, accuſe him of being Popiſhly af- “ fected, and governed by the Papiſts, to whom they “ knew he was equally odious: and the Queen know- “ ing him to be moſt diſaffected to her Religion, made “ her willing to appear moſt diſpleaſed for his hin- “ dering the King from going to *Charenton*.” (*a*)

Sad State of Religion: Socinianiſm prevailing.

The Affairs of Religion (if Faction and multiplied Separation may be ſo called) are not worthy a diſtinct View. *Socinianiſm* began to make a Sect among the common People; and for that purpoſe the *Cracovian Catechiſm* was done into the Vulgar-Tongue, for the Inſtruction of Men, Women, and Children. This being repreſented to the Parliament, they could do no leſs than Vote on *April* 6, that *the ſaid Catechiſm did contain Matters that are blaſphemous, erroneous, and ſcandalous*; and therefore order, that *all the printed Copies of that Book be burned by the common Hangman.*

Tithes to be aboliſhed,

The Payment of Tithes was thought a continual Grievance to the Country People, and made the Subject of repeated Petitions to the Parliament, who were forced often to promiſe a Redreſs, even againſt the Judgment and Intention of the majority of Members. And ſo for a Pretence of Eaſe and Quiet, they referr'd it *May* 4, to a Committee, *to conſider how a competent Maintainance for godly Miniſters may be ſettled in lieu of Tithes.* And in theſe Debates, there was this Good ariſing out of Evil: The Lay Impropriators in the Houſe would never conſent to extinguiſh their own Intereſt, how indifferent ſoever, for the Inheritance of the Church and Maintenance of the Clergy. As in the Beginnings of our Reformation, Popery was kept out as much by the Tenure of Church-Lands, as by any better Principle.

But ſaved by the Lay Impropriators.

Presbytery declining.

The Presbyterian Worſhip and Diſcipline, tho' by preſent Law eſtabliſhed, began to ſink more and more in the Hearts of the People, and in the Voice of the Parliament, and eſpecially in the Affections of *Cromwel* and his Army: nay even in *Scotland*, the Kirk, that had exalted her ſelf againſt Princes, could not ſtand againſt the People, but grew into Contempt and Ridicule. They made their little Efforts of Juriſdiction to end in nothing but Jeſt or Riot. The Synod of *Edinburgh* drew up a Paper, ſtiled, *A Teſtimony againſt the preſent incroaching of the Civil Power upon the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.* And the Synod of *Fife* made a ſolemn *Proteſtation againſt all the Reſolutions and Proceedings of the Civil Power, that were contrary to the Liberties and Authority of the* Kirk. And at *Perth* the Synod ſent out their Letters of Citation to the ſeveral Presbyters and People who had ſhewn their Contempt, or expreſſed their diſlike of the Holy Diſcipline: But on the Day of Appearance, the Men wilfully abſented, and their Wives came to anſwer for them; who, to the Number of above 120 came with Broom-ſticks and Spits, and other Utenſils, and beſieged the Church where the reverend Aſſembly ſat; who on this Alarm, ſent out one of the graveſt Presbyters to treat with the Women: But he taking the wrong way, in threatning to Excommunicate all of them, they firſt beat him ſeverely, and then bound him their cloſe Priſoner, and fell upon the reſt of the Brethren, bruiſing their Bodies, and taking away all their Books and Baggage, and making the Synod-Clerk forſwear his Office. And the only ſatisfaction, as we are told, was this, That 13 of the Presbyters rallied about 4 Miles from the Place, and voted, *That this Village ſhould never more have a Synod kept in it, but be accurſed*; and, *That altho' in the Year* 1638 *and* 1639 *the Godly Women were called up for ſtoning the Biſhops, yet the whole Sex ſhould be now eſteemed wicked.* Thus the Stool thrown by a Woman's Hand, in the Church of *Edinburgh*, at the Dean and the Common-Prayer, was now improved into Clubs and Staffs, in the ſame hands, againſt Presbyters and Synods. (*b*)

Scotch Zeal and Folly.

The Women beat the Presbyters.

1653.

Cromwel for diſſolving the Parliament.

On *April* 19, *Cromwel* invited to his Lodgings in *Whitehal* the choiceſt of his Friends in the Parliament and Army, and propoſed the Subject of Debate, to find out ſome expedient for the better carrying on the Government of the Common-wealth, and how to put a Period to the preſent Parliament. Some few (among whom were Sir *Thomas Widdrington* and Commiſſioner *Whitlock*) repreſented the dangers of diſſolving the Parliament, and the Difficulties of ſetting up any other Form of Government. But the General and his Officers, and ſeveral of the Members let into the Secret, declared their Opinion,

(*a*) It it certain the *Engliſh* Papiſts courted the New Powers, and ſeemed to have a good Intereſt in them. See the humble Petition of the *Roman* Catholicks, to the Supreme Authority of the Nation, the Parliament of the Common-wealth of *England.*——humbly praying, that it would pleaſe the Parliament to vouchſafe them the Permiſſion of clearing their Religion from whatſoever may be inconſiſtent with Government; ——in *May* 1652. Chriſtian Moderator II. Part p. 2.—— Another Petition of the Catholick Recuſants.—— Humble Motives, &c.

(*b*) Popery continued to take Advantage of our inteſtine Broils and Confuſions. Many of our Church Men forc'd into Baniſhment, or lying under Sequeſtrations, turned Papiſts in abhorrence of the new Saints. In a Book printed this Year 1652. there is a Roll of above twenty, who have lately declared themſelves Catholicks. 1. Counteſs of *Derby*. 2. The Lady *Kelimechin*. 3. The Lord *Cottington*. 4. *Tho. Vane*, D. D. 5. *Hugh Paulin de Creſſy*, Prebend. of *Windſor*. 6. Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. 7. Sir *Francis Doddington*. 8. Sir *Theophilus Gilby*. 9. Mrs. *Bridget Fielding*. 10. Dr. *Bailey*. 11. Dr. *Coſen*'s only Son. 12. Dr. *Goffe* entered into the Rel. Order of the Oratorians at *Paris*. 13. Maſter *Peter Glue* of *Baliol* College in *Oxford*. 14. Mr. *Richard Nichols*, B. D. of *Peter-Houſe*, *Cambridge*. 15. Maſter *Richard Craſhaw*, M. A. of *Peter-Houſe*, *Cambridge*, well known for his excellent Poems. 16. Maſter *William Rowlands* of *Exeter College* in *Oxford*. 17. Capt. *Tho. Cook*. 18. Maſter *Edward Barker*, of *Caius's-College*, *Cambridge*. 19. Maſter *Temple*. 20. Maſter *Osborn*, &c.

that

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that *it was neceſſary to take ſome new Meaſures; and that it was not fit the preſent Aſſembly of Parliament ſhould be permitted to prolong their own Power.* No concluſion being made, the Junto was adjourn'd to next Morning, when moſt of them met again in the ſame place, and the Queſtion in Debate was, *Whether forty Perſons, or about that number of Parliament Men and Officers of the Army, ſhould be nominated by the Parliament, and impower'd for the managing the Affairs of the Commonwealth, till a new Parliament ſhould meet, and ſo the preſent Parliament be forthwith diſſolved? Cromwel* had ſent his Intimations to the Houſe then Sitting, that during this Debate at his Lodgings, they ſhould put a Period to themſelves, which would be the moſt honourable Diſſolution for them. Col. *Ingoldsby* was the chief Member ſent by *Cromwel* to the Houſe, to ſuggeſt to them this Project of a voluntary Diſſolution: But he came back to *Whitehall* and informed his General, that the Houſe inſtead of coming to any Reſolutions of diſſolving, were in the Debates of other Buſineſs which muſt be adjourned to farther Meetings, and occaſion their much longer ſitting. *Cromwel* was ſo enraged at this Demur, that he preſently commanded ſome of the Officers of the Army to fetch a Party of Soldiers, with which he marched directly to *Weſtminſter*, and placing his Men of Arms ſome at the Door and ſome in the Lobby, and others on the Stairs, he led one File of Musketeers into the Houſe with him, and there looking round with great Fury, he commanded the Speaker to leave his Chair, and told the Houſe, that *they had ſate long enough unleſs they had done more good; that ſome of them were Whoremaſters* (looking with inſult upon *Harry Martin* and Sir *Peter Wentworth*) *that others of them were Drunkards, and ſome Corrupt and Unjuſt Men, and Scandalous to the profeſſion of the Goſpel, charging Sir* Harry Vane *with his breach of Faith and Corruption; and telling them all poſitively, that it was not fit they ſhould ſit as a Parliament any longer, and therefore he muſt deſire them to go away.* The Speaker preſuming to ſit ſtill, Col. *Harriſon* took him by the Arm and forced him to leave the Chair. Some of the Members roſe up to anſwer *Cromwel*'s Speech, but he would ſuffer none to ſpeak but himſelf; which he did with ſo much Arrogance and ſo great Reproach to his Fellow-Members, that ſome of his own Creatures were aſhamed of it. Amongſt all the Parliament Men, of whom many wore Swords, and would often boaſt high of their Valour in defence of Liberty and Property, not one Man offered to draw his Sword, or to make the leaſt reſiſtance, but all of them tamely departed the Houſe. *Cromwel* bid one of the Soldiers *take away the Fool's Bauble the Mace*, and ſtaid himſelf to ſee all the Members out of the Houſe, himſelf the laſt of them, and then cauſed the Doors of the Houſe to be ſhut up. When the Members thus ejected and exploded came with confuſion to their own homes, they had leiſure to conſider many things, what an outcry they made when their lawful Sovereign came ſingly and peaceably into that Houſe, to demand the legal Appearance of a few Members to a Charge of Treaſon againſt them: And yet now a fellow Subject, a fellow Member, enters their Houſe with armed Men in a hoſtile manner, and without any ſpecial Accuſation, calls them all Rogues and Sots and Fools, and with the utmoſt Indignity turns them by the Arms and Elbows out of Doors. How zealous had they been for their own indiſſoluble Being, how had they extorted from the King his lawful Prerogative of putting an end to them with their own conſent; and yet now without a Queſtion ask'd, or a Vote put, at a Word and a Blow they are bid to march off by an Officer, who had his Commiſſion from them, and was in proper Subjection to them. How forward they were to have the ſole Sovereignty and Legiſlature, a Parliament of the Commons of *England* without King or Lords, that they might have no controul nor competition from any other Power; when yet a Commoner of *England* commiſſion'd to be their Servant becomes a moſt abſolute Maſter of them, bids them go at a Word and they are gone, in the moſt ignominious manner.

Debates in the Matter.

The Parliament not willing to diſſolve themſelves.

Cromwel diſſolves them by force of Arms.

They tamely ſubmit and depart.

And had leiſure to reflect.

The moſt amazing thing is this, that after the Members were thus with the laſt Contempt and Infamy expell'd, they never offer'd to meet in a Body, nor ſo much as in ſeparate Clubs, to think how to reunite themſelves, but crumbled away to their reſpective homes, with a ſilence that confeſt their Guilt and the juſt Puniſhment of it: Nay, and the common People never once interpoſed by any Tumult, or ſo much as by any Petition, but let them drop without a Word or a Wiſh to ſave them. So as they who had commanded the Mob in Routs and Libels, againſt the King, Biſhops, and Nobility, were now deſerted by them in their extream Agonies, and ſuffered to expire without one Sigh or Groan. (*a*)

The Members all ſilent.

Cromwel and his Council of Officers did not ſo much want a Vindication of what they had done as a quieting Declaration of what they did intend to do. Hence they publiſh'd an Account of their Proceeding and Intention, beginning with ſufficient intimation, that the whole Government was devolv'd upon the General and his Army by right of Conqueſt; then caſting very abundant Reflections upon the Members who had deſigned to perpetuate their own Power; and ſo juſtifying the neceſſity of putting an end to ſuch a ſelf-ſeeking Parliament, promiſing to put the Government into the Hands of *Perſons of approved Fidelity and Honeſty*; and in the mean time declaring that *all Magiſtrates and Officers whatſoever ſhall proceed in their reſpective Places and Offices, and Obedience ſhall be paid to them as fully as when the Parliament was ſitting.* Signed in the Name and by the Appointment of his Excellency the Lord-General and his Council of Officers, *Whitehall* April 22, 1653.

Declaration of *Cromwel* and his Officers.

Cromwel tho' incouraged by many Congratulations for diſſolving the Parliament, and by many Addreſſes from the Fleet and Army and People to ſtand by him and his Council of Officers, yet thought it not time enough to aſſume the Government to his own Perſon. But he and his Officers reſolved to ſummon ſelect Perſons to be nominated by themſelves out of every County, to make up a new Repreſentative of the whole Nation. And when they had agreed upon their choice Creatures, the ſingular Form of Summons was directed thus to each Perſon.

A new ſort of Parliament.

F*Oraſmuch as upon the diſſolution of the late Parliament, it became neceſſary that the Peace, Safety and good Government of this Commonwealth ſhould be provided for; and in order thereunto divers Perſons fearing God, and of approv'd Fidelity and Honeſty, are by myſelf, with the advice of my Council of Officers nominated, to whom the great Charge and Truſt of ſo weighty Affairs is to be committed: And having good aſſurance of your Love to, and Courage for God and the Intereſt of this Cauſe, and of the good People of this Commonwealth, I* Oliver Cromwel, *Captain-General and Commander in chief of all the Armies and Forces raiſed, and to be raiſed, within this Commonwealth, do hereby ſummon and require you —— (being one of the Perſons nominated) perſonally to appear at the Council-Chamber at* Whitehall, *within the City of* Weſtminſter, *upon the fourth Day of July next enſuing the date hereof, then and there to take upon you the ſaid Truſt, unto which you are hereby called and appointed to ſerve as a Member of the County of —— and hereof you are not to fail. Given under my Hand this* 8th *Day of* June 1653.

New Form of Summons.

O. Cromwel.

According to this novel Edict on *July* 4, the ſeveral obſcure Perſons thus ſummon'd, did appear in the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*, to the number of about 120, and being ſet round the Table, *Cromwel* ſtanding with his Officers made a Speech to them, ſhewing the cauſe of their Summons, and telling 'em, *they had a clear Call to take on 'em the Supreme Authority of the Commonwealth*, quoting abundance of Scripture to admoniſh them

The Parliament ſo called meets.

Cromwel's Speech.

(*a*) The Manner of *Cromwel*'s ejecting this Parliament in the moſt inſolent manner is beſt repreſented by Mr. *Hobbs* in Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, 8*vo*. p. 252.

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them to do their Duties (*a*). And then he produced an Inſtrument in Writing, under his own Hand and Seal, to conſtitute and acknowledge them, or any forty of them, to be the ſupreme Authority of this Nation. Then he and his Officers withdrew, and the Perſons ſo commiſſion'd to be a Parliament, adjourn'd themſelves to the next Day to meet in the Parliament-Houſe; where they reſolv'd, *That Mr.* Rous *ſhould be their Speaker for one Month, and Mr.* Scobel *be their Clerk*; and in ſubmiſſion to their Lords and Maſters, they gave a nomination to thoſe who had nominated them, ordering that General *Cromwel*, and his chief Officers *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, *Desborough*, and *Tomlinſon*, ſhould ſit in the Houſe as Members. The Lord *Clarendon* gives this Character of the Speaker. "He was an old "Gentleman of *Devonſhire*, who had been a Member "of the former Parliament, and in that time been "preferr'd and made Provoſt of the College of *Eaton*, "which Office he then enjoy'd, with an Opinion of "having ſome Knowledge in the *Latin* and *Greek* "Tongues, but of a very mean underſtanding, but "throughly engag'd in the Guilt of the Times."

Mr. Rous Speaker.

And thus under the name of a Parliament, they kept a Day of Humiliation and Prayer in the Houſe, and publiſhed a Declaration *to ſtir up the godly of the Nation to ſeek God for a Bleſſing upon their Proceedings*. But not able to compoſe a diſtracted Nation, and not willing to come up to the ambitious Hopes of *Cromwel*, it was moved in the Houſe *Decemb.* 13, *That the ſitting of this Parliament any longer would not be for the good of the Commonwealth*; *and that it would be more fit for them to reſign up their Powers to the Lord-General*. The Houſe riſing without a full Reſolution what to do, the Speaker with his Mace, attended by ſome Members, went to *Whitehall* on *Decemb.* 12, and gave up their Inſtrument of Commiſſion, and preſented to his Excellency a Reſignation under their Hands of all the Parliamentary Powers lately repoſed in them. This Parliament was afterward called, *Praiſe God Barebone's Parliament*, from a *Leatherſeller* of that Name in *Fleetſtreet*, who was an eminent Speaker in it. They were generally a pack of weak ſenſeleſs Fellows, fit only to bring the Name and Reputation of Parliaments lower than it was yet.

Cromwel conſults for a new Government.

In this new vacancy *Cromwel* called again his Council of Officers, and adviſed with them, *How this great burthen of governing* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *with the Armies therein, and the Navies at Sea ſhould be born, and by whom?* They ſpent ſeveral Days in *ſeeking of God*, as the Phraſe then was, and did at laſt reſolve, *That a Council of godly, able and diſcreet Perſons ſhould be named, conſiſting of twenty one; and that the Lord-General ſhould be choſen Lord Protector of the three Nations.*

Reſolution to make a Lord Protector.

Upon this arbitrary Reſult an Inſtrument was drawn up, entituled, *The Government of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland; declaring, *that the ſupreme legiſlative Authority of the ſaid Commonwealth and the Dominions thereto belonging, ſhall be and reſide in one Perſon and the People aſſembled in Parliament, the Style of which Perſon ſhall be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland. Then putting the Militia and executive Power into the Hands of the Protector, and providing for a new Parliament to meet on *Sept.* 3, 1654, and ſucceſſive Parliaments every third Year; the Members to be choſen according to the proportions and numbers hereafter expreſt, that is to ſay, for the County of *Bedford* ſix, *viz.* for the Town of *Bedford* one, for the County of *Bedford* five, &c. Then conſtituting a ſelect Council of State, and ordaining that the Office of the Lord-Protector ſhall be Elective and not Hereditary, and concluding with a forty ſecond Article in theſe Words, *That each Perſon of the Council ſhall before they enter upon their Truſt, take and ſubſcribe an Oath, that they will be true and faithful in their Truſt, according to the beſt of their Knowledge: And that in the Election of every ſucceſſive Lord-Protector, they ſhall proceed therein impartially, and do nothing therein for any Promiſe, Fear, Favour or Reward.*

New Model of Parliaments.

Inſtrument of Government.

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By this Compact on *Decemb.* 16, *Cromwel* was conducted in great Pomp to the Court of Chancery, where a Chair of State was placed for him, and he ſtood by it till the Inſtrument was read, and the Oath adminiſter'd to him, and ſubſcribed by him. Then he put on his Hat as the only enſign of Authority, and took poſſeſſion of the Chair; then the Commiſſioners deliver'd up the Great-Seal to him, and the Lord-Mayor his Sword and Cap, which were immediately return'd to him; then he went back to *Whitehall*, the Lord-Mayor himſelf uncover'd carrying the Sword before him. And all other Ceremonies and Reſpects were paid to him as to a Sovereign Prince. With ſo much eaſe did a People become enſlav'd to a Fellow-Subject Uſurper, when they had ſpent ſo much Treaſure and Blood in ſhaking off the Yoke of a lawful King.

Cromwel made Protector.

Cromwel was encouraged to be more Abſolute by Addreſſes from all parts of the three Kingdoms; by a magnificent Entertainment in the City of *London* upon *Aſh-Wedneſday*, when he Knighted the Lord-Mayor with as much Grace as if he had been the King; and by the application of Foreign States and Kingdoms in as ample a manner as if he had been a Crown'd Head. His Authority was indeed greater, for in this interval of Parliament he and his Council made their Ordinances as if they had been the Acts of a Legiſlature.

Grandour of Cromwel.

The King in Exile at *Paris* was ſo unfortunate as to be able to take no Advantage of all theſe Convulſions in the Government of *England*, tho' he had great hopes from the States of *Holland* and the King of *Denmark*, then in War with the *Engliſh* Commonwealth; but the *Dutch* Fleet was ſo miſerably beat in ſeveral Engagements, that before the end of the Year they were glad to ſue for Peace. The Lord *Rocheſter* at the Diet of *Ratisbon* had procured a conſiderable Sum of Money from the *German* Princes, and a Promiſe from the Emperour to aſſiſt the King as ſoon as his Affairs would permit. The *French* King was very kind and hoſpitable; but the Policies of Cardinal *Mazarine* were to be jealous of Monarchy reſtored in *England*, and for that reaſon inclined to an Amity with all the uſurping Powers; upon which the Intrigues between him and *Cromwel* grew ſo familiar, that the King, inſtead of hoping for Supplies, could no longer hope for Protection in the *French* Court. There were ſome little Efforts of Loyalty made in the Highlands of *Scotland*, where the Earls of *Glencarne*, *Seaforth*, and *Athol*, and others, with Commiſſions and Inſtructions from the King, were raiſing Parties for him; and were recruited by Major General *Middleton*, who came over from *Holland*, and join'd with them. But they could form nothing but a flying Camp, and raiſe the vigilant Jealouſies of *Cromwel*; who, to prevent their Advances, took off *Monk* from the Navy, and ſent him again his Lieutenant General into *Scotland*, as he now did his own Son *Henry Cromwel* into *Ireland*.

K. Charles unhappy.

The Victories at Sea this Year were not only to the Grandour of *Cromwel*, but to the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation. The Protector made this only good Uſe of Arbitrary Power, That without the Aid of Parliament, he did, without waiting for Money or Advice, cauſe a ſtrong Fleet to be provided againſt this Spring, and committed it to the joint Command of three Admirals, *Blake*, *Monk*, and *Dean*. This Fleet, in the beginning of *June*, engag'd the *Dutch* under *Van-Trump*, about the middle Seas over between *Dover* and *Zealand*; and by not diſcharging their Guns till at a very ſmall diſtance, they broke their Squadrons, and forc'd them to fly, and make all the Sail they could to their own Coaſts, leaving eleven of their Ships taken, and ſix ſunk. The Loſs of the *Engliſh* was only in Admiral *Dean*, who was

(*a*) See that artful Speech of *Oliver Cromwel* in the Council-Chamber to the Perſons then aſſembled by Summons, *July* 4, 1653,——minding them of the Series of Providence — and the greateſt Works of God (*i. e.* his own Atchievements) and adviſing them to *ſeek the Intereſt of JESUS CHRIST*, (*i. e.* to leave the Sword to him) &c.

kill'd

1653. 5 Car. II. kill'd with a Cannon ſhot: Their Ships were all ſafe, and all able to purſue the *Dutch*, and block them up in their own Harbours. Yet Admiral *Trump*, who with ſome of the ſhatter'd Fleet had got into the *Wierings*, did with great Induſtry ſo far repair and recruit his Loſſes, that by the end of *July* he came out with a Fleet of 95 Men of War; and being join'd with 25 more from the *Texel*, he gave the *Engliſh* another Battle, which continued very hot from Six in the Morning to One in the Afternoon, when Admiral *Van-Trump*, ſignally performing the Office of a brave and bold Commander, was ſhot with a Musket-bullet into the Heart, of which he fell dead, without ſpeaking a Word. This Blow made the *Dutch* fly toward the *Texel*, having loſt between 20 and 30 of their Ships fir'd or ſunk, and above 1000 Priſoners taken. By theſe two ſignal Victories, *Cromwel* brought the *Dutch* to accept of ſuch Conditions of Peace as he thought fit to give them; among which, one was, *That they ſhould not ſuffer any of the King's Party, or any Enemy to the Commonwealth of* England, *to reſide within their Dominions*; and another, which was contained in a ſecret Article, to which the Great-Seal of the *States* was affix'd, was, *Never to admit the Prince of* Orange *to be their Stadt-Holder, General*, or *Admiral*: and likewiſe, *To deliver up the Iſland of* Polerone *in the* Eaſt-Indies (which they had taken from the *Engliſh* in the time of King *James*, and uſurp'd it ever ſince) *into the Hands of the* Eaſt-India *Engliſh Company again*; and, *To pay a good Sum of Money for the old barbarous Violence exerciſed upon the* Engliſh *at* Amboyna; for which the two laſt Kings could never obtain any Satisfaction. And by the like Terrors of a Conquerour, he forced *Portugal* to ſend an Ambaſſadour to beg Peace, and to purchaſe it by the Payment of a great Sum of Money; and brought the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* to ſue for his Alliance. Nay, and while the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour was ſolliciting the Terms of Peace, his own Brother *Don Pontaleon Sa*, a Knight of *Malta*, and a Man eminent in many great Actions, making a Riot upon the *Exchange*, wherein a Man was kill'd, was made to ſubmit (in ſpight of the Pretences of Privilege and Protection) to a Trial, and an Execution on a Scaffold upon *Tower-Hill*.

Black Face of Religion. The Spirit and the very Face of Religion were cover'd, and in a manner extinguiſh'd: No Mean, but all Enthuſiaſm or Prophaneneſs, and both in perfection. *April* 5, it was order'd by the Houſe, that *a certain number of Miniſters and others be appointed to ſit in every County, to Examine, Judge, and Approve all ſuch Perſons as ſhall be called to Preach the Goſpel.* (Court of Triers.) This Court of *Triers* was more formally eſtabliſh'd by an *Ordinance of the Lord Protector, with Conſent of his Council*, March 20, wherein the firſt Teſt for Approbation was, to adjudge *whether the Grace of God was in the Perſon*: Hence this holy Inquiſition was turn'd into a Snare to catch the Men of Probity and Senſe, and ſound Divinity; and to let none eſcape but the Ignorant, Bold, Canting Fellows. For theſe *Triers* ask'd few or no Queſtions in Knowledge and Learning, but only about *Converſion* and *Grace in the Heart*; to which, the readieſt Anſwers would ariſe from Infatuation in ſome, and the Trade of Hypocriſie in others. By which means, the Right of Patronage was at their arbitrary Pleaſure, and the Character and Ability of Divines was whatever they pleas'd to make 'em; and Churches were filled all with little Creatures of the State.

In that illegal and moſt irregular Aſſembly, ſummon'd by *Cromwel*, and commonly call'd *Barebone's* Parliament, a Spirit of Confuſion had been working to take away the Maintenance and the very Office of the Miniſtry. Tithes were now at laſt reſolved to be Antichriſtian, and fit to be aboliſhed: in order to which, on *July* 15, they learnedly debated (Proceedings againſt Tithes.) *the Propriety of Tithes, whether the Title and ſtrict Property of 'em was in the State, or in particular Perſons?* But that which gave them the greateſt Difficulty was, to *find an Expedient for ſatisfying Impropriators*, *i. e.* for ſaving themſelves, and *for providing ſome Maintenance for the Miniſtry*; i. e. for their own Creatures, who muſt have otherwiſe come upon their own Pariſhes. And on *July* 22, they referred it to a Committee *to conſider of the Laws that hinder the Progreſs of the Goſpel, and to repeal them*; i. e. to take away all the few remaining Rules of Decency and Order. The City of *London* were ſo ſenſible of this Tide, that they endeavoured to ſtem it; and *Sept.* 2, a Petition was preſented to the Houſe in the Name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, praying, *That the precious Truths of the Goſpel may be preſerved in Purity; and the Diſpenſers thereof being approved to be Learned, Godly, and void of Offence, may be ſent forth to preach the Goſpel: That their ſettled Maintenance by Law may be confirmed, and their juſt Properties preſerved; and that the Univerſities may be zealouſly countenanc'd and encourag'd.* (The City againſt the Abolition of them.) By whoſe good Example, another Petition was preſented in the Name of the Freeholders and others of *Hampſhire*, praying for a *Support and Encouragement of the Miniſtry, and for the Continuance of Tithes, being above five hundred Years growth, and confirmed by* Magna Charta, &c. And ſo at laſt the only Objection againſt Tithes did become the Preſervation of them, *i. e.* the Intereſt of Impropriators, and the Voice of the People. (*a*)

This Parliament (for ſo it muſt be called) was made up moſt of the Independent Faction, to whom the Congregational Churches were humble Suitors for Liberty and Protection againſt the Presbyterians; and did obtain a Vote, that *there ſhould be a Declaration for giving fit Liberty to all that fear God, and for preventing the Abuſes againſt Magiſtrates, and for Preſervation of ſuch as fear God among themſelves, without impoſing the one upon the other; and for diſcountenancing Blaſphemies, damnable Hereſies, and licentious Practices.* (Liberty of Conſcience.) And yet nothing could have been more damnable and licentious than what we are told was under their Deliberation, "That no Courts of Equity or Juſtice, in the common Courſe, ſhould remain, but the *Moſaick* Law ſhould take place; and that both the Magiſtracy and the Miniſtry ſhould be henceforth aboliſhed, and all Dominion ſhould go according unto Grace, that the Saints of the Earth might rule in all things, &c."

How little Religion was the Concern or ſo much as any longer the Pretence of *Cromwel* and his Council of Officers, does appear from this, that in the large Inſtrument of the *Government of the Commonwealth* committed to the Protector, which was the very *Magna Charta* of the new Conſtitution, in forty two Chapters there is not a word of Churches, or Synods, or Miniſters, nor any thing but the Chriſtian Religion in general, with Liberty to all differing in Judgment from the Doctrine, Worſhip or Diſcipline publickly held forth. (*Cromwel's* Religion was to Reign.)

Nay, and the Kirk of *Scotland* was as low and contemptible as the Presbytery in *England*; for when the General-Aſſembly met at *Edinburgh* July 25, as ſoon as the Sermon was done, and the Presbyters and Elders gone to the Aſſembly-Houſe, and enter'd upon their Buſineſs, Lieut. Col. *Cotterel* in his Military Figure went in to them, and ſtanding up on a Bench, told them, that *no Judicatory ought to ſit that had not Authority from the Parliament of* England, and without giving them leave to plead their Divine Right, he turned them forth into the Street, and then led them Priſoners with a Troop of Horſe and Company of Foot out of the City at the Weſt Gate. He then brought them all into a cloſe Ring, and ſo environing them with his armed Men, he rebuked them ſeverely for their bold Meeting, took in their Commiſſions, charg'd them to quit the City before eight a Clock, and repair every one to his own home, and never to (Kirk of *Scotland* contemptible.) (Synod diſſolved by a Soldier.)

(*a*) See, Exceptions many and juſt againſt two injurious Petitions exhibited to the Parliament, the one *July* 16, the other *Aug.* 4, 1653, againſt Tithes.—— Dated from Oxford *Aug.* 9, 1653, and there printed by *L. Lichfield*, 4to.

meet again ſo much as three of them in a Company. Thus righteouſly were Schiſm and Rebellion chaſtiſed, thoſe Presbyters who would aſſemble and rule in ſpite of their Biſhops and their King, were now diſſolved by an inferiour Layman and Soldier. (*a*)

1654. 6 *Car.* II.

Cromwel makes the firſt univerſal Parliament of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

The Lord Protector to confirm himſelf in his new Government, reſolved to unite the three Kingdoms into one Commonwealth, to be the more eaſily manag'd by him the ſole Head. So with Conſent of his Council he made an Ordinance *April* 12, ſetting forth, "How he had took into conſideration, that the "People of *Scotland* ought to be united with the People of *England* into one Commonwealth, and under one Government; and had found that in *December* 1651, the Parliament then ſitting had ſent "Commiſſioners into *Scotland* to invite the People of "that Nation unto ſuch a happy Union, who proceeded ſo far therein, that the Shires and Boroughs "did accept of the ſaid Union, and aſſent thereunto; for the compleating and perfecting which Union, he now ordained, that all the People of *Scotland*, and of all the Dominions and Territories "thereto belonging, ſhould be incorporated into one "Commonwealth with *England*: And in every Parliament to be held ſucceſſively for the ſaid Commonwealth, thirty Perſons ſhould be called from, "and ſerve for *Scotland*, &c." And a like Ordinance was ſoon after made for a like diſtribution of thirty Members from *Ireland*, to ſerve in the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. So much greater was the Power of an Uſurper than that of lawful Princes.

He frights all foreign Kingdoms and States.

And to ſtrengthen himſelf the more at home, he made a Peace with *Holland*, and let *Denmark* be taken into the Treaty, upon the good Terms of making the States reſponſible for one hundred and forty thouſand Pounds, to repair the damage done by the *Danes* to the *Engliſh*. Then by the Negotiations of Ambaſſador *Whitlock*, he made a firm Alliance with *Sweden*, and brought the *French* Court to ſend over a Lord Ambaſſador to propoſe and even to ſue for his Alliance; and terrified the *Portugal* Ambaſſador into a ready ſigning the Articles of Peace between his Maſter and this Commonwealth and Protector, even on that very Day when his own Brother was Beheaded for a Riot and Murder upon *Tower-hill*. He had no Enemy abroad but *Spain*, againſt whom he prepared a Fleet and Army to attack their *Weſt-Indies*, which gave ſuch an alarm, that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador till then at *London* applied himſelf to his Excellency, to know whether he had any juſt ground of Complaint againſt the King his Maſter, and if ſo, he was ready to give him all poſſible Satisfaction. *Cromwel*, as if he were now to give Laws to the old and the new World, demanded no leſs than a Liberty of trading freely to all parts of the *Weſt-Indies*, and the Court of Inquiſition to be aboliſhed thro' all the *Spaniſh* Territories. To which the Ambaſſador replied, that *his Maſter had but two Eyes, and he muſt not ſuffer them to be both put out at once.* So the Expedition went on, the Fleet commanded by Vice-Admiral *Pen*, and the Army by Colonel *Venables*; their Deſcent on *Hiſpaniola* having no Succeſs nor Honour, they took the Iſland of *Jamaica*; but the General and Admiral had been ſo divided in their Counſels, that after their return they were both put under Confinement by their abſolute Maſter.

Cromwel in effect chuſes his own Parliament.

The Protector's greateſt Game was to manage the approaching Parliament, to this purpoſe he expreſly fixt upon the Set of Members to be ſent out of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, where the Shew of Election was made to concur with his expreſs Nomination. And even in *England* where Liberty was to be a little more pretended, he had ſuch an influence upon the People, and ſuch an awe upon the Sheriffs and Magiſtrates, that very few were returned diſagreeable to his own Deſires. And then to purge out thoſe few, he brought the Trials of Elections into a Committee of his own Council before the opening of the Parliament. So that by the time of ſitting they were to all appearance right and true, except the Lord *Grey of Grooby*, Mr. *John Wildman*, Mr. *Highland*, and one or two other inflexible Republicans, whom therefore by his own Will and Pleaſure he excluded from the Houſe.

Opening of this Parliament.

Sept. 3, (tho' it fell upon a *Sunday*) *Cromwel*, who thought it his fortunate Day, would have to be the Opening of the Parliament, and made the Members after hearing a Sermon in the Abby, wait upon him in the Painted-Chamber, where he made a Speech to them of the cauſe of their Summons, and ſo ſent them to their Houſe to adjourn to the next Day (*b*). On which he had a ſecond Opening in the moſt ſolemn Monarchical manner; he was drawn in a Coach of State (in which his Son *Henry* and *Lambert* ſate with him bare) many hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers walking uncovered, and next before the Coach his Pages and Lackeys in ſplendid Liveries; on each ſide of the Coach, *Strickland* and *Howard* Captains of his Guards; after the Coach *Claypole* Maſter of the Horſe with a led Horſe richly trapp'd, then the Commiſſioners of the Seal and of the Treaſury, and all the principal Men of his Council and Army. He alighted at the Abby Door, and had the Purſe carried before him by *Whitlock*, and the Sword by *Lambert*, and was placed in a Seat raiſed before the Pulpit, the Members of Parliament being diſpoſed on each ſide of him. After a Sermon preach'd by Mr. *Thomas Goodwyn*, his Highneſs went in the ſame Equipage to the *Painted Chamber*, where being ſeated on a Chair of State, with the Members ſitting round upon Benches all bare, he roſe up and made a long Speech to them, telling them firſt of *the Danger of the levelling Principles, and of the Fifth Monarchy Opinions, and of the Form of Godlineſs, and the two bad pretenſions, Liberty of the Subject, and Liberty of Conſcience.* Then he reminded them of the *great Judgments that had fell upon the Nation by the Civil Wars, and by the late Foreign Wars*, and gave them to underſtand, that the Remedy and Deliverance was owing to him. Then he reckon'd up his own Merits, how he had *reformed the Laws, and put good Men into Seats of Juſtice, and regulated the Chancery, and ſettled a way for the approbation of able Miniſters, and had been inſtrumental to call a free Parliament; had made Peace with* Sweden, *with the* Danes, *with the* Dutch, *with* Portugal, *and was now in a Treaty with* France. Then he bid them *take notice of the great Expence of the Forces and the Fleet*; and ended thus, *I ſhall conclude with my Perſwaſion to you, to have a ſweet, gracious, and holy Underſtanding one of another; and put you in mind of the Counſel you heard this Day in order thereunto. And I deſire you to believe, that I ſpeak not to you, as one that would be a Lord over you, but as one that is reſolved to be a fellow Servant with you to the Intereſt of this great Affair* (*c*).

Pomp of *Cromwel*.

His Speech.

Lenthal choſen Speaker.

After he had done, the Members went to their Houſe and choſe the old Speaker Mr. *Lenthal* Maſter of the Rolls, and appointed a Day of Humiliation

(*a*) In theſe Confuſions the Papiſts gain'd Ground. There came out in 8*vo*, 1653, *Legenda Lignea*, an Anſwer to Mr. *Birchley*'s Moderator, pleading for a Toleration of Popery (which had been publiſht in two Parts the Year before) and a Character of ſome hopeful Saints revolted to the Church of *Rome*. A Liſt of fifty three of the chief Revolters printed in red Letters, with Explications of the Character and Condition of them.——

(*b*) I have by me a MS. Journal of this Parliament written by a Member of it, beginning *Sunday*, *Sept.* 3. We met in the Houſe according to our Summons, and there was an appearance of about 300 Members; but we met not there till after Evening Sermon, which was preached in St. *Margaret*'s *Weſtminſter* by Mr. *Marſhall*. About 4 or 5 of the Clock, when the Houſe grew pretty full, ſome Diſcourſe was moved (not concerning the Lawfulneſs of our Meeting this Day, but) how far it might be lawful, being met, to act upon that Day by the Word of God? And ſome thro' pretence of ſcruple of Conſcience, other ſome through impatience, would preſently have riſen and adjourn'd. But General *Lambert* coming into the Houſe, and acquainting them that his Highneſs, the Lord Protector, was in the Painted-Chamber and expected us there, to ſpeak to us, it brake off thoſe little Diſcourſes, and the Houſe (though ſome cried *Sit ſtill*) went to attend his Highneſs's Pleaſure, &c.

(*c*) This long Speech was fairly printed 4*to*. 1654, under this Title; *His Highneſs the Lord Protector's Speech to the Parliament in the Painted Chamber*, delivered on *Monday Sept.* 4, 1654.

for

1654. 6 Car. II. for the credit of beginning with Religion. The Ld. *Clarendon* obſerves, "That their Agreement in chuſing *Lenthal* to be their Speaker was upon very diſagreeing Principles. *Cromwel* having deſign'd him for Lucks-ſake, and being well acquainted with his Temper, concluded that he would be made a Property in this as well as he had been in the Long-Parliament, when he always complied with that Party that was moſt powerful. And the other Perſons who meant nothing that *Cromwel* did, were well pleaſed out of hope, that the ſame Man's being in the Chair might facilitate the renewing and reviving the former Houſe, which they look'd upon as the true legitimate Parliament, ſtrangled by the Tyranny of *Cromwel*, and yet that it had Life enough left in it."

Their next buſineſs was to take into conſideration the *New Articles of Government*; but the Protector finding that inſtead of immediate Confirmation they fell into Debating and Reaſoning about them, he ſent for them to the *Painted-Chamber* Sept. 12, and told them, "That at their firſt meeting he had much more Comfort and Hopes of them than he had now: He was very ſorry to find them falling into Heats and Diviſions; but they muſt remember, that the ſame Government which made them a Parliament made him Protector; and there were ſome things in the Government Fundamental, which could not be altered by them: they were 1. The Government in one Perſon and a Parliament. 2. Parliaments not to be perpetual. 3. The Militia in the Protector as well as in the Parliament. 4. A Liberty of Conſcience in Matters of Religion. That therefore they muſt not meddle with any of theſe fundamental Things: And to prevent their doing ſo, he was neceſſitated to appoint them a *Teſt* or *Recognition* of the Government in a Protector and a Common-wealth, which they ſhould all ſign before they went any more into the Houſe."

A new Teſt impoſed on every Member. The Form of the Recognition was this: *I A. B. do hereby freely promiſe and engage my ſelf, to be True and Faithful to the Lord Protector and the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *and ſhall not (according to the Tenour of the Indenture whereby I am returned to ſerve in this preſent Parliament) propoſe or give any Conſent to alter the Government, as it is ſettled in one ſingle Perſon and a Parliament.* This being ingroſs'd in Parchment, was laid on a Table for the Members to ſign, before they ſhould be qualified to ſit. And thoſe who refuſed, were not only excluded the Houſe, but were ſome of them taken into Cuſtody, among whom was the Protector's late greateſt Creature, Major-General *Harriſon*, now in Cuſtody of a Party of Horſe. This terrified them into this unanimous Vote *Sept.* 19, *That the ſupreme Legiſlative Authority ſhall reſide in a Lord Protector and the People aſſembled in Parliament; and that the preſent Lord Protector ſhall continue during Life*; and brought them to a long Debate, *Whether the Office of Protector ſhould be Elective or Hereditary?* But reſolving it ſhould be Elective, and placing the nomination in a Parliament, and voting, that no Law ſhould be alter'd or repeal'd, nor new Laws made, nor any Tax impoſed, but by Aſſent of Parliament: Theſe and other Claims of Liberty made the Protector weary of them; ſo he required them to attend him in the *Painted-Chamber* January 22, and diſſolved them with a moſt tedious and intricate Speech, beginning thus.

Gentlemen,

His Speech at diſſolving. *I Perceive you are here as the Houſe of Parliament, by your Speaker, whom I ſee here, and by your Faces, which are in a great meaſure known to me.—— There be ſome Trees that will not grow under the ſhadow of other Trees; there be ſome that chuſe (a Man may ſay ſo by way of Alluſion) to thrive under the Shadow of other Trees. I will tell you what hath thriven, I will not ſay what you have cheriſhed, under your Shadow, that were too hard. Inſtead of the Peace and Settlement, inſtead of Mercy and Truth being brought together, Righteouſneſs and Peace kiſſing each other, by reconciling the honeſt People of theſe Nations, and ſettling the woeful Diſtempers that are amongſt us (which had been glorious things, and worthy of Chriſtians to have propoſed) Weeds and Nettles, Briars and Thorns have thriven under your ſhadow, Diſſettlement and Diviſion, Diſcontentment and Diſſatisfaction, together with real Dangers to the whole, have been more multiplied within theſe five Months of your ſitting than in ſome Years before. Foundations have been alſo laid for the future renewing the Troubles of theſe Nations by all the Enemies of it abroad and at home. Let not theſe Words ſeem too ſharp, for they are true, as any Mathematical Demonſtrations are or can be.—— I have troubled you with a long Speech, and I believe it may not have the ſame Reſentment with all that it hath with ſome; but becauſe that is unknown to me, I ſhall leave it to God, and conclude with that, that I think my ſelf bound in my Duty to God, and the People of theſe Nations, to their Safety and Good in every reſpect; I think it my Duty to tell you, that it is not for the profit of theſe Nations, nor for common and publick Good, for you to continue here any longer: and therefore I do declare unto you, that I do diſſolve this Parliament.* (a)

This upbraiding and inſulting way of Diſſolution was ſo very unpopular, that the Protector could never have betrayed himſelf into it, if his Pride and Paſſion had not ſunk his Judgment and Experience of the People of *England*. It gave encouragement to the Royaliſts, and Indignation to the Republicans: So that both Parties for King and Common-wealth were in Rage and Plots and Arms againſt him. Major *John Wildman*, whom he had expell'd the Houſe at firſt Opening of the Seſſion, as much an Enemy to the King as to this Uſurper, was ſeiz'd with a Paper dictated by him, entituled, *The Declaration of the Free and Well-affected People of* England, *now in Arms againſt the Tyrant* Oliver Cromwel, *Eſq;* "Being ſatisfied in our Judgment and Conſciences of the preſent Neceſſity to take up Arms for the Defence of our Native Rights and Freedoms, which are wholly invaded and ſwallowed up in the Pride and Ambition of *Oliver Cromwel*, who calls himſelf Lord Protector of *England*, and hath render'd all *Engliſh*-men no better than his Vaſſals, *&c.*" Wildman's Declaration.

The Character of *John Wildman* and the Account of this Intrigue is thus given by the Lord *Clarendon*. "He had been bred a Scholar in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and being young and of a pregnant Wit, in the beginning of the Rebellion meant to make his Fortune in the War, and choſe to depend upon *Cromwel*'s Countenance and Advice, when he was not above the degree of a Captain of a Troop of Horſe himſelf, and was much eſteem'd and valued by him, and made an Officer, and was ſo active in contriving and fomenting Jealouſies and Diſcontents, and ſo dexterous in compoſing or improving any diſguſts, and ſo inſpired with the Spirit of Praying and Preaching, when thoſe Gifts came into requeſt, and became thriving Arts, that about the time when the King was taken from *Holmby*, and it was neceſſary that the Army ſhould enter into Conteſts with the Parliament, *John Wildman* grew to be one of the principal Agitators, and was moſt relied upon by *Cromwel* to infuſe thoſe things into the Minds of the Soldiers, and to conduct them in the management of their Diſcontents, as might moſt advance thoſe Deſigns he then had; and quickly got the Reputation of a Man of Parts; and having a ſmooth Pen, drew many of the Papers which

(a) The beſt Jeſt in his Speech, was charging the Parliament with their Tyranny over the Conſciences of their Fellow Subjects, and that they were worſe than the Biſhops.——Ye have denied a juſt Liberty to Godly Men——what greater Hypocriſy, than for thoſe who were oppreſſed by the Biſhops, to become the greateſt Oppreſſors themſelves, as ſoon as their Yoak was removed.

1654. 6 Car. II. "firſt kindled the Fire between the Parliament and "the Army, that was not afterwards extinguiſhed "but in the Ruin of both. His Reputation in thoſe "Faculties made him quit the Army, where he was "become a Major, and where he kept ſtill a great "Intereſt, and betake himſelf to Civil Affairs, in "the Sollicitation of Suits depending in the Parlia- "ment, or before Committees, where he had much "Credit with thoſe who had moſt Power to do "Right or Wrong, and ſo made himſelf neceſſary "to thoſe who had need of ſuch Protection from "the Tyranny of the Time. By theſe Arts he thri- "ved, and got much more than he could have done "in the Army, and kept and encreaſed his Credit "there, by the Intereſt he had in other Places. "When *Cromwel* declined the Ways of eſtabliſhing "the Common-wealth, *Wildman*, amongſt the reſt, "forſook him; and enter'd, warily, into any Coun- "ſels which were like to deſtroy him: And upon "the Diſſolution of this laſt Parliament, having "leſs of Flegm, and ſo leſs Patience than other "Men, to expect another Opportunity, and in the "mean time to leave him to eſtabliſh his Greatneſs, "he did believe he ſhould be able to make ſuch a "Schiſm in the Army, as would give an Oppor- "tunity to other enraged Perſons to take Venge- "ance upon him."

Cromwel's Arts to ſave himſelf.

But from a univerſal Odium *Cromwel* ſaved him-ſelf by paying well the Fleet and Army, and diſ-charging all Officers whoſe Fidelity he could ſuſpect; by carrying it very fair with the City of *London*, gi-ving them the Power of their own Militia, under their own old Leader Major *Skippon*; treating them, and accepting of Treats from them; by eaſing the common People from ſome cuſtomary Burdens, and ſome part of their Taxes; and by an indefatigable Induſtry and unbounded Expence in procuring In-telligence, and early cruſhing all Deſigns againſt him. So that tho' his Mother (who died this Year) was continually afraid of her Son's Life, and when ſhe heard the Noiſe of any Gun, would cry out that *her Son was ſhot*, and could not be ſatisfied without ſeeing him to be alive once or twice a Day; and tho' a thouſand of his Enemies did in Conſcience be-lieve, that *Killing* him would be *no Murder*; Yet he eſcaped all Dangers, and even that which a mad Frolick of his own expoſed him to: For going to take the Air in his Coach, drawn by a fine Set of ſix gray *Frizeland* Horſes preſented him by the Duke of *Holſtein*, he muſt needs get up in the Box to drive the Horſes, which he did ſo furiouſly, that they run away, and could not be ſtopp'd till they had thrown him out of the Box, with a grievous Fall, in which the Piſtol in his Pocket fired and flew off, and yet his Perſon had no harm: Only it provoked to a thou-ſand Wiſhes that he had broke his Neck, and this little Lampoon was ſtuck up in his Sight the next Day:

In continual Dangers.

Thrown from a Coach-box.

Ev'ry Day and Hour
Hath ſhewn us his Power,
But now he hath ſhewn us his Art:
His firſt Reproach
Is a Fall from a Coach,
His next will be from a Cart.

The K.'s Condition.

King *Charles* was yet in *France* attending on the Solemnity of the *French* King's Coronation at *Rheims*, and had ſome Overtures for a Match with the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Daughter, with whom he was to have received four Millions in Money, and the Duke's Aſſiſtance for his Reſtoration. But *Mazarine* falling in with *Cromwel* to ſet him upon humbling the *Spaniards*, made the King to be no longer Wel-come or ſafe in the *French* Court. Nor could he hope for any Refuge in *Holland*; for the *States*, in a ſervile Submiſſion to *Cromwel*, had agreed to give Him no Reception; and had, for the ſake of pre-venting any Aid to him, made an Order, that nei-ther the Prince of *Orange*, nor any deſcending from the late King of *England*, ſhould be Admiral of *Hol-land*, or have Power over the Militia. He had ſome Encouragement to adventure once more into *Scot-land*, by the encreaſe of his Forces under *Glencarne* and *Middleton*; and the common Senſe of Slavery, that the People now lay under. But he had ſo lit-tle Love of the Country, and ſo much Experience of the Kirk, that he left the Armies there to com-plain of his not coming to the Head of them, till they were entirely defeated and ſuppreſs'd by Gene-ral *Monk*. In theſe Streights the King went to *Cologne*, rather for a Journey and a Viſit to the *Spaw*, than for any formed Deſign, unleſs that of ſeeing his Aunt the Queen of *Bohemia*, and his Siſter the Prin-ceſs of *Orange*: He waited upon the latter in her Return to *Holland*, as far as *Duſſeldorp*, and was there kindly entertained by the Duke of *Newburgh*. When his Majeſty came back to *Cologne*, the Marqueſs of *Ormond* brought to him his younger Brother the Duke of *Glouceſter*, whom he had honourably taken out from the *Jeſuits-College* at *Paris*, where his Queen Mo-ther would have trained him in the Bigotry of the *Romiſh* Religion (*a*). All that his *Majeſty* could do was, to hold a Correſpondence (which he thought *ſecret*) with his Friends in *England*: but one of his own Court and Confidents, Mr. *Manning*, was cor-rupted by *Cromwel* to betray his Maſter; ſo as the Deſigns were broke before they were perfected. The good Project laid was, to have ſeveral Parties riſe together in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom in the be-ginning of *March*, and ſo to make their way into a common Rendezvous; while the King was waiting on the Coaſt of *Flanders* to come over and command them. But Letters were intercepted, and Perſons apprehended: Sir *Henry Slingsby* in *Yorkſhire*, and Captain *Penruddock* who headed the moſt conſide-rable Party at *Salisbury*, and proclaimed the King at *Blandford*, was taken at *South-Molton* in *Devonſhire* by Captain *Unton Croke*, and with Colonel *Grove* ſoon after Beheaded at *Exeter*; with a multitude of other Royaliſts hanged, impriſoned, fined, and tranſported: For tho' *Cromwel*, in purſuit of his ſole Adminiſtration, had ſhewn ſome ſpecial Favours to the Royal Party, yet now he never ſpared them, be-cauſe their Oppoſition was no longer to the Com-mon-wealth, but to his ſingle Perſon.

State of Religion at the Protector his Pleaſure.

Religion was what the Protector pleaſed to make it, or to call it: The Pretenſion of it was to ſerve his Purpoſe. When he concluded a Peace with *Hol-land*, he appointed a Day of publick Thankſgiving for it. He made ſeveral Ordinances, with Advice of his Council, for the ſeeming End of Reformation of Manners: One to inhibit all Meetings upon Matches made for *Cock-fighting*, adjudging them to be Riots and unlawful Aſſemblies: Another, to re-ſtrain all *Challenges and Duels*, upon the ſevereſt Pe-nalties of long Impriſonment for giving or accepting any Challenge, and of Baniſhment and Death in caſe of Fighting and of Blood enſuing. A *Third* for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of Drunkenneſs, Swearing, and Curſing. A *Fourth* for the ſpeedy Ejectment of Miniſters and Schoolmaſters, for their Ignorance, Inſufficiency, or Scandal in their Lives and Converſations. A *Fifth* for the better Mainte-nance of Preaching-Miniſters, and uniting of ſmall Pariſhes. A *Sixth* for the better Propagation of the Goſpel in *Wales*. In all which the Political Reaſons were eaſie to be diſtinguiſhed from the Glory of God and the good Lives of Men. As to Aſſemblies and Diſcipline, he kept the *Engliſh* Presbyterians in a perfect Submiſſion to his Will, and deſpiſed and ſilen-

His Policy his only Piety.

He humbles the Presbyterians.

(*a*) There was publiſh'd *An exact Narrative of the At-tempts made upon the Duke of* Glouceſter, being the Extract of divers Letters written out of *France* to Perſons of Quality in *England*, and publiſh'd for the ſatisfaction of all true Proteſtants. *London* 1655, 4to.

One of thoſe Letters is from *Paris*, *Nov.* 7, 1654, decla-ring the many Attempts to pervert him by the means of his Mother, and Mr. *Mountague*, Abbot of *Nanteul*; and of the noble Reſiſtance he made to them, by help of his Tutor Mr. *Lovell*, and Mr. *Griffin*, of his Bed-chamber.

1654. 6 Car. II. ſilenced all their Claims of Divine Right. Thoſe indeed of the *Scotch* Kirk laboured ſomewhat longer to keep their Pretenſions up; and on *October* 11, refuſed to obſerve the Faſt-day then ordered by the Protector and his Parliament; declaring it to be a Principle of their Faith and Worſhip, *Not to receive any Directions for the keeping of Faſts from the Civil Magiſtrate.* But a little military Execution ſeems to have brought them off from this Part of the *Holy Diſcipline.* (*a*)

The Parliament little concerned for Religion. The Parliament under the Protector's Guidance, made a general Vote *December* 11, that the true reformed Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion ſhall be publickly profeſſed and maintained: and, That to Bills touching Liberty of Conſcience, the Protector ſhould have a Negative Voice: and, That without Conſent of the Lord Protector and Parliament, no Laws ſhould be made for the reſtraining of ſuch tender Conſciences as ſhall differ in Doctrine, Worſhip, and Diſcipline, from the publick Profeſſion. And yet a Liberty of Conſcience to be given to thoſe only who ſhall not maintain Atheiſm, Popery, Prelacy, Profaneneſs, or any Hereſy to be enumerated by the Parliament. And yet the Protector, in his parting Speech to them, charged them with a Neglect of *giving juſt Liberty to godly Men of different Judgments, Men of the ſame Faith with them that* you call *the Oxthodox Miniſtry in* England, *as it is well known the* Independents *are, and many under the* Form *of Baptiſm, who are ſound in the Faith, only may perhaps be different in Judgment in ſome leſſer matters, yet as true Chriſtians both looking at Salvation only by Faith in the Blood of Chriſt, then profeſſing the Fear of God, having recourſe to the Name of God as to a ſtrong Tower.*

John Biddle. On *Decemb.* 12, the Parliament, upon a juſt Complaint, voted two Books, written by *John Biddle*, to contain many impious and blaſphemous Opinions againſt the Deity of the Holy Ghoſt; and condemned the ſaid Books to be burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman: and bringing the Author to the Bar of their Houſe, committed him to Priſon. *Thomas Firmin* applied to the Protector for his Releaſe, but met with a blunt Reproof, to this effect; *Would you have me diſpleaſe the People for ſuch a louſie ſilly Fellow? There let him lie.*

King *Charles* in the Court of *France*, under the Roof of his Mother, had ſome Trial of his Conſcience and Courage, in reſiſting the little Arguments or rather the Importunities of Popery; while at the ſame time, the Presbyterians, and eſpecially the *Scots*, were ſolliciting his Majeſty to come into their Communion. Theſe two irreconcileable Factions did unite in a Contrivance of removing Sir *Edward Hide* from the King, becauſe both Sides thought him the chief Enemy who oppoſed and prevented their Deſigns. The Lord *Balcarris*, with Dr. *Frazier* and other *Scots*, ſet forth in a Petition, *That the Presbyterian Party had great Affections to ſerve his Majeſty, and much Power to do it; and, that they had many Propoſitions and Advices to offer, but that they were diſcouraged and hinder'd by reaſon that his Majeſty entruſted his whole Affairs to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was an old known and declared Enemy to all their Party: and therefore they beſought his Majeſty that he might be removed,* &c.

Another Petition was prepared in the Name of his Roman Catholick Subjects, which ſaid, *That all his Majeſty's Party which had adhered to him were now totally ſuppreſs'd, and had for the moſt part compounded with his Enemies, and ſubmitted to their Government: That the Church Lands were all ſold, and the Biſhops dead, except very few who durſt not exerciſe their Function; ſo that he could expect no more Aid from any who were concerned to ſupport the Government of the Church as it had been formerly eſtabliſhed: That by the Defeat of* Duke Hamilton's *Party firſt, and then by his Majeſty's ill Succeſs at* Worceſter, *and the total Reduction of the Kingdom of* Scotland *afterwards by* Cromwel, *his Majeſty might conclude what greater Aid he was to expect from the Presbyterian Party. Nothing therefore remained to him of Hope for his Reſtoration, but from the Affection of his Roman Catholick Subjects, to whoſe Power and Aſſiſtance only he muſt, under the Bleſſing of God, owe his Reſtitution. But they had great reaſon to fear, that all theſe Hopes would be obſtructed, unleſs the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a known Enemy to the Catholicks, might be removed from his Majeſty,* &c.

And above all, the two Queen-Mothers of *England* and *France* were more eſpecially diſpleaſed with the ſame Perſon, for the ſame reaſon of prejudicing (as they thought) the King againſt the Catholick Religion. They were continually tempting him upon the Motives of Intereſt, and a more ſpeedy Reſtoration; whereas, had his Majeſty turned Papiſt, it would never have promoted thoſe Hopes; as was frankly owned by a very Cardinal of that Church. The Cardinal *de Retz* had always expreſs'd great Civilities towards the King, and a Deſire to ſerve him; and upon ſome general Conference between them, the Cardinal ask'd the King, *Whether he had made any Attempt to draw any Aſſiſtance from the Pope? and whether he thought that nothing might be done that way to his Advantage?* The King told him, *Nothing had been attempted that way*; and, that *He was better able to judge, whether the Pope was like to do any thing for a Man of his Faith:* The Cardinal ſmiling ſaid, *He had no Thought of ſpeaking of his Faith:* Yet in ſhort, he ſpoke to him like a wiſe and honeſt Man, that *if any Overtures were made him of the Change of his Religion, he muſt tell his Majeſty, it becomes him as a Cardinal to wiſh his Majeſty a Catholick for the ſaving his Soul: but he muſt declare too, That if he did change his Religion, he would never be reſtored to his Kingdoms.* (*b*)

1655. Fleets at Sea. In the Beginning of this Year, *Cromwel* ſent two very great Fleets to Sea; the one under Admiral *Pen*, with a Land Army commanded by General *Venables*; the other under *Blake*, without any Land Forces. The firſt Fleet was, by Commiſſion opened at Sea, bound directly to the *Barbadoes*, where they took in new Men for the Land Army, and ſail'd to *Hiſpaniola*, coming about the middle of *April* to *Santo Domingo*, the chief Port of that Iſland. General *Venables* landed his Men in an ill Place, different from the Orders that *Cromwel* had given, and march'd them through ſuch Woods and uneaſie Paſſages, that the *Spaniards*, with a very unequal Number, beat them back. They advanced again toward the Town, taking Negroes for their Guides, who betrayed them into an Ambuſcade, and they were again ſhamefully repuls'd to the Bay where they landed, with the Loſs of their Major-General, and above ſix hundred Men. They were ſoon compelled to re-imbark themſelves; and then, to recover the Diſgrace, they made another Deſcent on *Jamaica*, and obtained an eaſie Conqueſt of it: and leaving a good Body of Foot to keep Poſſeſſion, they returned to *England*. *Cromwel* was never ſo much diſcompoſed as at this Miſcarriage at *Hiſpaniola*; and as ſoon as they came on ſhore

(*a*) The Quakers began to be very troubleſome in the North, where ſober People took them to be the Spawn of *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits; as is ſufficiently expreſs'd in a Tract publiſhed within this Year, Entituled, *A Declaration of the Miniſters of* Newcaſtle, *againſt the Quakers in thoſe Parts, or the Perfect* Phariſee *under* Monkiſh *Holineſs.* Subſcribed by *Thomas Weld, Richard Prideaux, Samuel Hammond, William Cole, William Durant*, Miniſters in *Newcaſtle.* Printed at *London*, 1654, 4*to.*

(*b*) The King had the leſs Temptation to turn Papiſt, becauſe the Popiſh Party in *England* gave up his Intereſt and Cauſe for loſt; and made obſequious Applications to *Cromwel* Dr. *Bailey* in his Life of *Fiſher*, p. 260, upon occaſion of a Part of the Arms of *P. Innocent* X. a Dove with an Olive Branch in her Mouth, he wittingly quibbled upon the Motto, *Oliva vera.* profoundly applying it to *Oliverus*; and ſaith a Writer, *highly courted* the Protector, with his Seraphick Compariſon of the true *Olive* and *Oliver.*

See in this ſame Year a Letter from Dr. *John Bramhall*, Biſhop of *Derry*, to the Archbiſhop of *Armagh* Dr. *Uſher*, giving an Account of many *Romiſh* Prieſts ſent into *England* to promote Schiſms and Factions, by acting the Parts of Presbyterians and Independents, and juſtifying the Murder of the King. Dated *July* 20. 1654. *Life and Letters of* Uſher. p. 612.

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1655.
7 *Car.* II.

he committed both *Pen* and *Venables* to the *Tower*, and could never be perſwaded to truſt either of them again; and could not, in a long time, ſpeak temperately of that Affair. The other Fleet, under the Command of *Blake*, ſailing into the *Mediterranean*, had better Succeſs, in forcing *Algiers* to the Terms of Submiſſion and Peace, in entring the Harbour of *Tunis*, and burning all the Piratical Ships; Actions of the higheſt Conduct and Courage, which made the Name of the *Engliſh* very terrible and formidable in thoſe Seas. In their Return, a Squadron of our Ships fell in with the *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet, took the Rear-Admiral, and another Ship very richly laden, fired the Vice-Admiral, and run the Admiral on Shore: And ſo coming back to *Portſmouth*, the Bullion was there landed, and carried in Carts to *London*, as a Trophy and Triumph of War.

The Lords Commiſſioners for the Great Seal offend *Cromwel*.

The Commiſſioners for the Great Seal were, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Whitlock*, *Lenthal*, and *Liſle*; of which the three former made their Exceptions againſt executing an *Ordinance* of his Highneſs and his Counſel for the *better regulating and limiting the Juriſdiction of the High Court of* Chancery. Upon which the Protector not ſuffering his Authority or his Acts to be diſputed, ſent for them to the Council-Chamber *June* 6, and there commanded them to lay down the Seal and withdraw; the Protector kept it for ſome Days in his own Poſſeſſion, and on *June* 15, delivered it to Major *Liſle* (one of the old Commiſſioners obſequious to his Maſter's Will) and Colonel *Fienes*; and it was indeed proper enough for Military Men to be Chancellors, while Law and Equity were both at the point of the Sword. However to pleaſe the ejected Commiſſioners, the Protector made *Widdrington* and *Whitlock* Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and continued *Lenthal* in his Favour for old Services.

He turns them out.

Puts the Seal into Military hands.

Libels on the new Government bring on a reſtraint of the Preſs.

State Libels or Reflections on the Tyranny of the Protector and his Miniſters were ſo bold and common, that it was now found expedient to reſtrain that Liberty of the Preſs, which began to turn upon the greateſt Advocates for it: So an Ordinance was made at *Whitehal* in *October*, that *no Perſon preſume to publiſh in Print any Matter of publick News or Intelligence, without leave and approbation of the Secretary of State:* And another Order to enforce the Reſtraint of Printing unlicenſed and ſcandalous Books and Pamphlets, and for regulating of Printing.

The Protector wanted a pretence to increaſe his Standing Army, and therefore improved the Rumours of Plots and Conſpiracies againſt him by the King's Party: So he rais'd more Forces for the double Service of a Terror to reſtrain them, and a Burthen to oppreſs them: For in *November* he publiſhed his Declaration of the Reaſons for *raiſing additional Standing Forces of Horſe in every County, to preſerve the Peace of the Nation from the new Plots and Attempts of the Enemies of the Common-wealth, upon whom he reſolv'd to put the Charge of theſe additional Forces which they themſelves have occaſioned, and not upon the honeſt Party who have already ſo much ſuffered.* This Proceeding is ſeverely cenſured by one of his own late Creatures and a fellow Judge, *Edmund Ludlow*, Eſq; "Tho' (ſays he) he had lately ſo meanly ſtoop'd to court the Cavalier Party, and thereby highly provoked his ancient Friends to a juſt Jealouſie and Indignation, he reſolved now to fall upon them, and to break thro' all their Compoſitions, even the Act of oblivion it ſelf, in the obtaining and paſſing of which he had ſo great a hand. To this end he commanded a tenth part of their Eſtates to be levied, in order, as he pretended, to maintain thoſe extraordinary Forces, which their turbulent and ſeditious Practices obliged him to keep up. In defence of which oppreſſion I could never yet hear one Argument offer'd that carried any weight, either with reſpect to Juſtice or Policy: For having by his Treachery and Uſurpation diſobliged thoſe with whom he firſt engaged, he ſeemed to have no other way left to ſupport himſelf, but by ballancing his new with his old Enemies, whom by this freſh Act of Injuſtice, he render'd deſperate and irreconcileable, they being not able to call any thing their own, whilſt by the ſame Rule that he ſeiz'd one Tenth, he might alſo take away the other Nine Parts at his pleaſure. And to put this deteſtable Project in execution, he divided *England* into Cantons, over each of which he placed a Baſhaw under the Title of Major-General, who was to have the Inſpection and Government of inferior Commiſſioners in every County, with Orders to ſeize the Perſons, and diſtrain the Eſtates of ſuch as ſhould be refractory, and to put in execution ſuch farther directions as they ſhould receive from him."—— Things ran every Day more and more into confuſion, the Cavaliers being enraged to ſee the Throne uſurp'd, and thoſe who had hazarded all for their Country finding themſelves cheated; Cuſtom and Exciſe raiſed without Authority of Parliament, and Taxes impoſed to no other end than to ſupport the Pride and Inſolence of a ſingle Perſon. Some there were that openly oppoſed theſe Oppreſſions, and amongſt ſome others Mr. *George Cony* a Merchant, who having refuſed to pay Cuſtom, it was violently taken from him, and he thereupon ſued the Collector at the Common Law. But *Cromwel* reſolving to put a ſtop to ſuch dangerous Pecedents, cauſed the Council for Mr. *Cony*, who were Serjeant *Maynard*, Serjeant *Twiſden*, and Mr. *Wadham Windham*, to be ſent to the *Tower*, where they had not been above three or four Days, when they unworthily petition'd to be ſet at Liberty, acknowledging their Fault, and promiſing to do ſo no more, chuſing rather to ſacrifice the Cauſe of their Client, wherein that of their Country was alſo eminently concerned, than to endure a little Reſtraint with the loſs of the Fees of a few Days. By this means, when the Cauſe came to the next Hearing, Mr. *Cony* was neceſſitated to Plead for himſelf, which he did in as ſhort a manner as he could, referring it wholly to the Judge, whether that Tax, being not authorized by Parliament, ought to be paid by the Law of the Land; and declaring that he would abide by his Judgment therein. Serjeant *Rolls*, then Chief Juſtice of the Upper-Bench, tho' a Conſcientious Man, and a lover of Civil Liberty, yet not daring to determine it for him, ſaid *That ſomething muſt be allowed to Caſes of Neceſſity*. To which Mr. *Cony* replied, *That it was never wont to be a good Plea in Law, for a Man to make Neceſſities and then to plead them.* But the Judge wanting Courage would not give Judgment againſt the Uſurper, and being too much an honeſt Man to give it for him, he took time till the next enſuing Term, to conſider what Rule he ſhould give in the Caſe. In the mean time upon conſideration, that his continuance in that Station was like to enſnare him more and more, he deſired by a Letter to *Cromwel* to have his *Quietus*, and Serjeant *Glyn* was appointed to ſucceed him—— who before he came to ſit on the Bench took care to have this Buſineſs accommodated with *Cony*, who loſt his Reputation by withdrawing himſelf from a Cauſe wherein the Republick was ſo much concern'd. Sir *Peter Wentworth* a Member of the Long Parliament cauſed alſo a Collector in the Country to be arreſted and proſecuted at his Suit, tho' he could hardly procure an Attorney to appear, or Council to plead for him. *Cromwel* having received notice of this Proſecution, ſent a Meſſenger with an Order to bring him before the Council; where being examined concerning the Ground of his Proceeding, he told them, that he was moved to it by his conſtant Principle, that *by the Law of* England *no Money ought to be levied upon the People without their Conſent in Parliament*. *Cromwel* then ask'd him, Whether he would withdraw his Action or no? To which he replied, *If you will command me I muſt ſubmit*; and thereupon *Cromwel* having commanded it, he withdrew his Action.—— Not contenting himſelf with the Death of many of thoſe who had raiſed Arms againſt him, and ſeizure of

1655.
7 *Car.* II.

All People weary of Arbitrary Government.

Council impriſoned for pleading for their Client.

Rolls Ch. Juſtice of the Upper Bench ſucceeded by Serjeant *Glyn*.

Sir *Peter Wentworth* hector'd out of Juſtice, by *Cromwel*.

1655. 7 *Car.* II.

of the Goods of that Party, he tranſported whole Droves of them at a time into Foreign Parts, without any Illegal Tryal, *&c.*

Condition of the King.

The King, with no proſpect of Return, continu'd his Reſidence at *Cologne*; and went thence with the Princeſs Royal, and the Duke of *Glouceſter*, for the Diverſion of ſeeing the Mart at *Frankfort*: In their Paſſage through every *Prince's* Country, the chief Officers of State were ſent to complement them, and they were ſaluted with the great *Guns*, and other Marks of Honour. The Elector of *Mentz* entertain'd them for three Days with great Magnificence. The King hearing that Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden* was coming that way in her Journey to *Italy*, ſent one of his Lords to ſalute her in his Name, and to expreſs his Deſire to wait upon her Majeſty at what place ſhe would appoint. She named *Coningſten*, where they met and had private Conference together.

His Majeſty return'd to *Cologne* about the end of *October*, where (as the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves) the Magiſtrates of the City renewed their Civilities and Profeſſions of Reſpect to the King, which they always made good: Nor could his Majeſty have choſen a more convenient Retreat in any place: And he being well refreſh'd with the Divertiſements he had enjoyed, betook himſelf with great Chearfulneſs to compoſe his Mind to his Fortune; and with a marvellous Contentedneſs, preſcribed ſo many Hours in the Day to his retirement in his Cloſet, which he employed in Reading and Studying both the *Italian* and *French* Languages; and at other times walked much upon the Walls of the Town, (for he had no Coach, nor would ſuffer his Siſter to leave him one) and ſometimes rid into the Fields; and, in the whole, ſpent his time very well. The Nuncio of the Pope reſided in that City, and perform'd all reſpects to his Majeſty: He was a proper and grave Man, an *Italian* Biſhop, who never made the leaſt ſcruple at his Majeſty's enjoying the Liberty of his Chapel, and the Exerciſe of his Religion, tho' it was very publick.

The Royaliſts perſecuted.

Upon ſuppreſſion of the Riſing at *Saliſbury*, at the end of the preceding Year, ſo many of the Royaliſts were Beheaded, Hanged and Tranſported, that no farther Motions of Loyalty could be now made. Of the King's Friends, the noble *James* Duke of *Richmond* died of a Quartan Ague, having never had his Health nor his Spirits ſince the deplorable Death of his beloved Maſter: The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and the Lord *Newport*, upon ſuſpicion of Treaſon, were committed to the *Tower*; while the Lord *Lauderdale* and his Brother, by Interceſſion of the King of *Sweden*, were releaſed from their Impriſonment in *Windſor-Caſtle*.

Religion order'd for the ſole Intereſt of *Cromwel*.

Religion was now allow'd to be every thing that did not diſturb the Poſſeſſion of *Cromwel*. Sectaries were licentious and innumerable; and under that Advantage, Popery made the more conſiderable progreſs. The Protector indeed, for Reaſons of State, did in *May* publiſh his Proclamation for the better *Execution of the Laws againſt Jeſuits and Prieſts, and for Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants* (*a*). But one of his principal Judges, Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, declared his Opinion to be for no way of penal Proceeding againſt them; becauſe, ſays he, *there was not a fixed Settlement, and, ſo, great Pretences of Liberty of Conſcience.* And well might the Papiſts hope for Indempnity, when the *Jews* were treating for purchaſe of the ſame Privilege.

Papiſts and Jews encouraged.

Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael made his ſtated Propoſals, and had a Conference upon them, for admitting the *Jewiſh* Nation to exerciſe Trade and Worſhip in *England*. The Protector, to ſhew a regard to Chriſtianity, ſent for divers Miniſters of the Goſpel, and laid thoſe Propoſals before them, and referred the Matter, as a Caſe of Conſcience, to their Conſideration (*b*).

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Death of Biſhop *Goodman*.

At the latter end of this Year died Dr. *Godfrey Goodman*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and with great ſcandal declared himſelf, in his laſt Will, to *die in the Faith and Communion of the Mother Church of* Rome. He had before given many Cauſes of ſuſpicion; for on the fifth *Sunday* in *Lent*, 1626, in a Sermon before the King, he aſſerted the *Real Preſence* in ſuch a groſs way, as gave very great Offence to all the judicious Auditors: and on *March* 29, it occaſion'd a juſt Complaint and Debate in the Convocation. The King referred it to a Committee of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, who made a very tender Report; "That "ſome things were therein ſpoken leſs cautiouſly, "but nothing falſely; nor was any thing innovated "by him in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: "however, it was beſt the Biſhop ſhould preach "the Sermon again at ſome time to be choſen by "himſelf, and ſhould then ſhew how and wherein "he was miſunderſtood by his Auditors." Whatever *Salvo* this was to cover up Scandal, yet wiſer People thought him then preparing his Faith for Tranſubſtantiation. He again betray'd himſelf in the Convocation of 1640, when he was the only Member who refuſed to ſubſcribe the Canons; for which ſingle Diſſent, the Archbiſhop told him, *He muſt be either a Papiſt, or Socinian, or Puritan*: He did at laſt comply, but with ſo much Reluctancy, that he confirmed himſelf in the Character of a reputed Papiſt. It is no Scandal to the Church of *England*, that this Man was the only Biſhop who made his Addreſſes to *Cromwel*, and dedicated a Book to his *Excellence*, (A Diſcourſe concerning the Trinity and Incarnation, *London* 1653, 4*to*.) with Flattery, and a ſervile Petition for *hearing his Cauſe, and for doing Juſtice to him.* It is farther remarkable, that as this was the only Apoſtate Biſhop of our Church ſince the Reformation, ſo he was the only one who left Children to beg their Bread: I ſaw the Example at my own Doors; where an old Woman, a common travelling Beggar, uſed this Argument to incite my Charity, that *ſhe was the Daughter of Biſhop Goodman*: and tho' at firſt I ſuſpected the Truth, yet upon Enquiry from her after the Perſon, Fortune, and even Writings of Biſhop *Goodman*, I found ſhe might well bear that near Relation to him.

The Endeavours of the Queen-Mother to pervert the Duke of *Glouceſter*, were a great Trouble to the King in the midſt of his other Sufferings. This young Prince, with his Siſter *Elizabeth*, had been committed in 1648, to the Counteſs of *Leiceſter*, and entertain'd by her with little Ceremony at *Penſhurſt* in *Kent*; but for fear of a Reſpect paid to them, they were ſoon after ſent away into the *Iſle of Wight* to *Cariſbrook-Caſtle*, to be under the Cuſtody of Captain *Mildmay*, who was ſtrictly commanded, that *no Perſon ſhould be permitted to kiſs their Hands, and that they ſhould not be otherwiſe treated than as the Children of a Gentleman*: which *Mildmay* obſerved very exactly; and the Duke of *Glouceſter* was not called by any other Stile than *Maſter Harry*. The Princeſs died in this Place; and at laſt Mr. *Lovel*, the Duke's Tutor, procured from *Cromwel* an Order and Warrant to Tranſport the Duke into any Parts beyond the Seas. By which means the Duke was brought ſafe to his Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange* in *Holland*, at the latter end of 1652. The Queen very earneſtly deſired he might be preſently ſent for to *Paris*, ſhe having not ſeen him ſince he was about a Year old. The King could not refuſe to ſatisfie his Mother in ſo reaſonable a Deſire; tho' he did ſuſpect that there might be a farther Purpoſe in that Deſign of ſeeing him than was then own'd. When the King left *Paris* in *June* 1654, to retire into *Germany*, the

(*a*) And in his Declaration, publiſhed by Advice of Council *Octob.* 31, 1655, he ſaid; It is not only commonly obſerved, but there remains with *Us* ſomewhat of *Proof*, that Jeſuits have been found among diſcontented Parties in this Nation, who are obſerved to quarrel and fall out with every Form or Adminiſtration in the Church or State.

(*b*) See, *A Caſe of Conſcience*, whether it be lawful to admit *Jews* into a Chriſtian Commonwealth, reſolved by Mr. *John Dury*: Written to *Samuel Hartlib* Eſq; on occaſion of the Demands of *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael* for their Liberty and Protection. Dated *Caſſel January* 8, 1655-6. *London*. 4*to*. 1656.

A ſhort Demurrer to the *Jews* long diſcontinued Remitter into *England*, by *William Prynne*; in two Parts. The firſt dated *Decemb.* 14, 1655, the other *Febr.* 1, following, from *Lincoln's-Inn*. *London* 4to. 1656.

Queen

1655. 7 *Car.* II. Queen aſk'd, with great importunity, that he would leave the Duke of *Glouceſter* with her, and offer'd ſuch Arguments as would have eaſily prevailed, had it not been for the fear that the Purpoſe was to pervert him in his Religion; which when the Queen had aſſured the King was not in her Thought, and *that ſhe would not permit any ſuch Attempt to be made*, his Majeſty conſented to it. But for all this Faith given, the Queen's Zeal did exceed and diſpenſe with the Obligation of it: For (as the Lord *Clarendon* relates) *Within a ſhort time after his Majeſty's Return to* Cologne, *he received News that exceedingly afflicted him, and the more, that he knew not what Remedy to apply to the Miſchief which he ſaw was likely to befal him upon it. From* Paris, *his Majeſty heard that the Queen had put away the Tutor he had left to attend his Brother the Duke of* Glouceſter; *who remain'd at* Paris *upon her Majeſty's deſire, that he might learn his Exerciſes. The Queen had conferr'd with him upon the deſperateneſs of his Condition, in reſpect of the King his Brother's Fortune, and the little Hope that appeared that his Majeſty could ever be reſtor'd, at leaſt if he did not himſelf become Roman Catholick, whereby the Pope, and other Princes of that Religion, might be united in his Quarrel; which they would never undertake upon any other Obligation: That it was therefore fit that the Duke, who had nothing to ſupport him, nor could expect any thing from the King, ſhould be inſtructed in the Roman Catholick Religion; that ſo, becoming a good Catholick, he might be capable of thoſe Advantages which her Majeſty ſhould be able to procure for him: That the Queen of* France *would hereupon confer Abbies and Benefices upon him to ſuch a Value as would maintain him in that Splendor as was ſuitable to his Birth: That in a little time the Pope would make him a Cardinal; by which he might be able to do the King his Brother much Service, and contribute to his Recovery; whereas, without this, he muſt be expoſed to great Neceſſity and Miſery, for that ſhe was not able any longer to give him Maintenance.* She found the Duke more reſolute than ſhe expected from his Age: He was ſo well inſtructed in his Religion, that he diſputed againſt the Change, urg'd the Precepts he had received from the King his Father, and his dying in the Faith he had preſcribed to him; put her Majeſty in mind of the Promiſe ſhe had made to the King his Brother at parting; and acknowledg'd that he had obliged himſelf to his Majeſty, *that he would never change his Religion; and therefore beſought her Majeſty that ſhe would not farther preſs him, at leaſt till he ſhould inform the King of it.* The Queen well enough knew the King's mind, and thought it more excuſable to proceed in that Affair without imparting it to him; and therefore took upon her the Authority of a Mother, and removed his Tutor from him, and committed the Duke to the Care of Abbot *Mountague*, her Almoner; who having the pleaſant Abby of *Pontoiſe*, entertained his Highneſs there, ſequeſtred him from all Reſort of ſuch Perſons as might confirm him in his Averſeneſs from being Converted.

1656. *Cromwel* was more in Power and Dread, abroad and at home, than perhaps ever any *Engliſh* Monarch was: He wanted nothing but a Name; and he was ſenſible he could not have the Name of a King without a Parliament. He wanted no Forces to be raiſed; for he had augmented them at his own Pleaſure. Nor did he want Money to ſupply his great occaſions; for he had Ways and Means alway in his own Hands. Nor had he any Love to ſee a Parliament ſitting; for he had parted with two former Aſſemblies in the moſt rough and odious manner. So that really he could have no Inclinations and no occaſions for a new Seſſion, but only to make a Party for a Crown. To this purpoſe, he was to get an Awe and a Rule upon Elections: So beſide his ſtanding Force of Major Generals in every County and chief Corporation, he ſet up a new Office of Purgatory, called, *A Committee for Inſpection of Charters*; of which Mr. *Gabriel Beck*, Sollicitor to his Highneſs, was Chairman; and their Conſults were all to be reported to the Protector and his Council: By which means the

Cromwel at the higheſt pitch of Glory.

Thinks of a new Parliament.

Boroughs and Corporations were influenced or modelled as his Highneſs and his Court pleaſed. This 1656. 8 *Car.* II. Menage for a new Parliament is thus delivered by an old Aſſociate of *Cromwel's*. *The Uſurper having governed, as he thought, long enough by Virtue of the Inſtrument of Government, which, tho' drawn up by himſelf and his Creatures, was now thought to lay too great a Reſtraint upon his ambitious Spirit; and reſolving to reſt ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the Succeſſion of his Family to the Crown, he attempted to make himſelf King. To this end, he thought it neceſſary to call a Parliament: and that he might engage the Army to aſſiſt him in all Parts to procure ſuch Men to be choſen as would be fit for his purpoſe; he pretended that this Aſſembly was called only in order to raiſe Money for the Payment of the Army and Fleet, to confirm the Authority of the Major Generals, and that of the Inſtrument of Government. By this means he obtained his Deſires in a great meaſure, eſpecially in* Scotland *and* Ireland, *where all kinds of Artifice, and in many Places the moſt irregular Courſes were taken, to get ſuch Men returned as were propoſed by the Court. But knowing the People of* England *not to be of ſo mercenary a Spirit, and that as they were better inſtructed in the Principles of Civil Liberty, ſo they were not wanting in Courage to aſſert it; he uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to diſable and incapacitate ſuch Men from being choſen, whom he thought moſt likely to obſtruct his Deſigns. In order to this, he ſummoned the Lord Preſident* Bradſhaw, *Sir* Henry Vane, *Col.* Rich, *and my ſelf (Col.* Ludlow) *to appear before him in Council.* ——*Col.* Rich *was ſent Priſoner to* Windſor-Caſtle.—— *Col.* Ludlow *was ordered to be taken into Cuſtody.*—— *Sir* Henry Vane *was ſent Priſoner to* Cariſbrook-Caſtle.—— *And* Bradſhaw, *tho' ſuffered to go his Circuit as Chief Juſtice of* Cheſter, *had Letters ſent after him to deter People from giving their Voices for him.*

On *Sept.* 16, this Party of a Parliament met the Lord Protector in the Abby Church at *Weſtminſter*, where they heard a Sermon preached by a prime Creature and very Confeſſor of *Cromwel*, Dr. *John Owen*, Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, and Vice-Chancellour of *Oxford*, on *Iſa.* 14. 32. *What ſhall one then anſwer the Meſſengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded* Zion, *and the Poor of his People ſhall truſt in it.* A Sermon calculated for the new Monarchy projected. After this, his Highneſs and the Members went into the Painted Chamber, where he made a dark Speech to them, and ſent them away to their Houſe for Admiſſion or Excluſion, according as he and his Council had thought meet: for, at the Doors of the Houſe they found a Guard, and an Officer ſtanding with a Liſt in his Hand, and demanding the Names of every Perſon: Such as were mark'd for Non-admittance were turned back, and ſuch as had been approved for right truſty Men, took a Ticket to introduce them, in this form; *Theſe are to certifie, that* A. B. *is returned by Indenture one of the* —— *to ſerve in this preſent Parliament for the ſaid*—— *and is approved by his Highneſs's Council.* Nath. Tayler *Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery.* 17 Sept. 1656. Old *Ludlow* repreſents the Matter right: "The Court finding by the Liſts they had received, "that notwithſtanding all their Menaces, Promiſes, "and other Artifices, divers Perſons were choſen "whom they knew to be no Favourers of the Uſur-"pation, reſolved to clear their Hands of them at "once. And to that end, under colour of a Clauſe "in the Inſtrument of Government, that none ſhould "be admitted to Places of Power and Truſt, but "ſuch as were Men of Sincerity and Integrity, they "gave an Excluſion to Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* and Mr. "*Scot*, with as many more as they thought fit. By "this means, and the Refuſal of others to take out "their Permiſſions to ſit from *Cromwel* and his "Council, as was required, leſt they ſhould ſeem "to countenance ſuch a deteſtable Impoſition, and "open Breach of Privilege; it came to paſs, that "about a hundred of thoſe who were elected by "the Country, were excluded from the Diſcharge "of their Truſt; whilſt thoſe for *Ireland* and *Scot-*"*land*, who were choſen by and for the Sword, were

The Parliament meets.

" admitted

1656. 8 *Car.* II.

"admitted without any ſcruple. Thoſe that were "excluded preſented a Petition to the ſitting Members, acquainting them, that being choſen by the "Country to ſerve with them, they were ready to "diſcharge their Duty, but were prevented from "doing the ſame by the Power of the Sword, and "refuſed Admittance into the Houſe by a Guard "of Soldiers. After the Petition had been read, a "Committee was ſent to enquire of *Cromwel* and "his Council concerning the Reaſons of that Pro- "ceeding; who returned with this Anſwer, That "if the Perſons complaining would addreſs them- "ſelves to them, they ſhould be relieved if there "was cauſe. With this Anſwer, theſe Men who "would be accounted an *Engliſh* Parliament acqui- "eſced, leaving their Privileges unvindicated, and "the Merit of Elections to Parliament to be ad- "judged by Men without Doors." The Lord *Clarendon* repreſents it thus: "When upon the Re- "turns *Cromwel* found, that tho' in ſome places he "had ſucceeded according to his Wiſh, it was in "others quite the contrary, and that very many "Members were return'd, who were Men of the "moſt notorious Malignity againſt him; he there- "fore reſorted to his old Security, to keep all man- "ner of Perſons from entring into the Houſe, who "did not firſt ſubſcribe, that *they would act nothing "prejudicial to the Government, as it was eſtabliſhed "under a Protector*; which being tender'd, many "Members utterly refuſed, and returned into their "Countries, where they were not for the moſt part "the worſe welcome for inſiſting upon their Pri- "vileges and Freedom of Parliament."

The Excluded Members ſeeing no Redreſs appeal'd to the People in a Remonſtrance or Proteſtation, ſetting forth, that "The Lord Protector had by force "of Arms invaded their fundamental Right and "Liberty, and violently prevented the meeting of "the Peoples choſen Deputies in Parliament; and "concluding with an appeal unto God and all the "good People of *England* for Aſſiſtance and Prote- "ction in their Service, —— and pouring out their "ſad Complaints before the Lord againſt our power- "ful Oppreſſors, humbly hoping that he will come "forth ſpeedily, to redeem his People out of the "hands of wicked and deceitful Men." But all this to no effect, becauſe moſt of the Subſcribers, *Haſlerig, Scot, Jones, Goodwyn*, &c. had been violent Rebels to the juſt Prerogatives of the King, and were the more fit and worthy to fall a juſt Sacrifice to an Arbitrary Power in an Accomplice and late Equal of their own.

The ſitting Members with Sir *Thomas Widdrington* their Speaker, being all diſpoſed to follow Inſtructions, began the firſt Day of Buſineſs *Sept.* 18, with reſolving upon a Declaration for a general Faſt throughout the three Nations; and with reading a Bill for *renouncing and diſanulling the pretended Title of* Charles Stuart. This was to make the Throne more expreſly vacant for the reception of *Cromwel*, who was to carry his Point chiefly by his Major Generals and other Military Officers; but when he ſaw them fall ſhort in their Intereſt or Zeal, he dropped them and Sacrificed them in the moſt ungrateful manner. "It "was ſuppoſed that *Cromwel* who had erected their "Authority, and engaged them in thoſe Actions, "for which they were now become odious, would "ſupport them againſt all Attempts, becauſe there "appeared now no way ſo probable to maintain his "own Power, as by keeping the Army firmly united "to him. But Ambition had corrupted his Under- "ſtanding to that degree, that he made no ſcruple "to ſacrifice theſe Men, who, to ſay no worſe, had "enlarged their Conſciences to an extraordinary ſize "in the execution of his Orders, to thoſe who in re- "quital of the Favour had promiſed to make him "King. Hitherto he had given good Words to the "Major Generals; but when their Power came to "be debated, Mr. *Cleypole* his Son-in-Law firſt ſtood "up, which was unuſual for him to do at all, and "told the Houſe, that he could but ſtart the Game, "and leave thoſe who had more Experience to fol- "low the Chace; and therefore ſhould only ſay, "that he had formerly thought it neceſſary, in reſ- "pect to the Condition in which the Nation had "been, that the Major Generals ſhould be entruſted "with the Authority which they had exerciſed; but "in the preſent ſtate of Affairs, he conceived it in- "conſiſtent with the Laws of *England*, and Liberties "of the People, to continue their Power any lon- "ger. This Motion was a clear Direction to the "Sycophants of the Court, who being fully perſua- "ded that *Cleypole* had delivered the Senſe, if not "the very Words of *Cromwel* in this Matter, joined "as one Man in oppoſing the Major Generals, and "ſo their Authority was abrogated." Soon after Colonel *William Jephſon*, one of the Members that ſerved for *Ireland*, moved in the Houſe, *That* Cromwel *might be made King*; but matters not being throughly concerted, *it had no other effect than to ſound the Inclinations of the Aſſembly*.

Proceedings of this Parliament.

Motion for *Cromwel* to be King.

The Parliament did every thing elſe to gratifie the Protector. They reſolv'd *Oct.* 1, that *the War againſt the* Spaniard *was undertaken upon juſt and neceſſary Grounds, and for the good of the People of the Commonwealth, and that the Parliament doth approve thereof, and will by God's bleſſing aſſiſt his Highneſs therein*. And immediately after this Vote, came the News of Captain *Stayner's* Engagement with the *Weſt-India Spaniſh* Fleet, and taking two Millions of Silver, which were brought home and delivered into the Mint, and a Day of ſolemn Thankſgiving appointed for this Joy to *Cromwel*, who ſeemed now to borrow from one Crown a ſufficient Fund to purchaſe another.

Acts paſſed by *Cromwel*.

Novem. 27, the Protector came in State to the Painted-Chamber, and like a Sovereign paſſed theſe Bills. 1. An Act that paſſing of Bills ſhall not determine this preſent Seſſion of Parliament. 2. An Act for renouncing and diſannulling the pretended Title of *Charles Stuart*. 3. An Act for the ſecurity of his Highneſs the Lord Protector his Perſon, and continuance of the Nation in Peace and Safety. 4. An Act for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries. 5. An Act for the Exportation of ſeveral Commodities of the Breed, Growth and Manufacture of this Commonwealth (*a*).

Syndercomb's Plot.

A Plot againſt the Life of *Cromwel* was another good advantage to him: *Miles Syndercomb* a Leveller, caſhier'd in *Scotland*, combined with one *Cecil* and one *Troop* of *Cromwel's* Life-guard (who betrayed him) to kill the Protector by ſome one of ſeveral ways propoſed. *Syndercomb* denied the Plot, but was condemned upon the Stat. 25 *E.* 3. which the Chief Juſtice *Glynne* declared to be Treaſon in caſe of a Protector as much as of a King, ſince by the word King any chief Magiſtrate was underſtood. The Priſoner was found dead in the Morning appointed for his Execution; ſo his Body was tied with his Head forward to a Horſe's Tail, and dragged naked to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, and under that Buried with a Stake driven thro' him, covered with Iron at the top, to ſtand the more durable Mark of Infamy. And *Feb.* 20, was appointed for a Day of publick Thankſgiving for this great Mercy and Deliverance; when after a Sermon at St. *Margaret's*, the Protector treated the Speaker and all the Members in the Banquetting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, with ſo much Endearment, that on the very next Day Alderman *Pack* moved again in the Houſe, that to prevent the like Dangers, and to compoſe the Minds of Men, *the Pro-*

Another Motion for *Cromwel* to be King.

(*a*) The Quakers had been ſo extravagantly Mad that the other Parties were highly incenſed againſt them. Mr. *Bugg* in his *Hidden things brought to Light*, Part III. p. 256. mentions ſeveral Petitions delivered to this Parliament againſt the Exorbitances of *Quakers*, and gives the Copy of one from the County of *Lancaſter* againſt *George Fox* and *James Naylor*. He recites the Sentence of this Parliament againſt *James Naylor* for his Blaſphemy on *Wedneſday December* 16, 1656, with the Protector's Letter to the Speaker on that occaſion, Dated 25, *December* 1656, declaring, that he deteſted and abhorred either giving or occaſioning the leaſt Countenance to Perſons of ſuch Opinions and Practices.

1656. 8 Car. II.

tector might be deſired to aſſume the Title and Authority of King, as the moſt known and moſt agreeable Government. But the Major Generals and Military Members, who now thought themſelves deſerted and highly affronted, out of Revenge on the Protector fell in with the Commonwealth Party, "And turn'd "(ſays *Ludlow*) ſo furiouſly upon *Pack*, for his "great Preſumption in bringing a buſineſs of that "Nature into the Houſe in ſuch an unparliamentary "way, that they bore him down from the Speaker's "Chair to the Bar of the Houſe of Commons. But "this Heat being ſoon over, the Lord *Broghil*, Serjeant *Glyn*, and others, who were acquainted with "*Cromwel*'s Deſign, endeavoured to perſwade the "Houſe to debate the new Form, telling them, that "being Maſters of their own Reſolutions, they "might retain as much of it as was good, and reject what was not ſo. By this means they brought "it to be debated; and tho' they received ſome oppoſition therein, yet when it came to be put to the "Queſtion, they carried all before them, and grew "ſo hardy to move, that the Blank left for the Inſertion of the Title of the Chief Magiſtrate might "be filled up with the name of King. This motion "though earneſtly oppoſed by Lieutenant-General "*Fleetwood*, was carried alſo, and the Name voted, "together with the filling up the two Blanks left "for the two Houſes, with the words Houſe of "Commons and other Houſe."

The King kept his Court at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, and had many Conſultations with the Governor *Don John* how to make the *Spaniſh* Intereſt and his own ſubſervient to each other. But all his Majeſty was enabled to do, was to Liſt ſome Regiments of his own Native Subjects into Service and Pay, to be quarter'd in *Flanders* for ſome opportune Expedition which did not yet offer.

State of Religion.

The Church was nothing but the Remnant of Preſbytery old and weak, with no Power in Effect but what came from the Protector and the Parliament; who now would allow no Aſſembly of Divines, nor indeed any Doctrine or Diſcipline but what ſhould occaſionally depend on their Votes and Orders. Under many Effuſions of Religious Phrenſie, the Quakers were extremely Mad, one diſturbed the Preacher in *Whitechappel* Church with ſuch an impulſe, that a Complaint was made to the Protector, who order'd him to be carried to a Juſtice of Peace, and proceeded againſt according to Law. Another pretending to an immediate Meſſage from God, went about the Streets denouncing his Judgments againſt the Protector and his Council. A third infatuated Quaker in *Colcheſter* ſtarved himſelf to Death, upon claim of a Commiſſion from the Spirit that he muſt faſt 40 Days (*a*). But the moſt impudent of all Mortals was *James Naylor*, a late Soldier under *Lambert*, who propoſing to outdo *Ignatius Loyola*, ſet up to be *Jeſus* himſelf in Perſon, and ſo with Garb, Hair and Looks, exactly in reſemblance of the Pictures of our Bleſſed Saviour, he went about with Diſciples and Women miniſtring unto him: And ſo enter'd *Briſtol* with Women and Mob crying *Hoſanna, Bleſſed*, &c. and giving no other Anſwer to any Queſtion but *thou haſt ſaid it*. The Magiſtrates of that City ſent him up to *Weſtminſter*, where the Houſe reſolv'd *Decemb.* 8, that *James Naylor* was guilty of horrid Blaſphemy, and was a grand Impoſtor, and a great Seducer of the People; and ordered the Speaker to pronounce this Judgment againſt him; *To ſtand in the Pillory two Hours at* Weſtminſter; *to be whipped by the Hangman through the Streets from* Weſtminſter *to the* Old Exchange, *and there to ſtand in the Pillory two Hours more: his Tongue bored thro' with a hot Iron, and his Forehead ſtigmatized with the Letter* B; *to be afterward ſent to* Briſtol, *and conveyed thro' the City on a Horſe bare backed, and his Face backward, and his Body whipped in the Market-place. Thence to be brought back to* London, *and committed to Priſon in* Bridewel, *and there to be reſtrained from all Company, and to have no Relief but what he earns from hard Labour; and being debarred from the uſe of Pen, Ink and Paper, ſhall be kept to continual work, till he ſhall be releaſed by the Parliament.* It was ſome reproach to humane Nature, that this wretched Fellow under all his Sufferings had ſome of his Followers to admire him and to adore him; to lick his Wounds, to kiſs his Feet, to lean in his Boſom, to do all that was prodigiouſly Impious and Silly. When he came firſt to *Bridewel*, to act on the Impoſture, he faſted three Days; but then Fleſh and Blood beginning to quarrel with the Spirit, he begged for Victuals, and fell to Work: At the return of the Rump he obtained his Liberty, and died ſoon after with no Fruits, nor ſo much as Signs, of Repentance (*b*)."

Madneſs of the Quakers.

Blaſphemy of James Naylor.

Sentence againſt him.

Polyglot Bibles.

Upon diſcourſe of the Polyglot Bibles now ready to be publiſhed in ſix Volumes Folio, by the immenſe Labour of Dr. *Brian Walton*, and a great Treaſure raiſed for the Expence by the Contributions of the Nobility and Gentry, moſt of 'em Members of the perſecuted Church; a Propoſal was made to the Parliament for a new Tranſlation of the Scriptures into the *Engliſh* Tongue: Upon this, at the grand Committee for Religion *Jan.* 16, it was order'd, that it be referred to a Subcommittee, to ſend for and adviſe with Dr. *Walton*, Mr. *Hughes*, Mr. *Caſtle*, Mr. *Clerk*, Mr. *Poulk*, Dr. *Cudworth*, and ſuch others as they ſhall think fit, and to conſider of the Tranſlations and Impreſſions of the Bible, and to offer their Opinions therein to this Committee, and that it be eſpecially commended to the Ld Commiſſioner *Whitlock* to take care of this Buſineſs. "This Committee (as *Whitlock* ſays) often met in his Houſe at "*Chelſea*, and they had the moſt learned Men in "the Oriental Tongues to conſult with in this great "Buſineſs; and divers excellent and learned Obſervations were made of ſome Miſtakes in the Tranſlations of the Bible in *Engliſh*, which yet was "agreed to be the beſt of any Tranſlation in the "World. Great Pains was taken in it, but it became fruitleſs by the Parliaments diſſolution."

Deſigns for a new Tranſlation.

1657.

The grand Queſtion whether Cromwel ſhould be King.

The Queſtion of the Times was, Whether *Cromwel* ſhould aſſume the Title and Office of King? The difficulty upon himſelf was, that he did paſſionately deſire it, and yet moſt artfully decline it. The majority of the Members were by this time drawn into the Plot, and preſented him a Writing which they ſtiled, *The Humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland *to his Highneſs*, with a Speech from Sir *Thomas Widdrington* their Speaker, recommending the *Title and Office of a King as ſettled here with Chriſtianity it ſelf, approved and retained by our Anceſtors, and every way fitted to the Laws and Temper of the People of* England. Had the Protector immediately comply'd with their Zeal and his own Heart's deſire, he might have gone to Crown and Scepter without any other oppoſition. But whether it was to diſſemble greater Modeſty and be at laſt made a King by the very force of the People; or whether it was to obviate all Dangers by more deliberating on the Matter, *Cromwel* inſtead of a ready Aſſent, devoutly demurred and told them, "That it was a weighty Matter, and therefore deſired ſpace to ſeek God; for the Charge laid upon him was too great to bear without the Divine "Aſſiſtance; that the *Engliſh* were the beſt People "in the World, and required therefore all Tenderneſs and Conſideration of their Liberties; he muſt "therefore deſire that a Committee might be appointed to confer with him, and to offer him better knowledge and ſatisfaction in this great Cauſe." Such a Committee did accordingly attend his High-

He demurs upon it.

(*a*) The *Roman* Prieſts were certainly among them; the Collector of *Foxes and Firebrands*, Part II. p. 102. tells of the *pretended Quaker* talking the learned Languages as by Inſpiration in a Red Coat, diſcovered by Dr. *Henry Hammond* to be a Popiſh Impoſtor within this Year 1656.

(*b*) See, *A true Narrative of the Examination, Tryal and Sufferings of* James Nailor *in the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and his Deportment under them, with the Copies of ſundry Petitions, and other Papers, delivered by ſeveral Perſons to the Lord Protector, the Parliament, and many particular Members thereof, with divers remarkable Paſſages relating thereunto, before his Journey to* Briſtol, &c. *4to.* 1656.

neſs,

1657. 9 Car. II. cels, where the Chairman *Whitlock*, and all the chief Members, were to argue for Monarchy in *Cromwel*, and he who reached at it was to be the only Man that ſhould ſpeak againſt it.

Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 585. Amongſt others the Lord *Broghil* much preſſed that Paſſage brought by the Apoſtle in the Diſpute concerning the Abolition of the *Jewiſh* Worſhip, by the new and living way revealed in Jeſus Chriſt, illuſtrated by the Wife that was put away, who yet might be retaken by her former Huſband, if ſhe was not married to another; applying this Similitude to the preſent occaſion, as if there was no other way to keep out *Charles Stuart*, but by filling his place with another King. Mr. *Lenthal*'s Argument was very Parliamentary and Rational had it been rightly applied: For he preſs'd him to accept of it, becauſe it was propoſed to him by the Parliament, as he was pleaſed to call it, whom, he ſaid, he ought not to deny.

The Chairman ſumm'd up all their Arguments in this remarkable Speech.

Whitlock's Speech. *SIR*,

I *Have very little to trouble your Highneſs with: So much hath been already ſpoken and ſo well, that it will be hard for me, or any other to undertake to add to it; only the Duty of my Employment, and ſomething due to your Highneſs occaſions me to ſpeak a few Words, to acknowledge with very humble Thanks the Honour and Right which you have done this Committee, by the clear and free Diſcourſes and Conferences which they have had with your Highneſs, and for your frequent Expreſſions and Teſtimonies of Affection and Reſpect to the Parliament, whoſe Senſe in this I may preſume to ſpeak, that never any Perſons met their ſupreme Magiſtrate with more Love, Duty, and Honour, than the Parliament have met your Highneſs with in their preſent Addreſſes; which Argument of Love deſerves the Eſteem and Force which I doubt not but your Highneſs will put upon it. I am fearful to be too tedious at any time, eſpecially at ſo late an hour, and therefore ſhall ſpeak but ſhort, to ſome things which I remember not to have been mentioned. Your Highneſs was pleaſed, at the laſt Meeting, to ſay, That the original Inſtitution of the Title* King *was by common Conſent, and that the ſame common Conſent might inſtitute any other Title, and make it as effectual as that of* King. *This muſt be acknowledged; but withall you may be pleaſed to obſerve, that the Title of* King *is not only by an original common Conſent, but that Conſent alſo approved and confirmed, and the Law fitted thereunto, and that fitted to the Laws, by the Experience and Induſtry of many Ages, and many hundreds of Years together: whereas any other Title will be only by preſent common Conſent, without that Experience and Approbation. For that Experience which your Highneſs mentioned to have been of other Titles, and the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice under them; this Experience is far ſhort of the other: and for the Courſe of Juſtice, we have cauſe to thank that Care which placed ſo good Judges and Officers over us. Yet give me leave to ſay, that in private Cauſes between Party and Party, and in publick Matters in nominal Cauſes, it was not eaſie to find Juſtice to be done by ſome Jurors; and many Queſtions have ariſen upon occaſion of theſe new Titles, concerning that tender point of good Mens ſatisfaction. I think it requires a very great Regard from us, and I doubt not but thoſe good People will be fully ſatisfied, if they conſider the Covenants, Promiſes, and Precepts, which in the Scriptures are annexed to the Name of* King: *and although ſome have alledged, that they belong to any chief Magiſtrate as well as to King, yet no Man did ever read the original Word tranſlated otherwiſe than King: neither do I find the preſent Title once mentioned in the Holy Text.*

If the preſent Authority be a lawful Authority, which I hope none of us will deny; ſurely thoſe good Men who are ſo well principled in Godlineſs will not forget that Precept of Submiſſion to Authority, and to be ſatisfied with that which lawful Authority ſhall ordain. Their Rights and Liberties are the ſame with ours, and the Parliament cannot adviſe any thing for the Preſervation of the People's Rights, but theſe good Men are included; which I hope will be no diſſatisfaction to them. In all the Changes which we have ſeen, there hath been a diſſatisfaction to ſome; yet ſtill the Bleſſing of God hath gone along thro' all theſe Changes, with thoſe who carried on his Intereſt: and the Cauſe being the ſame, the ſame Mercies have been continued. And I doubt not, if the intended Change, or rather Reſtitution be made (as I hope it will) the ſame God will continue his Bleſſings to that good Old Cauſe wherein we are engaged; and that good Men will receive Satisfaction by it. 1657. 9 Car. II.

Your Highneſs hath been told, that the Title of King *is upon the Foundation of Law, and that a new Title muſt have a Conſtitution to make the Laws relate unto it, and that to the Laws. I ſhall only add this, that a Title by Relation is not ſo certain and ſafe as a Title upon the old Foundation of the Law; and that a Title upon a preſent ſingle Conſtitution (as any new Title muſt be) cannot be ſo firm as a Title both upon the preſent Conſtitution, and upon the old Foundation of the Law likewiſe, which the Title of* King *will be. If any Inconvenience ſhould enſue upon your Acceptance of this Title which the Parliament adviſeth; your Highneſs's Satisfaction will be, that they did adviſe it.*

On the contrary part, if any Inconvenience ſhould ariſe upon your Highneſs's Refuſal of this Title, which the Parliament hath adviſed, your Burden will be the greater: And therefore whatſoever may fall out, will be better anſwered by your Highneſs's complying with your Parliament than otherwiſe.

This Queſtion is not altogether new, ſome Inſtances have been given of the like; to which I ſhall add two or three. The Title of the Kings of England *in the Realm of* Ireland, *was Lord of* Ireland; *and the Parliament in* 33 Hen. VIII. *reciting that Inconveniencies did ariſe there by reaſon of that Title, did enact, That* Hen. VIII. *ſhould aſſume the Stile and Title of King of* Ireland; *which, in the Judgment of this Parliament, was preferred before the other.*

In the State of Rome, *new Titles proved fatal to their Liberties. Their Caſe was not much unlike ours: They were wearied with a Civil War, and coming to a Settlement,* Cuncta diſcordiis civilibus feſſa, ſub nomine Principis Imperium accepit. *Some would not admit the Title* Rex *to be uſed, but were contented to give the Titles of* Cæſar, Perpetuus Dictator, Princeps Senatus, Imperator. Non ſum Rex ſed Cæſar *came at laſt to this;* Voluntas Cæſaris pro Lege habebatur.

The Northern People were more happy among themſelves: A private Gentleman of a noble Family took up Arms with his Countrymen againſt a Tyrant, and by the Bleſſing of God reſcued their native Liberties, and Rights of their Country, from the Oppreſſion of that Tyrant. This Gentleman had the Title of Marſhal *given to him, which continued for ſome Years: Afterwards their Parliament (judging it beſt to reſume the old Title) elected this Gentleman* King, *and with him was brought in the Liberty of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Eſtabliſhment of the Civil Rights of that People; which have continued in a proſperous Condition ever ſince unto this Day.*

Sir, *I ſhall make no other Application but in my Prayers to God, to direct your Highneſs and the Parliament (as I hope he will) to* do that which will be moſt for his Honour and the Good of his People.

Thus ended the Speech of *Whitlock*: and it gives ſome Reputation to the Form of *Engliſh* Monarchy, to ſee that thoſe very Men who had perſecuted and murdered one King, and had baniſhed and renounc'd another, and aboliſhed all Kingly Government, and ſworn themſelves into a Commonwealth, without King or Lords; that thoſe Men ſhould at laſt turn back to the good old Conſtitution, and find no Reſt or Peace but under a new Monarch. If they did this from their Opinion of the Excellence and Neceſſity of a Sovereign Power in one ſingle Perſon; it was a ſingular Teſtimony given unto that Government which they had wickedly deſtroy'd, and would now induſtriouſly reſtore: But if all this was againſt their own Conſcience, and they were terrified into A Credit to Monarchy, tho' a Scandal to those who deſired it.

1657. 9 *Car.* II. the Deſire of a King, when they ſtill hated the Name and the Office in their Heart; this was ſuch a Token of an abject Spirit, as could have nothing leſs than Divine Vengeance in it; that they who rebell'd for Liberty under a lawful and merciful Prince, ſhould be now ſo dead to all ſenſe of Liberty, as to proſtitute their Judgment and their Necks to a Yoke more ſervile and more heavy than what they had before ſhaken off, on a Pretence that they were not then able to bear it. And if this were the Caſe of giving themſelves up to Captivity in ſpight of their own Conſcience; it was the finer Riddle, that thoſe who abhorred a Monarchy were forc'd to petition and to plead for it, while he who vehemently was ambitious of it was likewiſe forced to decline and to deny it. For whatever this Junto of a kind of Parliament pretended, this Project was entirely againſt the Senſe of the main Body of the Nation, and (what was of more conſideration to *Cromwel*) it was againſt the Humours of the Army, and the chief Officers of it. One who knew the Intrigues of the Court and the Camp, gives this Account of them.

Ludlow's Account of theſe Matters.

" *Cromwel* endeavour'd, by all poſſible means, to " prevail with the Officers of the Army to approve " his Deſign; and knowing that Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* and Colonel *Deſborough* were particularly averſe to it, he invited himſelf to dine " perſonally with the Colonel, and carried the " Lieutenant-General with him, where he began to " droll with them about Monarchy; and ſpeaking " ſlightingly of it, ſaid, *It was but a Feather in a Man's Cap*, and therefore wonder'd that Men " would not *pleaſe* the *Children*, and permit them " to enjoy their *Rattle*. But he received from them, " as Colonel *Deſborough* ſince told me, ſuch an Anſwer, as was not at all ſuitable to his Expectations or Deſires: for they aſſured him, there was " more in this matter than he perceived; that thoſe " who put him upon it were no Enemies to *Charles Stuart*; and that if he accepted of it, he would " infallibly draw Ruin on himſelf and Friends. " The next Day he ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe, to " require their Attendance in the Painted Chamber " the next Morning, deſigning, as all Men believed, " there to declare his Acceptation of the Crown. " But in the mean time meeting with Colonel *Deſborough* in the great Walk in the *Park*, and acquainting him with his Reſolution, the Colonel " made Anſwer, that he then gave the Cauſe and " *Cromwel*'s Family alſo for loſt. After ſome other " Diſcourſe, *Deſborough* went home, and there found " Colonel *Pride*, whom *Cromwel* had Knighted with " a Faggot-ſtick: And having imparted to him the " Deſign of *Cromwel* to accept the Crown, *Pride* ſaid " *He ſhall not*. *Why*, ſaid the Colonel, *how wilt thou hinder it?* To which *Pride* replied, *Get me a Petition drawn, and I will prevent it*. Whereupon they " both went to Dr. *Owen*, and having acquainted " him with what had happen'd, they perſwaded " him to draw a Petition according to their Deſires. " Whilſt this was doing, *Cromwel* having reflected " on his Diſcourſe with Colonel *Deſborough*, and " being informed that *Lambert* and divers other Officers were diſſatisfied with his Deſign, ſent a " Meſſage to put off the Meeting in the Painted " Chamber, and to deſire that the Houſe would " ſend a Committee to confer with him about the " great Buſineſs that was then depending, intending thereby to gain time in which he might be " fitting the Officers for his Deſign.——One Morning the Houſe being in great Expectation of a " Meſſage to appoint the Time and Place for the " Acceptance of what they had prepared; ſome Officers of the Army coming to the Parliament-doors, ſent in a Meſſage to Colonel *Deſborough*, to " acquaint him, that they had a Petition, which " they deſired him to preſent to the Houſe. But " he knowing the Contents of it, and conceiving it " unfit for him to take publick notice of it before " it was preſented, acquainted the Houſe, that certain Officers of the Army had a Petition to preſent to them. Which having done, and every " one ſuppoſing that the Deſires of the Officers were " conformable to their own, *Cromwel*'s Party concluding that no Part of the Army durſt appear for " the croſſing his Deſign, it was generally agreed " that they ſhould be called in, and have Leave to " preſent it with their own Hands. Lieutenant " Colonel *Maſon* was choſen by the reſt of the Officers to deliver the Petition; which when he had " done, and the Officers withdrawn, it was read. " The Contents of it were to this purpoſe: *That they had hazarded their Lives againſt Monarchy, and were ſtill ready ſo to do in Defence of the Liberties of the Nation. That having obſerved in ſome Men great Endeavours to bring the Nation again under their old Servitude, by preſſing their General to take upon him the Title and Government of a King, in order to deſtroy him, and weaken the Hands of thoſe who were faithful to the Publick. They therefore humbly deſired, that they would diſcountenance all ſuch Perſons and Endeavours, and continue ſtedfaſt to the* Old " Cauſe; *for the Preſervation of which, they, for their Parts, were moſt ready to lay down their Lives*. This " Petition was Subſcribed by two Colonels, ſeven " Lieutenant-Colonels, eight Majors, and ſixteen " Captains, the Majority of the Army then quartering about the Town. It's difficult to determine " whether the Houſe or *Cromwel* was more ſurpriſed at this unexpected Addreſs: but certainly both " were infinitely diſturbed at it. As ſoon as the " Notice of it was brought to *Cromwel*, he ſent for " Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, and told him, that " he wonder'd he would ſuffer ſuch a Petition to " proceed ſo far, which he might have hinder'd, " ſince he knew it to be his Reſolution, not to accept the Crown without the Conſent of the Army: " and therefore deſired him to haſten to the Houſe, " and to put them off from doing any thing farther " therein. The Lieutenant-General immediately " went thither, and told them, that the Petition " ought not to be debated, much leſs to be anſwered at this time, the Contents of it being to deſire " him not to preſs the Protector to be King, whereas the preſent Buſineſs was, to receive his Anſwer " to what had been formerly offer'd to him; and " therefore deſired that the Debate of it might be put " off till they had received his Anſwer. To this the " Houſe having conſented, they received a Meſſage " from *Cromwel*, that inſtead of meeting him in the " Painted Chamber, which was the Place where he " uſed to give his Conſent; they would meet him " in the Banqueting-Houſe. So the Members came to " *Whitehall*, and *Cromwel* with great Oſtentation of " his Self-denial, refuſed the Title of King."

Petition of the Army againſt *Cromwel*'s being King.

This Refuſal was made on *May* 8, in a Speech to the Parliament Members; concluding thus: *I have truly thought, and do ſtill think, that if I ſhould (at the beſt) do any thing on this Account to anſwer your Expectation, it would be at the beſt Doubtingly; and certainly what is ſo is not of Faith; and whatſoever is* not of Faith is Sin *to him that doth it; whether it be with relation to the Subſtance of the Action about which the Conſideration is converſant, or whether to Circumſtances about it, which make all indifferent Actions good or evil to him that doth them. I lying under this Conſideration, think it my Duty; only I could have wiſhed I had done it ſooner, for the ſake of the Houſe, who have laid ſo infinite Obligations on me: I wiſh alſo I had done it ſooner for your ſake, for ſaving Time and Trouble; and indeed for the Committee's ſake, to whom I muſt acknowledge publickly, I have been unſeaſonably troubleſome: I ſay, I could have wiſhed I had given it ſooner; but truly this is my Anſwer, That although I think the Government doth conſiſt of very excellent Parts in all but in that one thing, the Title; as to me, I ſhould not be an honeſt Man, if I ſhould not tell you, that I cannot accept of the Government, nor undertake the Trouble and Charge of it, which I have a little more experiment than every Man, as to what Troubles* and

Cromwel's ſelf-denying Speech.

1657. 9 Car. II. *and Difficulties do befal Men under ſuch Truſts, and in ſuch Undertakings. I ſay, I am perſwaded to return this Anſwer to you, that I cannot undertake this Government with this Title of a King: And that is mine Anſwer to this great and weighty Buſineſs.*

He renounced the Name only of a King.

It is plain enough by this Anſwer, that he would renounce nothing but the Name and Stile of King; as to Soveraign Power in a ſingle Perſon he reſolved to exerciſe it in more ample manner, than had been yet done by any one of the preceding Monarchs: So he would have his old Title of Protector confirmed to him in a new Inſtrument of Government called, *The Humble Petition and Advice of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes now aſſembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth*, preſented to him *May* 25, and deſiring in Duty, 1. That his Highneſs will be pleaſed by, and under the Name and Stile of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and, *Ireland*, to hold and exerciſe the Office of Chief Magiſtrate of theſe three Nations. 2. That his Highneſs will for the future be pleaſed to call Parliaments conſiſting of two Houſes: And ſo inveſting him in a Power more than Regal; he acting as a Supream Soveraign in the acceptance of that Truſt, ordering his Anſwer to be read by the Clerk of the Parliament in theſe Words, *The Lord Protector doth conſent*. And ſoon after taking occaſion to paſs ſome Bills, he did it in the Royal manner, with a Speech

Speech at his paſſing Bills.

of Thanks for their Supplies. "I perceive that among theſe many Acts of Parliament, there hath "been a very great care had by the Parliament, to "provide for the juſt and neceſſary ſupport of the "Commonwealth, by theſe Bills for levying Mo- "ney now brought to me, which I have given my "Conſent unto; and underſtanding it hath been the "practice of thoſe who have been chief Governors, "to acknowledge with Thanks to the Commons, "their Care and regard of the Publick, I do very "heartily and thankfully acknowledge their Kind- "neſs herein." And to compleat his Grandeur, he had a ſolemn Inauguration in *Weſtminſter-Hall* under a Cloth of State and a glorious Chair, where the Speaker put upon him a Robe of Purple Velvet lin'd

Inauguration of Ld. Protector.

with Ermine, telling him, *It was an Emblem of Magiſtracy and imported Righteouſneſs and Juſtice.* Then he delivered him a Bible richly Gilt and Boſſed with Gold, and told him, *It was a Book that contained the Holy Scriptures, in which he had the Happineſs to be well vers'd.* Then he put in his Hand a Sceptre of maſſy Gold, ſaying, *Here is a Sceptre not unlike a Staff: for you are to be a Staff to the Poor.* Laſtly, he gave him a very rich Sword, with this Comment, *The laſt thing is a Sword, not a Military but a Civil Sword; it is a Sword rather of Defence than Offence, not to defend your ſelf only but your People alſo. If I might preſume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, as the valiant Lord* Talbot *had upon his, it ſhould be this,* Ego ſum Domini Protectoris ad protegendum Populum meum, *I am the Protector's to protect my People.*

Riſing of the Parliament.

After all poſſible Ceremonies and Enſigns of Authority (nothing wanting but Oil and Crown) Mr. *Manton* prayed, and the People ſhouted, and the Trumpets ſounded, and the Parliament roſe after many Acts were paſſed, among which *one for the Adjournment of this preſent Parliament from the 26th of* June 1657, *unto the 20th of* January *next enſuing.*

Succeſs at Sea.

All things went proſperous abroad to promote and confirm the Advancements of *Cromwel*. Admiral *Blake* on *April* 20, ſet upon the *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet, in the Bay of *Sancta Cruz* on the Iſland of *Teneriff*, and with invincible Courage broke thro' the Barricado, beat the Enemy out of all their Forts and Caſtles, ſunk two Ships, and fired all the reſt, to the inſufferable Loſs and Shame of the *Spaniards*. And to diſturb them at Land as well as at Sea, the Protector ſent over ſix thouſand Men under command of Colonel *John Reynolds* and Major General *Morgan* to aſſiſt the *French* in their Attempts upon *Flanders*; and to do them the Service of helping them to take St. *Venant* and *Mardike*: And yet the Commanders in both theſe fortunate Expeditions loſt their own Lives; Colonel *Reynolds* being recalled upon ſuſpi- 1657. 9 Car. II. cion for having a Conference with the Duke of *York*, was caſt away on the *Goodwin-Sands Decemb.* 12, And Admiral *Blake* returning home in Glory died on Ship-board in *Plimouth* Sound at the beginning of *Auguſt*: A Man of admirable Courage and equal Succeſs.

Another Houſe.

Before the meeting of the Parliament, there was to be a new Conſtitution of it, by adding another Houſe, to bring back the Form of a King, Lords and Commons. The Protector ſent out his Writs in the ſame Form with thoſe formerly ſent to ſummon the Peers to Parliament; their number was ſixty, of which the two firſt, like Princes of the Blood, were his own Sons, the Lord *Richard* and Lord *Henry Cromwel*, then *Nathaniel Fiennes* and *John Liſle* Lords Commiſſioners of the Great-Seal, *Henry Lawrence* Ld. Preſident of his Highneſſes Council, the Lord *Charles Fleetwood*, *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, *Edmund* Earl of *Mulgrave*, and other Noblemen, and chief Officers Military and Civil; who in Rights and Privileges ſhould differ nothing from a Houſe of Peers, only as the Head muſt not have the Name of a King ſo theſe Members were not to have the Title of *Houſe of Peers* but of *the other Houſe of Parliament*.

Meeting of a new Parliament conſiſting of two Houſes.

On *Jan.* 20, both theſe Houſes met, and the Protector came as Sovereign to the Houſe of Lords, and ſent for the Speaker and Houſe of Commons by the Black-Rod, and then ſpoke in ſhort to them, beginning his Speech in the old Stile, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſs of the Houſe of Commons*, and then diſcourſed ſome Particulars which he recommended to them; thank'd them for their fair Correſpondence the laſt Seſſion, and aſſured them, if they would continue to proſecute his Deſigns, they ſhould be called the *bleſſed of the Lord, and Generations to come ſhould bleſs them*: And ſo he left his Lord Keeper *Fiennes* to make a large Speech to them, with all the ſtate of our ancient Monarchs. When the

Diſcord between the two Houſes.

two Houſes fell upon Buſineſs, they could by no means agree; the Commons had Envy and Indignation to ſee a Houſe pretending to be ſuperior to them without the claim of Birthright, or any old legal Creation; and the *other Houſe* knew it was their Commiſſion to be a Houſe of Peers in every thing but Name, and therefore inſiſted upon all the ancient Rights and Privileges belonging to the place where they ſate. The Protector ſeeing their Diſputes growing higher every Day, reſolved upon their Diſſolution; the manner of which is thus delivered by a Witneſs of it.

"*Cromwel* was not a little ſtartled at theſe Proceed- "ings, ſuſpecting that part of the Army, eſpecially "thoſe that were Quartered about St. *James*'s were "engaged therein; therefore to prevent that which "he feared, and which his Conſcience told him he "had deſerved, he took the inſpection of the Watch "at *Whitehall* for ſeveral Nights ſucceſſively in his "own Perſon. And the Alarm from abroad encrea- "ſing daily, he reſolved upon the Diſſolution of this "Aſſembly, intending as ſoon as they were diſmiſ- "ſed, and the Power devolved upon him again, to "curb that Spirit of Liberty that had lately appear'd, "and to remove ſuch Officers from their Commands "in the Army, whom he ſuſpected to have any "hand in their late Counſels. Whilſt he was deli- "berating about the beſt means of effecting this de- "ſign, freſh Informations were brought him con- "cerning the diligence of his Adverſaries in all "Parts, which quickened him to that degree, that "he would not ſtay for one of his own Coaches, but "taking the firſt that was at hand, with Guards as "he could preſently get together, he hurried to the "other Houſe; whither being come, he imparted "his Intentions to diſſolve that Aſſembly to Lieu- "tenant General *Fleetwood*, who earneſtly endea- "vouring to diſſwade him from it, he clapp'd his "Hand upon his Breaſt, and ſwore by the *Living* "*God* he would do it. Then he ſent for the Judges;

"and

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" and they being come, diſpatched another Meſſage " to the Aſſembly to attend him preſently. Many " of them declined to come, and thoſe that appear- " ed were very ill treated by him for obſtructing " that Work, which he ſaid was ſo well begun in " order to the Settlement of the Nation. On the " other hand, he aſſured thoſe whom he had called " to his other Houſe, that notwithſtanding all the " practices that had been uſed againſt them, they " ſhould continue to be Lords, and ſo diſmiſſed both " the Aſſemblies to follow their own private Af- " fairs."

He is ſaid in his Speech to have declared ſeveral urgent and weighty Reaſons, that made it neceſſary for him, in order to the publick Peace and Safety, to proceed to an immediate Diſſolution of this Parliament; and to have concluded with theſe or ſuch Words, *By the Living God I do and muſt diſſolve you.* This impetuous act of *Cromwel* was cenſur'd and condemn'd by his beſt Friends; yet it was indeed a Maſter-ſtroke of Policy: For a Faction between the two Houſes would have broke all his Intereſts aſunder; and if he had made himſelf a Party on either Side, it had but more inflam'd the Quarrel. (*a*)

Hopes of the King.

The King had reaſons to hope that theſe diſtractions in the *Engliſh* State, would by degrees bring a People to caſt back their Eyes and Hearts upon their lawful Prince. This encouraged the *Spaniards* to protect his Perſon and accept his Arms in *Flanders*, where his loyal Subjects the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the Lord *Rocheſter*, the Lords *Gerrard* and *Wentworth*, the Lord *Taaf* and General *Middleton* had their ſeveral Regiments quarter'd along the Sea-Coaſts, under Command of the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*; wiſely to ſerve a double Deſign, to aſſiſt the King of *Spain* againſt his Enemies the *French*, who were ſupported by *Cromwel*, and to be in a readineſs to tranſport themſelves into *England*, if any favourable Juncture ſhould invite them. For the Royaliſts in *England*, tho' weak and poor, were continually forming ſome Hopes and Deſigns for recalling the King. But their moſt ſecret Counſels were betray'd, and therefore their wiſeſt Projects could ſeldom grow ſo far as an Attempt to give Life and Succeſs to them. However, a general Inſurrection was at this time deſign'd; and for a preparation to it, there was now publiſhed and induſtriouſly diſperſed a very ſmart and ſurprizing Paper under the Title of *Killing no Murder*, wherein it was proved to be not only lawful, but honourable, to kill the Tyrant as a common Enemy of his Country. This waked the Protector into a dreadful fright, and made him very vigilant to apprehend the Author, who was happily then conceal'd, not only in his Perſon but in the very ſuſpicion of his Name, tho' ſince commonly taken to be Colonel *Titus*, a Man of great figure in many of the Parliaments after the King's Return. After this Alarm given, (which ſerv'd not ſo much to put the King's Party into a Preparation as it did to put *Cromwel* upon his Guard) the Marqueſs of *Ormond* ſlip'd over from *Flanders* and lay privately in *London*, to ripen the Deſign, and to ſend for his Troops to puſh on the execution of it. But *Cromwel*, who well knew that Money could be at any time the Price of a Traitor, had corrupted Sir *Richard Willis*, and one *Corker* an ejected Miniſter, who then practiſed Phyſick; and by their perfidious Intelligence, he ſet out a Proclamation for the Plotters before they could get into a Body; many of them were ſeiz'd, and ſome furiouſly Executed; the Marqueſs of *Ormond* luckily eſcaped into *Suſſex*, and there by diſguiſe and Shifts preſerv'd himſelf, till by the Aſſiſtance of Mr. *Graves* a worthy Gentleman of that County, he got away in a ſmall Boat, and was by Providence kept for better Times.

Marqueſs of *Ormond* ſent into *England*.

Hardly eſcapes.

Death of Admiral *Blake*.

This Year, as before hinted, died the Valiant and Victorious Admiral *Blake*, who wanted nothing but a better Maſter and a better Cauſe to have made him the Glory of *England*, and the wonder of the World. And yet he did not ſo much eſpouſe the Intereſt of the Long Parliament, or the new Service of *Cromwel*, as he did the Honour of his Country, and the *Engliſh* Dominion of the Seas. It was his Argument for Peace and Unity among his Seamen, that they ſhould not liſten to any News from Land, nor mind the Changes in the Government; but remember that the Fleet was *Engliſh*, and that their Enemies were Foreigners and Strangers, and therefore they muſt fight for the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation. By this Principle he had been alway Safe and Succeſsful; and had in this very Summer inſulted the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, and ſailed thence to intercept their *Weſt-India* Fleet, which got into the Bay of *Sancta Cruz*, in one of the *Canary* Iſlands, where *Don Diego Diagues* the *Spaniſh* Admiral had ſo well barricado'd the Entrance, and ſo well fortified and planted the Caſtle and Forts upon the Shore, that he ſent Word by a *Dutch* Merchant, *Let* Blake *come if he dares.* But *Blake* wanted no Challenge; he ſent a Squadron under Command of Captain *Steiner*, in the *Speaker* Frigot, who forced their Paſſage into the Mouth of the Bay, and were preſently ſupported by the whole *Engliſh* Fleet, and an abſolute Victory was by degrees obtained; and yet it was impracticable to carry off the Prizes, and therefore they were to a ſingle Veſſel burnt and ſunk on *Monday* April 20, for which noble Service the Parliament (at *Cromwel*'s imparting the News) ordered a Day of Thankſgiving, and voted 500 *l.* for a Jewel to be preſented to the Admiral, as a Teſtimony of his Countries Gratitude and Reſpect to him. After this great Exploit he ſailed back to the Coaſts of *Spain*, and having triumphantly kept all their Ships and Ports in awe, he was bringing home the Fleet, while falling ſick of the Marine Diſtemper a Scorbutick Fever, he died juſt as the Fleet was entering into *Plimouth-Sound*, where he paſſionately enquired for the Land, but found his own Element to be the more proper Bed of Honour. He had a publick Funeral ſolemnly and juſtly beſtowed upon him, with the Honour of Interment in the Chappel of *Henry* VII. of whom the Lord *Clarendon* gives this Character. " He " was a Man of a private Extraction, yet had enough " left him by his Father to give him a good Educa- " tion; which his own Inclination diſpoſed him to " receive in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he took " the Degree of a Maſter of Arts; and was enough " vers'd in Books for a Man who intended not to be " of any Profeſſion, having ſufficient of his own to " maintain him in the Plenty he affected, and having " then no appearance of Ambition to be a greater " Man than he was. He was of a melancholick and " ſullen Nature, and ſpent his time moſt with " Good-Fellows, who lik'd his Moroſeneſs and Free- " dom he uſed in inveighing againſt the Licence of " the Time and the Power of the Court. They who " knew him inwardly diſcover'd that he had an An- " ti-Monarchical Spirit, when few Men thought the " Government in any Danger. When the Troubles " began he quickly declared himſelf againſt the King; " and having ſome Command in *Briſtol*, when it was " firſt taken by Prince *Rupert* and the Marqueſs of " *Hertford*, being truſted with the Command of a " little Fort upon the Line, he refuſed to give it up, " after the Governour had ſign'd the Articles of Sur- " render, and kept it ſome Hours after the Prince " was in the Town, and killed ſome of the Soldiers; " for which the Prince reſolv'd to hang him, if ſome " Friends had not interpoſed for him, upon his want " of Experience in War, and prevail'd with him to " quit the Place by very great Importunity and with " much Difficulty. After this, having done emi- " nent Service to the Parliament, eſpecially at *Taun-* " *ton*, at Land, he then betook himſelf wholly to the " Sea, and quickly made himſelf ſignal there. He " was the firſt Man that declined the old Track, " and made it manifeſt that the Science might be " attained in leſs time than was imagin'd; and de-

(*a*) A Second Narrative of the late Parliament ſo called, &c. Printed in the fifth Year of *England's* Slavery, under its new Monarchy. 1658, 4*to.*

1657. 9 Car. II. "ſpiſed thoſe Rules which had been long in practice, to keep his Ship and his Men out of Danger, which had been held in former times a point of great Ability and Circumſpection; as if the principal Art requiſite in the Captain of a Ship had been to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt Man that brought the Ships to contemn Caſtles on Shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of Courage into the Seamen, by making them ſee by Experience what mighty things they could do if they were reſolved; and taught them to fight in Fire as well as upon the Water: and though he had been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the Example of that kind of Naval Courage and bold and reſolute Atchievements."

State of Religion. The unhappy State of Religion in this Year is not worth mentioning. The Plan was to reverſe Presbytery, as adapted only to a Commonwealth, and to form a new Syſtem of Doctrine and Diſcipline more agreeable to the new Model of Government in a ſingle Perſon. But that the Alteration might be rather kept in Reſerve, than be too ſuddenly introduced; it was only provided in the Inſtrument of Conſtituting a Protector, *Article* XI.

Article in the Inſtrument of Government. "That the true Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, and no other, be held forth and aſſerted for the publick Profeſſion of theſe Nations: And that a Confeſſion of Faith to be agreed by your Highneſs and the Parliament, according to the Rule and Warrant of the Scriptures, be aſſerted, held forth, and recommended to the People of theſe Nations: That none may be ſuffered or permitted, by opprobrious Words, or writing maliciouſly or contemptuouſly, to revile or reproach the Confeſſion of Faith to be agreed on as aforeſaid. And ſuch who profeſs Faith in God the Father, and in Jeſus Chriſt his eternal Son the true God, and in the Holy Spirit God coequal with the Father and the Son, one God bleſſed for ever; and do acknowledge the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament to be the revealed Will and Word of God; and ſhall in other Things differ in Doctrine, Worſhip, or Diſcipline, from the publick Profeſſion held forth; Endeavours ſhall be uſed to convince them by ſound Doctrine, and the Example of a good Converſation: But, that they may not be compelled thereto by Penalties, nor reſtrained from their Profeſſion, but protected from all Injury and Moleſtation in the Profeſſion of the Faith, and Exerciſe of their Religion, whilſt they abuſe not this Liberty to the Civil Injury of others, or the Diſturbance of the Publick Peace. So that this Liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, or to the countenancing ſuch who publiſh horrible Blaſphemies, or practiſe or hold forth Licentiouſneſs or Prophaneneſs under the Profeſſion of Chriſt. And that thoſe Miniſters or publick Preachers who ſhall agree with the publick Profeſſion aforeſaid in Matters of Faith, although in their Judgment and Practice they differ in Matters of Worſhip and Diſcipline, ſhall not only have Protection in the way of their Churches and Worſhip reſpectively, but be eſteemed fit and capable, notwithſtanding ſuch Difference (being otherwiſe duly qualified and duly approved) of any Truſt, Promotion, or Employment whatſoever in theſe Nations, that any Miniſters who agree in Doctrine, Worſhip, and Diſcipline with the publick Profeſſion aforeſaid are capable of. And all others who agree with the publick Profeſſion in Matters of Faith, although they differ in Matters of Worſhip and Diſcipline as aforeſaid; ſhall not only have Protection as aforeſaid, but be eſteemed fit and capable (notwithſtanding ſuch Difference, being otherwiſe duly qualified) of any Civil Truſt, Employment, or Promotion in theſe Nations. But for ſuch Perſons who agree not in Matters of Faith with the publick Profeſſion aforeſaid, they ſhall not be capable of receiving the publick Maintenance *appointed for the Miniſtry*."

1657. 9 Car. II. Presbytery, with a Toleration to deſtroy it. The meaning of all this Proviſion, was only to diſpenſe for a while with continuing the Eſtabliſhment of Presbytery, and yet to give an abſolute Toleration and a capacity of Preferment to the Independents; and ſo to hold the Scales between each Party till the Protector and his Council ſhould determine any other way.

It is not improbable, that if *Cromwel* had been King he would have been for reſtoring Epiſcopacy, tho' not upon a Principle of Conſcience. The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, "He uſed to ſpeak much, that it was pity the Nobility ſhould be totally ſuppreſt, and that the Government would be better if it paſſed another Conſultation beſides that of the Houſe of Commons." In matter of Religion, he would often ſpeak, that *there was much of Good in the Order of Biſhops, if the Droſs were ſcoured off*. But indeed Enthuſiaſm was the Protector's Talent, which he was glad to hide from the uſe of any others; and if he had reign'd long, would have made it his own Prerogative: For by getting among the People, it put him and his Government into perpetual Trouble and Danger. But of all the Spirits, that of the *Fifth-Monarchy Men* was the moſt turbulent, and the moſt likely to deſtroy his new Empire. Major-General *Harriſon* had put himſelf into the Counſels and Deſigns of theſe furious Men, and the Plot was laid for an Inſurrection (in their Cant) to ſet up King *Jeſus*. Their chief Cabal was held in a Houſe in *Shoreditch*, where Secretary *Thurlo* (who ſpared no Pains or Money for his Maſter's Safety) had a Spy among them, and diſcovered the Intrigues time enough to prevent the Execution of them: He ſeized their Arms and Ammunition, with a Standard of a Lion Couchant (as of the Tribe of *Judah*) with this Motto, *Who ſhall rouze him up?* and ſeveral Copies of a printed Declaration, with this Title, *The Principle of the Remnant*, &c. The Conſpirators taken were *Thomas Venner*, *Gray*, *Gowler*, *Hopkins*, *Aſhton*, and others, who were ſpared to create Diſturbance and their own Deſtruction at another Time. — Plot of the Fifth-Monarchy Men.

Cromwel for Liberty of Conſcience as he pleas'd. It is certain, the Protector was not himſelf of any one Religion, and therefore was for Liberty and utmoſt Latitude to all Parties, ſo far as conſiſted with the Peace and Safety of his Perſon and Government. And therefore he was never jealous of any Cauſe or Sect, on the Account of Hereſie or Falſehood; but on his wiſer accounts of political Peace and Quiet. As he mortally hated the Fifth-Monarchy Men, becauſe by their Notion he was to be dethroned; and had no Charity for the Anabaptiſts becauſe of their ſingular Opinions about the Civil Magiſtrate; ſo he had alway a ſuſpicious Eye upon the Presbyterians, becauſe he thought their Principles to be Republican: and even the Prejudice he had to the Epiſcopal Party, was more for their being Royaliſts, than for being of the good Old Church; as appeared upon the occaſion of their keeping up the Solemnity of *Chriſtmas* this Year. On *Decemb.* 25, ſeveral Aſſemblies met to obſerve the Day, and eſpecially Dr. *Gunning*'s Congregation at *Exeter-Houſe* in the *Strand*: Notice of theſe Meetings was immediately carried to the Protector, and by ſome Zealots he was earneſtly moved to ſend Soldiers and ſuppreſs them: He at firſt denied the Motion, and argued againſt it, ſaying, that *to diſturb them, was contrary to the Liberty of Conſcience which he and his Friends had alway acknowledged and pleaded for*. But when it was objected, that the keeping of *Chriſtmas* was a Contempt of the publick Acts and Ordinances; and that under that Pretence there might be a Concourſe of People to Riſe, or at leaſt to conſpire for the King: then he ſent away a Detachment of Soldiers, who broke into Dr. *Gunning*'s Meeting, plundered and — He hated Parties as his Enemies only. — Meetings of the Old Churchmen.

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ſtript ſome of the People, and carried off others to Impriſonment and Fine. And, as the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, "All Priſons, as well in the Country as "the City, were filled with thoſe who had been of "the King's Party, or he believed would be; and "he thought this a neceſſary Seaſon to terrify his "Enemies, of all Conditions, within the Kingdom, "with Spectacles which might mortify them." (*a*)

1658. 10*Car.* II.

Plot of the Royaliſts diſcovered by *Cromwel*,

This Year began with proſecuting the Diſcovery of a reaſonable Plot of the Royaliſts to reſtore their Maſter and their own Rights. *Cromwel* had Advice of all their Steps and Meaſures, both by Intelligence from abroad, and by correſponding with ſome of the very Actors here at home. He knew well how to turn the Diſcovery into an Act of Popularity and Gain: And therefore (for want of a Parliament) he ſent for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and in a very aggravating Strain informed them of the whole Story; and then profeſſing a greater Paſſion for their Safety than for his own, he deſired their Care to put the City into a poſture of Defence. They took the Bait, and went home with great Indignation againſt the Royaliſts, for attempting to plunder their Houſes, and cut their Throats; and took mighty care of the Gates and Guards; and drew up a humble Repreſentation and Addreſs to his Highneſs, promiſing the Faith of the City and the Purſe of it, in faithfully adhering to him againſt all his Enemies. A like Hint was given to the Army, and Addreſſes of the ſame ſtrain were ſent up from ſeveral Regiments, and brought over from the *Engliſh* Forces in *Flanders*; the Protector begging the Complement by imparting to them, that *the Deſigns and Preparations of the Enemy were very formidable, that Commiſſioners were ſent over hither from the King of* Scots, *and that he had* 4000 *Men in* Flanders *ready to be embarked to join with his Party here, and Ships ready to tranſport them; and therefore it behoved all honeſt Men to provide for a Defence, and to join heartily together.* When he had thus fortified his Intereſt, he reſolved to proceed againſt the Conſpirators whom he had laid faſt in Priſon: But in what Method to proceed he could not ſo eaſily determine: His Council adviſed him to the ancient way of Indicting them in the Upper Bench for Treaſon, and ſo going on in the ordinary Courſe of Trials at the Common Law: But he did not care for truſting to the ordinary Practice of Judges and Juries, tho' they might have been all Creatures of his own making. His Head and Heart lay rather for a *High Court of Juſtice*: he had had Experience of it, as the ſhorteſt way with Offenders; and therefore he had ſuch a new Court erected, and under the Seal nominated the Commiſſioners of the Seal and of the Treaſury, the Judges, and ſome other Confidents, to be in this Commiſſion; though ſome of them would have been glad to have waſhed their hands of Blood: and *Whitlock* does in particular confeſs, that though *He was one of them, yet he never ſate with them, it being againſt his Judgment.* This High Court of Juſtice was founded on a Law of the late Parliament for Security of his Highneſs's Perſon, and had Power to try all ſuch (and ſuch only) as ſhould be named to them by him or his Council. Before this Court were firſt brought Sir *Henry Slingsby*, an Officer for the King at *Worceſter* Fight, there taken Priſoner, and ſent to the Garriſon of *Hull*; where ſome of the Officers, Major *Waterhouſe*, Capt. *Overton*, and Lieut. *Thompſon*, wheedled him into procuring a Commiſſion from the King, and then betrayed him, and ſent him up Priſoner to the *Tower*. At his Trial he pleaded, that all the Diſcourſes he had held with thoſe Perſons who trepan'd him, were all in Jeſt, and for Diſcourſe ſake; and that the Fact was impoſſible, that he, being a ſingle Perſon and a Priſoner, could have any Hopes of putting that Garriſon into the King's Hands: but he was adjudged to Death by a Plurality of Voices (*b*). Dr. *John Hewit*, Preacher of St. *Gregory*'s near *Paul*'s, was brought at the ſame time, and charged with the like horrible Conſpiracy. He ſtoutly denied the Juriſdiction of the Court, and pleaded ſeveral Caſes againſt the Legality of it; and ſo for Contempt was adjudged guilty of the Charge: and when he did afterward offer to Plead, he was told, It was now too late. Theſe two were Beheaded on *Tower-Hill* on *June* 8, one dying with the Bravery of a Chriſtian Soldier, the other with the Devoutneſs of a Chriſtian Divine; and both proving that the Goodneſs of a Cauſe is the only Argument to dare to die. Their Characters are thus given by the inimitable Pen of the Lord *Clarendon.*

Turned to his own Advantage.

A new High Court of Juſtice.

Sir *Henry Slingsby* condemned.

And Dr. *Hewit*.

Their Death and Characters.

"Sir *Henry Slingsby* was in the firſt Rank of the "Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire*, and was returned to ſerve "as a Member in the Parliament that continued ſo "many Years, where he ſate till the Troubles began; and having no Relation to, or Dependance "upon the Court, he was ſwayed only by his Conſcience to deteſt the violent and undutiful Behaviour of that Parliament. He was a Gentleman of "a good Underſtanding, but of a very melancholick "Nature, and of very few Words: and when he "could ſtay no longer with a good Conſcience in their "Councils, in which he never concurred, he went "into his Country, and joined with the firſt who took "up Arms for the King. And when the War was "ended, he remained ſtill in his own Houſe, prepared "and diſpoſed to run the Fortune of the Crown in "any other Attempt. And having a good Fortune "and a general Reputation, had a greater Influence "upon the People than they who talked more and "louder, and was known to be irreconcileable to the "new Government, and therefore was cut off, notwithſtanding very great Interceſſion to preſerve "him: For he was Uncle to the Lord *Falconbridge*, "who engaged his Wife and all his new Allies to intercede for him, without effect. When he was brought "to die, he ſpent very little time in Diſcourſe; but "told them, *He was to die for being an honeſt Man, of which he was very glad.* Dr. *Hewet* was born a Gentleman, and bred a Scholar, and was a Divine before "the Beginning of the Troubles. He lived in *Oxford*, "and in the Army till the End of the War, and continued afterwards to preach with great Applauſe "in a little Church in *London*; where, by the Affection "of the Pariſh he was admitted, ſince he was enough "known to lie notoriouſly under the Brand of Malignity. When the Lord *Falconbridge* married *Cromwel*'s "Daughter (who had uſed ſecretly to frequent his "Church) after the Ceremony of the Time, he was "made choice of to marry them according to the Order "of the Church; which engaged both that Ld. and "Lady to uſe their utmoſt Credit with the Protector "to preſerve his Life: but he was inexorable, and deſirous that the Churchmen, upon whom he look'd "as his mortal Enemies, ſhould ſee what they were "to truſt to, if they ſtood in need of his Mercy." (*c*)

Trial of Mr. *John Mordant*.

Mr. *John Mordant*, one of the principal Actors,

(*a*) The Papiſts got in with all ſorts of *Enthuſiaſts* and taught them the uſe of the *Spirit*. How artfully they encouraged Enthuſiaſm and Myſtical Divinity does appear by the Book *Sancta Sophia*, compiled by Mr. *Creſſy* out of the Writings of Father *Auguſtine Baker*, ſet forth in 1657, with a Deſign as the Title tells us, *to give Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation.* And the *Preface* ſays, the *only proper Diſpoſition towards the receiving of Supernatural Irradiations from God's Holy Spirit is an Abſtraction of Life, a Sequeſtration from all buſineſs that concerns others, and an attendance to God alone in the Depth of the Spirit*, &c. See Dr. *Stillingfleet* Idol. Church of *Rome.* p. 285.

(*b*) See, The Speech of *JOHN LISLE*, Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice delivered upon his pronouncing the Sentence of Death on Sir *Henry Slingsby* of *Red-Houſe* in *Yorkſhire*, and the Reverend Dr. *John Hewit*, the 2d Day of *June*, 1658. Printed *London*, 1658. 4*to.*

See, The Trials of Sir *Henry Slingsby* Kt. *John Hewitt* Dr. in Divinity, and *John Mordaunt*, Eſq; for High-Treaſon in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, at which time the ſaid *John Mordaunt* was by the Court acquitted, and the others adjudged to Death, with the manner of their Execution on *Tower-Hill* the 8th of *June* following, with the Subſtance of their Speeches on the Scaffold. *London.* 1658. 4*to.*

(*c*) In a Manuſcript Latin Life of Dr. *John Barwick* Dean of *Paul*'s, it is ſaid, that Dr. *Hewitt* being aſſiſted on the Scaffold by Dr. *Barwick* delivered him a Ring inſcribed *Alter Ariſtides*: I have ſeen another with this Poſie *Herodes necuit Johannem*.

Was

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was brought next to the Bar, who firſt put in a Demurrer to the Court, and then pleaded his Cauſe with great Readineſs and Caution, taking Notes of the Witneſſes Evidence, and replying with ſo much preſence of Mind, that he was by the Majority of one ſingle Voice acquitted. Mr. *Mallory* having made his Eſcape, is ſuppoſed to have made his Peace, and then to have ſurrendered himſelf; for upon his Trial he pleaded Guilty, and had a Pardon. Sir *Humphry Bennet* had great Friends to make Application for him to the Commiſſioners, who ſaved his Life. Mr. *Carent* a Citizen (in whoſe Warehouſe Arms were found) was delivered by the Generoſity of Mr. *Pits*, who was produced to give the expected Evidence againſt him; but he utterly refuſed, and choſe rather to ſuffer Impriſonment, and a Fine of 500 *l.* to be laid upon him. Mr. *Stacy*, Mr. *Bettſly*, Mr. *Aſhton*, Mr. *Alten*, Mr. *Summers*, and Mr. *Fryar*, were all Condemned; and the three former Executed on *July 6.*

The Cruelty of *Cromwel* incenſed his Enemies and his very Friends.

This drawing of cool Blood made the Royaliſts more exaſperated, and the Protector more odious; eſpecially becauſe he refuſed his Mercy upon the greateſt Importunity from his neareſt Friends and Relations. The Lord *Falconbridge*, who on *Nov.* 18, 1657, had married *Mary* his third Daughter, and was now ſent his Ambaſſadour to *France*, made earneſt Suit for the Life of his Uncle Sir *Henry Slingsby*; but all his own Intereſt, and his Wife's, could not obtain that Favour. His beloved Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth Cleypole*, interceded for the pious Dr. *Hewit*, and yet in that only Inſtance had a Denial from her fond Father; which ſhe ſo grievouſly reſented, that this is ſaid to have been the occaſion of her laſt Sickneſs, wherein ſhe raved againſt Cruelty and Blood, and died at *Hampton-Court* on the 6th of *Auguſt*, leaving her Father to follow her within a Month from the very ſame Place. Her Body was carried by Water to *Weſtm.* and being laid in State in the *Painted-Chamber*, was ſolemnly interred in the Chapel of *Henry* VII. The old Earl of *Warwick* (ſoon after the marrying his Grandſon Mr. *Rich* to *Frances* youngeſt Daughter of *Cromwel*) died *April* 18, and the Earl of *Mulgrave*, one of his Highneſſes Council died on the Road to *London Aug.* 28 (*a*). *John Maynard* Eſq; was by Patent made the Protector's Serjeant at Law on *May* 1, and Sir *Thomas Widdrington* made Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer June 26.*

The Siege of *Dunkirk.*

The great Action abroad was the Siege and Battle of *Dunkirk.* The *French* King in Perſon, and the Cardinal his prime Miniſter, had a good Army on the edge of *Flanders*; and being joined by a great Body of the *Engliſh*, under the Command of General *Lockhart*, it was concluded to beſiege *Dunkirk*, and if taken to be put into the Hands of the *Engliſh.* The *Spaniſh* General *Don John* of *Auſtria* well knowing the importance of that Place, reſolved to raiſe the Siege, and advancing with 15000 Men, offered to relieve it, but in a deſperate Fight was entirely routed, and the Town ſoon after ſurrendered. There was ſomething in this Management that very much ſhews the Perfidiouſneſs of the *French*, and the Policy and Power of *Cromwel.* There was an Article in the Treaty between *France* and the Protector, that if *Dunkirk* came to be taken, it ſhould be immediately delivered up to the *Engliſh*, and his Ambaſſador and General *Lockhart* had Orders to take poſſeſſion of it. When the *French* Army being joined with the *Engliſh* Auxiliaries, was in its March to inveſt the Town, *Cromwel* ſent one Morning for the *French* Ambaſſador to *Whitehal*, and upbraided him publickly for his Maſter's deſigned breach of Promiſe, in giving ſecret Orders to the *French* General to keep Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, in caſe it was taken, contrary to the Treaty between them. The Ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begged leave to aſſure him, that there was no ſuch thing thought of. Upon which, *Cromwel* pulling a Paper out of his Pocket, *Here*, ſays he, *is the Copy of the Cardinal's Order; and I deſire you to diſpatch immediately an Expreſs, to let him know, that I am not to be impoſed upon; and that if he deliver not up the Keys of the Town of* Dunkirk *to* Lockhart *within an Hour after it ſhall be taken, tell him, I'll come in Perſon, and demand them at the Gates of* Paris. There were but four Perſons ſaid to be privy to this Order, the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, the Marſhal *de Turenne*, and a Secretary. The Cardinal for a long time blamed the Queen, as if ſhe might poſſibly have blabbed it out to ſome of her Women: Whereas it was found after the Secretary's Death, that he had kept a ſecret Correſpondence with *Cromwel* for ſeveral Years, and therefore it was not doubted but he had ſent him the Copy of the Order above mentioned. The Meſſage had its due effect; for *Dunkirk* was put into the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh:* And to palliate the Matter, the Duke and Marſhal of *Crequy* was diſpatched into *England* Ambaſſador Extraordinary to complement *Cromwel*, attended with a numerous and ſplendid Train of Perſons of Quality; among whom was a Prince of the Blood, and *Moncini Mazarine*'s Nephew, who brought a Letter from his Unkle to the Protector, full of the higheſt Expreſſions of Reſpect; and aſſuring his Highneſs, that *being within view of the* Engliſh *Shore, nothing but the King's Indiſpoſition* (who lay then ill of the Small-Pox at *Calais*) *could have hinder'd him from coming over to* England, *that he might enjoy the Honour of waiting upon one of the greateſt Men that ever was; and whom, next to his Maſter, his greateſt Ambition was to ſerve. But being deprived of ſo great a Happineſs, he had ſent the Perſon that was neareſt to him in Blood, to aſſure him of the profound Veneration he had for his Perſon, and how much he was reſolved to the utmoſt of his Power to cultivate a perpetual Amity and Friendſhip betwixt his Maſter and him.*

French perfidiouſneſs yields to *Cromwel's* Glory.

Dunkirk put into poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh.*

A good inſtance of the Grandeur of *Cromwel.*

Few Princes ever bore their Character higher upon all Occaſions than *Oliver Cromwel*, eſpecially in his Treaties with Crowned Heads. And it's a thing without Example, that is mentioned by one of the beſt informed Hiſtorians of the Age, *Puffendorf*, in the Life of the late Elector of *Brandenburgh*, that in *Cromwel*'s League with *France* againſt *Spain*, he would not allow the *French* King to call himſelf King of *France*, but of the *French*; whereas he took to himſelf not only the Title of Protector of *England*, but likewiſe of *France.* And which is yet more ſurprizing, and can hardly be believed, but for Authority of the Author, whoſe own * Words are in the Margin, in the Inſtrument of the Treaty, the Protector's Name was put before the *French* King's. It is true, *France* was then under a Minority, and was not arrived at that Greatneſs to which it has ſince attained: Towards which *Cromwel* contributed not a little by that League with *France* againſt *Spain*; being the falſeſt ſtep he ever made, with reſpect to the tranquillity of *Europe.*

* Puffendorf *de Rebus geſtis* Frederici Wilhelmi *Electoris* Brandenburgici *p.* 313. *Id porro Bellum Protectoris in* Hiſpanos *adeo opportunum* Gallo *accedebat, ut ſummo ſtudio iſtum fœdere ſibi innectere ſtuderet, etiam conceſſo, ut* Cromwellus *eundem* Gallorum Regem, *non* Galliarum *nuncuparet, alius ipſe Protectoris quoque* Franciæ *vocabulum ſicut* Angliæ *aſſumpturus ſimul pateretur* Cromwellum *Inſtrumento ſuo nomen Titulumque ante* Gallicum *ponere.*

The *French* King not the King of *France.*

It ought to be here obſerved, that in the publick Inſtruments of Correſpondence between States and Kingdoms, little Words and Phraſes are of great Importance, ſo far as they relate to Claims and Titles, whoſe loſs or preſervation may hereafter in great meaſure depend upon the ways of former Expreſſion of 'em. This diſtinction of the *King of France* and of the *French King*, thus nicely made by *Cromwel*, ought to be ſtudiouſly kept up to aſſert the Dignity and Stile of our *Engliſh* Princes: And I remember it obſerved by an accurate Perſon, that in our *Engliſh* Gazettes, that Monarch was continually called the *French King*, till the writing of thoſe publick Papers falling into the hands of Perſons unskilful or inadvertent, he had been now of late ſometimes called the *King of France.*

K. *Charles* diſappointed of all hopes.

But to return, King *Charles* was ready on the Sea-Coaſts

(*a*) See, A Sermon at the Funeral of *Edmund* Earl of *Mulgrave* at *Burton-Stather, September* 21, 1658. By *Edward Boteler* Rector of *Wintringham* in the County of *Lincoln.* 8*vo.* 1658.

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Coaſts of *Flanders* to have relieved the Expectation of his Friends in *England* by bringing over an Army under the Conduct of the Count of *Marſini*, General to the Prince of *Conde*, newly diſtinguiſhed with the Garter, to engage him with more Spirit and Honour in the Service of the King. But the diſcovery of that Deſign in *England*, and the execution of ſeveral Agents in it, and the clapping up moſt of the King's Friends, and the defeat of the *Spaniſh* before *Dunkirk*, where the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter* were engaged and forced to fly; and the ſurrendry of *Dunkirk*, and a ſtrong Garriſon put into it by *Cromwel*, and a Fleet and Harbour for a Guard on all thoſe Coaſts; it was impoſſible for the King to do any thing but to acquieſce under the Baſeneſs of *France* and the Grandeur of *Cromwel*.

And yet a favourable Juncture by the Death of *Cromwel*.

And yet a Revolution was now coming, that ſeemed to promiſe the moſt favourable Juncture in the World for reſtoring the King, that was the Death of the Uſurper: The Relation of it is thus given by one of his Fellow Regicides.

Ludlow's Account of it.

“After the Death of Mrs. *Cleypole*, it was obſerved that *Cromwel* grew Melancholy, and alſo diſtempered with divers Infirmities, particularly a malignant Humour in his Foot, which hindred him from the Exerciſes of walking or riding abroad: He obliged his Phyſicians to endeavour to diſperſe it, which they endeavouring to do, drove it upwards to his Heart. By this means he became deſperately Sick; and as ſome about him had for a long time deceived others, ſo they now endeavoured to impoſe upon God himſelf: For Dr. *Goodwin* his Creature and Trencher Chaplain, uſed this Expreſſion in his Prayer, during the time of his Sickneſs: *Lord, we beg not for his Recovery, for that thou haſt already granted and aſſured us of, but for his ſpeedy Recovery.* (*a*) —— At *Whitehal* they were unwilling to have it known that he was ſo dangerouſly ill; yet by reaſon of a Clauſe in the *Humble Petition and Advice* (which was the Rule of Government they pretended to act by) that the Protector ſhall have Power to nominate his Succeſſor, the Commiſſioners of the Great-Seal attended for ſigning the Declaration of the Perſon to be appointed to ſucceed him. But whether he was unwilling to diſcover his Intentions to leave the Succeſſion to his Son, leſt thereby he ſhould in caſe of Recovery diſoblige others, whom he had put in expectation of that Power; or whether he was ſo diſcompoſed in Body and Mind, that he could not attend that matter; or laſtly, whether he would have named, or did name any other, is to me uncertain. But certain it is, that the Commiſſioners were not admitted till the *Friday* following, when the Symptoms of Death were apparent upon him; and many Miniſters and others, aſſembled in a Chamber at *Whitehall* praying for him, whilſt he manifeſted ſo little Remorſe of Conſcience for his betraying the publick Cauſe, and ſacrificing it to the Idol of his own Ambition, that ſome of his laſt Words were rather becoming a Mediator than a Sinner, recommending to God the condition of the Nation that he had ſo infamouſly cheated, and expreſſing a great Care of the People whom he had ſo manifeſtly deſpiſed. But he ſeemed above all concerned for the Reproaches he ſaid Men would caſt upon his Name, in trampling on his Aſhes when dead. In this temper of Mind he departed this Life about two in the Afternoon; and the News of his Death being brought to thoſe who were met together to pray for him, Mr. *Sterry* ſtood up and deſired them not to be troubled: *For* (ſaid he) *this is good News; becauſe if he was of great uſe to the People of God, when he was amongſt us, now he will be much more ſo, being aſcended to Heaven, to ſit at the Right-hand of Jeſus Chriſt, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occaſions.*” (*b*)

Sir *Philip Warwick's* Account.

Sir *Philip Warwick* tells us, “That ſome time before his Death he ſeemed diſpirited; and by the Acquaintance (ſays he) I had with an old Gentlewoman, who made his Broths and Jellies, and other ſuch cockering Meats, I learnt, that for one while he frequently uſed theſe, and for another he took large draughts of Wine; and he ſeldom awaked, even in the Night, but with one or other of theſe he muſt be repleniſhed: So as at laſt falling into a Feaver, he ſoon fell into a Delirium; and one of his Phyſicians, whom I was intimately acquainted with, aſſured me, that during all his Sickneſs, he was never Maſter of ſo much Reaſon as to determine any thing of his Succeſſor or Matters of State: And yet his fulſome flattering Divines and Friends all gave themſelves aſſurance of his Recovery; inſomuch, as *Thomas Goodwin* in his ſaucy Expoſtulations with God in Prayer, would tell God, that *they asked not for his Life; for they were aſſured he had too great Things for this Man to do to remove him yet; but they prayed for his ſpeedy Recovery, becauſe his Life and Preſence were ſo neceſſary to divers things then of great Moment to be diſpatched.* But all this while this poor Gentleman lay diſturbed in his Head, and as it was thought, reflecting upon a then Meeting of the Independent Miniſters, that were aſſembled at the *Savoy*, to ſet forth their Articles of Faith: For the moſt that he ſaid was, *They muſt be ſatisfied, they muſt be ſatisfied, or elſe we all run into Blood again.* And tho' it was pretended at that time by *Thurlo* the Secretary and *Goodwin* the Miniſter, that he gave particular Directions to them, that his Son *Richard* ſhould be his Succeſſor, and they brought in others afterward to teſtifie the ſame; yet his Phyſician aſſured me, he never was in any ſuch Condition as diſtinctly to know what he did. And thus on his beloved and victorious Day, *Sept.* 3, 1658, he expired *ſiccâ morte*, ten Years after he had ſpilt the innocent Blood of the King; and tho' he had run thro' ſo many Dangers, and had ſo many Plots againſt his Life, and committed ſo many wicked and flagitious Acts, yet he breathed out his laſt in his Bed.” But as if the Elements as well as Men had waited for this Day; “It was very memorable (ſays a late Hiſtorian) for the greateſt Storm of Wind that had been ever known, for ſome Hours before and after his Death, which overthrew Trees, Houſes, and made great Wrecks at Sea: And the Tempeſt was ſo univerſal that the effects of it were terrible both in *France* and *Flanders*, where all People trembled at it; for beſides the Wrecks all along the Sea-Coaſts, many Boats were caſt away in the very Rivers; and within few Days after, the Circumſtance of his Death that accompanied the Storm was univerſally known.”

Rejoicing at his Death.

His Death was generally the moſt welcome News in the World at home and abroad, he having been every where feared and hated. The Royal Party had moſt reaſon to be forward in their Joys: for amidſt the diſtraction of Intereſts ariſing from the ſucceſs of the great Rebellion, nothing could have hindered the Return of a lawful Prince, but ſuch a ſingle Uſurper ſetting up himſelf, and re-eſtabliſhing Monarchy without the King: And they had reaſon to hope, that this great

(*a*) I heard one relate it as a Story from Dr. *Goodwin*'s own Mouth, that *Oliver*'s great Enquiry upon his ſick Bed, was, Whether a Man could fall from Grace? I hope not, ſays he, for I am ſure I was once in a State of Grace, &c.

(*b*) Major General *Butler* was preſent in the Protector's Chamber the Day before his Death, and took his laſt Prayer in Writing under his own hand, which original Paper I have ſeen, and I took this Copy of it:

His Highneſs's Prayer *Thurſday* in the Afternoon, being 2, *September* 1658.

I am a poor fooliſh Fellow, O Lord, and thy People would fain have me live, and they think it beſt for them I ſhould live, and they think if I live it will redound much to thy Glory; and all the Stir is about this. And ſome would fain have me dead; Lord, pardon them; and pardon thy fooliſh People, and forgive their Sin, and do not forſake them, but love them and bleſs them; and give them Reſt, and bring them to a Conſiſtency. And give me Reſt for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake, to whom with thee and thy Holy Spirit be Glory and Praiſe for evermore. And now, Lord, forgive me the Sin of this little fooliſh Prayer of mine.——I am a Conquerour, and more than a Conquerour, through Jeſus Chriſt that ſtrengthens me.

After theſe Words (ſaith Major *Butler*) he had little Senſe, but after ſome Hours toſſings, about three on *Friday* Morning he lay ſtill, and ſo continued till he expired at three in the Afternoon.

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Obſtructor being now taken away, he could not leave a Succeſſor of equal Genius with himſelf, but Feuds and Diviſions muſt be at laſt compoſed by the only way, that of reſtoring the Legal Government. The Commonwealth's Men were, if poſſible, more exceeding glad to be rid of him, for they thought him a Traitor to the People of *England*; and if their Power had ſerved, would have brought him to the ſame Puniſhment to which he had ſo villainouſly brought his Maſter: Even *Desborough* his Brother-in-law, and *Fleetwood* his Son-in-law, were in Confederacy with *Pickering* and *Sydenham*, and others of his Privy-Council (whom he thought ſecureſt to him) to bring back a beloved *Commonwealth*. And even all the Parties in *Religion* thought his Death would bring advantage to their ſeveral Cauſes: for he properly eſpouſed none, and kept all under. The Foreign States and Kingdoms did likewiſe all rejoice as in a common Deliverance. The *Dutch* had loſt Glory to him at Sea, and had found him more imperious in his Treaties and Terms than any *Engliſh* Monarch. The *Portugueſe* had been filled with Indignation at him; becauſe he had ſolemnly carried their Ambaſſador's Brother to be executed for a Tumult in *London*, notwithſtanding his Plea of being a Publick Miniſter. The *Spaniards* above all other Nations were diſpoſed to curſe his Memory, becauſe of their dreadful Suffering by his Arms at Sea and Land: And even the *French* Court, who by his aſſiſtance laid the Foundation of their ſucceeding Greatneſs, envied him as a Friend, and ſuſpected he might one Day prove their Enemy: And it was ſaid, that Cardinal *Mazarine* would change Countenance whenever he heard him named; ſo that it paſſed into a Proverb in *France*, that *The Cardinal was not ſo much afraid of the Devil as he was of* Oliver Cromwel.

The Character of Oliver Cromwel.

His Character is thus given by a generous Enemy the Lord *Clarendon*. "He was one of thoſe Men, *quos* " *vituperare ne inimici quidem poſſent, niſi ut ſimul laudent*; " whom his very Enemies could not condemn with- " out commending him at the ſame time: For he could " never have done half that Miſchief without great " parts of Courage, Induſtry, and Judgment. He " muſt have had a wonderful Underſtanding in the " Natures and Humours of Men, and as great a dex- " terity in applying them, who, from a private and " obſcure Birth (tho' of a good Family) without In- " tereſt or Eſtate, Alliance or Friendſhip, could raiſe " himſelf to ſuch a Height, and compound and knead " ſuch oppoſite and contradictory Tempers, Humours " and Intereſts into a Conſiſtence that contributed to " his Deſigns and to their own Deſtruction; whilſt " himſelf grew inſenſibly powerful enough to cut off " thoſe by whom he had climbed, in the inſtant " that they projected to demoliſh their own Build- " ing. What was ſaid of *Cinna* may very juſtly be " ſaid of him, *auſum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus*; " *perfeciſſe quæ à nullo, niſi fortiſſimo, perfici poſſent*, he " attempted thoſe things which no good Man durſt " have ventured on, and atchieved thoſe in which " none but a valiant and great Man could have ſuc- " ceeded. Without doubt no Man with more wick- " edneſs ever attempted any thing, or brought to " paſs what he deſired more wickedly, more in the " Face and Contempt of Religion and Moral Honeſty; " yet wickedneſs as great as his could never have " accompliſhed thoſe Deſigns, without the aſſiſtance " of a great Spirit, an admirable Circumſpection and " Sagacity, and a moſt magnanimous Reſolution.

" When he appeared firſt in the Parliament, he " ſeemed to have a Perſon in no degree Gracious, no " ornament of Diſcourſe; none of thoſe Talents " which uſe to conciliate the Affections of the Stan- " der-by: Yet as he grew into Place and Authority, " his Parts ſeemed to be raiſed, as if he had con- " cealed Faculties till he had occaſion to uſe them; " and when he was to act the part of a great Man, " he did it without any indecency, notwithſtanding " the want of Cuſtom.

" After he was confirmed and inveſted Protector " by the *Humble Petition and Advice*, he conſulted with " very few upon any Action of Importance, nor com- " municated any Enterprize he reſolved upon with " more than thoſe who were to have principal Parts " in the execution of it; nor with them ſooner than " was abſolutely neceſſary. What he once reſolved, " in which he was not raſh, he would not be diſſwa- " ded from, nor endure any contradiction of his " Power and Authority; but extorted Obedience " from them who were not willing to yield it.

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" One time when he had laid ſome very extraor- " dinary Tax upon the City, one *Cony* an eminent Fa- " natick, and one who had heretofore ſerved him very " notably, poſitively refuſed to pay his part; and " loudly diſſwaded others from ſubmitting to it, *as an* " *Impoſition notoriouſly againſt the Law, and the Property* " *of the Subject, which all honeſt Men were bound to de-* " *fend*. *Cromwel* ſent for him, and cajoled him with " the Memory of the old Kindneſs and Friendſhip " that had been between them; and that of all Men " he did not expect this oppoſition from him, in a " Matter that was ſo neceſſary for the good of the Com- " monwealth. It had been always his fortune to meet " with the moſt rude and obſtinate Behaviour from " thoſe who had formerly been abſolutely governed " by him, and they commonly put him in mind of " ſome Expreſſions and Sayings of his own in caſes " of the like Nature: So this Man remember'd him, " how great an Enemy he had expreſſed himſelf to " ſuch Grievances, and had declared, *that all who ſub-* " *mitted to them, and paid illegal Taxes, were more to* " *blame, and greater Enemies to their Country, than they* " *who had impoſed them; and that the Tyranny of Princes* " *could never be grievous but by the Tameneſs and Stupi-* " *dity of the People*. When *Cromwel* ſaw that he could " not convert him, he told him, that *he had a Will as* " *ſtubborn as his, and he would try which of them two* " *ſhould be Maſter*. Thereupon, with ſome Expreſſions " of Reproach and Contempt, he committed the Man " to Priſon, whoſe Courage was nothing abated by " it; but as ſoon as the Term came, he brought his " *Habeas Corpus* in the *King's-Bench*, which they then " called the Upper-Bench. *Maynard* who was of Coun- " cil with the Priſoner, demanded his Liberty with " great Confidence, both upon the illegality of the " Commitment, and the illegality of the Impoſition, " as being laid without any lawful Authority. The " Judges could not maintain or defend either, and " enough declared what their Sentence would be; " and therefore the Protector's Attorney required a " farther Day to anſwer what had been urged. Be- " fore that Day, *Maynard* was committed to the " *Tower*, for preſuming to Queſtion or make doubt " of his Authority; and the Judges were ſent for, " and ſeverely reprehended for ſuffering that Li- " cence: When they with all Humility mentioned " the Law and *Magna Charta*, *Cromwel* told them " with Terms of Contempt and Deriſion, *their Mag-* " *na F——— ſhould not controul his Actions, which he* " *knew were for the ſafety of the Commonwealth*. He " asked them, *Who made them Judges? Whether they* " *had any Authority to ſit there but what he gave them?* " *And if his Authority were at an end, they knew well* " *enough what would become of themſelves; and therefore* " *adviſed them to be more tender of that which could on-* " *ly preſerve them*; and ſo diſmiſſed them with cau- " tion, that *they ſhould not ſuffer the Lawyers to prate* " *what it would not become them to hear*.

" Thus he ſubdued a Spirit that had been often " troubleſome to the moſt Soveraign Power, and " made *Weſtminſter-hall* as obedient and ſubſervient " to his Commands as any of the reſt of his Quarters. " In all other Matters, which did not concern the " Life of his Juriſdiction, he ſeemed to have great " reverence for the Law, rarely interpoſing between " Party and Party. As he proceeded with this kind " of Indignation and Haughtineſs, with thoſe who " were refractory and durſt contend with his great- " neſs, ſo towards all who complied with his good " Pleaſure and courted his Protection, he uſed great " Civility, Generoſity, and Bounty.

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"To reduce three Nations which perfectly hated "him to an entire Obedience to all his Dictates; "to awe and govern thoſe Nations by an Army that "was indevoted to him, and wiſhed his Ruin, was "an Inſtance of a very prodigious Addreſs. But his "Greatneſs at home was but a ſhadow of the Glory "he had abroad. It was hard to diſcover which "feared him moſt, *France*, *Spain*, or the *Low Countries*, "where his Friendſhip was current at the Value he "put upon it. As they did all ſacrifice their Ho-"nour and their Intereſt to his Pleaſure, ſo there is "nothing he could have demanded that either of them "would have denied him. To manifeſt which, there "needs only two Inſtances: The firſt is when thoſe of "the Valley of *Lucern* had unwarily riſen in Arms "againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, which gave occaſion to "the Pope and the Neighbour Princes of *Italy*, to call "and ſollicit for their extirpation, and their Prince "poſitively reſolved upon it, *Cromwel* ſent his Agent "to the Duke of *Savoy*, a Prince with whom he had no "Correſpondence or Commerce, and ſo engaged the "Cardinal, and even terrified the Pope himſelf, with-"out ſo much as doing any Grace to the *Engliſh* Roman "Catholicks (nothing being more uſual than his ſay-"ing, that *his Ships in the* Mediterranean *ſhould viſit* "Civita Vecchia; *and that the ſound of his Cannon ſhould* "*be heard in* Rome) that the Duke of *Savoy* thought it "neceſſary to reſtore all that he had taken from "them, and did renew all thoſe Privileges they had "formerly enjoyed and newly forfeited.

"The other Inſtance of his Authority was yet "greater and more incredible. In the City of *Niſmes*, "which is one of the faireſt in the Province of *Lan-"guedoc*, and where thoſe of the Religion do moſt "abound, there was a great Faction at that Seaſon "when the Conſuls (who are the chief Magiſtrates) "were to be choſen. Thoſe of the Reformed Religion "had the confidence to ſet up one of themſelves for "that Magiſtracy, which they of the *Roman* Religion "reſolved to oppoſe with all their Power. The Diſſen-"tion between them made ſo much noiſe, that the "Intendant of the Province, who is the ſupreme Mi-"niſter in all Civil Affairs throughout the whole "Province, went thither to prevent any Diſorder "that might happen. When the Day of Election came, "thoſe of the Religion poſſeſſed themſelves, with "many armed Men, of the Town-Houſe where the "Election was to be made. The Magiſtrates ſent to "know what their meaning was; to which they an-"ſwered, *They were there to give their Voices for the* "*choice of the new Conſuls, and to be ſure that the Election* "*ſhould be fairly made.* The Biſhop of the City, the In-"tendant of the Province, with all the Officers of "the Church, and the preſent Magiſtrates of the "Town, went together in their Robes to be preſent "at the Election, without any ſuſpicion that there "would be any force uſed. When they came near "the Gate of the Town-Houſe, which was ſhut, and "they ſuppoſed would be opened when they came, "they within poured out a Volley of Muſket-ſhot "upon them, by which the Dean of the Church, and "two or three of the Magiſtrates of the Town were "killed upon the place, and very many others woun-"ded; whereof ſome died ſhortly after. In this "confuſion the Magiſtrates put themſelves into as "good a Poſture to defend themſelves as they could, "without any purpoſe of offending the other, till "they ſhould be better provided; in order to which, "they ſent an Expreſs to the Court, with a plain re-"lation of the whole Matter of Fact; *and that there* "*appeared to be no manner of Combination with thoſe* "*of the Religion in other places of the Province; but* "*that it was an Inſolence of thoſe in the place, upon the* "*preſumption of their great Numbers, which were little* "*inferior to thoſe of the Catholicks.* The Court was "glad of the occaſion, and reſolved that this Pro-"vocation, in which other Places were not involved, "and which no body could excuſe, ſhould warrant "all kind of Severity in that City, even to the pul-"ling down their Temples, and expelling many of "them for ever out of the City; which, with the "Execution and Forfeiture of many of the princi-"pal Perſons, would be a general Mortification to "all of the Religion in *France*, with whom they "were heartily offended, and a part of the Army "was forthwith ordered to march towards *Niſmes* to "ſee this executed with the utmoſt rigour.

"Thoſe of the Religion in the Town were quickly "ſenſible into what condition they had brought them-"ſelves, and ſent with all poſſible ſubmiſſion to the "Magiſtrates to excuſe themſelves, and to impute "what had been done to the raſhneſs of particular "Men, who had no order for what they did. The Ma-"giſtrates anſwered, *That they were glad they were ſen-* "*ſible of their Miſcarriage; but they could ſay nothing* "*upon the Subject till the King's pleaſure ſhould be known,* "*to whom they had ſent a full Relation of all that had* "*paſſed.* The others very well knew what the King's "Pleaſure would be, and forthwith ſent an Expreſs, "one *Moulins*, who had lived many Years in that "Place and in *Montpellier*, to *Cromwel* to deſire his "Protection and Interpoſition. The Expreſs made ſo "much haſte, and found ſo good a reception the "firſt Hour he came, that *Cromwel* after he had re-"ceived the whole Account, bid him *refreſh himſelf* "*after ſo long a Journey, and he would take ſuch care of* "*his Buſineſs, that by the time he came to* Paris *he ſhould* "*find it diſpatched*, and that Night ſent away ano-"ther Meſſenger to his Ambaſſador *Lockhart*; who "by the time *Moulins* came thither, had ſo far pre-"vailed with the Cardinal, that Orders were ſent "to ſtop the Troops which were upon their March "towards *Niſmes*; and within few Days after, *Mou-"lins* returned with a full Pardon and Amneſty from "the King, under the Great-Seal of *France*, ſo fully "confirmed with all Circumſtances, that there was "never farther mention made of it, but all things "paſſed as if there had never been any ſuch thing. "So that no body can wonder that his Memory re-"mains ſtill in thoſe Parts, and with thoſe People "in great Veneration.

"He would never ſuffer himſelf to be denied any "thing he ever asked of the Cardinal, alledging, that "*the People would not be otherwiſe ſatisfied*, which the "Cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to "thoſe with whom he would be free. One Day he "viſited Madam *Turenne*, and when he took his leave "of her, ſhe, according to her Cuſtom, beſought him "to continue gracious to the Churches. Whereupon "the Cardinal told her, *That he knew not how to be-* "*have himſelf; if he adviſed the King to puniſh and ſup-* "*preſs their Inſolence,* Cromwel *threatned him to join* "*with the* Spaniards; *and if he ſhewed any Favour to* "*them, at* Rome *they accounted him an Heretick.*

"To conclude his Character, *Cromwel* was not ſo "far a Man of Blood as to follow *Machiavel*'s Method, "which preſcribes, upon a total alteration of Go-"vernment, as a thing abſolutely neceſſary, to cut off "all the Heads of thoſe, and extirpate their Fami-"lies who are Friends to the old one. It was con-"fidently reported, that in the Council of Officers "it was more than once propoſed, that *there might* "*be a general Maſſacre of all the Royal Party, as the on-* "*ly Expedient to ſecure the Government*, but that *Crom-* "*wel* would never conſent to it; it may be out of "too great a contempt of his Enemies. In a word, "as he was guilty of many Crimes againſt which "Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-fire "is prepared, ſo he had ſome good Qualities, which "have cauſed the Memory of ſome Men in all Ages "to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by "Poſterity as a brave wicked Man."

The Conſequence of his Death was, that immediately the Council aſſembled and declared his Son *Richard* to be his Succeſſor by this notable Proclamation. *Richard made Protector.*

WHereas it hath pleaſed the moſt wiſe God in his Providence to take out of this World the moſt Serene and Renowned Oliver, *late Ld. Protector of this Commonwealth: And his Highneſs having in his Life-time, according to* the Humble Petition and Advice *declared and appoint-*

1658. 10 Car. II. *appointed the moſt Noble and Illuſtrious the Lord* Richard, *eldeſt Son of his late Highneſs, to ſucceed him in the Government of theſe Nations, We therefore of the Privy Council, together with the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of* London, *the Officers of the Army, and numbers of other principal Gentlemen, do now hereby with one full Voice and Conſent of Tongue and Heart, Publiſh and Declare the ſaid Noble and Illuſtrious Lord* Richard *to be rightful Protector of this Commonwealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging: To whom we do acknowledge all Fidelity and conſtant Obedience, according to Law, and the ſaid* Humble Petition and Advice, *with all hearty and humble Affections beſeeching the Lord, by whom Princes Rule, to bleſs him with long Life, and theſe Nations with Peace and Happineſs under his Government.*

Richard Chiverton *Mayor.*	Fauconberg.
Henry Laurence *Preſident.*	Edw. Whaley.
Nathaniel Fiens *C. S.*	W. Goff.
John Liſle *C. S.*	Tho. Cooper.
C. Fleetwood.	Oliver Flemming.
P. Liſle.	John Clerk.
John Desborough.	Tho. Pride.
E. Mountague.	Edm. Prideaux.
Gilb. Pickering.	Tobias Bridge.
C. Wolſeley.	Edw. Salmon.
Philip Skippon.	Jo. Biſcoe.
William Sydenham.	Waldine Lagoe.
Wal. Strickland.	John Mill.
Phil. Jones.	E. Groſvenour.
Jo. Thurloe.	

God ſave his Highneſs Richard *Lord Protector.*

Proceedings of the new Protector. Then the Council proceeded to give the Oath of Government to the new Protector, who publiſhed a Proclamation for all Officers to continue in their Places; and the Maſter of the Ceremonies was ordered to acquaint all Foreign Miniſters with the Death of the late Protector, and the Succeſſion of his Son *Richard*; which ſoon brought over many new Ambaſſadors and *Envoys* from the neighbour Princes and States, all admitted with due Ceremony to a ſolemn Audience given by his Highneſs, to condole the Death of his Father, and to congratulate his Succeſſion to the Government; while infinite Addreſſes came up from all Parts of the three Kingdoms, to complement the new Protector with mighty Profeſſions of publick Joy and Satisfaction, and with ſolemn Reſolutions and Promiſes of adhering to him againſt all his Enemies. And indeed the general Exultation of the People and Armies was ſo very great upon this new Succeſſion, that it muſt be imputed more to the common Senſe of Deliverance from one Tyrant, than to their Hopes or Expectations from this other Protector; who was

Richard a mean Man. raiſed to the Government without any Reſpect or good Opinion in the Minds of the People or the Soldiers. For he had been neither a Military Man, nor a Stateſman; rather an honeſt Country Gentleman, bred to Privacy and Sports, and willing to ſerve his Neighbours, and even the Cavaliers, by the little Intereſt he had in his Father's Court. His own Father ſeemed to have the leaſt Affection and the loweſt Opinion of this Son, among all his other Children: He never truſted him in any Command, nor employed him in any true Buſineſs: He made him indeed Chancellor of *Oxford*, and put him at the Top of the *other Houſe* in Parliament: but this was rather for the Honour of his Family, than for the Love of his Son. He never let him into any Secrets of Policy nor any Arts of War; and therefore it is plain, he never deſigned him for his Succeſſor, becauſe he never trained him up to it. 1658. 10 Car. II.

Cromwel's Funeral. One of the firſt Acts of the new Government, was to order the Funeral of the late Uſurper; and the Council having reſolved that it ſhould be very magnificent, the Care of it was referred to a Committee of them, who ſending for Mr. *Kinnerſley*, Maſter of the Wardrobe, deſired him to find out ſome Precedent by which they might govern themſelves in this important Affair. After Examination of his Books and Papers, Mr. *Kinnerſly*, who was ſuſpected to be inclined to Popery, recommended to them the Solemnities uſed upon the like occaſion for *Philip* II, King of *Spain*, who had been repreſented to be in Purgatory for about two Months. In the like manner was the Body of this great Reformer laid in *Somerſet-houſe*. The Apartment was hung with Black, the Day-light was excluded, and no other but that of Wax-Tapers to be ſeen. This Scene of Purgatory continued till the firſt of *November*, which being the Day preceding that commonly called *All Souls*, he was removed into the Great Hall of the ſaid Houſe, and repreſented *in Effigie*, as lying on a Bed of Crimſon Velvet, covered with a Gown of the like coloured Velvet, a Sceptre in his Hand, and a Crown on his Head. That part of the Hall wherein the Bed ſtood was railed in, and the Rails and Ground within them covered with Crimſon Velvet: Four or five hundred Candles ſet in flat ſhining Candleſticks, were ſo placed round near the Roof of the Hall, that the Light they gave ſeemed like the Rays of the Sun. By all which he was repreſented to be now in a State of Glory. This Folly and Profuſion ſo far provoked the People, that they threw Dirt in the Night on his Eſcutcheon, that was placed over the great Gate of *Somerſet-Houſe*. I purpoſely omit the reſt of the Pageantry, the great Number of Perſons that attended on the Body, the Proceſſion to *Weſtminſter*, the vaſt Expence in Mourning, the State and Magnificence of the Monument erected for him, with many other things that I care not to remember. To this Account may be added, That this pompous Funeral of *Cromwel* was celebrated on *Nov.* 23, and the exceſſive Charges of it never half paid, as if the very dead Body was to uſurp upon the Rights and Properties of the People (*a*). It was Interred in the moſt ſacred and ſolemn Place of the (*b*) Abbey, above the High Altar, with a Monument excelling that of any Crowned Head: But

(*a*) See, The Relation given in *Foxes and Firebrands*, 8vo. p. 95. of Dr. *Peter Talbot* the Popiſh titular Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, very intimate with *Cromwel*, and a ſtrict Mourner at his Funeral.

(*b*) There remains a Queſtion where his Body was really buried: It was in appearance at *Weſtminſter Abby*: It was more truly in *Naſeby Field*; and poſſibly in neither Place, but as others report, it was carried below Bridge and thrown into the *Thames*. Moſt agree, that he had dealt deceitfully with the Body of K. *Charles* I. and was the more inclined to prevent any Indignities that might be offered to his own Body in a Change of Times. * One Gentleman gave me this Note in Writing. "Soon after the Reſtoration, the then Serjeant of the Houſe of Commons was ordered by the Houſe to go with his Officers to St. *Peter's Weſtminſter*, and demand the Body of *Oliver Cromwel* buried there, to be taken up in order to be diſpoſed of in the manner the Houſe ſhould adjudge fitting. Whereupon the ſaid Serjeant went, and in the middle Iſle of *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel at the Eaſt-End, upon taking up the Pavement, in a Vault was found his Corps, in the inſide of whoſe Coffin, and upon the breaſt of the Corps was laid a Copper-Plate finely gilt, incloſed in a thin Caſe of Lead, on the one ſide whereof were engraved the Arms of *England*, impaled with the Arms of *Oliver*, and on the Reverſe this following Legenda:

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reipublicæ* Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ. *Natus* 25° Aprilis, 1599. *Inauguratus* 16° Decembris, 1653. *Mortuus* 3tio Septembris, *Anno* 1658. *Hic ſitus eſt.*

"The ſaid Serjeant believing the Plate to be Gold, took it pretendedly as his Fee, and Mr. *Gifford* of *Colcheſter*, who married the Serjeant's Daughter, has now the Plate, which his ſaid Father-in-law told him, he came by in the manner above related."

"Yet another Account is given, as averred and ready to be depoſed (if occaſion required) by Mr. *Barkſtead*, Son to *Barkſtead* the Regicide who was Executed as ſuch ſoon after the Reſtoration, the Son being at the time of *Cromwel's* Death about the Age of fifteen Years: That the ſaid Regicide *Barkſtead* being Lieutenant of the *Tower* of *London*, and a great Confident of the Uſurper, did among other ſuch Confidents, in the time of the Uſurper's Sickneſs, deſire to know, where he would be Buried; to which he anſwered, *Where he had obtained the greateſt Victory and Glory, and as nigh the Spot as could be gueſſed, where the Heat of the Action was, viz. in the Field at* Naſeby *Com.* Northampton. Which accordingly was thus performed; At Midnight (ſoon after his Death) being firſt Embalmed and wrapt in a Leaden Coffin, the Body was in a Herſe conveyed to the ſaid Field, the ſaid Mr. *Barkſtead* by order of his Father, attending cloſe to the

within

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within leſs than two Years the Pile was broken down, and the Body carried to a more proper Place.

A new Parliament called.

On *Dec.* 4, the Protector, by Advice of his Council, reſolved to call a Parliament to meet on the 27th Day of *January* next (*a*): And in order to it, theſe three Queſtions were debated,

"1. Whether the Elections ſhould be made by the "Counties, Cities, and chief Towns, according to the "Diſtribution agreed on by the Long Parliament, "and practiſed by *Cromwel*: Or whether they ſhould "be made by the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, ac-"cording to the ancient Law of the Land?" It was determined for the latter way; which broke the Meaſures of the Court, and ſet the People upon Hopes of a Free Parliament, and gave many of the Commonwealth's Men an Opportunity to be elected in private Boroughs, who dared not yet to have appeared in the open Counties and Cities.

"2. How the other Houſe ſhould be ſummoned, "whether by a new general Form, or by particular "Writs of Summons, as anciently uſed to the Peers?" It was carried for the latter, under the ſame Pretence of bringing all things back to the ancient Courſe of Law. But this too was a Diſadvantage to the new Government; for when the Houſes met, they quarrelled upon the Forms of Meeting, and the Commons would not treat with thoſe new Nobles without ſaving the Rights of ancient Peerage.

"3. Concerning the thirty Members to ſerve for "*Scotland*, and thirty for *Ireland*, whether or how "they ſhould be choſen? There having been as "yet no diſtribution of Powers to Elect, as it was "ordered there ſhould be in the humble Petition "and Advice." It was at laſt concluded, that Members ſhould be choſen for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as had been practiſed in the time of *Cromwel*, with this Proviſo, that they ſhould not be admitted to ſit, till the Conſent of thoſe choſen for *England* was firſt obtained. And this again occaſioned a fierce Contention in the Houſe about admitting or rejecting the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Members. —— So as the way of projecting and modelling this Parliament made the very Conſtitution of it to be Strife and Diviſion.

Meeting of the Parliament.

When the Parliament met *Jan.* 27, Mr. *Challoner Chute* was choſen Speaker of the Commons, who was ſo much indiſpoſed with the Heats and Tumults of the Houſe, that in the beginning of *March* Sir *Lillibone Long* was choſen to ſupply his Place, in which he ſoon after died, and Mr. *Bamfield* was appointed Speaker *pro tempore*; then Mr. *Chute* died, and *Bamfield* was voted to keep his Poſſeſſion: A fatal Parliament, that killed two Speakers before it diſpatched any Buſineſs. An Oath was required of any ſitting Member, not to act or contrive any thing againſt the Lord Protector: but ſome of the old Republicans declined the Oath, and had Intereſt enough in the Houſe to ſit and vote without it. The only two Parties were thoſe for the preſent Government or new Protector, and thoſe for a Commonwealth. All that were ſuſpected to have been Royaliſts, on which ſide ſoever they voted, were expelled the Houſe by the Complaint and Clamours of the other ſide. Mr. Secretary *Thurlo*, Leader of the Court Party, preſented a Declaration ready drawn, as a Bill for the Recognition of *Richard Cromwel* to be lawful Lord Protector, and the former Petition and Advice to be ſtill the Rule of Government for theſe Nations. Sir *Henry Vane* and his Commonwealth Party oppoſed this Declaration with great vehemence, urging, that the Protector's Right ought to be founded on the Conſent of the People; and therefore the Word *Recogniſing* ought at leaſt to be altered into that of *Agniſing*, to make his Authority ſtand upon the true bottom. And yet the Court-Party did at laſt carry their Queſtion, but by ſo ſmall a majority, that the other Party quickly grew upon them; till the Officers and Army formed themſelves into a third Party, and ſwallowed up both the other.

State of Religion.

Religion had been ſo proſtituted to the moſt vile and wicked Ends, that the Face of it began to be aſhamed. The Presbyterians appeared to be the moſt ſedate and ſober Party, but *Cromwel* thought 'em all Hypocrites toward Heaven, and diſaffected toward his Perſon and Government. The Independents were the Faction by whoſe Intereſt he had raiſed himſelf; and therefore for Gratitude he was expreſly for them, or, rather out of Policy, knowing their Tenets to have been born and bred in a Camp, and well ſuited to his Military arbitrary Power, and equally averſe to the old legal Monarchy, and to the new-invented Commonwealth. But the World did not yet know what the Religion of the Independents was; for it had not been drawn into any publick Confeſſion; nor had the Leaders met in any one General Aſſembly. To make up this defect, *Cromwel* reſolved upon a Convention or Aſſembly of the Independent Miniſters, whom he called to meet at the *Savoy*, there to treat with the Presbyterians, and come, if poſſible, to ſome Accommodation with them. They were here Sitting and Debating at the time of *Cromwel*'s Death, and gave him ſome Diſtraction to hear of their Diſputes and Quarrels. After his Death, they publiſhed *a Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practiſed in the Congregational Churches in* England, *agreed upon and conſented unto by their Elders and Meſſengers in their Meeting at the* Savoy, *Octob.* 12, 1658.

The Independents the prevailing Party.

Aſſembly of them.

Declaration of their Faith and Order.

But it was now too late to paſs their Scheme into a National Religion: for the new Protector not being Heir to his Father's Politicks nor Conſcience, was more inclinable to the Presbyterians, by whom he was ſervilely courted, and eſpecially by Mr. *Baxter* (*b*). This Presbyterian Spirit was got much into the new Houſe of Commons, and ſhewed it ſelf in their Declaration for a Faſt, wherein they had this Expreſſion, that *they ought to take Shame unto themſelves for neglecting to ſettle the Government of the Church, and for having permitted ſo many erroneous and heretical Opinions to be divulged*: Tho' *Richard*, for want of the Arts of Diſſembling, was no Bigot to any of the Ways which they called the Ways of Godlineſs, and therefore was the leſs able to work upon any Party. A Member of his Parliament tells us, *That a certain inferiour Officer having publickly murmured at the Advancement of ſome that had been Cavaliers, to Commands in the Army, he was carried to* Whitehall *to anſwer for the ſame*: Richard Cromwel, *beſides other reproachful Language, asks him in a deriding manner, whether he would have him prefer none but thoſe that were godly? Here*, continued he, *is* Dick Ingoldsby, *who can neither Pray nor Preach, and yet I will truſt him before you all.* Thoſe imprudent as well as irreligious Words, ſo clearly diſcovering the Frame and Temper of his Mind, were ſoon publiſhed in the Army and City of *London*, to his great Prejudice. And from this time, all Men among them, who made but the leaſt Pretences to Religion and Sobriety, began to think themſelves unſafe whilſt he governed; and thereupon ſoon formed a Reſolution to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to divide the Military from the Civil Power, and to place the Command

The new Protector inclinable to the Presbyterians.

Richard not a Bigot, nor enough a Hypocrite.

"Herſe, and being come to the Field, they there found about "the midſt of it, a Grave dug about nine Feet deep, with the "green Sod carefully laid on one ſide, and the Mould on the "other, in which the Coffin being ſoon put, the Grave was "inſtantly filled up, and the green Sod laid exactly flat upon it. "Care being taken that the ſurplus Mould was clean taken "away. Soon after like Care was taken, that the ſaid Field "was entirely ploughed up, and ſown 3 or 4 Years ſucceſſively "with Corn. Several other material Circumſtances the ſaid "Mr. *Barkſtead* (who now frequents *Richard*'s Coffee-houſe "within *Temple-Bar*) relates, (too long to be here inſerted) and "particularly after the Reſtoration, his Conference with the "late witty Duke of *Buckingham*."

(*a*) See, A Declaration of his Highneſs for a Day of ſolemn Faſting and Humiliation upon calling the Parliament to meet in *January* next, to be obſerved in *England* and *Wales* on *Wedneſday* the 29th of *December*, and in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, on *Wedneſday* the 5th of *January* next. Given at *Whitehal* 16 *December* 1658. Printed by his Highneſs's Printers; in two Sheets Folio.

(*b*) See, *By his Highneſs*, A Proclamation for the better Encouragement of Godly Miniſters, and others, and their enjoying their Dues and Liberty according to Law, without being moleſted by Indictments for not uſing the Common-Prayer Book. Given at *Whitehall* 25, *November* 1658. Printed in three Sheets for his Highneſſes Printers. Fol. 1658.

1659. 11 Car. II. of the Army in Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*.

The Army againſt the Protector and the Parliament. While the Sitting Parliament was miſerably divided between the Governing Party and the old Commonwealth's Men; the chief Officers in the Army formed themſelves into a third Party more formidable than both the others, becauſe they had the Sword in their Hand, and wanted Money. Theſe met and conſulted frequently at *Wallingford-Houſe*, the Dwelling of *Fleetwood*: and having drawn over ſeveral of the Republican Commoners, *Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Haſlerig*, and others; they at firſt kept fair with the Protector, and upon the Tumults in the two Houſes they wheedled him into an Opinion of the Neceſſity of calling a *General Council* of Officers, in order to preſent ſomething to the Parliament for the Regulation and Maintenance of the Army. He not ſuſpecting their Deſign, conſented to the Propoſition: and having iſſued out an Order to that purpoſe, this Military *General Council* met, and quickly aſſumed ſo much Power to themſelves, that on *Apr.* 20, they preſented a Remonſtrance to the Protector, againſt the Proceedings of the Parliament; who, to be even with them, voted, 1. *That during the Sitting of this Parliament, there ſhall be no General Council, or Meeting of the Officers of the Army, without Direction and Authority of his Highneſs the Lord Protector, and both Houſes of Parliament.* 2. *That no Perſon ſhall have or continue any Command or Truſt in the Army, who ſhall refuſe to Subſcribe, That he will not diſturb or interrupt the free Meetings in Parliament of any the Members of either Houſe of Parliament, or their Freedom in their Debates or Counſels.* The Protector, a dubious and unſkilful Manager, endeavoured to execute the Parliamentary Votes, and forbid the General Meeting: But the Officers were now too ſtrong to obey. On *April* 22, *Friday* Morning, *Fleetwood* the Protector's Brother, *Desborough* his Uncle, and other Leaders, brought up their Forces to *Whitehall*, and forced him, poor Man, to conſent to a Commiſſion and Proclamation ready drawn for Diſſolving the Parliament; which they took care to execute by locking up the Doors, and guarding of them.

Richard terrified into Diſſolving the Parliament.

When the Army had thus delivered themſelves from the Parliament, their remaining Grievance was the Protector himſelf, whom they reſolved to lay aſide, and to declare for the *Good Old Cauſe*, a Commonwealth without a ſingle Perſon or a Houſe of Peers. To purſue this Deſign, they drew up an Inſtrument, intitled, *A Declaration of the Officers of the Army, inviting the Members of the Long Parliament, who continued Sitting till the 20th of* April 1653, *to return to the Exerciſe and Diſcharge of their Truſts.* Signed *May* 6, by the Direction of the Lord *Fleetwood*, and the Council of Officers of the Army. Delivered to the old Speaker by *Lambert* and a Train of other Officers. Upon this, many ſecluded Members of the Rump Parliament paid a Viſit to their Speaker, and ſignified to him (as was concerted) their Willingneſs to return to the Diſcharge of their Truſt.

The Rump reſtored. This Rump, violently thruſt out by *Cromwel*, and now as illegally thruſt in by the Army, met on *Saturday* May 7, and ſoon agreed on a Declaration, *That they were reſolved to ſettle the Commonwealth upon ſuch a Foundation as ſhall aſſert, eſtabliſh, and ſecure the Properties and Liberties of the People in reference to all, both as Men and Chriſtians, and that without a ſingle Perſon, Kingſhip, or Houſe of Peers: and they will vigorouſly endeavour carrying on of the Reformation ſo much deſired and ſo often declared for, to the end there may be a godly and faithful Magiſtracy and Miniſtry upheld and maintained in the Nation, to the Glory and Praiſe of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to the reviving and making glad the Hearts of the Upright in the Land.* But theſe Gentlemen were to remember, that they were but new Tools in the Hands of the Army, and were to be managed by them.

The Army preſcribe a Commonwealth. Hence the Army brought them their *humble Petition* and *Addreſs*, deſiring, that is, preſcribing, 1. The Government of a Free State and Commonwealth, without a ſingle Perſon, Kingſhip, or Houſe of Peers. 2. A juſt and due Regulation of Law, and Courts of Juſtice and Equity. 3. An Act of Oblivion for All that had acted ſince the 9th of *April* 1653. 4. The Diſcharge of all publick Debts contracted ſince the 20th of *April* 1653. 5. Liberty of Conſcience not extending to Popery or Prelacy. 6. A godly, faithful, and painful Goſpel-preaching Miniſtry to be countenanced and maintained. 7. All Perſons adhering to the late King, or to *Charles Stuart* his Son, to be removed from all Places of Truſt. 8. To prevent the long Sitting of Parliaments, and to provide for a due Succeſſion of them. 9. To own and acknowledge the Ld. *Charles Fleetwood* to be General of the Land Forces of this Commonwealth. 10. To put the Adminiſtration of all executive Power of Government in a Council of State. 11. To diſcharge all Debts contracted by his Highneſs or his Father ſince the 15th of *Dec.* 1653. To ſettle 10000 *l. per Annum* upon *Richard Cromwel* and his Heirs, and 10000 *l.* more upon him during Life, and 8000 *l.* a Year upon his Mother during her Life.

This Inſtrument was delivered in the Houſe on the 12th of *May* by *Lambert* at the Head of ſeveral Officers, with this Speech:

Mr. Speaker,

Lambert's Speech. *WE are commanded, by the Officers of the Army, to preſent before you their humble Petition and Addreſs. There are ſeveral things contained in it, which have been a long time upon their hands; but now finding, to their great Joy and Satisfaction, that you are returned, in diſcharge of their Truſt they thought it unfit to neglect this Opportunity, but have commanded us to preſent this Petition.*

Then they withdrew; and the Houſe, upon debating the Matter, ordered their Speaker to return them this Anſwer:

Speaker's Anſwer. *I Am commanded by the Houſe to tell you, they have read the Petition and Addreſs, and that as they found your Affection before they came hither, ſo they find that Affection continuing. The things contained in your Petition are of great weight, and many more things of great weight are laying before the Houſe. And it is concerning the Settlement for which the Divine Providence of God hath brought us hither, who we hope ſhall never depart from us. The Houſe finds in your Advice much of Love and Affection, and have commanded me to acknowledge that Love and Affection you have ſhewn, and to give you Thanks, very hearty Thanks, for your Love and Expreſſions of it; and accordingly, in their Name, I do give you very hearty Thanks.*

The Houſe, upon firſt Debate of the Articles, agreed to all of them, excepting that in favour of *Richard* and his Family; having, as 'tis thought, ſecret Inſtructions from the Army to put ſome Slight and Indignity upon that Cypher of Government. And therefore they appointed a Committee to receive his Submiſſion to their Authority, and to take a ſtate of his Debts before they would do any thing for him. He was full of Compliance, and gave in his formal Submiſſion, with a Schedule of his Debts annexed. What was contracted for his Father's Funeral (in deſpite to his Memory) they abſolutely rejected, and declined the Settlement of any Revenue upon him or his Mother; only gave him a ſmall Sum to diſcharge part of his private Debts, and required him and all his Dependents to remove from *Whitehall* in ſix Days time. The next thing they did was to call home *Henry Cromwel* from his Government in *Ireland*, where he had been very popular, and had an Army under good Diſcipline: but ſeeing the Tide turn ſtrongly, he would not offer to oppoſe it.

There is a pleaſant Story told by the Lord *Clarendon*, which may here be inſerted. Says he, *It may not prove ungrateful to the Reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleaſant Story that related to this miſerable* Richard, *tho' it happened long afterwards; becauſe there will be ſcarce again any occaſion ſo much as to mention him during the continuance of this Relation. Shortly after the King's Return, and the manifeſt Joy that poſſeſſed the whole Kingdom thereupon, this poor Creature found it neceſſary to tranſport himſelf into* France, *more for fear of his Debts than of the King; who thought it not neceſſary to enquire after a Man ſo long forgotten. After he had lived ſome Years in* Paris *untaken notice of, and indeed unknown, living in a moſt obſcure Condition and Diſguiſe,*

nor

1659. 11 Car. II. *not owning his own Name, nor having above one Servant to attend him; he thought it neceſſary, upon the firſt Rumour and Apprehenſion that there was like to be a War between* England *and* France, *to quit that Kingdom, and to remove to ſome place that would be neutral to either Party; and pitched upon* Geneva. *Making his way thither by* Bourdeaux, *and thro' the Province of* Languedoc, *he paſſed thro'* Pezenas, *a very pleaſant Town belonging to the Prince of* Conti, *who hath a fair Palace there, and, being then Governour of* Languedoc, *made his Reſidence in it.*

In this Place Richard *made ſome ſtay; and walking abroad to entertain himſelf with the View of the Situation, and of many things worth the ſeeing, he met with a Perſon who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his Father's and of his Party; ſo that they were glad enough to find themſelves together. The other told him,* That all Strangers who came to that Town uſed to wait upon the Prince of *Conti*, the Governour of the Province, who expected it, and always treated Strangers, and particularly the *Engliſh*, with much Civility: that he need not be known, but that he himſelf would firſt go to the Prince and inform him, that another *Engliſh* Gentleman was paſſing thro' that Town towards *Italy*, who would be glad to have the Honour to kiſs his Hand. *The Prince received him with great Civility and Grace, according to his natural Cuſtom, and after few Words, began to diſcourſe of the Affairs of* England, *and asked many Queſtions concerning the King, and whether all Men were quiet, and ſubmitted obediently to him? Which the other anſwered briefly, according to the Truth.* Well, *ſaid the Prince, Oliver*, tho' he was a Traytor and a Villain, was a brave Fellow, had great Parts, great Courage, and was worthy to Command; but that *Richard*, that Coxcomb, *Coquin, Poltron*, was ſurely the baſeſt Fellow alive: What is become of that Fool? How was it poſſible he could be ſuch a Sot? *He anſwered*, That he was betrayed by thoſe whom he moſt truſted, and who had been moſt obliged by his Father. *So being weary of his Viſit, quickly took his Leave, and the next Morning left the Town, out of fear that the Prince might know that he was the very Fool and Coxcomb he had mentioned ſo kindly. And within two Days after, the Prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated ſo well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believed to be a Man not very glad of the King's Reſtoration.*

The Royaliſts hope for ſome Advantage. The Royaliſts could not forbear attempting to make ſome advantage of theſe Confuſions, and therefore were now ready to riſe in all parts of the Kingdom; and a Declaration was publiſhed in the Names of the Lords, Gentlemen and Citizens, Freeholders and Yeomen of this once happy Nation; ſome little Efforts were made to no purpoſe in the South, and Weſt parts of *England* (*a*); but the moſt conſiderable Body that was together was in *Cheſhire*, under the command of Sir *George Booth*, who with the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Kilmurry*, and Major General *Egerton*, met at *Warrington* in a ſmall Party, and had ſoon an acceſſion of great numbers of the Gentry (*b*). Col. *Roger Whitley* brought a Meſſage to Sir *George Booth* from his Majeſty, with an account of his Majeſty's Preparations beyond Sea, and that he was ready to come over when the firſt opportunity ſhould call him. This being a great ſatisfaction to the Party now encreaſed to 500 Men, they reſolved to march to *Cheſter*, and by the Intereſt of Col. *Worden* had the Gates opened to them; then *Egerton* was ſent with a Party to *Chirk-Caſtle*, where Sir *Thomas Middleton* hearing of his approach opened the Gates and joyfully received him. Col. *Whitley* put a Garriſon into *Harding-Caſtle* in *Flintſhire*, then belonging to Judge *Glynne*: Col. *Ireton* declared for them in *Liverpool*, and Mr. *Brooks* and Mr. *Dunch*, two of the Members of the Houſe, to atone for their former Diſloyalties joined alſo with them.

Riſing in Cheſhire.

Lambert ſent againſt them. Upon the noiſe of this Riſing on *Aug.* 5, *Lambert* was immediately diſpatched with a good Body of Forces. Sir *George Booth* hearing that *Lambert* was drawing near, was retiring into *Lancaſhire* to gain time, and encreaſe his Numbers; and for better amuſement, he ſends a Trumpeter to *Lambert* with two Miniſters, to ſhew the cauſe of their appearing in Arms, and to deſire a Treaty for ſaving the effuſion of *Engliſh* Blood. *Lambert* would agree to nothing, without firſt laying down their Arms and ſurrendring all their Garriſons. Having no reply, he preſſed hard upon them at *Winnington-bridge* near *Northwich* in *Cheſhire*, and gave them an entire Rout. Capt. *Morris* a gallant Gentleman was killed; the Lord *Kilmory, Brooks, Egerton, O Neale* and others were taken Priſoners: Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Thomas Middleton* made their Eſcapes; but Sir *George* was afterward taken in Diſguiſe at *Newport-Paynel* in *Buckinghamſhire*, by the Treachery of one *Carter* his Hoſt at the *George-Inn*; and ſoon after the Earl of *Derby*, Col. *Shawcroſs* and others were taken. Routs them. Sir George Booth taken.

Lambert was ſo fluſhed with this Victory, that at *Derby* he conſults with his chief Officers how to reſtore the Military Power to its former Grandeur, and to reform all Miſcarriages in the Civil Adminiſtration; and concluded to draw up their Intentions in the Form of *A Petition to the Parliament* to redreſs their Grievances. Upon the News of this Project Sir *Arthur Haſterigge* in the Houſe exclaimed againſt it, as a deſign for altering the Government and ſetting up another ſingle Perſon. Under this Jealouſie the Houſe ordered *Sept.* 22, that *Aſhfield, Cobbet*, and *Duckingfield* (in whoſe hands it was) ſhould bring the original Paper into the Houſe that Afternoon; and next Day to check the Ambition of *Lambert*, whom they ſuſpected to be riding over the Head of *Fleetwood*, they paſſed a Vote, *That to have any more General Officers in the Army than are already ſettled by the Parliament, is Uſeleſs, Chargeable, and Dangerous to the Commonwealth*; and ſoon after paſt *An Act againſt raiſing any Money without conſent of Parliament*; and made Application to General *Fleetwood* to protect them from his Rival *Lambert*, and got a Declaration from his part of the Army for adhering to the Parliament. And then the Houſe thought themſelves able to make an Order *Octob.* 12, that the Commiſſions of *Lambert, Desborough, Kelſey, Aſhfield, Cobbet, Packer*, and *Berry* ſhould be all void, and they ſhould be ſucceeded by the next Officers in their ſeveral degrees. But then again afraid to truſt themſelves with *Fleetwood* or any ſingle General, they paſt an Act for putting out *Fleetwood* from being Lieutenant General of the Army, and to conſtitute him and *Ludlow, Monk, Haſterigge, Walton, Morley*, and *Overton*, Commiſſioners to govern all the Forces; and then ordered two Regiments to be their Guard, who took their Station in the *Palace-Yard* and *Weſtminſter-Hall*. Lambert exalted with his Victory. Is turned out of his Commiſſion.

Lambert ſcorning to be turned out by the Fellows he had ſo lately put in, reſolved to ſtrike an early blow upon them; and therefore *Oct.* 13, meeting *Evelyn* marching his Troop to guard the Parliament, he commanded him to diſmount, and tho' *Lambert* was on Foot and none with him, yet *Evelyn* at the Head of his Troop tamely diſmounted at the Word of Command, while *Lambert* commanded the Troop to follow him, and drawing ſome other Forces together he marched into *King-ſtreet*, and poſſeſſed all the Avenues to the Parliament-Houſe. Next Morning the Speaker came in his Coach toward the Houſe, but was ſtopped at his entry into the *Palace-Yard* by Col. *Duckenfield*, and after ſome Expoſtulation was forced to return. The Soldiers on both ſides kept their Stations in a poſture of Hoſtility, till the Council of State meeting at *Whitehall* ordered them all to draw off to their Quarters, which they agreed to do, upon condition the Parliament ſhould ſit no longer, and the Government ſhould be ſettled by a Council of Officers. Makes a bold ſtroke upon the Parliament. A new Council of Officers.

This new Military Council diſſolved the Council of State, and appointed ten Perſons to be a ſelect Committee for Adminiſtration of the Government till fur-ther Who diſſolve the Council of State.

(*a*) It was upon this proſpect, that the King began a Correſpondence with General *Monk* in *Scotland*, upon advice of Sir *John Granville* Neighbour to the General's Brother Mr. *Nich. Monk*. The Letter is dated *July* 21, 1659. Sir, *I cannot think you wiſh me ill, for you have no reaſon to do ſo; and the Good I expect from you, will bring ſo great a Benefit to your Country and to your ſelf, that I cannot think you will decline my Intereſt*, &c.

(*b*) See, A Letter from Sir *George Booth* to a Friend of his ſhewing the Reaſons of his preſent Engagement in Defence of his Countries Liberties. Dat. *Cheſter, Aug.* 2, 1659. in a printed Sheet.

1659. 11 Car. II. ther Order. Theſe were *Fleetwood* (whom they had declared to be again General of all the Forces) *Lambert* (whom they had declared Major General) *Desborough*, *Whitlock*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *James Harrington*, Major *Salway*, *Berry*, *Sidenham* and *Archibald Johnſton*. But within few Days the General Council of Officers lay aſide the Council of Ten, and ſet up another Committee of 23 Perſons, who ſhould have the Adminiſtration of the Government, and the ſame Powers with the late *Council of State*, and ſhould be called the *Committee of Safety*; theſe were *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, *Whitlock*, *Steel*, Sir *Henry Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Sydenham*, *Salway*, *Strickland*, *Berry*, *Lawrence*, Sir *James Harrington*, *Johnſton*, *Ireton*, *Tichburn*, *Hughſon*, *Clerk*, *Bennet*, *Lilburn*, *Cornelius Holland*, *Henry Bandriff*, and *Robert Thompſon*.

And ſettle a Committee of Safety.

Their Declaration.

This new Pack of Governours publiſhed a Declaration to acquaint the World, *That it was upon their Hearts to ſettle a due Liberty upon the Freeborn People of this Nation, to make a thorough Reformation of the Law, and to eſtabliſh a Painful, Godly, Faithful, Goſpel-preaching Miniſtry, and to provide them a Maintenance leſs troubleſome to them, and leſs vexatious to the People than that of Tythes; and to prepare ſuch a Form of Government as ſhould beſt ſuit with a Free-State and Commonwealth, without a ſingle Perſon, Kingſhip or Houſe of Lords. They doubted not, but ſuch who ſaw the many Temptations beſetting them on every ſide, and the great Difficulties they laboured under, and knew not what farther Streights a Day may bring forth, would ſay on their behalfs,* Who is ſufficient for theſe things? *And out of former Experiences being taught, that the Lord is a preſent help in time of Trouble, will cry aloud for them before the Throne of Grace, that the Lord himſelf may appear, and carry on his own Work in their Hands: And if it ſhall pleaſe him by his Spirit to ſtir up thoſe that fear his Name to be inſtant on their behalf, they ſhall not fear what Evil Man can do unto them.*

A ſtop put to them by *Monk*.

This Committee of Safety were going on in this mad Canting Vein, when they met with a providential Rebuke from General *Monk* in *Scotland*, in a Letter to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, which came to their Hands *Oct.* 29, wherein he upbraided them with the violation of their Faith to the Parliament, and declared his Reſolution to reſtore the Parliament to a freedom of Sitting and Acting againſt all oppoſition.

The ſteps of General *Monk*.

And this brings us to conſider the Counſels and Steps of General *Monk*, by which he brought about the happy Reſtoration of the King. It is hard to know how and when this great Man was brought over to the King's Intereſt: It is certain that upon the Abdication of *Richard Cromwel*, he and his chief Officers in *Scotland* ſent an Addreſs to the *Engliſh* Parliament, *promiſing all Duty to them, and deſiring them to aſſert the native Rights and Liberties of theſe Nations, in and by the Government of a Free-State and Commonwealth, and to vindicate their Authority againſt the oppoſition of all arbitrary Powers whatſoever.* But when he heard of that Parliament curbed and corrected by the *Engliſh* Army, he was then prepared to think of interpoſing in the dubious Affairs of *England*.

Mr. *Nich. Monk* ſent to his Brother.

Under this diſpoſition Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, a Reverend Divine of continual Loyalty, only Brother to the General, was ſent up from the Weſt by Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and other Royaliſts, to *London*, to conſult with Mr. *Thomas Clarges*, whoſe Siſter was his Brother's Wife, and thence to proceed to *Scotland*, to engage his Brother in the King's Service. He accordingly took his Inſtructions from Mr. *Clarges*, how to manage his Negotiations with great Secrecy and Caution, and to communicate his Deſigns to none except Dr. *Samuel Barrow* Phyſician, and Mr. *John Price*, Chaplain to General *Monk*. By their aſſiſtance he made a due advantage of the Report of Sir *George Booth*'s Riſing, and by degrees brought his Brother to a Reſolution of marching into *England*, in purſuance of *Booth*'s Declaration for a free Parliament. But when all things were ready for his March, he received Intelligence from his Agent Mr. *Clarges* of *Booth*'s Defeat; at which he was ſo much concerned, that he ſent a Letter to *Lenthal* the Speaker to be communicated to the Parliament, deſiring to be diſmiſt from his Command, pretending *he was infirm in his Health, and had long continued in that remote Country; but now ſince all Inſurrections were appeaſed, that threatened Diſturbances to the Peace of the Nation, he hoped he might be permitted to return into his own Country, and to end his Days in Quiet.* This Letter whether wrote in earneſt, or for a Blind, is ſaid to have been delivered by *Clarges* to the Speaker, under an obligation to ſuppreſs the reading of it for ten Days, before which time lapſed, the Parliament was turned out of Doors. 1659. 11 Car. II.

General *Monk*'s eſcape from a Plot to turn him out.

The ſucceeding *Committee of Safety* were reſolved to ſecure *Monk*, who kept his ordinary Reſidence at *Dalkeith*, ſome four Miles on this ſide *Edinburgh*, the *London* Packet being there conſtantly opened, that the Gen. might have his Letters before any were delivered at *Edinburgh*. The Committee diſpatched their ſecret Orders to *Scotland* by the ordinary Packet, leſt an Expreſs might give Suſpicion; and inſtead of directing the Label for *Dalkeith*, as was uſual, it was ordered ſtrait for *Edinburgh*. It happened that one of *Monk*'s Life-guard met accidentally the Poſt turning out of the Road that led to *Dalkeith*, and finding he had not touched there, he brought him back, notwithſtanding the Direction of the Label. *Monk* ſuſpecting a trick opened all the Letters that he found directed to the Officers of the Army, among which there was one from the Committee of Safety to Col. *Tho. Wilks*, ordering him *To uſe the moſt effectual, ſpeedy and ſecret way to ſecure the Perſon of Gen.* Monk, *and to ſend him up to* London *under a ſtrong Guard, in a Frigot that lay in* Leith *Road, and then to take upon him the Command of the Army till further Order.* Having taken out this Letter; and what others he thought fit, together with his own from the ſame Committee, full of high Complements and Expreſſions of Truſt, he ſent away the Packet as it was directed. And then communicating the Matter to ſome of his particular Friends, he gave Orders for a *General Review* of the Army to be made next Morning at *Edinburgh*, where he arreſted Col. *Wilks*, and ſome other Officers he had reaſon to ſuſpect, and ſent them Priſoners to the Caſtle, filling up their Places with thoſe in whom he could confide.

Mr. *Nich. Monk* ſent back from *Scotland*.

At the ſame time *The Petition and Propoſals of the Army to the Parliament were ſent into* Scotland to be ſigned by *Monk* and his Officers; but he would not ſuffer it to be handed about: and knowing it was no time to dally, he ſent back his Brother Mr. *Nich. Monk* to *London*, with Advice to Mr. *Clarges*, that *he was reſolved, if the Parliament would be reſolute in aſſerting their own Authority againſt the Army, he would aſſiſt them in it; and if required would march into* England *in their Defence.* Upon advice of this Reſolution communicated by Mr. *Clarges* to *Walton*, *Haſlerig* and *Scot*, they were encouraged in the Houſe to order the removal of *Lambert* and his aſſociated Officers, but they proved too hard for the Parliament and turned them out of Doors, as before related. But *Monk* not afraid to proſecute his Deſign, ſent upbraiding Letters to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, as before mentioned, which they receiving *Oct.* 20, they met at *Whitehall* in great conſternation about twelve at Night, and ſent Major *Haines* to deſire Mr. *Clarges* to come to them; and when he came, they preſſed him with great importunity to go into *Scotland* with Col. *Talbot*, to prevail with General *Monk* to come to a right Underſtanding with them: Mr. *Clarges* undertook the Journey, and it ſeems they did not ſuſpect his Fidelity to them.

Mr. *Clarges* ſent into *Scotland*.

General *Monk* ſecures his own Army.

In the mean time General *Monk* had diſmiſt the Anabaptiſt Officers, ſecured *Berwick*, and regulated his Army, and then made a Speech to them, *That the Army in* England *had broke up the Parliament, for not humouring them in their Extravagancies, and that he was reſolved to make the Military Power, as it ought to be, ſubordinate to the Civil: And ſince they had their Protection and Maintenance from the Parliament, he had no reaſon to queſtion their joining with him in reſtoring them to the exerciſe of their Truſt: But if any were diſſatisfied with theſe his Intentions, he deſired they would declare it, and they ſhould have free Liberty, without Reflection to leave*

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the Service, and have Paſſports to return home. Upon which the Officers unanimouſly declared, *That they would live and die with him.*

Conſerence between Mr. *Clarges* and General *Monk.*

Col. *Talbot* and Mr. *Clarges* came to *Edinburgh Sept.* 2, and were well received by the General, eſpecially *Clarges*, with whom he had a private Conference that Night, at which *Clarges* frankly asked him, *What was the true End he aimed at in this Enterprize?* The General, who was one of the moſt reſerved Men living, only anſwered, that *he reſolved to free his Native Country from the Slavery it was now under, and to that end would reſtore the Parliament; but in their admiſſion to it he would make no difference between them, but would let in the ſecluded Members as well as others.* But, ſays he, *I muſt conjure you to ſecrecy, for the Army are jealous of me, that a King is in the bottom of this Deſign, and therefore all I can contrive will be little enough to beget a Confidence even in my own Party to engage heartily with me.*

Lambert ſent with an Army to meet *Monk.*

The General Council of Officers in *London* not truſting to their Endeavours of pacifying Gen. *Monk*, ſent away *Lambert* with an Army of 12000 Men, to meet Gen. *Monk* who had not above half that number (*a*). When *Lambert* was advanced as far as *York*, he found there Major Gen. *Morgan*, who kept fair with him, and offered to uſe the Credit he had with *Monk*, to bring him to an Accommodation, and was thereupon ſent on that Errand into *Scotland* where his Regiment then was. He came to *Edinburgh* Nov. 8, and upon his firſt acceſs to the General, asked him in a loud merry way, *If he would lay down his Arms and be Friends with* Fleetwood *and* Lambert? The General anſwered, *If they would reſtore the Parliament, he had little more to ſay; and if he pleaſed he might let them know it.* *Morgan* replyed, *I promiſed to ask you the Queſtion, but not to return to them that ſent me if you denied it. I am glad I am here to aſſiſt you, and to follow your Fortunes in all your Undertakings. You know I am no Stateſman; but I am ſure you are a lover of your Country, and therefore I join with you and ſubmit to your Conduct.* This generous Friendſhip was kindly accepted by the General, and had a great influence in raiſing the Spirits of his Army.

Morgan joins with *Monk.*

Lord *Fairfax* willing to follow that Example.

In the Evening *Morgan* was in private with the General, and delivered him a Letter from Mr. *Bowles* a Miniſter in *York*, a conſiderable Man in thoſe parts, and in great reputation with the Lord *Fairfax*, and many other Perſons of good Quality in that Country: the Letter imported, *That the Lord* Fairfax, *and many others of good Intereſt were willing to join with the General, but diſapproved his Declaration, which was reſtrained to that part of the Parliament only, which ſate after the reſt were Secluded, and was filled with Proteſtations for aſſerting no other Government but a Commonwealth.* To this the General anſwered, *That* Clarges *could witneſs with him his Intentions in thoſe Particulars; that what was printed in his Name, as Affairs then ſtood, was not to be regarded as the reſult of his own Reaſon, and till he had got more Strength it would be unſeaſonable and indiſcreet to do otherwiſe.*

With this Apology *Clarges* was ſent to the Lord *Fairfax*, but firſt to diſcourſe Mr. *Bowles*, who deſired Mr. *Clarges* to continue private in *York*, while he for fear of diſcovery tranſacted the Affair with the Lord *Fairfax*; which he did ſo effectually, that at his return he acquainted *Clarges*, that the Lord *Fairfax*, *Bethel*, and *Smithſon* would riſe in *January* and join with *Monk*.

Gen. *Monk* received Letters daily from the Commiſſioners of the Militia of *London*, and from the Officers of the Fleet, and from the Forces in *Ireland*, all to perſwade him to come to an Accommodation with the General Council of Officers in *London*. And therefore to ſeem willing to ſatisfie them, and to keep all Parties in Amuſement, he entered into a Treaty with *Fleetwood* to be managed by Commiſſioners. In the mean time he marches on to *Berwick*, and *Lambert* was advanced to *Newcaſtle*, and both Armies ſeemed preparing to meet and fight: But the Garriſon of *Portſmouth* and Admiral *Lawſon* with his Fleet declaring for a reſtitution of the Parliament, *Lambert* thought it more adviſeable to march back to aſſiſt his Friends in the South, rather than to hazard a Battle with *Monk.*

Lambert runs away from General *Monk's* Army.

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Fleetwood comes into the Cry of a free Parliament.

Fleetwood and the reſt of the Committee of Safety when they could not evade it, came into the general Cry for reſtoring the Parliament, and ſent to the Speaker, deſiring him to bring the reſt of the Members to re-aſſemble for the exerciſe of their Truſt, acknowledging in the moſt abject manner, that *the Lord had blaſted their Counſels and had ſpit in their Faces* (*b*).

The Parliament meets.

Dec. 26, the Speaker and Members of Parliament then in Town met at *Whitehall*, and from thence walked together to the Parliament Houſe in the Evening. The next Morning, the Speaker ſent a Letter to Gen. *Monk*, by order of the Houſe, with Thanks for his good Service, and with acknowledgment that the Reſtitution of their Authority was owing to his Fidelity, Care and Courage. Soon after they appointed Commiſſioners to order the Military Affairs, and ſent to *Lambert* to diſperſe his Forces. But to let the World know that they meant nothing of Monarchy; they provided that none ſhould ſit but ſuch as would take this Oath of Abjuration.

Oath of Abjuration.

I *Do hereby ſwear, that I do renounce the pretended Title of* Charles Stuart, *and the whole Line of the late King* James, *and of every other Perſon as a ſingle Perſon, pretending, or which ſhall pretend to the Crown or Government of theſe Nations of* England, Scotland, *or* Ireland, *or any of them, and the Dominions and Territories belonging to them, or any of them. And that I will by the Grace and Aſſiſtance of Almighty God be true, faithful and conſtant to the Parliament and Commonwealth, and will oppoſe the bringing in or ſetting up any ſingle Perſon or Houſe of Lords, and every of them, in this Commonwealth.*

The Parliament ſend two Members to meet General *Monk.*

This Oath carried by a Majority was yet refuſed by at leaſt a third part of the Members, who were therefore compelled to leave the Houſe: And two of the moſt zealous for it, *Scot* and *Robinſon*, were ſent to meet the General upon the Road, to congratulate his coming, but with private directions to engage him to take the Oath. When the General came to *Nottingham*, his Brother *Clarges* met him, and in a private Conference acquainted him with the State of Affairs, and the trueſt way to do his Country Service. At *Leiceſter* he was met by *Scot* and *Robinſon*, who told him, that *the Parliament had ordered* 1000 l. *a Year to be ſettled on him for ever; that they were ſenſible of his Services, were providing Money for his Soldiers, and were glad to hear of his Marching towards* London. He then expected to be attacked about the Oath of Abjuration, and was much troubled to think how to divert it. *Clarges* told him, he had a plain and full Anſwer to make them, which was, that he heard many Men of undoubted Integrity had refuſed it, and till he came to *London* to hear the Reaſons on both ſides, he could not in prudence reſolve upon it. This Advice he followed and ſucceeded in it.

Commiſſioners of the City meet *Monk.*

At *Harborough* Alderman *Fowke*, Alderman *Vincent*, and Mr. *Bromfield* met him as Commiſſioners from the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of *London*; who, after ſome Reſpects and Civilities, fell upon Particulars, and Mr. *Bromfield* in a ſet Speech, after enumerating the Calamities the Nation lay under, propoſed the Re-admiſſion of the ſecluded Members, that the Parliament might be full and free. To the ſame purpoſe were the Addreſſes from the Gentlemen of *Northamptonſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Norfolk*, and many other Counties, all which he received in a decent and reſpectful manner, but gave only dubious and ſuſpending Anſwers. By which Policy he merited this Character given of him. *He was a Man of deep Thoughts and few Words; and what he wanted in Elocution he had in Judgment; and he had a natural Secrecy in him, prevalent upon all theſe Qualifications of a Soldier, which made him ſo fit an Inſtrument in the hand of Divine Providence to work his Majeſty's Reſtoration. Hence he carried it all ſo cloſely that I believe no Man to this Day can poſitively ſay, that he deſign-*

Character of General *Monk* given by Sir *Philip Warwick.*

(*a*) The Author of *Foxes and Firebrands*, 8vo. affirms, that when General *Lambert* advanced to oppoſe the March and Deſigns of *Monk*, there went in company with him *Peter Talbot* a leading Papiſt, ſoon after titular Archbiſhop of *Dublin*.

(*b*) See, A Letter from a *London* Miniſter to the Lord *Fleetwood*, atteſted by *J. Underhill* to have been delivered to him 13th *December* 1659, Signed *M. P.* deſiring him to return from *his Evil Way*, &c.

1659. 11 Car. II. *ed any more than a general Quiet of the Land: And ſo he framed his Deſigns ſuitable to the Opportunities that were given him; but that he wiſhed that that might be procured by the means of his Majeſty's happy Return no Man can rationally doubt* (a).

General Monk writes to the Parliament. From St. *Albans* the General ſent a wiſe Letter to the Parliament, to remove all the Regiments out of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, except Col. *Fag*'s, for *he thought it not for their Service, that thoſe Soldiers now in and about* London, *and lately in Rebellion againſt them, ſhould mingle with thoſe who had approved themſelves faithful to them.* The Parliament readily complied with this Advice, but the Soldiers took it for ſuch a hardſhip to be turned out of Town, that they fell into a Mutiny, and made a Garriſon at *Somerſet-houſe*, but by the aſſurance of a Month's pay, and many fine Words, they were brought over, and marched away on *Saturday* Morning *Feb.* 4, and in the ſame Afternoon the General entered the City at the head of three Regiments of Horſe, attended by his principal Officers, and many Perſons of Honour and Quality to *Whitehall*, provided for his Reception. (Comes to *Whitehall.*)

Goes to the Parliament Houſe. On *Monday* Morning *Feb.* 6, he was invited to the Parliament-Houſe, introduced by a Serjeant at Arms, and attended by his late Companions and Spies upon him, *Scot* and *Robinſon*. A Chair of Velvet was ſet for him on the left hand within the Bar, and the Speaker deſired him to ſit down; but he excuſed himſelf and ſtood behind the Chair. Whilſt the Speaker in a ſet Speech magnified his Services and Merits, and gave him the Thanks of the Houſe. The General ſedately anſwered, "That he could not but extol the Mercy of "their Reſtitution, and acknowledge the goodneſs of "God in making him Inſtrumental therein, which "was but his Duty, and deſerved not the Honour "they had done to him. That he had received many "Addreſſes in his Journey for a full and free Parliament, and that this Parliament would determine "their Sitting: that he had anſwered them, that as "to the ſecluded Members, this Parliament had already given their Judgment, in which all ought to "acquieſce; and that no Parliament had admitted "new Members to ſit without a previous Oath or "Engagement: but he muſt needs ſay to this Aſſembly, that the leſs Oaths and Engagements are "impoſed, the Settlement will be the ſooner attained. "He hoped the Parliament would be careful that "neither the Cavalier nor Phanatick Party have yet "a ſhare in the Civil or Military Power. He concluded with ſpeaking of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, who "feared nothing more than to be over-run with "Phanatick Notions; he deſired a Settlement there, "and their Favour to that Nation." (*Monk's* Speech to the Parliament.)

The Speech amuſes the Houſe. This Speech had the influence intended by him that ſpoke it, which was to amuſe the Houſe, and to cover his own Deſigns: But a leading Party ſuſpected him, and reſolved to try him on this following occaſion. The City in Common-Council reſolved to pay no publick Taxes, till the Houſe was filled up with all legal Repreſentatives: For they might indeed well think it unreaſonable to be taxed by a Parliament, wherein they had then no Members ſitting. The Council of State were ſo apprehenſive of this beginning of a Rebellion againſt them, that they came to a Reſolution, and ſent it to the Houſe, who paſt it into a Vote, "That the Commiſſioners for Government of the Army, do appoint Forces to be "in *London* for preſerving the Peace thereof, and of "the Commonwealth, and for reducing of the City "to their Obedience to Parliament." For executing this Vote, the General was ordered to enter the City next Morning with a ſufficient part of the Army; to ſeize eleven of the moſt active Common-Council Men and commit them to the *Tower*; to pull down the City Poſts and Chains, take down the Gates and Portcullices, and Quarter his Soldiers in the City till it was reduced to due Obedience. This ſevere Command was very ſurprizing to the General and his chief Officers, who were very unwilling to make themſelves ſo odious to the City; and therefore *Monk* writes to the Houſe to mitigate his Orders, or to let him ſuſpend the execution of them; but they the more inflamed make their Directions the more poſitive. Upon this he adviſed with ſome of the moſt eminent Citizens, and giving ſecret Aſſurance that he would protect the City while he ſeemed to diſpoil it, he did literally execute the Order, but wiſely turned the Odium of it upon the Parliament that ſo commanded. And to atone for this Action, he preſently after writes a Letter to the Houſe, and boldly complained of a Faction in it managed by *Lambert*, *Vane*, and *Ludlow*; that they excluded many honeſt Men from ſerving the Publick, by tendering them Oaths which they could not take, and were guilty of many other Irregularities; and therefore he deſired them by *Friday* next to iſſue out Writs to fill up their Houſe, and then to riſe at an appointed time *May* 6, to give place to a full and free Parliament. (*Monk* is ordered to chaſtiſe the City.) (1659. 11 Car. II.) (Executes the Order very wiſely.) (Sends to the Parliament to riſe.)

The Parliament angry. The Houſe diſſembled their reſentment of this Letter, and ſent *Scot* to aſſure him of their high Opinion of his Services, and to recall him to his Lodgings at *Whitehall*. But he was now reſolved to throw himſelf upon the City, and not yet to truſt his Perſon near *Weſtminſter*. This ſo enraged the Houſe that they made an Act to put the Government of the Army into the Hands of new Commiſſioners, *Monk*, *Haſlerigge*, *Walton*, *Morley* and *Alvred*, making three a *Quorum*, but denying a Motion that *Monk* ſhould be of that *Quorum*. Upon this the next Day *Feb.* 12, *Monk* drew up all his Forces in *Finsbury* Fields, met the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council at *Guild-hall*, went with them to hear a Sermon at *Paul*'s, and dined with them at the *Bull-head* in *Cheapſide*, the City giving all the Demonſtrations of Joy in Bells and Bonfires.

Monk reſtores the ſecluded Members. On *Feb.* 18, the General appointed a Conference to be held in his Quarters of the ſitting and ſecluded Members to agree upon the Re-admiſſion of the latter. But it being much oppoſed by a majority of the ſitting Party, the General reſolved to do it by his own Strength, which he began now to underſtand: And therefore on the *Tueſday* following *Feb.* 21, he gave the ſecluded Members a meeting at *Whitehall*; and in a ſhort Speech recommended to them the *Settlement of the Nation*, and promiſed to *impoſe nothing upon them*, and then had them conducted to take their Places in the Houſe. The ſitting Members knew nothing of this, till they ſaw the Secluded Members enter in and ſit down among them; upon which, being much ſurprized, they demurred among themſelves, whether they ſhould quit the Houſe or keep their Seats. After ſome hurry and confuſion, the ſticklers for a Commonwealth knowing their Cauſe would be now over-powered, immediately departed in Spleen and Murmurs, while the more Moderate kept their Seats among the new admitted Members.

The Parliament thus filled up agree with *Monk*. This new modelled Parliament paſſed ſeveral Votes to expunge out of their Journals all Votes and Orders that diſabled them from ſitting; to releaſe Mr. *Vincent*, Mr. *Bromſield*, and other Citizens who had been lately impriſoned; to conſtitute *Monk* General of all the Forces in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; to diſſolve the Council of State, and erect a new one conſiſting of one and thirty Perſons; to repeal the Oath of Abjuration; to reſtore the Common-Council of *London*; to releaſe the impriſoned Apprentices, and to ſet up again the Poſts, Chains, Gates and Portcullices of the City: and finally to take off the File, and make void to all Intents and Purpoſes the *Engagement to be true to the Commonwealth of* England *without a King or Houſe of Lords*; And a new Parliament to be ſummoned to meet on *April* 25, 1660.

Haſlerig, *Scot* and other fierce Republicans, knowing well that theſe Proceedings tended to the Reſtoration of the King, had one part more of Hypocriſy and

(a) Yet in the MS. Life of Dr. *John Barwick* Dean of *Paul's*, written in Latin, there is mention of a Letter from Chancellor *Hyde* to Dr. *John Barwick* (an Agent for the King in *London*) dated *Bruſſels* 12, *January* 1659, with two Letters incloſed from the King to *Clobury* and *Otway*, wherein the Chancellor complains that *Monk* would not receive any Letter from the King, and that his Majeſty could hardly hope for any Good from him.

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Monk now courted to be the ſingle Perſon in a new Government.

and Villainy to Act, that was, to court the General (whom they mortally hated) to take upon himſelf the Dominion of the three Kingdoms; telling him, that the Parliament's Actions tended to ruin him and all the good People of *England*: *Your deſtruction*, ſay they, *muſt needs ſucceed the King's Admiſſion; for a Merit too great to be rewarded can have no Recompence but Death. Remember* Stanley, *who ſet the Crown upon* Henry VII's *Head, he had his own ſtruck off upon frivolous Pretences, when the true Reaſon was exceſs of Merit.* Nay, and they had drawn in the *French* Ambaſſador into this Intrigue, who in a moſt perfidious manner (as Sir *Philip Warwick* tells us) “Having winded this Propoſition, finds “means for a Conference with *Clarges*, and to deſire “by him to aſſure the General, that if he had any “Aim to aſſume the Government himſelf, his Maſter “would be a very ſteddy Friend to him. But tho' “this wiſe General admitted a reſpectful Conference “with him; yet he made him ſoon perceive he was “not ſuſceptible of *French* Counſels.” To all theſe Sollicitations the General made Anſwer, *That the Parliament were beſt Judges of their own Proceedings*; and as to taking the Government upon himſelf, he ſaid, *The Experience of* Cromwel's *Fate gave him ſufficient Reaſons to ſhun that Rock on which that Family was Shipwracked.* They replyed, *That* Oliver *uſurped the Government againſt the Suffrage of the Army, and the Conſent of the People, whereas he ſhould have it by an unanimous Submiſſion, and under what Name or Title he would pleaſe to accept it*: But he had the Honour and the Wit to overcome all Temptation.

So tempted by the *French* Ambaſſador.

But he overcame all Temptations.

The poor King could have no aſſiſtance

From *Spain* or *France*.

And now tho' all things ſeemed thus to concur toward the Reſtoration of the King, yet the Name of an *Engliſh* Parliament was ſo terrible abroad, that neither *France* nor *Spain* durſt venture to give K. *Charles* the leaſt Aſſiſtance to regain his Throne; but on the contrary were obliged to treat him in a manner altogether unworthy of a crowned Head, as appears in the following Inſtances at the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*. The King after having in vain ſought a Sanctuary in *France*, was neceſſitated to throw himſelf upon the Friendſhip of *Spain*: He was at *Bruſſels* when he received the News of the Diſpoſition that was in *England*, juſt at the time the Conferences were to begin between Cardinal *Mazarine* and *Don Lewis de Haro*, the two Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Spain*. This determined King *Charles* to take poſt from *Bruſſels* thro' *France* to the place of Treaty, that he might in Perſon repreſent his Intereſts to theſe two Miniſters. He judged the *Spaniards* had reaſon to be Enemies to the then Government in *England*, for not only having taken *Dunkirk* and *Jamaica* from them, and entered into a League with *Portugal* againſt them, but for endeavouring all that was poſſible to perſwade the *French* to continue the War. Upon the other hand it was but reaſonable to think, that *France* could not be well pleaſed to ſee the *Engliſh* Maſter of ſuch a Frontier Town as *Dunkirk*, or that *Mazarine*, the moſt ambitious Man upon Earth, would not be willing to raiſe his own Glory, by eſpouſing the Cauſe of an exiled Prince, eſpecially when there was ſo great probability of Succeſs. But notwithſtanding all theſe plauſible appearances, King *Charles* made this long Journey to no purpoſe; it's true *Don Lewis de Haro* received him with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect; but the Cardinal poſitively denyed him Acceſs. All he could be brought to after ſeveral Meſſages from the King, was to allow the Duke of *Ormond* to talk to him upon the Road from St. *Jean de Luz* to the place of Treaty, as if it had been but an accidental Rencounter. *Ormond* obtained nothing of the Cardinal but general and ambiguous Anſwers, till being preſſed, he told *Ormond* plainly, *That all his Maſter could do for his Couſin the King of* England, *was to compaſſionate his Misfortunes, as not being in a Condition himſelf to break with the Government of* England, *with which his Affairs obliged him to keep a good Correſpondence.* Over and above this neglect of *Mazarine*'s, King *Charles* had the Mortification to ſee Ambaſſador *Lockhart* received at the ſame time with the greateſt Pomp and Splendor, having the Cardinal's Coaches and Guards ſent a Day's Journey to receive him, and the Cardinal giving him the Right-hand, which was a Reſpect he denied the Ambaſſadors of crowned Heads: Nor was *Don Lewis* kinder upon the matter to K. *Charles*, notwithſtanding all his Civilities; for having asked the Command of the Army in *Flanders*, which the Prince of *Conde* was by the Treaty obliged to quit, *Don Lewis* refuſed it: All which will be a laſting Example to Poſterity, how little truſt is to be repoſed in Foreign Aid when a Prince comes to need it, for recovering his Throne. But indeed it ſeems probable, that all theſe Sleights put upon King *Charles*, were a Political Feint to hide the ſecret Intrigue of their mutual Aſſiſtance to be lent to him for Recovery of his Kingdoms, upon Conditions very prejudicial to the Intereſt of the Reformation, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in the view of Religion this Year.

Pyrenean Treaty.

In the mean time it ought to be farther obſerved, that this famous *Pyrenean* Treaty of a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, was concluded in a Match between the young *French* King and the eldeſt Daughter or Infanta of *Spain*, the younger Siſter being afterward married to *Leopold* Emperor of *Germany*, both ſo diſpoſed before the Birth of their Brother, who lived to be the poor weak King of *Spain*. But as this Treaty was made in the deepeſt Diſſimulation and Treachery, ſo almoſt every Article of it was violated by the *French*; in reſpect to *Portugal*, to the Prince of *Conde*, to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and in all likelihood in reſpect to *England*, and with a reference to moſt other Things and Perſons. Even the main Article of all, and without which the *Spaniards* would never have endured the Match, was for the Infanta, before and after Marriage, to diſclaim for herſelf and her Heirs, all manner of Right and Title to the Kingdom of *Spain*, or any of its Dominions. And yet this that was the Cement of all the other Articles, has been now at laſt moſt ſhamefully broken. Under ſuch a ſcene of perfidiouſneſs it was the leſs wonder, that *Mazarine* ſhould deal ſo inhumanly by King *Charles*, and ſhould even inſtruct the *French* Ambaſſador *Bourdeaux* in *England* to hinder the King's return, and even to ſet up another Uſurper againſt him: But *French* Politicks have been alway falſe and fatal to the true Intereſt of our *Engliſh* Monarchy. Another Inference is, that the good Providence of God ſo contrived to repair the Honour of this Nation, as to make the King's return be entirely owing to the Hearts of his People, and not at all to any Foreign Aid.

The King ſends Sir *John Granville* to *Monk*.

Affairs at home looking favourably upon the King's Intereſt, he ſent Sir *John Granville* to General *Monk*, who knowing his wary Temper, made uſe of his Neighbour Mr. *William Morris* to introduce him; Mr. *Morris* acquainted the General with it, who made Anſwer, that *unleſs he would ſend him Information of his Buſineſs by him, he could not admit of any Interview between them.* Mr. *Morris* told him, *he had already propoſed that to him, but he refuſed it.* The General approving this Reſervedneſs in Sir *John*, ordered him to come to him at St. *James*'s by nine in the Evening. Accordingly *Granville* came, and begging Pardon for his Importunity, deſired leave to deliver a Meſſage to him from the King. The General ſeemed ſurprized at this; but being alone, bid him ſay what he pleaſed. Then Sir *John* preſented a Letter to him from the King, and told him, that *his Majeſty had great Confidence in him; and ſince he had ſo far complyed with the Deſires of the Kingdom, for the admiſſion of the Secluded Members, in order to a free Parliament, the Conſequences of it could be no leſs than the Reſtoration of his Majeſty, if he concurred with their Councils.* The General replyed, “That he “had long lamented the Miſeries of his Country, and “waited an opportunity to redeem them from Vaſſalage: And as to the King's Majeſty, none wiſhed “him greater Felicity than he did, or with greater “Paſſion deſired his Reſtoration; but if it were not “cautiouſly attempted, it would be out of his Power to “ſerve him in it: And therefore he muſt conjure him “to acquaint no Perſon with it but the King, and de-

“ ſire

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"ſire his Majeſty alſo to conceal it. But above all, he muſt intreat him to deſire the King to remove out of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions to *Breda*; for he had certain Intelligence he would otherwiſe be detained by the King of *Spain*'s Miniſters." Sir *John* returned with this kind Meſſage and good Advice to the King, who accordingly retired to *Breda*.

State of Religion.

Under all theſe Convulſions in the State, the Affairs of Religion were ſubject to the ſame Diſtemper. The Independents were all zealous for a Commonwealth; (*a*) but the Presbyterians who had been outwitted and overpowered by thoſe younger Brethren, were for the Parliament in oppoſition to the Army, and for the Reſtitution of the Secluded Members; and had ſhewn themſelves generally inclined to the Riſing of Sir *George Booth*, and to all the Meaſures of General *Monk*, even to the Reſtoration of the King. When the Members of the Long Parliament were reſtored, the Enthuſiaſtick People preferred a Petition to them againſt Tithes; but the Houſe calmly voted *June* 27, *That for the Encouragement of a godly Preaching Learned Miniſtry throughout the Nation, the payment of Tithes ſhall continue as now they are, unleſs this Parliament ſhall find out ſome other more equal and comfortable Maintenance, both for the Miniſtry and for the Satisfaction of the People.* The Independents to ingratiate themſelves with this Parliament and their Council of State, in the name of the Congregational Churches, deſired leave to raiſe three Regiments for the Parliament againſt Sir *George Booth* and the Royaliſts then in Arms, and had their willing conſent to it. For which they got a Vote of the Houſe *Oct.* 10, for *Liberty of Conſcience*(*b*). After the Secluded Members were reſtored by *Monk*, all things ran on the Presbyterian ſide. On *March* 2, the Confeſſion of Faith of the Aſſembly of Divines was agreed unto by the Houſe, except the 30th and 31ſt Chapters, which are touching Church-Cenſures and Synods; and an Act paſt for the eſtabliſhing that Confeſſion on *March* 5, and the ſame Day an Order was granted for printing and ſetting up in Churches the Solemn League and Covenant, which did now really conduce to the bringing in the Son, as it had formerly done for driving out the Father: And yet the Act for the Militia was not ſuffered to paſs *March* 10, without a Clauſe for every Commiſſioner to acknowledge and declare, *that the War undertaken by both Houſes of Parliament, in their Defence againſt the Forces raiſed in the name of the late King, was juſt and lawful; and that Magiſtracy and Miniſtry are the Ordinances of God.* And to ſhew their diſpleaſure againſt Dr. *John Owen*, the beloved Chaplain of *Cromwel*, the Trumpet of his Uſurpation, and the Head of the Independent Party, there was a Vote of the Houſe *March* 13, to diſcharge the ſaid Dr. *Owen* from being any longer Dean of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*(*c*), and for putting Dr. *Edward Reynolds* a Presbyterian into that good place. For the Independents were known to be ſo averſe to Monarchy, and even to a Free Parliament, that they loſt all manner of Intereſt in General *Monk*, who had the more Experience of their Jealouſies of him, by what he found in *Scotland* upon his firſt deſign of Marching into *England*. For then the Army-Party ſent their Commiſſioners to him; and, in the words of Sir *Phil. Warwick*, "The Men of God who had decried and outed the Biſhops for meddling with any thing that was Secular, Civil, or Military, from the very Beginning of theſe Revolutions, are the active Inſtruments in all important Secular or Military Affairs. And therefore now Mr. *Caryl* (a great Independent Miniſter) is principally to manage this Affair with *Monk*; and he is to let him know how fatal ſuch a Breach as was like to be, would prove to the People of God; that the Independent Churches would not interpoſe, or juſtify the Right of either Party; but they thought fit to lay before *Monk*, that his Province was only to keep *Scotland* quiet, and not to engage in the Differences of *England*; and therefore ſince he could not have any true Information of the State of Affairs, and had not any Call thereto, it became him not to interpoſe."

Presbyterians beſt diſpoſed to the King.

Independents the greater Rebels.

Presbytery revives.

Dr. *Owen* turned out.

Independent Preachers great Incendiaries.

Great Attempts to pervert the King to Popery.

There were, undoubtedly, great Endeavours to pervert the K. to the *Popiſh Religion*: And it is much feared, that in the great Treaty this Year between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, the King was drawn into ſome *Articles* and *Meaſures* which were happily broken.

Secret Intrigue in the Pyrenean Treaty.

The K.'s Negotiation in this Treaty was kept a Secret; but there is too much Suſpicion of the Intrigues of it. My Lord *Clarendon* would let fall no other Intimation than what he gave in theſe Words: *It is believed by wiſe Men, that in that Treaty ſomewhat was agreed to the Prejudice of the Proteſtant Intereſt.* Which could hardly be leſs than a Promiſe of the King to eſtabliſh or at leaſt to tolerate Popery in *England*, and to ſet the Example of it in his own Perſon, upon condition he ſhould be reſtored to his Crowns by the united Powers of *France* and *Spain*. The way of my Lord *Clarendon*'s introducing and ſupporting his foreſaid *Belief of Wiſe Men*, is ſome Key to underſtand the Meaning of what he intended to conceal. Speaking of the King's Journey to the Place of Treaty, where Sir *Harry Bennet* was preparing Terms for him; he ſays, "When the Marqueſs of *Ormond* diſcovered, by the Information he received at *Toulouſe*, that the Treaty was ſo near an end, he made all poſſible haſte to the Place the King had appointed to meet at, that his Majeſty might loſe no more time. When he came thither he found no body; which he imputed to the uſual delays in their Journey, and ſtayed one whole Day in expectation of them; but then concluded, that they were gone forward ſome other way, and ſo thought it his Buſineſs to haſten to *Fuentarabia*, where he heard nothing of the King. Sir *Harry Bennet* was in great perplexity, and complained very reaſonably, that the King neglected his own Buſineſs in ſuch a Conjuncture; the Benefit whereof was loſt by his not coming. *Don Lewis* ſeem'd to wonder that the King had not come thither, whilſt the Cardinal and he were together. The Treaty was now concluded; and tho' the Cardinal remained ſtill at his old Quarters on the *French* ſide, under ſome Indiſpoſition of the Gout, yet he and *Don Lewis* were to meet no more: But *Don Lewis* was the leſs troubled that the King had not come ſooner, becauſe he had found the Cardinal, as often as he had taken occaſion to ſpeak of the King, very cold and reſerved; and he had magnifyed the Power of the Parliament, and ſeemed to think his Majeſty's Hopes deſperate; and adviſed *Don Lewis*, to be wary how he embarked himſelf in an Affair that had no Foundation; and, that it was rather time for all Catholicks to unite to the breaking the Power and Intereſt of the Heretical Party, where-ever it was, than to ſtrengthen it by reſtoring the King, *except he would become Catholick. And it is believed by wiſe Men, that in that Treaty ſomewhat was agreed to the Prejudice of the Proteſtant Intereſt* (*d*); and that in a ſhort time

(*a*) See xxii Propoſals towards the ſettling of a Religious and Godly Government in the Commonwealth; with a ſhort Account of Tithes, and Miniſters Capacity of ſitting in Parliament. By *Lewis du Moulin* Profeſſor of Hiſtory in the Univerſity of *Oxford*. Printed at *London*, 1659. 4*to*. The Author was a rigid Independent, and pleaded for what the Congregational Miniſters had long deſired, to ſit in Parliament as the Biſhops before.

(*b*) See, A Preſcription to recover our Kingdom, Church and Nation from their preſent Confuſion, by *William Prynne*, Eſq; Dated the laſt of *October*, 1659, the Day of King condemning *John Bradſhaw*'s Death, and tranſlation to his proper Place, and Arraignment in the Higheſt Court of Juſtice.

(*c*) Dr. *Owen* had been at the Head of his Brethren, when they ſent their Deputies or Spies to *Monk* in *Scotland* to obſerve his Motions, with a canting Letter to him; which he anſwered as artfully, directed to Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Hook*, and Mr. *Greenhill*, to be communicated to the Churches in and about *London*, dated *Edinburgh*, *November* 23, 1659.

(*d*) The Writer of *Plain Engliſh* in 1690, is bold to ſay, that Sir *Allen Brodrick*, who was with K. *Charles* II. beyond Sea at the time of his firſt profeſſing the Popiſh Religion has been often heard to lament the burning of his *Journal*, wherein the very Day and Circumſtances of it were entred. And I am aſſured that one of his preſent Majeſty's Chaplains (Miniſter of the Place where Sir *Allen* died [meaning Dr. *Resborough*] can give an Account of his Death-bed Declaration of what he knew in it: With this additional Circumſtance, that it was done in the abſence of the old Lord *Culpeper*, who knowing of it at his Return fell into a great Paſſion, and told the King, he muſt never expect to ſee *England* again if it ſhould be known there.

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1659. 11 Car. II. "there would have been much done againſt it both in "*France* and *Germany*, if the Meaſures they had there "taken had not been ſhortly broke, chiefly by the "ſurprizing Revolution in *England* (which happened "the next Year) and alſo by the Death of the two "great Favourites of the two Crowns, *Don Lewis de* "*Haro*, and Cardinal *Mazarin*, who both died not ve- "ry long after it; the Cardinal probably ſtruck with "the Wonder, if not with the Agony of that un- "dreamed of Proſperity of our King's Affairs; as if "he had taken it ill, and laid it to heart, that God "Almighty would bring ſuch a Work to paſs in *Eu-* "*rope* without his Concurrence, and even againſt all "his Machinations." From this Relation thus cau- tiouſly given on purpoſe to cover an invidious Truth, I think it is too plain, that what was *agreed to the pre- judice of the Proteſtant Religion*, was for King *Charles* to become a Profeſſor, or at leaſt a ſworn Favourer of Po- pery. That nothing could have broke theſe Meaſures, but the *ſurprizing Revolution in* England; and that ſuch a providential Reſtoration of the King without the propoſed Terms of bringing in Popery with him, was the great Diſappointment, and almoſt the very Death of Cardinal *Mazarin*, the ſame Author does a little more explain himſelf, when he ſoon after adds, "That "ſome about the King began to think of providing "a Religion, as well as other Conveniences, that "might be grateful to thoſe People and Places, where "and with whom they were like to reſide. The Pro- "teſtant Religion was found to be very unagreeable "to their Fortune, and they exerciſed their Thoughts "moſt how to get handſomly from it; and if it had "not been for the King's own Steadineſs, of which "he gave great Indications, Men would have been "more out of Countenance to have owned the Faith "they were of; and many made little doubt, but "that it would ſhortly be very manifeſt to the King, "that his Reſtoration depended wholly upon a Con- "junction of Catholick Princes, who could never be "united but on the behalf of Catholick Religion." It is Matter of Fact, that upon this Peace between *France* and *Spain*, both thoſe Crowns did immediately begin to encourage and aſſiſt the King with Money and Men, and advanced great Promiſes to him, which ſeems to have been done upon the Foot of ſecret Ar- ticles. It is farther certain, that the Earl of *Briſtol*, who was the K.'s Companion and Guide to the Place of this Treaty, and Sir *Harry Bennet*, who was the prime Agent for the King, did both of them turn Papiſts about this time; as if they did it upon a Com- pact then made. And there is a Story to confirm all, which I have reaſon to think true. Sir *Harry Bennet* was ſoon after ſeen to wait upon the King from Maſs; at which ſight the Lord *Culpeper* had ſo much Indigna- tion, that he went up to *Bennet*, and ſpoke to this ef- fect: *I ſee what you are at: Is this the way to bring our Maſter home to his three Kingdoms? Well, Sir, if ever you and I live to ſee* England *together, I will have your Head, or you ſhall have mine.* Which Words ſtruck ſuch a Ter- ror upon Sir *Harry Bennet*, that he never dared to ſet Foot in *England* till after the Death of the Lord *Cul- peper*, who met with a very abrupt Death within few Months after the King's Return. When he was taken out of the way, Sir *Harry Bennet* came to Court, and ſoon aroſe into Honours and Preferments, and was in Diſguiſe a meer Creature of the Papiſts, and had the dying Courage to take off that Diſguiſe (*a*).

1660. *Lambert*, upon the Complaint made againſt him by General *Monk*, had for ſome time abſconded; but finding no Hopes in ſtanding out, he ſurrendered him- ſelf to the new Council of State: and upon his Reſu- ſal to give Security for his quiet Deportment, he was by them committed to the *Tower*; from whence he made his Eſcape, and in the beginning of *April* got into *Northamptonſhire*, and picked up all the diſcon- tented Officers and Soldiers, till he had got together about ſeven Troops of Horſe and a Company of Foot. General *Monk*, upon Intelligence of his intended Ren- dezvous at *Edgehill*, was preparing to march out a- gainſt him: but when he heard that his Party was but inconſiderable, he ſent Col. *Ingoldsby* and *Streater* to *Northampton* to watch his Motions, and with due caution to fall upon him. They hearing that *Lambert* was at *Daventry*, marched thither; and there being informed that he lay two Miles off, they haſtened after him, and came up to him in a plain Field, where a little Brook parted them. The two Parties faced one another near 4 Hours: When they came to advance, and were beginning to charge, *Lambert*'s Men held the Muzzles of their Piſtols toward the Ground, and the Troops of *Hazlerig* and *Nelthorp* came over to *Ingoldsby*. *Lambert* deſired a Parley, and moved that *Richard* might be reſtored to the Protectorſhip: But he was anſwered, that *He himſelf was one of thoſe who pulled down* Richard, *and therefore he was the more unfit to ſet him up again; however, that they had no Commiſſion to diſpute, but to reduce him and his Party.* Then *Ingoldsby* rode up to *Lambert*, and told him he was his Priſoner; whereupon Major *Creed* and other Officers intreated him to do what he pleaſed with them, but to let *Lambert* eſcape: which *Ingoldsby* abſolutely refuſing, *Lambert* turned his Horſe, and attempted to eſcape: but *Ingoldsby* purſued him ſo cloſe, that he quickly came up with him, vowing to piſtol him if he did not yield immediately. *Lambert*, in great dejection of Mind, twice begged him to let him eſcape: but when he ſaw he could not prevail, he ſubmitted, as all the reſt did except Col. *Okey*, Col. *Axtel*, and Capt. *Clare*, who made their Eſcapes.

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Lambert eſcapes and takes Arms.

His Party ſubdued.

And he taken.

This Defeat was ſeconded with the good News of the Submiſſion of the Fleet, brought about by *Moun- tague*, who by *Monk*'s Advice had been made one of the Generals at Sea, who wrote an Account to the Council of State, "That Vice-Admiral *Lawſon* and "the whole Navy had received him with great Sa- "tisfaction, and were all peaceably inclined, and "reſolved to ſubmit to the Determination of the "next Parliament." There was ſuch a general Diſ- poſition to the King, as the only Deliverer from Feuds and Wars, that many of the profeſſed Roy- aliſts were choſen Members of the Houſe of Com- mons; and the Lords, who had been long denyed a fundamental Right, met now with a full Senſe that they had not been themſelves reſtored without a pro- ſpect of the King's Reſtoration. And at this ſame juncture there was publiſhed, *A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry that had adhered to the late King*; mildly and affectionately worded for compoſing all Differences, and burying all former Animoſities.

Submiſſion of the Fleet.

All things tend to the King's Intereſt.

Under this promiſing Aſpect, the two Houſes of Lords and Commons began their Convention on *April* 25, meeting both at St. *Margaret*'s *Weſtminſter*, where Dr. *Reynolds* preached; and after Sermon they went to their ſeveral Houſes, and the Commons choſe Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone* for their Speaker. On the 26th they ordered a Day of ſolemn Thankſgi- ving to God for raiſing up General *Monk* and other bleſſed Inſtruments in the Delivery of this Nation from Thraldom and Miſery. And then they ordered their Thanks to be preſented in a publick manner to

Convention meets *Apr.* 25.

(*a*) That which made ſome the more ſuſpect the King's Reli- gion was the Art and Induſtry uſed to wipe away that Suſpicion, when he was likely to be reſtored without the leaſt help of any Popiſh Intereſt.

A Letter of *Raimund Gachet* Paſtor of the Reformed Church of *Paris*, to the moſt famous Man and upright Paſtor *Ri. Baxter* to aſſure him, that King *Charles* being born and duly Educated in the true Religion had never departed from the Publick Pro- feſſion of it; dated *Paris*, *April* 2, 1660.

A Letter from the Princeſs of *Turenne* to a noble Lady her Couſen German Madam *de Caſtelnaut* at *London*, to ſatisfie her of the Piety of King *Charles*, and his ſtedfaſtneſs in the Proteſ- tant Religion; dated 6, *April* 1660.

A Letter of Monſieur *Daillé* to Monſieur *Le Roy* againſt thoſe who endeavour to perſwade the World that King *Charles* had forſaken our Communion to embrace that of *Rome*; dated *Paris*, 7, *April* 1660.

A Letter of Monſieur *Drelincourt* Miniſter of the Church of *Paris* to Monſieur *Stroupe* in *London*, to ſatisfie him of the King's Stedfaſtneſs in the Proteſtant Religion; dat. *Paris April* 3, 1660.

A Letter farther and more fully evidencing the King's Stedfaſt- neſs in the Proteſtant Religion; written by Monſieur *de L'Angle* Miniſter of the Proteſtant Church at *Rouen* in *France* to a Friend of his in *London*. Printed in *London*, 1660. 4to.

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1660. 12 Car. II. the General, for his great Wiſdom and unparallelled Services to this Nation. On the 27th Sir *John Granville* attended the General, and preſented him with a Letter from his Majeſty, to be communicated to the Council of State and the Officers of the Army, with a Commiſſion from his Majeſty, conſtituting him Captain General of all the Armies in *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland.* On *May* 1, Sir *John Granville* went to the Houſe of Lords, and ſent in word, that he had a Letter for their Lordſhips from the King: which the Earl of *Mancheſter* their Speaker, going down to the Clerk, received; and it was read in theſe Words:

Letters from the King.

Charles R.

Right-truſty and well-beloved Couſins, We greet you well. We cannot have a better Reaſon to promiſe Ourſelf an End of our common Sufferings and Calamities, and that our own juſt Power and Authority will, with God's Bleſſing, be reſtored to us; than that we hear you are again acknowledged to have that Authority and Juriſdiction which hath always belonged unto you by your Births, and the fundamental Laws of the Land. And we have thought it very fit and ſafe for Us to call to you for your Help in composing the Diſtempers and Diſtractions of the Kingdom, in which your Sufferings are next to thoſe we have undergone Ourſelves; and therefore you cannot but be the moſt proper Counſellors for removing theſe Miſchiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a Truſt We repoſe in you, for the Reſtoring and Eſtabliſhing a bleſſed Peace and Security in the Kingdom, will appear to you by our encloſed Declaration; *which Truſt, we are moſt confident you will diſcharge with Juſtice and Wiſdom that becomes you, and muſt always be expected from you: And that upon experience, how one Violation ſucceeds another when the known Relations and Rules of Juſtice are once tranſgreſſed, you will be as zealous for the Rights of the Crown, and for the Honour of your King, as for Yourſelves. And then you cannot but diſcharge with good Succeſs, and provide for and eſtabliſh the Peace, Happineſs, and Honour of King, Lords, and Commons, upon that Foundation which only can ſupport it; and we ſhall all be happy in each other. And as the whole Nation will bleſs God for you all, ſo We ſhall hold Ourſelves obliged, in an eſpecial manner, to thank you in particular, according to the Affection you ſhall expreſs towards us. We need the leſs to enlarge upon this Subject, becauſe We have likewiſe writ to the Houſe of Commons, which we ſuppoſe they will communicate to you. And we pray God to bleſs your joint Endeavours, for the Good of us all; and ſo We bid you very heartily farewel.*

Given at our Court of *Breda* this 14th of *April* 1660. *in the 12th Year of our Reign.*

The Declaration encloſed was under this Title and Form.

His Majeſty's gracious Declaration to all his Loving Subjects.

Charles R.

His Majeſty's Declaration.

Charles, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality ſoever, greeting. If the general Diſtraction and Confuſion which is ſpread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all Men to a Deſire and Longing that thoſe Wounds which have for ſo many Years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up; all we can ſay will be to no purpoſe. However, after this long Silence, we have thought it our Duty to declare, how much we deſire to contribute thereunto: And that, as we can never give over the Hope in good time to obtain the Poſſeſſion of that Right which God and Nature hath made our due; ſo we do make it our daily Suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in Compaſſion to us and our Subjects, after ſo long Miſery and Sufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable Poſſeſſion of that our Right with as little Blood and Damage to our People as is poſſible. Nor do we deſire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs, by a full and entire Adminiſtration of Juſtice throughout the Land, and by extending our Mercy where it is wanted and deſerved.*

And to the end that the fear of Puniſhment may not engage any conſcious to themſelves of what is paſt, to a Perſeverance in Guilt for the future, by oppoſing the Quiet and Happineſs of their Country, in the Reſtoration both of King, Peers, and People, to their juſt, ancient, and fundamental Rights: We do by theſe Preſents declare, that We do grant a free and general Pardon, which We are ready upon Demand to paſs under our Great-Seal of England, *to all our Subjects of what Degree or Quality ſoever, who within forty Days after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay hold upon this our Grace and Favour, and ſhall by any publick Act declare their doing ſo, and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects, excepting only ſuch Perſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by Parliament: thoſe only excepted, let all our Subjects, how faulty ſoever, rely upon the Word of a King, ſolemnly given by this preſent Declaration, that no Crime whatſoever, committed againſt us, or our Royal Father, before the Publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in Judgment, or be brought in Queſtion againſt any of them, to the leaſt endamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties or Eſtates, or as far forth as lies in our Power, ſo much as to the prejudice of their Reputations, by any Reproach or term of Diſtinction from the reſt of our beſt Subjects: We Deſiring and Ordaining, that henceforward all Notes of Diſcord, Separation and Difference of Parties, be utterly aboliſhed among all our Subjects; whom we invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themſelves, under our Protection, for the Reſettlement of our juſt Rights and theirs in a free Parliament, by which, upon the Word of a King, we will be adviſed.*

And becauſe the Paſſion and Uncharitableneſs of the Times have produced ſeveral Opinions in Religion, by which Men are engaged in Parties and Animoſities againſt each other, which when they ſhall hereafter unite in a freedom of Converſation, will be compoſed or better underſtood: We do declare a Liberty to tender Conſciences, and that no Man ſhall be diſquieted or called in Queſtion for Differences of Opinion in matter of Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that we ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an Act of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation ſhall be offered to us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

And becauſe in the continued Diſtractions of ſo many Years, and ſo many and great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchaſes of Eſtates have been made to and by many Officers, Soldiers, and others, who are now poſſeſſed of the ſame, and who may be liable to Actions at Law upon ſeveral Titles; we are likewiſe willing that all ſuch Differences, and all things relating to ſuch Grants, Sales and Purchaſes, ſhall be determined in Parliament, which can beſt provide for the juſt Satisfaction of all Men who are concerned.

And we do farther declare, that we will be ready to conſent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the purpoſes aforeſaid, and for the full Satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army under the Command of General Monk, *and that they ſhall be received into our Service, upon as good Pay and Conditions as they now enjoy. Given under our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at our Court of* Breda *this* 4/14 *Day of April,* 1660, *in the 12th Year of our Reign.*

The Letter and Declaration being read, the Lords ordered Thanks to be given to Sir *John Granville* for bringing of them, and reſolved by Vote, that *they do own and declare, that according to the ancient and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be by King, Lords and Commons:* And therefore they deſired, *that ſome way be conſidered how to make up the Breaches, and to obtain the K.'s return again unto his People.*

Votes of the Lords.

Then Sir *John Granville* went to the Houſe of Commons, and upon notice of his attending at the Door, was called in, and preſented a Letter with a Duplicate of the ſame Declaration encloſed, and ſuperſcribed

King's Letter to the Commons.

To our Truſty and Well-beloved the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

Charles R.

"Truſty and well-beloved we Greet you well. In "theſe great and inſupportable Afflictions and "Calamities under which the poor Nation hath been "ſo long exerciſed, and by which it is ſo near exhauſted, we cannot think of a more natural and proper "Remedy, than to reſort to thoſe for Counſel and "Advice, who have ſeen and obſerved the firſt beginning of our Miſeries, the progreſs from bad to worſe, "and

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“and the Miſtakes and Miſunderſtandings which have produced and contributed to Inconveniencies which were not intended: And after ſo many Revolutions, and the obſervation of what hath attended them, are now truſted by our good Subjects to repair the Breaches which are made, and to provide proper Remedies for thoſe Evils, and for the laſting Peace, Happineſs and Security of the Kingdom. We do aſſure you upon our Royal Word, that none of our Predeceſſors have had a greater Eſteem of Parliaments than we have, in our Judgment as well as from our Obligation. We do believe them to be ſo vital a part of the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and ſo neceſſary for the government of it, that we well know, neither Prince nor People can be in any tolerable degree happy without them: And therefore you may be confident that we ſhall always look upon their Counſels as the beſt we can receive; and ſhall be as tender of their Privileges, and as careful to preſerve and protect them, as of that which is moſt near to our ſelf, and moſt neceſſary for our own Preſervation.

“And as this is our Opinion of Parliaments, that their Authority is moſt neceſſary for the Government of the Kingdom, ſo we are moſt confident that you believe and find, that the preſervation of the King's Authority is as neceſſary for the preſervation of Parliaments; and that it is not the Name but the right Conſtitution of them which can prepare and apply proper Remedies for thoſe Evils, which are grievous to the People, and which can thereby eſtabliſh their Peace and Security. And therefore we have not the leaſt doubt, but that you will be as tender in, and as zealous of, any thing that may infringe our Honour, or impair our Authority, as of your own Liberty and Property, which is beſt preſerved by preſerving the other.

“How far we have truſted you in this great Affair, and how much it is in your Power to reſtore the Nation to all that it hath loſt, and to redeem it from any Infamy it hath undergone, and to make King and People as Happy as they ought to be, you will find by our encloſed Declaration (a Copy of which we have likewiſe ſent to the Houſe of Peers) and you will eaſily believe, that we would not voluntarily, and of our ſelf, have repoſed ſo great a Truſt in you but upon an entire confidence that you will not abuſe it; and that you will proceed in ſuch a manner, and with ſuch due conſideration of us who have truſted you, that we ſhall not be aſhamed of declining other Aſſiſtance (which we have aſſurance of) and repairing to you for the more natural and proper Remedies, for the Evils we would be freed from; nor ſorry that we have bound up our own Intereſt ſo intirely with that of our Subjects, as that we refer it to the ſame Perſons to take care of us who are truſted to provide for them.

“We look upon you as Wiſe and Diſpaſſionate Men, and good Patriots, who will raiſe up thoſe Banks and Fences which have been caſt down, and we will moſt reaſonably hope the ſame Proſperity will again ſpring from thoſe Roots from which it hath heretofore and always grown. Nor can we apprehend that you will propoſe any thing to us, or expect any thing from us, but what we are as ready to give as you to receive. If you deſire the advancement and propagation of the Proteſtant Religion, we have by our conſtant Profeſſion and Practice of it, given ſufficient teſtimony to the World, that neither the unkindneſs of thoſe of the ſame Faith towards us, nor the Civilities and Obligations of thoſe of a contrary Profeſſion (of both which we have had abundant Evidence) could in the leaſt degree ſtartle us, or make us ſwerve from it: And nothing can be propoſed to manifeſt our Zeal and Affection for it, to which we will not readily conſent. And we hope in due time ourſelf to propoſe ſomewhat to you for the propagation of it, that will ſatisfie the World that we have always made it both our Care and our Study, and have enough obſerved, what is moſt like to bring diſadvantage to it.

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“If you deſire ſecurity for thoſe, who in theſe calamitous times, either wilfully or weakly have tranſgreſſed thoſe bounds which were preſcribed, and have invaded each others Rights; we have left to you to provide for their Security and Indemnity, and in ſuch a way as you ſhall think juſt and reaſonable, and by a juſt computation of what Men have done and ſuffered, as near as is poſſible, to take care that all Men be ſatisfied, which is the ſureſt way to ſuppreſs and extirpate all ſuch Uncharitableneſs and Animoſity, as might hereafter ſhake and threaten that Peace, which for the preſent might ſeem eſtabliſhed. If there be a crying Sin, for which the Nation may be involved in the Infamy that attends it; we cannot doubt but that you will be as ſollicitous to redeem and vindicate the Nation from that Guilt and Infamy as we can be.

“If you deſire that Reverence and Obedience may be paid to the fundamental Laws of the Land, and that Juſtice may be equally and impartially adminiſtered to all Men; it is that which we deſire to be ſworn to ourſelf, and that all Perſons in Power and Authority ſhould be ſo too.

“In a word, there is nothing that you can propoſe, that may make the Kingdom Happy, which we will not contend with you to compaſs; and upon this Confidence and Aſſurance, we have thought fit to ſend you this Declaration, that you may, as much as is poſſible, at this diſtance, ſee our Heart, which when God ſhall bring us nearer together (as we hope he will do ſhortly) will appear to you very agreeable to what we have profeſſed; and we hope that we have made that right Chriſtian uſe of our Affliction, and that the Obſervation and Experience we have had in other Countries, hath been ſuch as that we, and we hope all our Subjects, ſhall be the better for what we have ſeen and ſuffered.

“We ſhall add no more but our Prayers to Almighty God, that he will ſo bleſs your Counſels and direct your Endeavours, that his Glory and Worſhip may be provided for, and the Peace, Honour and Happineſs of the Nation may be eſtabliſhed upon thoſe Foundations which can beſt ſupport it: And ſo we bid you farewel. Given at our Court at *Breda* this $\frac{4}{14}$ Day of *April* 1660, in the twelfth Year of our Reign.”

After the Reading his Majeſty's Letter and Declaration in the *Houſe of Commons Tueſday May* 1, they immediately reſolved, *Nemine contradicente*, that *a Committee be appointed to prepare an Anſwer to his Majeſty's Letter, expreſſing the great and joyful ſenſe of this Houſe of his gracious Offers, and their humble and hearty Thanks to his Majeſty for the ſame; and with profeſſions of their Loyalty and Duty to his Majeſty; and that this Houſe will give a ſpeedy Anſwer to his Majeſty's gracious Propoſals* (a). Then the Houſe took into conſideration, that the King being long deprived of his Revenue, might be in want of Money, and therefore ordered that fifty thouſand Pounds ſhould be ſpeedily raiſed and preſented to his Majeſty, with ten thouſand to the Duke of *York*, and five thouſand to the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

Votes of the Commons.

Money given.

The Lords and Commons appointed their ſeveral Committees to draw up their reſpective Anſwers to his Majeſty's Letters, and reſolved that the Superſcription ſhould be, *To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty*; and ordered that all the Acts and Orders ſhould be razed out of the Journals, that were inconſiſtent with the Government of King, Lords and Commons. Both Houſes having drawn up their Anſwers, 6 Lords and 12 Commoners were appointed to attend his Majeſty with them, and to deſire his Majeſty to make a ſpeedy Return to his Parliament, and to his Kingly Office. On *Monday May* 7, it was reſolved by both Houſes that the King be Proclaimed to Morrow, which was done by this Form of Proclamation.

Anſwers of the two Houſes.

(a) See, A Letter to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty from the Commons of *England* aſſembled in Parliament in Anſwer of his Majeſty's Gracious Letter to that Houſe. Signed *Har. Grimſtone* Speaker, *May* 2, 1660. Printed by *Edw. Husbands*. Fol.

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Form of Proclaiming the K.

*A*LTHO' *it can no way be doubted, but that his Majeſty's Right and Title to theſe Crowns and Kingdoms is and was every way compleat by the Death of his moſt Royal Father of glorious Memory, without the Ceremony or Solemnity of a Proclamation: Yet ſince Proclamations in ſuch Caſes have been always uſed, to the end that all good Subjects might upon this occaſion teſtify their Duty and Reſpect; and ſince the armed Violence, and other the Calamities of many Years laſt paſt, have hitherto depriv'd us of any opportunity, wherein we might expreſs our Loyalty and Allegiance to his Majeſty: We therefore the Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of* London, *and other Freemen of this Kingdom now preſent, do according to our Duty and Allegiance heartily, joyfully and unanimouſly acknowledge and proclaim, that immediately upon the Deceaſe of our late Sovereign King* Charles I. *the Imperial Crown of the Realm of* England, *and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions and Rights belonging to the ſame, did by inherent Birthright and lawful undoubted Succeſſion deſcend and come to his moſt excellent Majeſty King* Charles II. *as being lineally, juſtly and lawfully next Heir of the Blood Royal of this Realm; and that by the Goodneſs and Providence of Almighty God, he is of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *the moſt Potent, Mighty and Undoubted King. And thereunto we moſt humbly and faithfully do ſubmit and oblige our ſelves our Heirs and Poſterities for ever.*

The King leaves *Holland.*

The King having been thus proclaimed with great Solemnity and inexpreſſible Joy, took his leave of the States of *Holland* on *Tueſday, May* 22. and after a noble Entertainment, a very endearing Speech, and magnificent Preſents received from them, he took Ship under the Convoy of *Mountague* on *Wedneſday, May* 23. and on *Friday* about one landed at the Beach near *Dover-Pier*, where General *Monk* ſtood ready to receive him on his Knees, and was raiſed, kiſs'd and embrac'd by his Majeſty. (Lands at *Dover.*) They all walked toward the Town, and were ſoon met by the Mayor and Jurates, and the Miniſter Mr. *John Reading*, who preſented the King with a Bible, and made a proper Speech at the delivery of it [a]. Then the King took Coach, the Duke of *York* ſitting next to him; at the other End ſate the Duke of *Glouceſter* and the General, and the Duke of *Buckingham* in the Boot. About two Miles from *Dover* the King took Horſe, his Brothers riding on his Right-Hand, and the General on the Left, follow'd by a gallant Equipage into *Canterbury*, (Comes to *Canterbury.*) where he ſtaid on *Saturday* and *Sunday*, making there the General Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, and Maſter of his Majeſty's Horſe. On *Monday May* 28. the King came to *Rocheſter*, and early next Day went on to *Black-Heath*, where the Army was drawn up, and his Majeſty having taken a moſt pleaſing view of them, advanced toward *London* with infinite Crowds and incredible Acclamations: About one he was met at St. *George*'s Fields (Enters *London.*) by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen waiting there in a glorious Tent, the Mayor with a profound Reverence delivered the Sword to his Majeſty, and received it again with great Reſpect and the Honour of being Knighted Sir *Thomas Alleyn*. From thence the King was conducted thro' *London* in a very ſplendid manner to his Royal Palace at *Whitehall*; where he paid his Devotions and Thanks to God on this Day of his Birth and Return in the Preſence-Chamber, becauſe the Chapel was not yet in order.

Privy-Council conſtituted.

His Majeſty's firſt Care was to conſtitute his Privy Council, of which were General *Monk*, the Duke of *Bucks*, and Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*; and to fill up the Offices of State, (Offices and Honours.) the Duke of *Ormond* being made Lord High-Steward, the Earl of *Southampton* Lord High-Treaſurer, and the Earl of *Mancheſter* Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis* Treaſurer of the Houſhold, and Sir *John Berkley* Comptroller: And then to confer ſuitable Honours on his principal Servants, [b] General *Monk* made Duke of *Albemarle* and Earl of *Torrington*, Admiral *Mountague* Earl of *Sandwich* and Viſcount *Hinckinbrook*, &c.

The great Affair that took up the Debates of the two Houſes was *A Bill for a general Pardon*. The Lords would have excepted all that ſate and acted in (Bill for general Pardon.) any High-Court of Juſtice; the Commons were more tender, and the King was inclin'd to extend his Mercy to all but his Father's Murderers. And therefore on *July* 13. the King went to the Houſe of Lords, and commanded the Commons to be called up. He made a very prudent and pathetick Speech to adviſe (The K.'s Clemency.) their Agreement to a Bill, without too much Limitation of his Royal Clemency and Mercy. And on *Aug.* 29. he came and paſſed the Act for a general Pardon, that had excepted no Perſon from the Favour of it, but thoſe that acted or ſate as the King's Judges, and Sir *Henry Vane*, Col. *Lambert* and *Hugh Peters*, with the two unknown Perſons diſguiſed on the Scaffold; and even in the number of the King's Judges, thoſe who did not ſit in the Day of Sentence, nor ſign the Warrant for Execution, had their Lives ſpared. After paſſing ſome other Acts for disbanding the Army; for making the 29th of *May* a perpetual Anniverſary, *&c.* the two Houſes adjourned themſelves to *Nov.* 6. following.

In the mean time the King was perpetually en- (Addreſſes and Congratulations.) tertained with the Loyal Addreſſes of his People, and with the ſolemn Congratulations of Foreign Princes and States, who ſeemed all to vie in Haſte and Zeal for ſending over their Ambaſſadors and Agents to complement his Majeſty upon his happy Reſtoration to his Royal Dignity and Government. In the paying of theſe Ceremonies a dreadful Rencounter happen'd on *Tower-Hill*, in a diſpute of Precedence between the Coaches of the *Spaniſh* and *French* Ambaſſadors.

A little after this time the Princeſs *Dowager* of (The Princeſs of *Orange* comes into *Engl.*) *Orange*, having recommended the Intereſt of her young Son the Prince (born after his Father's Death) to the care of the States-General, who had now at length agreed to inveſt the young Prince with the Dignity and Truſt which his Anceſtors formerly held in that Commonwealth, came into *England* to viſit her Royal Brother, and once again to ſee her native Country: But the Joy of ſeeing her eldeſt Brother (Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter.*) peaceably enthron'd was much allay'd, and in a manner prevented by her Sorrow for the Loſs of her youngeſt Brother, *Henry* of *Oatland's* Duke of *Glouceſter*, who juſt before her Landing dy'd of the Small-Pox on *Sept.* 13. in the twentieth Year of his Age, *much lamented by the King, and much beloved by all that knew him, as a Prince excellently qualified, Religious, Learned, Valiant and Wiſe above his Years, an affectionate Brother, a good Maſter and a true Friend.*

On *October* 10. the Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and (Regicides tried.) *Terminer* for Trial of the Regicides, met at the Seſſions-Houſe in the *Old-Bailey*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman* Lord Chief Baron, ſate as principal Judge, the King's Council were Sir *Jeffery Palmer* Attorney-General, Sir *Heneage Finch* Sollicitor General, Sir *Edward Turner* the Duke of *York*'s Attorney, Serjeant *Keeling*, *Windham*, &c. The Priſoners having

[a] An Eye-witneſs, Mr. *Gumble*, Chaplain to General *Monk*, in the Life of his Lord, 8*vo.* p. 385. writes thus. *Saturday* 26 *May* the King landed at *Dover-Pier*. General *Monk* received him with becoming Duty; the King embrac'd him, and kiſs'd him. This Relator had the Honour to be at the General's Back, and the third Perſon that kiſs'd the Hem of his Majeſty's Garment after he ſet foot in *England*: He ſet himſelf to obſerve his Majeſty's Countenance at the firſt Landing, where he did ſee a mixture of other Paſſions with Joy in his Face, *&c.*

[b] The Copy of the Commiſſion for Captain General granted to *George* Duke of *Albemarle Aug.* 3. 1660. Reg. 12. is printed at large in the *Collection of private Papers*, 1703. 8*vo.*

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been this Day brought from the *Tower* to *Newgate*, were thence brought to the Bar, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, *William Heveningham*, Col. *Harriſon*, *Iſaac Pennington*, *Henry Marten*, *Gilbert Millingham*, *Robert Tichburn*, *Owen Roe*, *Robert Lilburn*, *Adrian Scroop*, *John Carew*, *John Jones*, *Thomas Scot*, *Gregory Clement*, *John Cook*, *Edmund Harvey*, *Henry Smith*, *John Downs*, *Vincent Potter*, *Auguſtine Garland*, *George Fleetwood*, *Simon Meyn*, *James Temple*, *Peter Temple*, *Thomas Wait*, *Hugh Peters*, *Francis Hacker* and *Daniel Axtel*. Two only pleaded guilty, Sir *Hardreſs Waller* and Mr. *George Fleetwood*. *Harry Marten* pleaded, "He was not excepted out of the "Act of Indemnpity, the Perſon there mentioned "being *Henry Martin*, not *Marten*, till the Court informed him a Miſnomer in this caſe was not pleadable. *Carew* put himſelf upon his Trial, with this canting Salvo, *Saving to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt his Right to the Government of theſe Nations*. *Peters* would be tried by the *Law of God* only, which he of all Men had moſt wickedly abuſed. *Axtel* ſtood long mute, and the Court had much ado to convince him of the danger of it. The Crimes were ſo very odious, and the Proofs ſo clear, that the Jurors without any Heſitation found them all Guilty: But ten only were executed, *Harriſon*, *Carew*, *Scot*, *Clement*, *Jones*, *Scroop*, *Cook* and *Peters* at *Charing-Croſs*; *Hacker* and *Axtel* at *Tyburn*. All the reſt were reſpited till the King and Parliament ſhould order their Execution, according to the Tenor of the Act of *Indempnity*. One *William Hewlet* was Indicted for being the Man that in a Frock and Vizard cut off the King's Head, and three ſeveral Witneſſes averr'd it was his own Confeſſion; upon which he was found Guilty, and yet had the Favour of the Court to be Repriev'd, and not to ſuffer. Of theſe wretched Criminals ſome pleaded Ignorance, but none betray'd a Repentance. Moſt of them gloried in the Villany, and juſtified the Cauſe and the Authority by which they acted: And ſome of their ſurviving Friends were ſo very inſolent, that they publiſh'd their Pleadings and Prayers and Speeches, to all the Advantage that the Spirit of Hell could invent, with an inſufferable Inſult upon the Civil Government and all Morality and Religion.

Their odd Behaviour.

Ten only executed.

Without Repentance.

The Queen-Mother viſits *Engl.*

The Queen-Mother came over from *France* to congratulate her Son, and to bring over her fair Daughter *Henrietta Maria*, and to adviſe of a Match between her and Monſieur, Brother to the *French* King; and as generally ſuſpected to draw her Son the King into a Match with *Portugal*, and a League with *France*, and a Surrendry of *Dunkirk*.

Acts of Parliament.

Both Houſes of Parliament met on *Nov.* 6. and being adviſed to expedite their Buſineſs, an Act was paſſed *for ſettling the Exciſe upon Beer and Ale, and other Liquors*. Another for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries; which had been long complained of as an Oppreſſion to the Subject, and accepting the Exciſe in lieu of it, as an Hereditary Duty to the Crown of *England* for ever. And ſo this Parliament (to which the King from his own Mouth had given the Epithet of the *Healing Parliament*) was diſſolved on *Decemb.* 29. the ſame Day with the Funeral of the excellent Princeſs of *Orange*, *Mary* eldeſt Siſter of the King, and Mother of *William* III. King of *England*, whom ſhe left with the Title of Prince of *Orange*, in Minority of ten Years and one Month.

Healing-Parl. diſſolv'd.

Inſurrection of the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men.*

Immediately after this Calamity, the Government was alarm'd with a deſperate Inſurrection of the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, who being the moſt bold and bloody of all ſort of Enthuſiaſts, had given ſo much Jealouſie of their Madneſs, that Colonel *Overton*, Cornet *Day*, Major *Allen*, and ſome other leading Men of that Party, had been ſeized and impriſoned. Yet the Congregation of them meeting by the King's Indulgence in *Coleman-ſtreet*, did on *Sunday* Evening *Jan.* 6. break into open Rebellion, under the Conduct of their Preacher *Thomas Venner*, a Cooper. They were not above ſixty in number when they firſt ſallied out of their Meeting-houſe well arm'd, marching to St. *Thomas Apoſtles* to call in more of their Party, thence into *Whitecroſs-ſtreet*, coming into the City again at *Cripplegate*, and going out again at *Alderſgate*, declaring for *King Jeſus*, and killing ſeveral People. Sir *Richard Brown*, then Lord Mayor, having notice of their deſperate Deſign, got together ſome Files of the Train'd-Bands, who were at firſt repuls'd by *Venner*'s Party, who fought with an incredible Impulſe of Infatuation, as making themſelves to believe that *One ſhould chaſe a thouſand, and no Weapon form'd againſt them ſhould proſper*. But finding themſelves harder preſs'd, and being told the Life-guards were coming down upon them, they retired, and under Cover of the dark Evening got into *Cane-wood* betwixt *Highgate* and *Hampſtead*: and a Party of Horſe and Foot being ſent thither to hunt them out, on *Wedneſday* Morning very early this villainous Crew return'd again to *London*, dividing themſelves into two Parties, one whereof appear'd about *Leaden-hall*, and from thence march'd into *Little Eaſtcheap*, where they fought obſtinately, but were diſpers'd by the Train'd-Bands. *Venner*, with another Party, came to the Lord Mayor's Houſe, thinking to have ſurpriz'd him; but miſſing their aim, they march'd into *Wood-ſtreet*, where they were met by Colonel *Corbet* and about 20 Horſe. *Corbet* and 9 only of his Horſe-men charg'd through the Rebels, and broke them; and the Train'd-Band Foot fell in and purſued them. They fought with a Courage more brutiſh and deviliſh than ever was ſeen in Men: and if their Numbers had been equal to their Spirits, they would have overturn'd the City, and the Nation, and the World. *Venner* (who was much wounded before he could be taken) was ſoon after, with about 16 of his Crew, arraign'd in the *Old Bailey*; and being all found *Guilty*, they were executed in ſeveral Places in *London*, moſt of them raving, and threatning Judgment, and calling down Vengeance upon the King, the Judges and the City.

Their horrid Enthuſiaſm.

Defeated.

Condemned, and executed.

Church reſtor'd.

Upon a View of the King's Return, there began to be a brighter Proſpect of Religion, which for 20 Years together had run into ſuch a variety of Forms and Figures, as to be well aſhamed to appear longer without reaſſuming the good old Habit of a *Church of England*, as formerly *by Law eſtabliſhed*: And yet Prejudices were ſo deep, and Parties ſo powerful, that it was the King's Prudence to ſmooth and ſoften the way by his many Expreſſions of Indulgence and Condeſcenſion mention'd in his Letters and Declaration from *Breda* [a]; and after his Return by this remarkable *Declaration to all his loving Subjects of his Kingdom of* England *and Dominion of* Wales, *concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*.

The K.'s Indulgence.

CHARLES R.

His Declaration.

"HOW much the Peace of the State is concerned in the Peace of the Church, and how "difficult a thing it is to preſerve Order and Government in Civil, whilſt there is no Order or "Government in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, is evident "to the World: And this little part of the World, "our own Dominions, hath had ſo late Experience "of it, that we may very well acquieſce in the "Concluſion, without enlarging Ourſelf in Diſcourſe upon it, it being a Subject we have had "frequent occaſion to contemplate upon, and to "lament abroad as well as at home.

"In our Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of

[a] See the King's Declaration in Matters of Religion to all his loving Subjects. Given at our Court at *Breda Apr.* 4. 1660, incloſed in a Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. Printed 1660. *Fol.*

"Commons

1660. 12 Car. II. “Commons from *Breda*, we declared how much we deſired the Advancement and Propagation of the Proteſtant Religion; that neither the Unkindneſs of thoſe of the ſame Faith towards us, nor the Civilities and Obligations from thoſe of a contrary Profeſſion (of both which we have had abundant Evidence) could in the leaſt Degree ſtartle us, or make us ſwerve from it; and that nothing can be propoſed to manifeſt our Zeal and Affection for it, to which we will not readily conſent. And we ſaid then, that we did hope in due time, ourſelf to propoſe ſomewhat for the Propagation of it, that will ſatisfy the World that we have always made it both our Care and our Study, and have enough obſerved what is moſt like to bring Diſadvantage to it. And the truth is, we do think ourſelf more competent to propoſe, and with God's Aſſiſtance to determine many things now in difference, from the Time we have ſpent, and the Experience we have had, in moſt of the Reformed Churches abroad, in *France*, in the *Low Countries*, and in *Germany*, where we have had frequent Conferences with the moſt Learned Men, who have unanimouſly lamented the great Reproach the Proteſtant Religion undergoes from the Diſtempers and too notorious Schiſms in Matters of Religion in *England*. And as the moſt Learned amongſt them have always with great Submiſſion and Reverence acknowledged and magnified the eſtabliſhed Government of the *Church of England*, and the great Countenance and Shelter the Proteſtant Religion received from it before theſe unhappy times: ſo many of them have with great Ingenuity and Sorrow confeſs'd, that they were too eaſily miſled by Miſinformation and Prejudice into ſome Diſeſteem of it, as if it had too much complied with the Church of *Rome*; whereas they now acknowledge it to be the beſt Fence God hath yet raiſed againſt Popery in the World: And we are perſuaded they do with great Zeal wiſh it reſtored to its old Dignity and Veneration.

“When we were in *Holland*, we were attended by many grave and learned Miniſters from hence, who were look'd upon as the moſt able and principal Aſſertors of the Presbyterian Opinions; with whom we had as much Conference as the Multitude of Affairs which were then upon us would permit us to have; and, to our great Satisfaction and Comfort, found them Perſons full of Affection to us, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church and State, and neither Enemies (as they have been given out to be) to Epiſcopacy or Liturgy, but modeſtly to deſire ſuch Alterations in either, as, without ſhaking Foundations, might beſt allay the preſent Diſtempers which the Indiſpoſition of the Time and the Tenderneſs of ſome Mens Conſciences had contracted. For the better doing whereof, we did intend, upon our firſt Arrival in this Kingdom, to call a Synod of Divines, as the moſt proper Expedient to provide a proper Remedy for all thoſe Differences and Diſſatisfactions which had or ſhould ariſe in Matters of Religion. And in the mean time, we publiſhed in our Declarations from *Breda*, a Liberty to tender Conſciences, and that no Man ſhould be diſquieted, or called in queſtion for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and that we ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an Act of Parliament as upon mature Deliberation ſhall be offer'd to us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

“Whilſt we continued in this Temper of Mind, and Reſolution, and have ſo far complied with the Perſuaſion of particular Perſons, and the Diſtemper of the Time, as to be contented with the Exerciſe of our Religion in our own Chapel, according to the conſtant Practice and Laws eſtabliſhed, without enjoining that Practice, and the Obſervation of thoſe Laws in the Churches of the Kingdom; in which we have undergone the Cenſure of many, as if we were without that Zeal for the Church which we ought to have, and which, by God's Grace, we ſhall always retain: We have found ourſelf not ſo candidly dealt with as we have deſerved, and that there are unquiet and reſtleſs Spirits, who, without abating any of their own Diſtemper in recompence of the Moderation they find in us, continue their Bitterneſs againſt the Church, and endeavour to raiſe Jealouſies of us, and to leſſen our Reputation by their Reproaches, as if we were not true to the Profeſſions we have made: And in order thereunto, they have very unſeaſonably cauſed to be printed, publiſhed, and diſperſed, throughout the Kingdom, a *Declaration* heretofore printed in our Name in *Scotland*, of which we ſhall ſay no more, than that the Circumſtances by which we were enforced to ſign that *Declaration*, are enough known to the World; and that the worthieſt and greateſt part of that Nation did even then deteſt and abhor the ill Uſage of us in that Particular, when the ſame Tyranny was exerciſed there by the Power of a few ill Men, which at that time had ſpread itſelf over this Kingdom, and therefore we had no reaſon to expect that we ſhould at this Seaſon, when we are doing all we can to wipe out the Memory of all that hath been done amiſs by other Men, and we thank God have wiped it out of our own Remembrance, have been ourſelf aſſaulted with thoſe Reproaches, which we will likewiſe forget. 1660. 12 Car. II.

“Since the Printing this *Declaration*, ſeveral ſeditious Pamphlets and Queries have been publiſh'd and ſcatter'd abroad to infuſe Diſlike and Jealouſies into the Hearts of the People, and of the Army: and ſome, who ought rather to have repented the former Miſchief they have wrought, than to have endeavoured to improve it, have had the Hardineſs to publiſh, That the Doctrine of the Church, againſt which no Man with whom we have conferred hath excepted, ought to be reformed as well as the Diſcipline.

“This over-paſſionate and turbulent way of Proceeding, and the impatience we find in many for ſome ſpeedy Determination in theſe Matters, whereby the Minds of Men may be compoſed, and the Peace of the Church eſtabliſhed, hath prevailed with us to invert the Method we had propoſed to our ſelf, and even in order to the better calling and compoſing a Synod (which the preſent Jealouſies will hardly agree upon) by the Aſſiſtance of God's bleſſed Spirit, which we daily invoke and ſupplicate to give ſome Determination ourſelf to the Matters in Difference, until ſuch a Synod may be called, as may without Paſſion or Prejudice give us ſuch farther Aſſiſtance towards a perfect *Union* of Affections as well as Submiſſion to Authority, as is neceſſary. And we are the rather induced to take this upon us, by finding upon the full Conference we have had with the Learned Men of ſeveral Perſuaſions, that the Miſchiefs under which the Church and State do at preſent ſuffer, do not reſult from any formed Doctrine or Concluſion which either Party maintains or avows; but from the Paſſion and Appetite, and Intereſt of particular Perſons, who contract greater Prejudice to each other from thoſe Affections, than would naturally riſe from their Opinions; and thoſe Diſtempers muſt be in ſome degree allay'd, before the Meeting in a Synod can be attended with better Succeſs than their Meeting in other Places, and their Diſcourſes in Pulpits, have hitherto been: and till all Thoughts of Victory are laid aſide, the humble and neceſſary Thoughts for the Vindication of Truth cannot be enough entertained.

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“We muſt, for the Honour of all thoſe of either Perſuaſion with whom we have conferr'd, declare, That the Profeſſions and Deſires of All, for the Advancement of Piety and true Godlineſs, are the *ſame*; their Profeſſions of Zeal for the Peace of the Church, the *ſame*; of Affection and Duty to us, the *ſame*: They All approve Epiſcopacy; they All approve a ſet Form of Liturgy; and they All diſprove and diſlike the Sin of Sacrilege, and the Alienation of the Revenue of the Church. And if, upon theſe excellent Foundations, in Submiſſion to which there is ſuch a Harmony of Affections, any Superſtructures ſhould be raiſed, to the ſhaking thoſe Foundations, and to the contracting and leſſening the bleſſed Gift of Charity, which is a vital part of Chriſtian Religion, we ſhall think ourſelf very unfortunate, and even ſuſpect that we are defective in that Adminiſtration of Government with which God hath intruſted us.

“We need not profeſs the high Affection and Eſteem we have for the *Church of England*, as it is eſtabliſhed by Law; the Reverence to which hath ſupported us, by God's Bleſſing, againſt many Temptations: Nor do we think that Reverence in the leaſt degree diminiſhed by our Condeſcenſions, not peremptorily to inſiſt on ſome Particulars of Ceremony, which however introduced by the Piety, and Devotion, and Order of former Times, may not be ſo agreeable to the preſent, but may even leſſen that Piety and Devotion for the Improvement whereof they might happily be firſt introduced, and conſequently may well be diſpenſed with. And we hope this charitable Compliance of ours will diſpoſe the Minds of all Men to a chearful Submiſſion to that Authority, the Preſervation whereof is ſo neceſſary for the Unity and Peace of the Church; and that they will acknowledge the Support of the Epiſcopal Authority to be the beſt Support of Religion, by being the beſt means to contain the Minds of Men within the Rules of Government. And they who would reſtrain the Exerciſe of that holy Function within the Rules which were obſerved in the primitive Times, muſt remember and conſider, that the Eccleſiaſtical Power being in thoſe bleſſed Times always ſubordinate and ſubject to the Civil; it was likewiſe proportion'd to ſuch an Extent of Juriſdiction, as was moſt agreeable to that. And as the Sanctity, and Simplicity, and Reſignation of that Age did then refer many things to the Biſhops, which the Policy of ſucceeding Ages would not admit, at leaſt did otherwiſe provide for; ſo it can be no Reproach to primitive Epiſcopacy, if where there have been great Alterations in the Civil Government from what was then, there have been likewiſe ſome Difference and Alteration in the Eccleſiaſtical, the Eſſence and Foundation being ſtill preſerved.

“And upon this Ground, without taking upon us to cenſure the Government of the Church in other Countries, where the Government of the State is different from what it is here; or enlarging Ourſelf upon the Reaſons why, whilſt there was an Imagination of erecting a Democratical Government here in the State, they ſhould be willing to continue an Ariſtocratical Government in the Church: It ſhall ſuffice to ſay, that ſince by the wonderful Bleſſing of God, the Hearts of this whole Nation are return'd to an Obedience to Monarchick Government in the State, it muſt be very reaſonable to ſupport that Government in the Church which is eſtabliſh'd by Law, and with which the Monarchy hath flouriſhed through ſo many Ages, and which is, in truth, as ancient in this Iſland as the Chriſtian Monarchy thereof; and which hath always, in ſome Reſpects or Degrees, been enlarged or reſtrained, as hath been thought moſt conducing to the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom. And therefore we have not the leaſt doubt, but that the preſent Biſhops will think the preſent Conceſſions now made by us to allay the preſent Diſtempers, very juſt and reaſonable, and will very cheerfully conform themſelves thereunto.

1. “We do in the firſt place declare our Purpoſe and Reſolution is, and ſhall be, to promote the Power of Godlineſs, to encourage the Exerciſes of Religion both publick and private, and to take care that the Lord's-Day be applied to holy Exerciſes, without unneceſſary Divertiſements; and that inſufficient, negligent and ſcandalous Miniſters be not permitted in the Church. And that as the preſent Biſhops are known to be Men of great and exemplary Piety in their Lives, which they have manifeſted in their notorious and unexampled Sufferings during theſe late Diſtempers, and of great and known ſufficiency of Learning: So we ſhall take eſpecial Care to prefer no Man to that Office and Charge, but Men of Learning, Virtue and Piety, who may be themſelves the beſt Examples to thoſe who are to be govern'd by 'em. And we ſhall expect and provide the beſt we can, that the Biſhops be frequent Preachers, and that they do very often Preach themſelves in ſome Church of their Dioceſs, except they be hinder'd by Sickneſs or other bodily Infirmities, or ſome other juſtifiable Occaſion, which ſhall not be thought juſtifiable if it be frequent.

2. “Becauſe the Dioceſſes, eſpecially ſome of them, are thought to be of too large Extent, we will appoint ſuch a number of Suffragan Biſhops in every Dioceſs, as ſhall be ſufficient for the due performance of their Work.

3. “No Biſhop ſhall Ordain or Exerciſe any part of Juriſdiction which appertains to the Cenſures of the Church, without the Advice and Aſſiſtance of the Presbyters: And no Chancellors, Commiſſaries or Officials, as ſuch, ſhall execute any Act of Spiritual Juriſdiction in theſe Caſes, *viz.* Excommunication, Abſolution, or wherein any of the Miniſtry are concerned with reference to their Paſtoral Charge. However our Intent and meaning is to uphold and maintain the Profeſſion of the Civil Law, ſo far and in ſuch matters, as it hath been of Uſe and Practice within our Kingdoms and Dominions: Albeit, as to Excommunication our Will and Pleaſure is, that no Chancellor, Commiſſary or Official ſhall decree any Sentence of Excommunication or Abſolution, or be Judges in thoſe things wherein any of the Miniſtry are concerned as is aforeſaid: Nor ſhall the Archdeacon exerciſe any Juriſdiction without the Advice and Aſſiſtance of ſix Miniſters of his Archdeaconry, whereof three to be nominated by the Biſhop, and three by the Election of the major part of the Presbyters within the Archdeaconry.

4. “To the end that the Deans and Chapters may be the better fitted to afford Counſel and Aſſiſtance to the Biſhops, both in Ordination and the other Offices mention'd before, we will take care that thoſe Preferments be given to the moſt Learned and Pious Presbyters of the Dioceſe. And moreover, that an equal number to thoſe of the Chapter, of the moſt Learned, Pious and Diſcreet Presbyters of the ſame Dioceſe, annually choſen by the major Vote of all the Presbyters of that Dioceſe preſent at ſuch Elections, ſhall be always adviſing and aſſiſting together with thoſe of the Chapter, in all Ordinations, and in every part of Juriſdiction, which appertains to the Cenſures of the Church, and at all other ſolemn and important Actions in the Exerciſe of the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, wherein any of the Miniſtry are concerned; provided that at all ſuch Meetings the number of the Miniſters ſo elected, and thoſe preſent of the Chapter, ſhall be equal, and not exceed one the other, and that to make the

“Numbers

1660. 12Car.II. “Numbers equal, the juniors of the exceeding number be withdrawn, that the moſt ancient may take place. Nor ſhall any Suffragan Biſhop Ordain or Exerciſe the foremention'd Offices and Acts of Spiritual Juriſdiction, but with the Advice and Aſſiſtance of a ſufficient number of the moſt Judicious and Pious Presbyters annually choſen as aforeſaid within his Precincts. And our Will is, that the great Work of Ordination be conſtantly and ſolemnly perform'd by the Biſhop and his aforeſaid Presbytery, at the four ſet Times and Seaſons appointed by the Church for that purpoſe.

5. “We will take care that Confirmation be rightly and ſolemnly perform'd, by the Information and with the Conſent of the Miniſter of the Place, who ſhall admit none to the Lord's Supper, till they have made a credible Profeſſion of their Faith, and promiſed Obedience to the Will of God, according as is expreſſed in the Conſiderations of the Rubrick before the Catechiſm: And that all poſſible Diligence be uſed for the Inſtruction and Reformation of Scandalous Offenders, whom the Miniſter ſhall not ſuffer to partake of the Lord's-Table, until they have openly declared themſelves to have truly repented and amended their former naughty Lives, as is partly expreſſed in the Rubrick and more fully in the Canons; provided there be place for due Appeals to Superior Power. But beſides the Suffragans and their Presbytery, every Rural Dean (thoſe Deans, as heretofore, to be nominated by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe) together with three or four Miniſters of that Deanery, choſen by the major part of all the Miniſters within the ſame, ſhall meet once in every Month, to receive ſuch Complaints as ſhall be preſented to them by the Miniſters or Church-Wardens of the reſpective Pariſhes; and alſo to compoſe all ſuch Differences betwixt Party and Party, as ſhall be offer'd to them by way of Arbitration, and to convince Offenders, and reform all ſuch things as they ſhall find amiſs by their Paſtoral Reproofs and Admonitions, if they may be ſo reformed: And ſuch matters as they cannot by this Paſtoral and Perſuaſive way compoſe and reform, are by them to be prepared for, and preſented to the Biſhop; at which meeting any other Miniſters of that Deanery may, if they pleaſe, be preſent. Moreover, the Rural Dean and his Aſſiſtants are in their reſpective Diviſions to ſee that the Children and the younger ſort be carefully inſtructed by the reſpective Miniſters of every Pariſh in the Grounds of Chriſtian Religion, and be able to give a good Account of their Faith and Knowledge, and alſo of their Chriſtian Converſation conformable thereunto, before they be confirmed by the Biſhop, or admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper.

6. “No Biſhop ſhall exerciſe any Arbitrary Power, or do or impoſe any thing upon the Clergy or the People, but what is according to the known Law of the Land.

7. “We are very glad to find, that all with whom we have conferr'd, do in their Judgments approve a Liturgy, or Set-form of Publick Worſhip to be Lawful; which in our Judgment, for the preſervation of Unity and Uniformity, we conceive to be very neceſſary. And though we do conceive the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, contained in the Book of Common-Prayer, and by Law eſtabliſhed to be the beſt we have ſeen; and we believe, that we have ſeen all that are extant, and uſed in this part of the World, and well know what Reverence moſt of the Reformed Churches, or at leaſt the moſt Learned Men in thoſe Churches have for it; yet ſince we find ſome Exceptions made againſt ſeveral things therein, we will appoint an equal number of Learned Divines of both Perſuaſions to review the ſame, and to make ſuch Alterations as ſhall be thought moſt neceſſary; and ſome additional Forms (in the Scripture Phraſe as near as may be) ſuited unto the ſeveral parts of Worſhip, and that it be left to the Miniſter's choice to uſe one or other at his diſcretion. In the mean time, and until this be done, altho' we do heartily wiſh and deſire, that the Miniſters in their ſeveral Churches, becauſe they diſlike ſome Clauſes and Expreſſions, would not totally lay aſide the uſe of the Book of Common Prayer, but read thoſe Parts againſt which there can be no exception, which would be the beſt Inſtance of declining thoſe marks of diſtinction which we ſo much labour and deſire to remove: yet in compaſſion to divers of our good Subjects, who ſcruple the uſe of it as now it is, our Will and Pleaſure is, that none be puniſhed or troubled for not uſing it, until it be review'd and effectually reformed as aforeſaid. 1660. 12Car.II.

8. “Laſtly, concerning Ceremonies which have adminiſter'd ſo much matter of Difference and Contention, and which have been introduced by the Wiſdom and Authority of the Church, for Edification and the Improvement of Piety: We ſhall ſay no more, than that we have the more Eſteem of all, and Reverence for many of them, by having been preſent in many of thoſe Churches, where they are moſt Aboliſh'd or Diſcountenanc'd, and it cannot be doubted, but that, as the Univerſal Church cannot introduce one Ceremony in the Worſhip of God, that is contrary to God's Word expreſſed in the Scripture; ſo every National Church with the Approbation and Conſent of the Sovereign Power, may, and hath always introduc'd ſuch particular Ceremonies, as in that conjuncture of Time are thought moſt proper for Edification and the neceſſary improvement of Piety and Devotion in the People, tho' the neceſſary practice thereof cannot be deduced from Scripture; and that which before was, and is in it ſelf indifferent, ceaſes to be indifferent, after it is eſtabliſhed by Law. And therefore our preſent Conſideration and Work is, to gratifie the private Conſciences of thoſe who are grieved with the uſe of ſome Ceremonies, by indulging to and diſpenſing with their omitting thoſe Ceremonies; not utterly to aboliſh any which are eſtabliſhed by Law, (if any are practiſed contrary to Law the ſame ſhall ceaſe) which ſhould be unjuſt and of ill Example, and to impoſe upon the Conſcience of ſome, for the ſatisfaction of the Conſcience of others, which is otherwiſe provided for. As it could not be reaſonable that ſuch Men ſhould expect, that we ſhould our ſelf decline, or enjoin others to do ſo, to receive the bleſſed Sacrament on our Knees, which in our Conſcience is the moſt humble, moſt devout and moſt agreeable Poſture for that holy Duty, becauſe ſome other Men upon reaſons beſt, if not only, known to themſelves, chooſe rather to do it ſitting or ſtanding: We ſhall leave all Deciſions and Determinations of that kind, if they ſhall be thought neceſſary for a perfect and entire Unity and Uniformity throughout the Nation, to the Advice of a National Synod, which ſhall be duly called after a little time, and a mutual Converſation between Perſons of different Perſuaſions, hath mollified thoſe Diſtempers, abated thoſe Sharpneſſes, and extinguiſhed thoſe Jealouſies which make us unfit for thoſe Conſultations. And upon ſuch Advice, we ſhall uſe our utmoſt Endeavour, that ſuch Laws may be eſtabliſhed, as may beſt provide for the Peace of the Church and State; provided that none ſhall be denied the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, though they do not uſe the Geſture of kneeling in the act of receiving.

“In the mean time, out of Compaſſion and Compliance towards thoſe who would forbear the Croſs in Baptiſm. We are content that no Man ſhall be

“compell'd

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“ compell'd to uſe the ſame, or ſuffer for not doing it. But if any Parent deſire to have his Child chriſten'd according to the Form uſed, and the Miniſter will not uſe the Sign, it ſhall be lawful for that Parent to procure another Miniſter to do it: And if the proper Miniſter ſhall refuſe to omit that Ceremony of the Croſs, it ſhall be lawful for the Parent, who would not have his Child ſo Baptiz'd, to procure another Miniſter to do it, who will do it according to his Deſire.

“ No Man ſhall be compelled to bow at the name of *Jeſus*, or ſuffer in any degree for not doing it, without reproaching thoſe who out of their Devotion continue that ancient Ceremony of the Church.

“ For the uſe of the Surplice, we are contented that all Men be left to their liberty to do as they ſhall think fit, without ſuffering in the leaſt degree for wearing or not wearing it. Provided that this Liberty do not extend to our own Chapel, Cathedral or Collegiate Churches, or to any College in either of our Univerſities, but that the ſeveral Statutes and Cuſtoms for the uſe thereof in the ſaid Places, be there obſerv'd as formerly.

“ And becauſe ſome Men, otherwiſe Pious and Learned ſay, they cannot conform unto the Subſcription required by the Canon, nor take the Oath of Canonical Obedience, we are content, and it is our Will and Pleaſure (ſo they take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy) that they ſhall receive Ordination, Inſtitution and Induction, and ſhall be permitted to exerciſe their Function, and to enjoy the Profits of their Livings, without the ſaid Subſcription or Oath of Canonical Obedience: And, moreover, that no Perſons in the Univerſities ſhall for the want of ſuch Subſcription be hinder'd in the taking their Degrees. Laſtly, That none be judg'd to forfeit his Preſentation or Benefice, or be deprived of it upon the Statute of the thirteenth of Queen *Elizabeth*, Chapter the twelfth, ſo he read and declare his Aſſent to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments compriſed in the Book of Articles in the ſaid Statute mention'd. In a word, we do again renew what we have formerly ſaid in our Declaration from *Breda*, for the Liberty of tender Conſciences, that no Man ſhall be diſquieted, or called in queſtion for differences of Opinion in matters of Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom: And if any have been diſturb'd in that kind ſince our Arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any Direction of ours.

“ To conclude, and in this place to explain what we mention'd before, and ſaid in our Letter to the Houſe of Commons from *Breda* [a], that we hop'd in due time ourſelf to propoſe ſomewhat for the Propagation of the Proteſtant Religion that will ſatisfy the World, that we have always made it both our Care and our Study, and have enough obſerv'd what is moſt like to bring diſadvantage to it: We do conjure all our loving Subjects to acquieſce in and ſubmit to this our Declaration, concerning thoſe Differences which have ſo much diſquieted the Nation at home, and given ſuch Offence to the Proteſtant Churches abroad, and brought ſuch Reproach upon the Proteſtant Religion in general from the Enemies thereof; as if upon obſcure Notions of Faith and Fancy, it did admit the Practice of Chriſtian Duties and Obedience to be diſcountenanc'd and ſuſpended, and introduce a Licence in Opinions and Manners, to the Prejudice of the Chriſtian Faith. And let us all endeavour and emulate each other in thoſe Endeavours, to countenance and advance the Proteſtant Religion abroad, which will be beſt done by ſupporting the Dignity and Reverence due to the beſt Reformed Proteſtant Church at home; and which being once freed from the Calumnies and Reproaches it hath undergone from theſe late ill Times, will be the beſt Shelter for thoſe abroad, which will by that Countenance both be the better protected againſt their Enemies, and be the more eaſily induced to compoſe the Differences amongſt themſelves, which give their Enemies more Advantage againſt them: And we hope and expect, that all Men will henceforward forbear to vent any ſuch Doctrine in the Pulpit, or to endeavour to work in ſuch manner upon the Affections of the People, as may diſpoſe them to an ill Opinion of us and the Government, and to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom; which if all Men will in their ſeveral Vocations endeavour to preſerve with the ſame Affection and Zeal we ourſelf will do; all our good Subjects will by God's Bleſſing upon us enjoy as great a meaſure of Felicity, as this Nation hath ever done, and which we ſhall conſtantly labour to procure for them, as the greateſt Bleſſing God can beſtow upon us in this World. Given at our Court at *Whitehall* this twenty fifth Day of *October* 1660.

Excellency of this Declaration.

This Declaration, tho' very large, cannot be tedious to any good Reader, becauſe it has a Spirit of Truth and Wiſdom and Charity above any one Publick Profeſſion, that was ever yet made in Matters of Religion. It ſhews the admirable Temper and Prudence of the King and his Council in that tender Juncture of Affairs: It proves the Charity and Moderation of the ſuffering Biſhops in thinking ſuch Conceſſions to be juſt and reaſonable for Peace and Unity; and it ſhews a Diſpoſition in the chief Leaders of the other Party, to have accepted of Terms of Union conſiſtent with our Epiſcopacy and Liturgy: It condemns the unhappy Ferments that ſoon after followed for want of coming to this Temper; and it may ſtand for a Pattern to Poſterity, whenever they are heartily diſpoſed to reſtore the Diſcipline and heal up the Breaches of the Church. A very Learned Conformiſt Writer has given this Character of it; *If ever a divine Sentence was in the Mouth of any King, and his Mouth erred not in Judgment, I verily believe it was thus with our preſent Majeſty, when he compoſed that admirable Declaration; which next to Holy Scripture I adore, and think that the united Judgment of the whole Nation cannot frame a better, or a more unexceptionable Expedient for a firm and laſting Concord of theſe diſtracted Churches* [b].

Speech of Chancellor Hyde.

A little time before this Declaration was publiſhed, Chancellor *Hyde* (whoſe Head and Hand were moſt in it) had given notice of it in a Speech to the Parliament, wherein he tells them, “ He was commanded to mention to them two things recommended to them by his Majeſty in his Declarati-

[a] See his Majeſty's Speech to both Houſes, profeſſing that he owes his being here to God's Bleſſing upon the Intentions and Reſolutions he had expreſs'd in his Declaration from *Breda*. The Speech *July* 17. 1660.

Dr. *Bates* in his Funeral Sermon upon Mr. *Baxter* ſaid, That when there was a Motion made in the Houſe of Commons that the Declaration might paſs into an Act, it was oppos'd by one of the Secretaries of State, which was a ſufficient Indication of the King's Averſneſs to it.

[b] The Papiſts were watching and working to hinder all Union and Accommodation among Proteſtants. Dr. *Stillingfleet* honeſtly relates, that about the time of the King's coming in, a Letter of Advice was written by Seignior *Ballerini*, concerning the beſt way of managing the Popiſh Intereſt in *England* upon his Majeſty's Reſtoration; wherein it was adviſed eſpecially to obſtruct the Settlement of the fundamental Conſtitution of the Kingdom, to ſet up the proſperous way of Fears and Jealouſies of the King and Biſhops, to aſperſe the Biſhops and Miniſters of the Church of *England*, and to repreſent its Doctrine as coming too near to the Church of *Rome*, to ſecond the Factious in promoting an Indulgence, *&c.* Pref. to *Unreaſonabl. of Separat.* 4to.

“ on

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“ on from *Breda*, the one for compoſing thoſe unhappy Differences and Diſtempers in Religion, which had too much diſturbed the Peace of the Kingdom. This (ſaith he) is a ſad Argument indeed, it is a Conſideration that muſt make every religious Heart to bleed, to ſee Religion, which ſhould be the ſtrongeſt Obligation and Cement of Affection, and brotherly Kindneſs and Compaſſion, made now by the perverſe Wranglings of paſſionate and froward Men, the ground of all Animoſity, Hatred, Malice and Revenge; and this unruly and unmanly Paſſion, I fear, too frequently tranſports thoſe who are in the right, as well as thoſe who are in the wrong,[a] and leaves the latter more excuſable than the former. When Men who find their Manners and Diſpoſitions very conformable in all the neceſſary Obligations of Human Nature, avoid one another's Converſation, and grow firſt Unſociable and then uncharitable to each other, becauſe one cannot think as the other doth. ——

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ this Diſquiſition hath coſt the King many a Sigh, many a ſad Hour, when he hath conſidered the almoſt irreparable Reproach the Proteſtant Religion hath undergone from the Diviſions and Diſtractions which have been ſo notorious in this Kingdom. What pains he hath taken to compoſe them, after ſeveral Diſcourſes with Pious and Learned Men of different Perſuaſions, you will ſhortly ſee by a Declaration he will ſhortly publiſh upon that occaſion; by which you will ſee his great Indulgence to thoſe who can have any pretenſion from Conſcience to differ from their Brethren.

The Presbyterians had not been wanting to uſe their Endeavours of preventing the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Church: For as the Lord *Clarendon* relates, “ With the Commiſſioners ſent from the Parliament and from the City, to wait on the King at the *Hague*, in the beginning of *May*, there came a company of their Clergymen, to the number of eight or ten, who would not be look'd upon as Chaplains to the reſt, but being the popular Preachers of the City (*Reynolds*, *Calamy*, *Caſe*, *Manton*, and others the moſt eminent of the Presbyterians) deſired to be thought to repreſent that Party. They intreated to be admitted all together to have a formal Audience of his Majeſty; where they preſented their Duties, and magnified the Affections of themſelves and their Friends; who, they ſaid, had always, according to the Obligation of their Covenant, wiſhed his Majeſty very well, and had lately, upon the opportunity that God had put into their Hands, informed the People of their Duty; which, they preſum'd, his Majeſty had heard had proved effectual, and been of great uſe to him. They thank'd God for his conſtancy to the Proteſtant Religion; and profeſſed, that they were no Enemies to moderate Epiſcopacy; only deſired that ſuch things might not be preſſed upon them in God's Worſhip, which in their Judgment who uſed them were acknowledged to be Matters indifferent, and by others were held unlawful.

“ The King ſpoke very kindly to them, and ſaid, that he had heard of their good Behaviour towards him, and that he had no purpoſe to impoſe hard Conditions upon them, with reference to their Conſciences; that they well knew he had referr'd the ſettling all Differences of that Nature to the Wiſdom of the Parliament, which beſt knew what Indulgence and Toleration was neceſſary for the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom. But his Majeſty could not be ſo rid of them; they deſired ſeveral private Audiences of him, which he never denied; wherein they told him, the Book of Common-Prayer had been long diſcontinued in *England*, and the People having been diſuſed to it, and many of them having never heard it in their Lives, it would be much wonder'd at, if his Majeſty ſhould at his firſt landing in the Kingdom, revive the uſe of it in his own Chapel, whither all Perſons would reſort; and therefore they beſought him, that he would not uſe it intirely and formally, but have only ſome parts of it read, with mixture of other good Prayers, which his Chaplains might uſe.

“ The King told them with ſome warmth, that whilſt he gave them Liberty, he would not have his own taken from him; that he had always uſed that Form of Service, which he thought the beſt in the World, and had never diſcontinued it in Places where it was more diſliked than he hop'd it was by them; that when he came into *England* he would not ſeverely inquire how it was uſed in other Churches, though he doubted not he ſhould find it uſed in many; but he was ſure he would have no other uſed in his own Chapel. Then they beſought him with more importunity, that the uſe of the Surplice might be diſcontinued by his Chaplains, becauſe the ſight of it would give great offence and ſcandal to the People. They found the King as inexorable in that Point as in the other; he told them plainly, that he would not be reſtrained himſelf, when he gave others ſo much Liberty; that it had been always held a decent Habit in the Church, conſtantly practis'd in *England* till theſe late ill Times; that it had been ſtill retained by him; and though he was bound for the preſent to tolerate much Diſorder and Indecency in the Exerciſe of God's Worſhip, he would never, in the leaſt degree, by his own Practice, diſcountenance the good old Order of the Church, in which he had been bred. Though they were very much unſatiſfied with him, whom they thought to have found more flexible, yet they ceaſed farther troubling him, in Hope and Preſumption, that they ſhould find their Importunity in *England* more effectual[b].

Sept. 20. Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London* was tranſlated to the See of *Canterbury*, and Dr. *Sheldon* was made Biſhop of *London*, and Dr. *Frewen* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* tranſlated to *York*, and the other Sees filled with Prelates of eminent Piety and Learning, who yet took not their Seats in the Houſe of Lords, becauſe of the Act ——— that took away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament, tho' as to their Spiritual Juriſdiction, and all other Rights of Ordination, Inſtitution, Cenſures, and even Uniformity of Worſhip, they were now in poſſeſſion of them. For without any new Acts, or Repeal of any aboliſhing Ordinances, by reſtoring the Conſtitution of this Kingdom, the Church of *England* was by Law Eſtabliſh'd. It ought to be obſerv'd, that the King on the very next Day after he had took poſſeſſion of his Royal Palace, publiſh'd *A Proclamation againſt vicious, debauch'd and profane Perſons*; given at *Whitehall May* 30. in the twelfth Year of his Reign. And happy had it been for the Peace and Honour of this Reign, if the Example of the Court had confirmed the Order of it. *(Promotions of Biſhops.)*

Anno 1661. His Majeſty's Coronation was with great State and Splendor performed on *April* 23. St. *George*'s Day, his Majeſty the Day before making *(Coronation of the King.)*

[a] The very Quakers were complaiſant to the King: They publiſh'd *A Viſitation of Love* unto the King 1660, 4*to.* inſcribed to *Charles Stuart*, who is proclaimed King, and to all you that are called and known by the Name of Royal Party and Cavaliers, and who have ſuffer'd in your Cauſe and for your Principle, in the Name of the People call'd *Quakers*. With a Poſtſcript againſt Plots and Inſurrections. Written about the middle of the third Month call'd *May*, 1660. Subſcribed *Edward Burrough*, &c.

[b] See the firſt Addreſs and Propoſals of the Preſbyterian Miniſters preſented to the King, in Mr. *Baxter*'s Life, *Fol. p.* 233. With the Anſwer of the Biſhops and Epiſcopal Divines, *p.* 242.

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a ſolemn Proceſſion from the *Tower* thro' the City, amidſt Triumphal Arches, and all the poſſible Tokens of Reſpect and Joy. At the opening of the new Parliament on *May* 8. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons, made this Speech.

Meeting of the Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

King's Speech.

"I Will not ſpend the time in telling you why I called you hither, I am ſure I am very glad to ſee you here. I do value myſelf much upon keeping my Word, upon making good whatſoever I promiſe to my Subjects: And I well remember, when I was laſt in this place, I promiſed that I would call a Parliament as ſoon as could be reaſonably expected or deſired; and truly conſidering the Seaſon of the Year, and all that hath been done ſince we parted, you could not reaſonably expect to meet ſooner than now we do: If it might have been a Week ſooner, you will confeſs there was ſome reaſon to deferr it to this Day: For this Day, we may without Superſtition love one Day, prefer one Day before another, for the Memory of ſome Bleſſing that befel us that Day; and then you will not wonder that the Memory of the great Affection the whole Kingdom ſhew'd to me this Day twelve Month, made me deſirous to meet you again this Day, when I dare ſwear you are full of the ſame Spirit, and that it will be laſting in you. I think there are not many of you who are not particularly known to me; there are very few of whom I have not heard ſo much good, that I am as ſure, as I can be of any thing that is to come, that you will all concurr with me, and that I ſhall concurr with you in all things which may advance the Peace, Plenty and Proſperity of the Nation, I ſhall be exceedingly deceived elſe.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"You will find what Method I think beſt for your Proceeding, by two Bills which I have cauſed to be prepared for you, which are for confirmation of all that was enacted at our laſt Meeting: And above all, I muſt repeat what I ſaid when I was laſt here: *That next to the miraculous Bleſſing of God Almighty, and indeed as an immediate Effect of that Bleſſing, I do impute the good Diſpoſition and Security we are all in, to the happy Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, that is the principal Corner-Stone which ſupports this excellent Building, that creates Kindneſs in us to each other, and Confidence in our joint and common Security.*

"I am ſure I am ſtill of the ſame Opinion, and [illegible] if it be poſſible of that Opinion, than I [illegible]s by the Experience I have of the benefit of it, and from the Unreaſonableneſs of what ſome Men ſay againſt it, tho' I aſſure you not in my hearing. In God's Name provide full Remedies for any future Miſchiefs; be as ſevere as you will againſt new Offenders, eſpecially if they be ſo upon old Principles, and pull up thoſe Principles by the Roots. But I ſhall never think him a wiſe Man who would endeavour to undermine or ſhake that Foundation of our publick Peace, by infringing that Act in the leaſt degree; or that he can be my Friend, or wiſh me well, who would perſuade me ever to conſent to the Breach of a Promiſe I ſo ſolemnly made when I was abroad, and performed with that Solemnity; becauſe, and after I promiſed it, I cannot ſuſpect any Attempts of that kind by any Men of Merit and Vertue.

"I will not conclude without telling you ſome News; News that I think will be very acceptable to you, and therefore I ſhould think myſelf unkind and ill-natur'd, if I ſhould not impart it to you. I have been often put in mind by my Friends, that it was high time to marry; and I have thought ſo myſelf ever ſince I came into *England*: But there appeared Difficulties enough in the Choice, tho' many Overtures have been made to me; and if I ſhould never marry till I could make ſuch a Choice, againſt which there could be no foreſight of any Inconvenience that may enſue, you would live to ſee me an old Batchellor, which I think you do not deſire to do. I can now tell you, not only that I am reſolv'd to marry, but whom I reſolve to marry if God pleaſe. And towards my Reſolution, I have uſed that Deliberation, and taken that Advice, as I ought to do in an Affair of that Importance; and truſt me, with a full Conſideration of the good of my Subjects in general, as of myſelf; it is with the Daughter of *Portugal*. When I had, as well as I could, weighed all that occurred to me, the firſt Reſolution I took, was to ſtate the whole Overtures which had been made to me, and in truth all that had been ſaid againſt it, to my Privy Council; without hearing whoſe Advice I never did nor ever will reſolve any thing of publick Importance. And I tell you, with great Satiſfaction and Comfort to myſelf, that after many Hours Debate in a full Council, for I think there was not above one abſent; and truly I believe upon weighing all that can be ſaid upon that Subject, for or againſt it, my Lords, without one diſſenting Voice, yet there were very few that ſate ſilent, adviſed me with all imaginable Cheerfulneſs to this Marriage; which I look'd upon as very wonderful, and even as ſome Inſtance of the Approbation of God himſelf, and ſo took my own Reſolution, and concluded all with the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, who is departing with a whole Treaty ſigned, which you will find to contain many great Advantages to the Kingdom: And I make all the haſte I can to fetch you a Queen hither, who I doubt not will bring great Bleſſings with her to me and you. I will add no more, but refer the reſt to the Chancellor.

And accordingly the Lord Chancellor told them, "that the King had called them hither by his Writ, which was the only good and lawful way to the meeting of a Parliament, they ought to thank God he had reſerved them to this Day, a Day that many good Men had died praying for, that after all the Prodigies in Church and State, they had lived to ſee the King at the opening of the Parliament. That the King had cauſed a Bill or two to be prepared for the Confirmation of all that was enacted in the laſt Parliament; which, tho' not call'd by the King's Writ, might be reaſonably thought to have been called by God himſelf, upon the Supplication and Prayer of the King and the whole Nation, as the only means to reſtore the Nation to its Happineſs, to its ſelf, to its Honour, and even to its Innocence. That for the King after ſo many Injuries and Loſſes, to have been not only willing to confirm and to re-enact the Act of *Oblivion* and *Indemnity*, but to prepare ſuch an Act for them, to conjure them by all that was precious, by their Friendſhip to him, to diſpatch thoſe Acts with expedition, was ſuch a piece of fatherly Tenderneſs and Piety, as could proceed from no Heart, but ſuch a one in which God had treaſured up a ſtock of Mercy and Juſtice and Wiſdom to redeem a Nation. That the laſt Parliament which had done ſo very much, had ſtill left great things for them to do; they would find the Revenue the laſt Parliament intended to raiſe for the King, very much ſhort of what they promiſed: They would find the publick Debts for the diſcharge of the Army and the Navy, which the laſt Parliament thought they had provided for ſufficiently, to be ſtill in Arrear and unpaid. That they were now the great Phyſicians of the Kingdom; and God knows had many wayward and froward and diſtemper'd Patients, ſome who in truth were very ſick, others who thought themſelves ſicker than they were, and ſome who thought themſelves in Health, and were

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“ moſt ſick of all: They were therefore to uſe all the Diligence, Patience and Compaſſion which good Phyſicians have for their Patients, all the Cheerfulneſs and Complacency and Indulgence, their ſeveral Habits and Conſtitutions and Diſtempers might require. —— But there were a ſort of Patients who deſerved not their Lenity or Indulgence, thoſe were the ſeditious Preachers, who could not be contented to be diſpenſed with for their full Obedience to ſome Laws eſtabliſhed, without reproaching and inveighing againſt thoſe Laws how eſtabliſhed ſoever. That when the King ſpake laſt in this place before this Day, he ſaid, when he ſhould call the next Parliament, he ſhould receive their Thanks for what he had done ſince he had diſſolv'd the laſt Parliament: *For,* he ſaid, *he ſhould not more propoſe to himſelf any one Rule in his Actions or Councils than this, What is a Parliament like to think of this Action, or of that Counſel?* And that *it ſhould be want of Underſtanding in him, if it would not bear that Teſt.* That in a little time after the Diſſolution of that Parliament, while his Majeſty accompanied his Royal Mother to the Sea-ſide, the moſt deſperate and prodigious Rebellion brake out in this City that had been heard of in any Age; and by the multitude of intercepted Letters from and to all the Counties of *England,* in which the Time was ſet down wherein the *Work of the Lord* was to be done, by the deſperate Carriage of the Traitors themſelves, and the bragging of their Friends, it might be concluded the Combination reached very far; and if the indefatigable Induſtry of the Lord Mayor had not prevented it, probably the Fury would not have been extinguiſh'd, before this famous City, or a great part of it, had been burnt to Aſhes: and therefore it would become their Wiſdoms to provide new Remedies for new Diſeaſes, and to ſecure the precious Perſon of our dear Sovereign from the firſt Approaches of Villainy, and the Peace of the Kingdom from the firſt Overtures of Sedition. That the King had now told them, he was reſolv'd to marry, and reſolved whom to marry; the moſt grateful News that the whole Kingdom could receive. That it would be judg'd an irrecoverable Error in Policy, if *Portugal* ſhould be ſuffered again to be ſwallow'd up by *Spain.* That the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was ſollicitous to obſtruct this Match; and the King had not concealed from his Council, what that Ambaſſador had offered againſt this Marriage; what Profers he had made of others, what Threats of War in one caſe, what Advantage of Dowry in another; nay, that he had been ſo ſollicitous for the Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion, that he had offer'd ſeveral Proteſtant Princeſſes to whom his Maſter ſhould give a Portion, as with the Infanta of *Spain;* but had withal preſſed very earneſtly the delivering up of *Dunkirk* and *Jamaica;* by which it was plain the *Spaniſh* King would have that Recompence for the Portion he would give. That there being a unanimous Advice from his Council to his Majeſty to make this Marriage, he had ſent for the *Portugal* Ambaſſador, had declared his Reſolution to him, had writ himſelf to *Portugal,* and was preparing his Fleet to fetch home our Queen. ———

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The Commons returned to their Houſe, and choſe for their Speaker Sir *Edward Turner,* the Duke of *York*'s Sollicitor General, who in his Speech when preſented excuſed himſelf, and petition'd for the Liberties of the Houſe, and expreſs'd their hopes, that as his Majeſty had maniſeſted his Royal Favours to the late adopted Parliament, ſo he had a Bleſſing left for this his natural Parliament. On *May* 13. both Houſes attended his Majeſty at *Whitehall,* expreſſing their humble Acknowledgments and Thanks for communicating to them his Royal Intentions to marry with the Infanta of *Portugal,* which they could not but receive with great Joy and Satisfaction; and with all Earneſtneſs ſhould beg a Bleſſing upon it, and a ſpeedy Accompliſhment of it[a]. On *May* 22. by Order of Parliament, the *Solemn League and Covenant* was publickly burnt at *London* and *Weſtminſter* by the common Hangman, as afterward over all *England;* and on *May* 28. the pretended Act for the Trial of King *Charles* I. was burnt in *Weſtminſter-Hall* by a like Order of Parliament. The Commons were ſo unanimous and zealous in their Loyalty and Affections to the King, that the Common-wealth Party began to ſuſpect that the late *Act of Oblivion and Indemnity* would not ſecure them from being called to the old Accounts; they doubted the Validity of that Act might be queſtion'd, unleſs confirmed and expreſſly eſtabliſhed by the preſent Parliament: They had ſollicited the King for this new Security, and he had promiſed to procure it for them: but for fear the Inclinations of the Houſe would not ſo readily meet the King's Deſire, upon the importunity of thoſe who were conſcious of their Guilt and Danger, his Majeſty ſent this gracious Letter to the Houſe of Commons, to paſs the Bill for confirming the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity.

Sir *Edw. Turner* choſen Speaker.

Both Houſes approve the King's Marriage.

A Loyal Parliament.

Charles *R.*

TRuſty and Well-beloved we greet you well. At the opening of our Parliament you were told, that we had a great Deſire this Summer to make a Progreſs thro' ſome Parts of our Kingdom, which we reſolve to begin in Devotion to our City of Worceſter, *that we may pour out our Thanks to God for our Deliverance there; and the Seaſon of the Year quickens us in that Inclination, as we preſume it diſpoſes you to withdraw from this City, and to viſit your Countries. But you may remember we told you then, that we had cauſed ſome Bills to be prepared for you, for confirmation of what we enacted at our laſt meeting; and we ſaid all we could to you of the Value we ſet upon the* Act of Indemnity *(as we have great reaſon to do) and if we could have uſed ſtronger Expreſſions to have conjured you ſpeedily to have diſpatched it, we aſſure you we would have done it. And we did think what we ſaid would have made an Impreſſion in all who profeſs a de-*

King's Letter for Indemnity.

[a] The King's Marriage is thus related by a very good Writer: The *Portugueſe* ſent *Franciſco de Mello de Tonez,* Count *de Ponte,* and afterward Marquis of *Sandes,* in Quality of Extraordinary Ambaſſador to congratulate the King's Return, and the Queen gave him in charge to confer with Chancellor *Hyde,* and to engage him to diſpoſe the King, his Maſter, to eſpouſe the Infanta of *Portugal,* —— *France* had in a manner abandon'd the *Portugueſe,* —— ſo it ſeem'd to be their moſt expedient Courſe to enter into a ſtrict Alliance with *England.* They rightly conſider'd the King would have need of Money to reward ſuch as had done him Service. —— Wherefore the Marq. of *Sandes* propoſed to the King to marry the Infanta, putting him in hopes of ſome Millions of Money with her: And he ſo manag'd Matters, that by the means of Chancellor *Hyde* he perſuaded the King in ſpite of all the oppoſition of the *Spaniards.* —— The *Spaniard* for his part profer'd to give as much as *Portugal,* if King *Charles* would marry a Proteſtant Princeſs; and that if neither a Daughter of *Saxony,* nor of *Denmark,* would pleaſe him, he might have the Princeſs of *Orange* upon the ſame Conditions that he had formerly deſired: Or he might have the Princeſs of *Parma,* to whom the King of *Spain,* upon that very account, had given a conſiderable Dowry. —— This Matter was debated in the King's Council, where it was agreed, that ſeeing the *Spaniards* would undoubtedly fail in their Promiſes touching the Marriage, it was moſt expedient to embrace the Propoſals of *Portugal,* who with the Infanta would give the Town of *Tangier* in *Africk,* and that of *Bombay* in the *Eaſt-Indies,* with three Millions of Livres, and Jewels to a great Value. —— Thoſe who with impartial Eyes look'd on theſe Intrigues, could not but admire that a Proteſtant Chancellor ſhould perſuade the King his Maſter to eſpouſe a Catholick Princeſs, when at the ſame time a Catholick King propos'd to that Prince a Proteſtant Conſort. *Memoirs of Monſ.* d' Ablancourt.

ſire to ſerve us; and therefore we expected every Day, that the ſame Bill would have been preſented to us for another Aſſent: We confeſs, we hear you have ſhewed great Affection to us, ſince your coming together, and that you have already prepared and paſſed ſome very good Bills (for which we heartily thank you) that are ready for the Royal Aſſent: Yet we cannot but tell you, that though we are enough concerned to expedite thoſe Bills, we have no mind to paſs them, till the Act of Indemnity be likewiſe preſented to us, upon which (if you take our Word) moſt of our Quiet and Good depends, and in which we are ſure our Honour is concerned: Therefore we muſt again, and as earneſtly as is poſſible, conjure you to uſe all poſſible Expedition in the paſſing that Act in the ſame Terms we already paſſed it (to which we take ourſelf obliged) and that you will for the preſent lay aſide all private Buſineſs, that ſo betaking yourſelves only to the Publick, you may be ready to adjourn by the middle of next Month, which will beſt ſuit with all our Occaſions. And ſo not doubting of your Readineſs to comply with us in theſe our juſt and neceſſary Deſires, we bid you heartily Farewel. Given at our Court at Whitehall *the two and twentieth Day of* June 1661. *in the thirteenth Year of our Reign.*

To our Truſty and Well-belov'd Sir *Edward Turner*, Kt. Speaker of our Houſe of Commons, to be communicated to the Houſe.

Bills paſſed.

This Letter had the deſired Effect of prevailing with the Commons, and of pleaſing the People: And ſo the Bills were diſpatch'd and paſs'd *For Confirmation of the Act of Oblivion*, for *Regulating Corporations*, for *Reſtoring the Biſhops to their Privilege of ſitting as Peers in the Houſe of Lords*, and ſome other Acts, and then the Houſes were adjourn'd to *Nov.* 20.

King's Progreſs put off.

The King had mention'd in his Letter the Deſign of a Summer Progreſs, and eſpecially to *Worceſter*, and to that end his Tent-Office was held at *Clerkenwell-Green*, to prepare all things for his Equipage and Accommodation: But either for Cares or Pleaſures intervening, the Progreſs was deferr'd to another Summer, and not then made.

Several of the Regicides and principal State Criminals had been kept in Cuſtody as reſerved, by the Act of Oblivion, to any Puniſhment that a Parliament ſhould determine to be inflicted on them. Under this Condition the Lord *Munſon*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, and Mr. *Robert Wallop*, had been brought to the Bar of the Lords, the Commons then preſent, where their Eſtates were declared confiſcate, and they degraded from all Titles and Arms of Gentility, and farther ſentenc'd to be drawn from the *Tower* thro' the City of *London* to *Tyburn* on *Jan.* 30. next, and ſo back again with Halters about their Necks upon Sledges, and to ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment. Several others of them were in *October* ſent away from the *Tower* to remote Priſons in Caſtles and Iſlands to continue there for Life.

Mercy to the Regicides.

Succeſs of our Fleet.

The Earl of *Sandwich* had the Command of our Fleet, and ſet Sail with his Vice-Admiral Sir *John Lawſon*, on *June* 19. toward the *Streights*, to reduce the Pirates, who had very much obſtructed our Trade and Navigation. On *July* 29. he came before the Port of *Algier*, and ſent a Meſſage to the *Dey* of that Place, to come out and confirm the League formerly made with *England*. A Treaty was begun, but the *Algerines* appear'd ſo inſolent in their Terms, that the Admiral weigh'd and ſtood in to their Harbour, but found it ſo well ſecur'd in a new manner by a Mole and Forts and Batteries, that after the firing ſome few Ships, and ſtriking the Town into great Conſternation, he found it adviſeable to bring off the Fleet which had ſuffer'd extremely in their Sails and Rigging, and leaving Sir *John Lawſon* to block them up, he ſailed away with part of the Fleet to the Coaſt of *Spain*, then croſs to *Tangier*, and ſo back by *Liſbon*, according to his Orders. The old Republicans made their envious and ſeditious Remarks, that the Naval Force of *England* would not be ſo great under Monarchy, as it had been under a Common-wealth.

Among other Branches of the Royal Family that came over to congratulate the Reſtauration of the King, was *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*, the King's Aunt, and only ſurviving Daughter of King *James* I. the happy Mother of a Proteſtant Heir to this Crown, the Princeſs *Sophia*. She had been married to the unfortunate Elector Palatine on *Feb.* 14. 1612. and having been out of *England* forty nine years, had endured and ſurvived all the poſſible Misfortunes of her Family, and came now to her Native Country to die in Peace: For ſhe had arrived here on *May* 17. and departed this Life in *Leiceſter-Houſe* the 13*th* of *February* following, in the ſixty ſixth Year of her Age, and was privately buried in the ſame Vault with Prince *Henry* her eldeſt Brother, in the Chapel of *Henry* VII.

Death of the Queen of *Bohemia*.

Ireland.

The Government of *Ireland* had been committed to three Juſtices, the Earl of *Orrery*, Sir *Maurice Euſtice*, and Sir *Charles Coot* Earl of *Mountrath*, of which the latter dying this Year, *James* Duke of *Ormond* was by his Majeſty appointed Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, where he had before ſhewn his Loyalty and Wiſdom and Valour in a very eminent degree[a].

Biſhops reſtor'd to their Seats in Parl.

According to the Adjournment, the two Houſes met *Nov.* 20. now firſt in their true Parliamentary Conſtitution of Lords Spiritual, Temporal and Commons; for the Biſhops by Virtue of the Act of Repeal made in the laſt meeting, did now take their Places; and the King in his Speech congratulated them upon the Reſtitution of their Rights, and ſaid it was a Felicity which he had much deſired to ſee accompliſhed, as the only thing wanting to compleat the goodly Fabrick of Church and State.

State of Religion.

Religion was now to undergo the ſame happy Change with the Civil Government. A new Parliament had met on *May* 8. and tho' there was no legal Neceſſity for a Convocation to attend it, yet the latter Cuſtom had prevail'd for the King to ſend out his Writs to the two Archbiſhops to ſummon the Clergy of their reſpective Provinces to aſſemble in Convocation much about the ſame time with the ſitting of Parliament, becauſe to treat among themſelves of the ſame Affair in Aiding and Aſſiſting the Crown; and becauſe they may be ready as the Church Repreſentative to conſult in any Matters of Doctrine or Diſcipline or Worſhip, that may happen to come under the Conſideration of the whole Legiſlature. But becauſe the Conſtitution of the Church was not yet perfectly re-eſtabliſhed, and becauſe the King had promiſed another ſort of Synodical meeting of Commiſſioners, Epiſcopal and Presbyterian Divines; therefore it was not reſolv'd to call a Convocation with this Parliament. While this Matter was held in ſuſpence, Dr. *Heylyn* wrote this Letter to the chief Miniſter of State.

Parl. intended to be called without a Convocation.

[a] The *Iriſh* Papiſts made bold to expect the King's Favour. Father *Peter Walſh* does acknowledge, that the Catholick Clergy of *Ireland*, by an Inſtrument bearing Date *January* 1660, O. S. ſigned and ſealed by the chief Prelates and Officials of their Religion then at home in their Countrey, deputed a Perſon of their own Communion and Profeſſion to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand in their Name, and expreſs their hearty Gratulations for his thrice happy Return to his Dominions, and to preſent withal their moſt humble Supplications for his Majeſty's either Juſtice or Clemency for a free Exerciſe of their Religion, purſuant to thoſe favourable Conceſſions of the Peace granted, and Articles made with the Catholicks of that Nation in the Year 1648, &c. *More ample Account*, &c. by F. *Pet. Walſh*, 1662. 8*vo.* p. 1.

Right

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Dr. Heylyn's Letter on that occaſion.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord,

"I Cannot tell how welcome or unwelcome this Addreſs may prove in regard of the greatneſs of the Cauſe, and the low Condition of the Party. But I am apt enough to perſuade myſelf, that the honeſt Zeal which moves me to it, not only will excuſe but endear the Boldneſs.

"There is, *my Lord*, a general Speech, but a more general Fear withal, amongſt ſome of the Clergy, that there will be no Convocation called with the following Parliament; which, if it ſhould be ſo reſolved on, cannot but raiſe ſad Thoughts in the Hearts of thoſe who wiſh the Peace and Happineſs of our *Engliſh Sion*. But being the Biſhops are excluded from their Votes in Parliament, there is no other way to keep up their Honour and Eſteem in the Eyes of the People, but the retaining of their Places in the Convocation. Nor have the lower Clergy any other means to ſhew their Duty to the King, and keep that little Freedom which is left unto them, than by aſſembling in ſuch Meetings where they may exerciſe the Power of a Convocation in granting Subſidies to his Majeſty, tho' in nothing elſe. And ſhould that Power be taken from them, according to the conſtant (but unprecedented) Practice of the late long Parliament, and that they muſt be taxed and rated with the reſt of the Subjects without their liking and conſent; I cannot ſee what will become of the firſt Article of *Magna Charta*, ſo ſolemnly, ſo frequently, confirmed in Parliament: or what can poſſibly be left unto them, of either the Rights or Liberties belonging to an *Engliſh* Subject.

"I know 'tis conceived by ſome, that the Diſtruſt which his Majeſty hath in ſome of the Clergy, and the Diffidence which the Clergy have of one another, is look'd on as the principal Cauſe of the *Innovation*; for I muſt needs behold it as an *Innovation*, that any Parliament ſhould be called without a Meeting of the Clergy at the ſame time with it. The firſt Year of King *Edward* VI. Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, were Times of greater Diffidence and Diſtraction than this preſent Conjuncture; and yet no Parliament was called in the Beginning of their ſeveral Reigns, without the Company and Attendance of the Convocation, tho' the Intendments of the State aimed then at greater Alterations in the face of the Church, than are now pretended or deſired. And, to ſay the truth, there was no Danger to be feared from a *Convocation*, tho' the Times were ticklish and unſettled, and the Clergy was divided into Sides and Factions, as the Caſe then ſtood, and ſo ſtands with us at this preſent time. For, ſince the Clergy in their Convocations are in no Authority to propound, treat, or conclude any thing (more than the Paſſing of a Bill of Subſidies for his Majeſty's Uſe) until they are impowered by the King's Commiſſion; the King may tye them up for what time he pleaſes, and give them nothing but the opportunity of entertaining one another with the News of the Day.

"But if it be objected, That the Commiſſion now on foot for altering and explaining certain Paſſages in the Publick Liturgy, may either paſs inſtead of a Convocation, or elſe is thought to be neither competible nor conſiſtent with it; I hope far better in the one, and muſt profeſs, that I can ſee no reaſon in the other. For *Firſt*, I hope that the ſelecting ſome few Biſhops and other learned Men of the Lower Clergy to debate on certain Points contained in the Common Prayer Book, is not intended for a *Repreſentation* of the *Church of England*, which is a Body more diffuſed, and cannot legally ſtand bound by their Acts and Counſels. And if this Conference be for no other purpoſe, but only to prepare Matters for a *Convocation* (as ſome ſay it is not) why may not ſuch a *Conference* and *Convocation* be held both at once? For neither the ſelecting of ſome learned Men out of both the Orders for the Compoſing and Reviewing of the two Liturgies digeſted in the Reign of King *Edward* VI. proved any Hindrance in the calling of thoſe Convocations which were held both in the ſecond and third, and in the fifth and ſixth of the ſaid King's Reign. Nor was it found, that the holding of a Convocation together with the firſt Parliament under Queen *Elizabeth*, proved any Hindrance to that *Conference* or *Diſputation* which was deſigned between the Biſhops and ſome learned Men of the oppoſite Parties. All which conſidered, I do moſt humbly beg your Lordſhip to put his Majeſty in mind of ſending out his Mandates to the two Archbiſhops for ſummoning a Convocation (according to the uſual Form) in their ſeveral Provinces; that this poor Church may be held with ſome degree of Veneration, both at home and abroad.

"And, in the next place, I do no leſs humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to excuſe this Freedom; which nothing but my Zeal for God's Glory, and my Affection to this Church, could have forced from me. I know how ill this preſent Office does become me, and how much fitter it had been for ſuch as ſhine in a more eminent Sphere in the holy Hierarchy, to have tendered theſe Particulars to Conſideration: which ſince they either have not done, or that no viſible Effect hath appeared hereof, I could not chuſe but caſt my poor Mite into the Treaſury; which, if it may conduce to the Church's Good, I ſhall have my Wiſh; and howſoever ſhall be ſatisfied, in point of Conſcience, that I have not fail'd of doing my Duty to this Church, according to the Light of my Underſtanding: and then what happens unto me ſhall not be material. And thus again, moſt humbly craving Pardon for this Preſumption, I kiſs your Lordſhip's Hands, and ſubſcribe my ſelf,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant to be commanded,

Peter Heylin.

Upon ſuch Reaſons and Application to the Miniſters of State, long after the Writs for Parliament, the King ſent out his Mandates for a Convocation in each Province; that to *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dated *Apr.* 11. for his Suffragans and Clergy to meet before him in the Church of St. *Paul* in *London* on the 8th of *May* following[a]. At which time and Place the Convocation was opened by Divine Service, and a Sermon preach'd in *Latin* by Dr. *Thomas Pierce* on *Acts* xv. 28. the Biſhop of *London* preſiding (inſtead of the Archbiſhop, detained by Age and Infirmities) and by Schedule continuing and proroguing the Convocation unto the 16th of *May* in the Collegiate Church of *Weſtminſter*: On which Day Dr. *Henry Fearne*, Dean of *Ely*, having been in the former Seſſion elected Prolocutor, was now preſented to the Preſident, and confirmed by him. After which, the Lower Clergy being diſmiſs'd, the Preſident and other Biſhops treated of a Form of

A Convocation regularly ſummon'd.

Dr. Fearne Prolocutor.

[a] The Proceeding in Elections of Members for this Convocation is complain'd of in the *Conformiſts Plea for the Nonconformiſts*, 1681. *4to.* p. 35. to frame a Convocation to their Mind, great Care and Pains were uſed to keep out and to get in by very undue Proceedings. Proteſtations were uſed againſt all Incumbents not ordained by Biſhops, *&c.*

Mr. *Baxter* makes complaint of the Election of Proctors in Convocation for the Clergy of *London* at *Chriſt* Church on the ſecond of *May* 1661. *His Life*, p. 333.

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Forms of Prayer for *May* 29. and *Jan.* 30.

Prayer to be uſed on the 29th of *May*, to be obſerved as a ſolemn Thankſgiving for the King's Birth and Reſtoration; and for another ſpecial Form of Prayer to be uſed on the 30th of *January*. The drawing up theſe Forms was referred to two ſeveral Committees, each conſiſting of four Biſhops and eight of the Inferiour Clergy. And then the Convocation was by Schedule prorogued to *May* 18. In which third Seſſion, the Preſident delivered the *Form of Prayer* for *May* 29. to the Prolocutor, to be conſidered and conſented to by him and the Lower Houſe; and then intimated the want of a particular *Form for the Miniſtration of Baptiſm to thoſe of riper Years*, and referred it to a Committee of three Biſhops, and ſix of the Lower Clergy. In the eighth Seſſion, *June* 7. *Richard Aldworth*, Eſq; preſented to the Biſhop of *London*, as Preſident, his Majeſty's

Royal Licence.

Royal *Licence* under the Great Seal of *England* for Amending, Reforming, Expounding, and Correcting the Conſtitutions and Canons already made, and for Ordaining and making new Conſtitutions and Ordinances concerning the Peace and Good of the Church of *England*. After which, the Attorney General brought in a Copy of his Majeſty's *Proclamation* for a ſolemn Faſt; which being read by the publick Notary, the Preſident and Biſhops conſulted about a Form of Prayer for the ſaid Faſt, to be obſerved on the 12th of *June*, and referred this Matter to a Committee of four Biſhops and eight of the Inferiour Clergy. In the tenth Seſſion, *June* 19. the Preſident informed the other Biſhops, that (there having been ſome Defect in the former *Licence*) he had obtained from his Majeſty new Let-

A new Licence more effectual.

ters Patents for a more effectual *Licence* to proceed in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs: by vertue of which, a Committee of 12 Biſhops and 24 of the Lower Clergy, was appointed to examine the Canons already made, and to conſider of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and the Regulation of Spiritual Courts and Officers. In the next Seſſion, *June* 21. the Biſhop of *London* ſitting Preſident, and the Archbiſhop of *York*, with the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Cheſter* appearing there, a Debate was had for the drawing up one uniform *Book of Articles of Enquiry* to be uſed in the Viſitation of every Biſhop, referred to a Committee of both Houſes, with a Deſire to the Biſhops of the Province of *York* to be preſent, and to aſſiſt in that Buſineſs. In the 14th Seſſion. *July* 3. the Preſident and Biſhops treated and conſidered of an Act about Printing, and referred the Matter to another Committee. In the 18th Seſſion, *July* 17. the Biſhop of *Sarum* brought in a Draught of ſome Canons, which were read and amended, and recommitted. In the 23d Seſſion, *July* 27. the Preſident and Biſhops made their Subſcription ſingly for a Royal *Benevolence* to be preſented to the King. At the ſecond Meeting of the Parliament, *Novemb.* 20. the Convocati-

K's Letters for Review of the Common Prayer.

on met the Day following, when the King's Letters were read for a Review of the Book of Common Prayer, and a Committee was appointed for that Purpoſe. This important Buſineſs took up the Care and Application of both Houſes till the 48th Seſſion, *Decemb.* 20. when the *Book of Common Prayer* ſo Reviſed and Amended, was ſolemnly Received, Approved, and Subſcribed, by [a] all the Members of each Houſe. In the 50th Seſſion, *Jan.* 8. the Preſident and Biſhops treated about Reviſing the Canons and Conſtitutions that were made in 1640. to conſider which of them might be duly and fitly obſerved and uſed; and this Matter in the 53d Seſſion, was committed to a ſelect Committee. In the 56th Seſſion the Upper Houſe treated and conſulted about the *Act for Uniformity of Publick Prayers*. And in their next Seſſion, *Jan.* 31. the Queſtion fell under De-

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Biſhops to ſit in Trials for Blood.

bate among the Biſhops, how far it was ſafe or lawful for the Biſhops to ſit or be preſent in the Houſe of Lords in the Trial and Condemnation of Perſons impeach'd of Treaſon: and after many Arguments, it was agreed to take Advice of the beſt common Lawyers and Civilians. The Convocation met again the Day following; and then the ſeveral Lawyers who had been conſulted in this Caſe were admitted into the Upper Houſe, who, after ſeveral Queſtions and Arguments, deliver'd in their Opinion in Writing, That the Biſhops might ſit with the other Peers in Parliament, without any Detriment or Prejudice, during the ſaid Buſineſs of *Condemn'd Perſons*. In the 62d Seſſion, *Feb.* 18. the Preſident ſent for the Lower Houſe, and admoniſhed them to chuſe another Prolocutor and Referendary in the Place of Dr. *Henry Fearne*, promoted to the See of *Chicheſter*: and they accordingly choſe

Dr. *Barwick* Prolocutor.

and preſented Dr. *John Barwick*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, accepted and approved by the Preſident with conſent of his Brethren. In the next Seſſion, *Feb.* 22. the Upper Houſe made ſome farther Progreſs in Reviſing the Canons and Conſtitutions made in 1640. and in drawing up a Book of Articles to be uſed in every Epiſcopal Viſitation. In the 66th Seſſion, *March* 5. the Preſident and Biſhops conſulted about

Alterations in the Liturgy.

the Amendments and Alterations which had been made by the Parliament in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and committed the Reviſal of them to *George* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and *Brian* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, whoſe Report was approved by both Houſes. In the next Seſſion, *March* 8. *John* Biſhop of *Durham* deliver'd into the Hands of the Preſident, a *Book of Articles to be uſed in Viſitations*; which was order'd to be tranſmitted to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for his Grace's Peruſal and Correction. Then a Debate was held about taking care of the Impreſſion of the Book of Common Prayer; and it was agreed, that Dr. *Sancroft* ſhould be Superviſor, and Mr. *Scattergood* and Mr. *Dillingham* ſhould be Correctors of the Preſs. In the 70th Seſſion, the Preſident ſent for the Prolocutor and Clergy, and told them, that *the Book of Common-Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Uſe of the Church of* England; together with the *Form of Ordaining and Conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons*, as Reviſed by the Convocation, had been well accepted in the Houſe of Lords: and that the Lord Chancellour, as well in his own Name, as in the Name of all the Peers in Parliament, had returned Thanks to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of

[a] Dr. *Tho. Teniſon*, afterward Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, did obſerve in his Diſcourſe concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion in 1689, that the Spirit of Popery was already moving at Court, and obſtructing Reformation and Union. His Words are; Our Conſtitution was review'd in 61. And yet notwithſtanding that Review, is capable of another; the Commiſſioners of that time did not add the laſt Hand to that Work, ſo as to render it incapable ever after of being corrected and improv'd. Some who have well conſider'd all the Alterations and Additions then made by them, (which amount to the number of about 600) are ſufficiently convinc'd, that if they had reaſon for thoſe Changes, there is equal, if not greater reaſon for ſome farther Improvements. If they had foreſeen what is ſince come to paſs, I charitably believe they would not have done all that they did, and juſt ſo much, and no more. And yet I alſo believe, that if they had offer'd to move much farther, a Stone would have been laid under their Wheel by a ſecret but powerful Hand. The Myſtery of Popery did even then work, and a *Romaniſt* has very frankly inform'd us of the Expectation raiſ'd in that Party in the beginning of the Summer, 61. They had ſome Hopes cheriſh'd in them of Liberty of Conſcience, of the Removal of the Sanguinary and other Penal Laws, and of forty Chapels to be opened for them in and about the City of *London*. Much more is underſtood by thoſe who have penetrated into the Deſign of a certain Paper, call'd commonly *the Declaration of Somerſet-Houſe*.

See a *Catalogue of the* Prelates and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* in the upper and lower Houſe of Convocation now ſitting at *Weſtminſter*. Publiſhed by Order. *London*, for *N. Brook*, 1 Sheet *Fol.* 1661.

See the ſolemn Petition and Advice of Dr. *Henry Hammond* to the Convocation, with Directions to the Laity how to prolong their Happineſs. Publiſh'd by *Tho. Smith* of *Chriſt's* Coll. *Cambr.* 1661. 8*vo.*

both

1661. 13 *Car.* II. both Provinces, for their great Care and Induſtry in Reviſing the ſaid Book of Common Prayer: and that the ſaid Lord Chancellor had deſired him to return the like Thanks to the Prolocutor, Prelates, and Clergy, for their reſpective Care and Labour in the ſaid Work. On *Saturday*, *March* 22. the 71ſt Seſſion, the Preſident and Biſhops conſulted about a publick *Form of Conſecration of Pariſh-Churches and Chapels*, and committed that Matter to the ſole Care of *John* Lord Biſhop of *Durham*.

Before the opening of this Convocation, a Conference was begun at the *Savoy* between the Biſhops with their Epiſcopal Clergy, and the Presbyterian Divines, by vertue of a Commiſſion given by his Majeſty to the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, *Sarum*, *Worceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Peterborough*, *Cheſter*, *Carliſle*, *Exeter*, and *Norwich*, Dr. *Earles*, Dr. *Heylin*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Barwick*, Dr. *Gunning*, Dr. *Pearſon*, Dr. *Pierce*, Dr. *Sparrow*, Mr. *Thorndike*, on the one part; Dr. *Tuckney*, Dr. *Conant*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Jackſon*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Clark*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Rawlinſon*, Mr. *Cooper*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, Dr. *Collins*, Mr. *Woodbridge*, and Mr. *Drake*, on the other part; *to adviſe upon and review the Book of Common Prayer, comparing the ſame with the moſt ancient Liturgies which have been uſed in the Church in the primitive and pureſt Times —— and to take into their ſerious and grave Conſiderations the ſeveral Directions and Rules, Forms of Prayer, and Things in the ſaid Book of Common Prayer contained; and to adviſe and conſult upon and about the ſame, and the ſeveral Objections and Exceptions which ſhall now be raiſed againſt the ſame; and (if occaſion be) to make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary Alterations, Corrections and Amendments, as ſhall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for the giving Satiſfaction to tender Conſciences, and the reſtoring and continuance of Peace and Unity in the Churches under his Majeſty's Protection and Government —— And to certify and preſent to his Majeſty in Writing, under their ſeveral Hands, the Matters and Things whereupon they ſhall ſo determine to be by his Majeſty approved and eſtabliſhed —— As by the Letters Patents dated at* Weſtminſter *the* 25*th Day of* March *in the thirteenth Year of our Reign.*

The Place of Meeting was the *Savoy*, in the Lodgings of Dr. *Sheldon*, Maſter of the *Savoy*, and Biſhop of *London*. When they firſt met, the Biſhop of *London*, in a Speech, opened the Occaſion of their Meeting; and told the Presbyterian Divines, "That "the King had graciouſly appointed this Conference "at their Requeſt, and for their Satisfaction, they "having been deſirous of ſome Alterations in the "Liturgy: And therefore he propoſed that they "would bring in all their Objections againſt the "Liturgy in Writing, and all the additional Forms "and Alterations which they thought proper to be "made to it. This Method the Presbyterian Divines had before declined when it had been offer'd by the King, and again by the Lord Chancellour, excuſing themſelves by ſaying, *They were but few, and had no Commiſſion from their Brethren to expreſs their Minds; and therefore begg'd leave to acquaint their Brethren in the Country, that they might know their Senſe.* And when the King again preſs'd them for their Propoſals, they declar'd, *That they could not pretend to ſpeak for or oblige others; and that therefore what they did, muſt ſignify but the Minds of ſo many Men as were preſent.* And being farther required to deliver in their Deſires of Alteration, which ſhould be taken as their own Judgment, without including the Senſe of their whole Party; they again endeavoured to evade it, by begging of his Majeſty, that *if they made their Propoſals, the other ſide might bring in their Conceſſions at the ſame time, containing the utmoſt of what they could abate and yield in order to Peace; that ſo when both were ſeen and compar'd together, a Judgment might be the better form'd as to the probability of Succeſs.* According to this Art of Reſervedneſs, the Presbyterian Commiſſioners objected againſt the Propoſal of the Biſhop of *London* for ſtating their Caſe in Writing, and moved for an *Amicable Conference, according to the intent as they preſumed of the Commiſſion*, and which they thought *more likely to contribute to a Diſpatch of their great End of meeting; whereas writing would be a tedious, endleſs Buſineſs, and prevent their Familiarity and Acquaintance with each others Minds, which would beſt facilitate Peace and Concord.* But the Biſhop of *London* prudently inſiſted on the ſafer and more certain way of bringing in all their Exceptions, Alterations and Additions in one view in Writing, to which they ſhould receive diſtinct Anſwers likewiſe *in Scriptis.* After ſome Debate it was agreed, *That they ſhould bring all their Exceptions at one time, and all their Additions at another time.*

Savoy Conference.

The Exceptions were accordingly drawn up by Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Clark*, Dr. *Jacomb*, &c. and preſented to the Biſhops under this Title, *The Exceptions of the Presbyterian Brethren againſt ſome Paſſages in the preſent Liturgy*, dated *Aug.* 30. 1661. In this Paper they propoſed much more than they themſelves could expect to be granted: For they propoſed, that the Prayers and Materials of the Liturgy might have nothing in them *doubtful*, or *queſtion'd* among pious, learned Perſons (a thing impracticable) that the Repetitions and Reſponſals of Clerk and People might be omitted (a pious Cuſtom of the Primitive Church, and which Mr. *Baxter* himſelf had ſaid, was firſt owing to the devout Raptures of the People in breaking in upon the Prieſt, and taking their Share in the holy Offices) that the Petitions of the Litany might be caſt into one ſolemn Prayer to be offer'd up by the Miniſter alone. That there be nothing in the Liturgy countenancing the Obſervation of *Lent* as a Religious Faſt. That the Obſervation of Saints Days be omitted. That the Gift of Prayer be not excluded from being a part of Publick Worſhip. That the new Tranſlation of the Scriptures be every where uſed inſtead of the Old Verſion. That all Apocryphal Leſſons be omitted. That no part of the Liturgy be read at the Communion Table. That the Word *Prieſt* and *Curate* be turned into that of *Miniſter*, and *Sunday* into *Lord's-Day*. And finally, that no Ceremonies of Habit or Poſture be impoſed, but thoſe things be left to the liberty of Diſcretion in the Miniſter. After theſe general *Propoſals*, they added their particular Exceptions to ſeveral Parts and Paſſages of the Liturgy, and expreſs'd or ſuggeſted the Amendments and Alterations to be made to them. The Epiſcopal Clergy gave in their Anſwer, and accepted of the others Reply. And ſeveral Amendments and Alterations were made in the Publick Liturgy: But, after all, it was an unhappy Prejudice to the Peace of the Church and Nation, that the Presbyterian Divines thought theſe Conceſſions and Amendments to be not enough for their own Honour and the general Satisfaction of their Party: And on the other ſide, the Biſhops and Clergy were apt to think that the more they yielded the more importunate Demands would be made upon them, as they ſaw by the Practice of Mr. *Baxter*: For when the drawing up the Additions or new Supplements to be made to the Liturgy, was by his Brethren committed to him alone, he drew up an abſolute Form of his own, and ſtyl'd it *The Reformed Liturgy*, as if he had the Modeſty to think, that the Old Liturgy compiled by a number of very learned Confeſſors and Martyrs, muſt now give place to a new Form compoſed by a ſingle Man, and he by Education much inferior to many of his other Brethren.

Exceptions of the Presbyterians.

No Satisfaction.

After ſeveral ineffectual Papers of Propoſals, Exceptions, Anſwers, Replies and Rejoinders; when the Commiſſion was within ten Days of expiring, the

The Bps yield to a Conference.

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the Presbyterian Divines earneſtly deſired the Biſhops to admit them to a Perſonal Conference upon the Subject Matter of the Papers which had paſs'd between them. And to cut off all occaſion of Complaint, the Biſhops who had all along diſliked this way of Altercation, did now yield to it: And ſo a Diſputation was held for ſeveral Days, wherein the chief and choſen Managers were Dr. *Pierſon*, Dr. *Gunning*, and Dr. *Sparrow* on the one ſide, and Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb* and Mr. *Baxter* on the other. There was much frivolous Debate in ſettling the Order of Diſputation, which ſide ſhould oppoſe and which ſhould anſwer; the Epiſcopal Party arguing, that they were in Poſſeſſion of the Liturgy and Ceremonies, and therefore were to be only on the defenſive Side, and to anſwer the Objections which the other Party ſhould urge to them. But, however, for greater Condeſcenſion, they agreed to oppoſe and anſwer by turns, the Presbyterians beginning to be the firſt Opponents. After much time ſpent to little purpoſe, Biſhop *Coſins* produced a Paper as containing a Method to end the Controverſie, by a Motion *to put the Complainers upon diſtinguiſhing between the Things they charged as ſinful, and thoſe which they accepted againſt as inexpedient only.* The Presbyterian Miniſters were deſired to draw up an Anſwer to it, which they did the next Morning, and deliver'd it, but in their own Names only. They charg'd eight things in the Liturgy as *flatly ſinful and contrary to the Word of God.*

Charge of things unlawful in the Liturgy.

1. "That no Miniſter be admitted to baptize without the preſcribed uſe of "the tranſient Image of the Croſs. 2. That no "Miniſter be permitted to read or pray, or exerciſe the other Parts of his Office, that dare not "wear a Surplice. 3. That none be admitted to "Communion in the Lord's Supper, that dare not "receive it kneeling. 4. That Miniſters be forc'd "to pronounce all baptiz'd Infants *regenerate by the "Holy Ghoſt.* 5. That Miniſters be forc'd to "deliver the Sacrament of the Body and Blood "of Chriſt unto the Unfit both in Health and Sickneſs, and that with perſonal Application, putting "it into their Hands. 6. That Miniſters be forced "to abſolve the Unfit, and that in abſolute Expreſſions. 7. That Miniſters are forced to give "Thanks for all whom they bury, as *Brethren "whom God hath delivered and taken to himſelf.* "8. That none may be a Preacher that dare not ſubſcribe, that there is nothing in the Common-Prayer-"Book, the Book of Ordination and the thirty "nine Articles, that is contrary to the Word of God.

Unreaſonableneſs of this Charge.

It ſeems very ſtrange, that theſe Men ſhould undertake to mention eight unlawful things in the Liturgy, when they could not affirm any *one* of thoſe *things* to be in it ſelf *unlawful*; but argu'd altogether upon the *unlawful Impoſition* of them, which they might as well have done by the ſame Argument in eight hundred of other indifferent and moſt innocent Matters. And it muſt be confeſt to be ſtranger ſtill, that of the eight ſinful things which they here enumerate, two of them, the fifth and the ſixth, are poſitively falſe in the ſuppoſition of them: For by the Liturgy the Miniſter was not *forced* either to adminiſter the Sacrament or the Abſolution to unfit Perſons.

Diſingenuity of Mr. *Baxter*.

This Diſingenuity, chiefly owing to Mr. *Baxter*, had taken away all hopes of Accommodation; but yet they proceeded to diſpute upon the Queſtion, *Whether it was ſinful to enjoin Miniſters to deny the Communion to thoſe who would not receive it Kneeling?* Where a great many Arguments were warmly urg'd about the making things in their Nature Indifferent to be in their Uſe Neceſſary, by the Command of a lawful Authority. In this Diſpute Mr. *Baxter* is repreſented as very perverſe in denying every Propoſition when made never ſo plain and evident. For this major Propoſition being laid down by the Epiſcopal Divines, *That Command which commandeth only an Act in it ſelf lawful, is not ſinful.* Mr. *Baxter* denied it, becauſe it might include another Act or Circumſtance unlawful: Whereupon they chang'd it into this Propoſition, *That Command which commandeth an Act in itſelf lawful, and no other Act or Circumſtance unlawful, is not ſinful.* This Mr. *Baxter* deny'd, becauſe that may be accidentally a Sin which is not ſo in itſelf; and a lawful Command may be commanded under an unjuſt Penalty: Upon which they thus clear'd up the Propoſition, *That Command which commandeth an Act in itſelf lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjuſt Penalty is enjoyn'd, nor any Circumſtance whence directly or* per accidens *any Sin is conſequent, which the Commander ought to provide againſt, is not ſinful.* Mr. *Baxter* perſiſted in his Denial, giving this Reaſon, "That the firſt Act commanded may "be accidentally unlawful, and the Penalty unjuſt, "tho' no other Act or Circumſtance be ſuch. The Opponents therefore once more advanc'd this Propoſition of Compliance with him, *That Command which commandeth an Act in itſelf lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjuſt Penalty is enjoyn'd, nor any Circumſtance whence directly or* per Accidens *any Sin is conſequent, which the Commander ought to provide againſt, hath in it all things requiſite to the lawfulneſs of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an Act* per accidens *unlawful, nor of commanding an Act under an unjuſt Penalty.* Which Propoſition he alſo deny'd, and referr'd only to his foregoing Reaſons. This Behaviour of Mr. *Baxter* was afterward complain'd of in Print by Biſhop *Morley*, *In a Letter to a Friend for Vindication of himſelf from Mr.* Baxter's *Calumny*; in which the Biſhop obſerv'd, that ſuch a way of Denial was not only frivolous and falſe, but it was deſtructive of all Authority Human and Divine, as not only denying all Power to the Church of making Canons and Conſtitutions for the Peace and Order of it, but alſo taking away all Legiſlative Power from the King and Parliament, and even from God himſelf. And ſo ended this Conference without Union or Accommodation; the Presbyterian Divines depending too much on the Encouragement they had received from the King and his chief Miniſters, on the Aſſurances given them by ſome of the leading Members of the Parliament, and on the Affections of the People: In all which they were miſtaken as much as in the Merit of their Cauſe [a].

Ill Succeſs of this Conference.

1662.

King's Marriage.

The King's Match formerly intimated to his Parliament, was now coming on to a Conſummation. The Princeſs *Donna Catherina* Infanta of *Portugal*, was born *Nov.* 14. 1638. Daughter of *Juan* Duke of *Braganza*, reſtored to the Crown of *Portugal* after that Monarchy had been interrupted for near one hundred Years, and only Siſter of *Don Alphonſo* VI. and *Don Pedro* ſucceſſively Kings of *Portugal*. After the return of the *Conde de Mello* with the Articles of Treaty and Marriage to *Liſbon*, ſhe was married by ſolemn Proxy in the Perſon of his Excellency the Earl of *Sandwich*, and under his Conduct ſhe embark'd for *England* April 23. attended by a large Squadron of the Royal Navy, and was met at the Iſle of *Wight* by the Duke of *York* Lord High Admiral. At *Portſmouth* ſhe was received by the King, and privately there married by Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* Biſhop of *London*, as was commonly reported, to ſatisfie the People of *England*. But others knew better, that the Queen refuſed to be married by any but

[a] The Papiſts thought they had an Intereſt at Court, and pleaded for a Toleration; and having petition'd the Lords and Commons, that by their Mediation to his Majeſty they may receive the Benefit of a gracious and general *indulgence*, they drew up a Paper, intituled, *The Anſwer of the Roman Catholicks to the Queſtion, Whether their Opinions be conſiſtent with their Obedience to the King and the Peace of the Kingdom*, 1661. MS.

The *Quakers* were of ſo turbulent a Spirit, that they were frequently impriſon'd; but the King ſeem'd to pity them, as Men who by their preſent Spirit could not help it. And therefore he publiſh'd a Proclamation of Royal Grace for the Enlargement of Priſoners called *Quakers*. Given *May* 11. 1661.

a Prieſt

1662. 14 Car. II. a Prieſt of her own Religion. And therefore the Earl of *Briſtol* in the very next Year charged the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, that *he had brought the King and Queen together without any ſettled agreement in what manner the Rites of Marriage ſhould be perform'd; whereby the Queen refuſing to be married by a Proteſtant Prieſt, in caſe of her being with Child, either the Succeſſion ſhould be made uncertain for want of the due Rites of Matrimony, or elſe his Majeſty to be expoſed to a ſuſpicion of having been married in his own Dominions by a Romiſh Prieſt.* The ſame Earl farther charg'd the Lord Chancellor, *That being intruſted with the Treaty betwixt his Majeſty and his Royal Conſort the Queen, he had concluded it upon Articles ſcandalous and dangerous to the Proteſtant Religion.* But to return to *Portſmouth*, from thence the Royal Pair remov'd to *Hampton-Court*, and on *Aug.* 23. to *Whitehall* in great Pomp and Magnificence, being received at *Chelſea* by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. The Portion which the Queen brought with her, was two Millions of *Croiſadoes*, about 40000 *l.* Sterling, with the Inheritance of *Tangier* and the Iſle of *Bombay* in the *Eaſt-Indies*; in conſideration whereof a Jointure of thirty thouſand Pounds a Year was ſettled on her. This Match was unhappy in nothing but the want of Royal Iſſue; and ſome People did afterward pretend, that it was a proſpect of this want that induced the Lord Chancellor *Hyde* to provide this Match, ſo to conſult the Honour and Intereſt of his own Blood, in his only Daughter the Dutcheſs of *York*. The ſuſpicion of his Policy in this Affair, and of his Corruption in the Sale of *Dunkirk*, tho' groundleſs or at leaſt uncertain and improbable, loſt him many Friends, and gave his Enemies a great advantage. *Roger Coke Eſq;* A late Author who ſeldom ſpared the Character of Courtiers, gives us this Opinion of theſe matters. "Here I take leave, ſo well as I can, to vindicate the Memory of my Lord Chancellor *Hyde* from two Aſperſions (as I conceive) caſt upon him; one, that he was the Adviſer of giving up *Dunkirk* to the *French*; the other, that he was the Procurer of the King's Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*. For the firſt, I was aſſured by a credible Perſon (tho' a Confident of my Lord Chancellor's) that he was ſo far from adviſing the King to give up *Dunkirk* to the *French*, that only he and my Lord Treaſurer *Southampton* (upon whoſe Honour my Lord Chancellor relied more than on any other) of all the Council, enter'd their Proteſtations againſt it: *Vindication of Chancellor Hyde.* The truth of this may be reſolv'd by inſpecting the Privy Council Books. It's true, I cannot prove negatively, that my Lord Chancellor did not firſt propound the King's Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*, yet it ſeems to me reaſonable he did not, for theſe Reaſons. I never heard of any Diſcourſe of this Match, before the arrival of the Queen-Mother in *England*; or if any were, it's probable that Monſieur *Courtin* had this in his Inſtructions, as well as that of moving the King not to abandon *Portugal*; for both theſe tend to the ſame End, and the *French* King all his Reign after, ſought to attain his Ends by Women as well as other ways. Nor can it be believ'd that the Prince of *Portugal*, now engag'd in War againſt *Spain*, ſhould pay the Queen's Portion, 40000 *l.* I believe he did what he could, give up *Tangier* and *Bombay* to the King, which laſt place he leaſed to the *Eaſt-India* Company for 10 *l. per Ann.* but the Money was paid by the *French* King.

Parl. prorogu'd. On *Monday May* 19. the King prorogued the Parliament to *Feb.* 18. having paſſed ſeveral Bills, of which the moſt conſiderable was that for *Uniformity*, which was found neceſſary for the Peace and Safety of the State, as well as for the Good and Glory of the Church. *Act of Uniformity.* It was undoubtedly the Faction and Sedition of the ſeveral Sects and Parties that work'd up the Wiſdom of the Nation into this expedient Awe and Reſtraint upon them. The true Reaſon had been given by the Lord Chancellor in his Speech at the opening of this Parliament, when telling the Lords and Commons, *they were the great Phyſicians of the Kingdom*, he proceeded thus; *Speech of Chancellor Hyde againſt Diſſenting Teachers.* "There are a ſort of your Patients that I muſt recommend to your utmoſt Vigilance, utmoſt Severity, and to no part of your Lenity or Indulgence; ſuch who are ſo far from valuing your Preſcriptions, that they look not upon you as their Phyſicians but their Patients; ſuch, who inſtead of repenting any thing that they have done amiſs, repeat every Day the ſame Crimes, for the Indempnity whereof the Act of Oblivion was provided. Theſe are the ſeditious Preachers, who cannot be contented to be diſpenſed with for their full Obedience to ſome Laws eſtabliſh'd, without reproaching and inveighing againſt thoſe Laws how eſtabliſh'd ſoever: who tell their Auditories that the Apoſtle meant, when he bid them *ſtand to their Liberties*, that they ſhould ſtand to their Arms; and who, by repeating the very Expreſſions, and teaching the very Doctrine they ſet on foot in the Year 1640. ſufficiently declare, that they have no mind that 20 Years ſhould put an end to the Miſeries we have undergone. What good Chriſtian can think, without horror, of theſe Miniſters of the Goſpel, who by their Function ſhould be Meſſengers of Peace, and are in their Practice the only Trumpets of War, and Incendiaries towards Rebellion? How much more Chriſtian was that *Athenian* Nun in *Plutarch!* and how ſhall ſhe riſe up in Judgment againſt theſe Men! who, when *Alcibiades* was condemned by the publick Juſtice of the State, and a Decree made that the Religious, the Prieſts and the Nuns, ſhould revile and curſe him, ſtoutly refuſed to perform that Office, ſaying, that ſhe was profeſſed Religious, to pray and to bleſs, not to curſe and ban. And if the Perſon and the Place can improve and aggravate the Offence, as no doubt it doth both before God and Men; methinks the preaching Rebellion and Treaſon out of the Pulpit, ſhould be as much worſe than the advancing it in the Market, as poyſoning a Man at the Communion would be worſe than killing him at a Tavern. And it may be in the Catalogue of thoſe Sins which the Zeal of ſome Men declares to be againſt the Holy Ghoſt, there may not be any one more reaſonably thought to be ſuch, than a Miniſter of Chriſt's turning Rebel againſt his Prince, which is a moſt notorious Apoſtaſy from his Order; and his preaching Rebellion to the People as the Doctrine of Chriſt, adding Blaſphemy and Pertinacy to his Apoſtaſy, hath all the Marks by which good Men are taught to know and avoid that Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. If you do not provide for the thorow quenching theſe Firebrands, King, Lords, and Commons, ſhall be their meaneſt Subjects, and the whole Kingdom kindled into one general Flame.

The other conſiderable Act that now paſs'd was, *Chimney-Money.* for *ſettling an annual Revenue of two Shillings upon every Fire-hearth* in the Nation upon the Crown for ever. This Duty, commonly called *Chimney-money*, was a Burden more uneaſie to the People of *England* than any other ſeems to have been to their Forefathers; and the arbitrary way of collecting it, made it the more inſufferable. The King himſelf met with a blunt Rebuke for it, when thinking himſelf to be unknown in a Barge, and allowing himſelf and his Company to droll upon the Watermen that paſs'd by, one of them knowing the King's Face, inſtead of other common Ribaldry, cried out only, *Chimney-ſweep, Chimney-ſweep.* A Burden that lay upon the Minds much heavier than upon the Fortunes of the People: and therefore the Remiſſion of it by King *William*, was as wiſe a part of Popularity as could well be acted. The Name of

Things

1662. 14 *Car.* II.

Things is often more odious than the Nature of them; the ſame Weight may be tolerable when it is wrapt up in a ſofter Word.

Money given.

This Parliament was indeed very ready to ſupply the King with a very large Revenue, and yet hardly equal to his Occaſions: The Debts he had contracted in his Exile, the Returns he was to make to foreign Obligations, the Recompences that many loyal Sufferers expected, the Gratuities to bold Men, the Rewards to faithful Servants, and, above all, the exceſſive Civilities to Women, made the King continually want even more than this bountiful Parliament could raiſe[a]. We may here take in the Obſervation of a late Writer: Says he, "It "looks as if Heaven took a more than ordinary "Care of *England*, that we did not throw up our "Liberties all at once, upon the Reſtoration of the "King; for tho' ſome were for bringing him back "upon Terms; yet after he was once come, he poſ"ſeſs'd ſo entirely the Hearts of his People, that "they thought nothing was too much for them to "grant, or for him to receive. Among other De"ſigns to pleaſe him, there was one formed at "Court, to ſettle ſuch a Revenue upon him by "Parliament during Life, as ſhould place him be"yond the Neceſſity of asking more, except in the "Caſe of a War, or ſome ſuch extraordinary Oc"caſion. The Earl of *Southampton*, Lord High Trea"ſurer, came heartily into it, out of a mere Prin"ciple of Honour and Affection to the King; but "Chancellor *Clarendon* ſecretly oppos'd it. It hap"pen'd, that they two had a private Conference a"bout the Matter; and the Chancellor being ear"neſt to bring the Treaſurer to his Opinion, took "the Freedom to tell him, that he was better ac"quainted with the King's Temper and Inclinations "than *Southampton* could reaſonably expect to be, "having had long an intimate Acquaintance with "his Majeſty abroad; and, that he knew him ſo "well, that if ſuch a Revenue were once ſettled up"on him for Life, *Neither of them two would be of* "*any farther uſe*; *and that they were not*, *in probabi*"*lity*, *to ſee many more Seſſions of Parliament during* "*that Reign*. *Southampton* was brought over; but "this Paſſage could not be kept ſo ſecret, but it "came to King *Charles*'s Ears; which, together "with other things wherein *Clarendon* was miſre"preſented to him, prov'd the true Reaſon why he "abandon'd him to his Enemies[b].

James Wellwood M. D.

Prerogative advanced.

This Parliament farther ſhew'd their Loyalty and Affection to the King in all imaginable ways of advancing his Prerogative as well as his Revenue; as by this Declaration or Acknowledgement to be ſubſcribed by every Dignitary, Parſon, Vicar, Curate, and Schoolmaſter, according to the Act of Uniformity: *I* A. B. *do declare*, *That it is not lawful*, *upon any Pretence whatſoever*, *to take Arms againſt the King*; *and*, *that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon*, *or againſt thoſe that are Commiſſion'd by him*. And farther, by enacting the ſole Right of the *Militia* to be in the King, with ſuch Reaſons for it as would not have been given in the brighteſt part of his Father's Reign.

Regicides taken.

And to ſhew their greater Zeal for the ſafety of his Perſon, they fell again upon enquiring after the Regicides and Traitors excepted from the Act of Oblivion. Several of them had fled beyond the Seas, among whom were *Miles Corbet*, Colonel *Okey*, and Colonel *Barkſtead*; who having rambled through many Parts of *Germany*, return'd in the beginning of this Spring to *Delft* in *Holland*, having appointed their Wives to meet them there, to underſtand the Condition of Affairs in *England*: Theſe Letters being intercepted by the Vigilance of Sir *George Downing*, his Majeſty's Reſident at the *Hague*, they were all three taken, and by the States Order put on board the *Blackmore* Frigat, then lying at *Helver-Sluce*, and ſo brought over and committed to the *Tower*; from whence on *Apr*. 16. they were brought to the King's-bench Bar, and there demanded what they could ſay for themſelves, why they ſhould not die according to Law, the Act of Attainder being read to them. They put the Court to a Proof that they were the ſame Perſons expreſt in that Act; which Proof being ſoon made by Witneſſes and a Jury, they received their Sentence, and were executed on *Saturday Apr*. 19. at *Tyburn*, making a better End than moſt of their other Accomplices; for they acknowledg'd a quiet Submiſſion to the King's Government, as of God, and exhorted others ſo to do; profeſſing they had no Malice to his late Majeſty, and that they had miſtaken the Parliament's Authority for good and ſufficient in that unhappy Act[c]. After this, the Houſe of Commons addreſs'd the King to bring Sir *Henry Vane* and *John Lambert*, Eſq; to their Trials; who accordingly were Arraign'd at the King's-Bench Bar before Sir *Robert Foſter* Lord Chief Juſtice: the firſt, *for imagining and compoſing the Death of the late King*; the latter, *for levying War againſt his preſent Majeſty*. Sir *Henry* diſown'd his being any way concern'd in the King's Death, but pleaded the Authority of the Long Parliament, and juſtified that Authority as ſuperiour to any other: And as for his Behaviour in the other Governments in Being after the King's Death, he urged this Pretence of Law, that his preſent Majeſty being at that time but King *de jure*, and not *de facto*, he could not be indicted for Treaſon committed before his Reſtoration. He made a great deal of noiſe, and gave the Court a great deal of trouble. After a due Sentence, at the Interceſſion of ſome of his Friends, who better deſerved the King's Favour, he was beheaded on *Tower-Hill June* 14. and on the very Scaffold run out into ſuch Lectures of Treaſon and Enthuſiaſm, that they were forced to drown him with the noiſe of Drums and Trumpets, and were going to take his Papers from him; but with great Indignation he tore them in pieces, and ſubmitted to the Block in a very diſcompoſed manner[d]. *Lambert*, at his Trial, behav'd himſelf with very great reſpect and defe-

Trial of Sir *Henry Vane*.

Trial of *Lambert*.

[a] The Lord *Holles* in his memorable Letter to Monſ. *Van-Benninghen* in 1676. writes thus. This Parliament repreſented the Humours and Diſtempers of the Times wherein they were choſen; and conſequently their Actions were violent, and they did many things afterwards to be repented of; and no doubt, had they done what they have done to a deſigning and parſimonious Prince, he might have taken advantage of their Hearts to have undone *England*. For what with that great Revenue, and all thoſe moſt mighty Aids they have given him, he might have made ſo great a Bank, and annex'd ſo great a Revenue of Lands to the Crown, that he might have maintain'd an Army, over-balanc'd the Nobility, and have reign'd without Parliaments, and ſo have brought *England* into the ſame Condition with *France*. I am without all doubt therefore, that the Profuſeneſs and Inadvertency of the King have ſaved *England* from falling into Deſtruction under this Parliament.

[b] It is much for the Honour of my Lord *Clarendon*, that the Papiſts thought him the great Obſtructor of Arbitrary Power. Father *Orleans* writes thus. Moſt of thoſe who had been the King's greateſt Enemies, expreſs'd the greateſt Zeal for his honourable Reception; and had it depended only on thoſe who till then had been the moſt violent againſt Monarchical Government, *Charles* II. would have had the Honour of reſtoring the Crown of *England* to its ancient Prerogatives. It is reported, that Chancellor *Hyde* being led by that *Engliſh* Spirit, which is always jealous of the Liberty of the Nation, did not let that Prince ſee all the Advantages he might reap from that good Diſpoſition of the Minds of the People.

[c] See the Speeches, Diſcourſes and Prayers of Col. *John Barkſtead*, Col. *John Okey*, and Mr. *Miles Corbet*, upon the 19th of *April*, the Day of their ſuffering at *Tyburn*; with an account of the Occaſion and Manner of their Taking in *Holland*, &c. Printed in the Year 1662. 4*to*.

[d] See the Tryal of Sir *Henry Vane*, Knt. at the *King's Bench*, *June* 26, 1662. his Pleas, Speech, Prayer and Behaviour on the Scaffold. Printed in the Year 1662. 4*to*.

His Friends attempted to make him a Saint and Martyr in a Book publiſh'd within the ſame Year, entituled, *The Life and Death of Sir* Henry Vane, *Knt*. With a true Account of his purely Chriſtian, Peaceable, Spiritual, Goſpel Principles, Doctrine, Life, and way of worſhipping God; for which he ſuffered Contradiction and Reproach from all ſorts of Sinners, and at laſt a violent Death, *June* 14, 1662. With his laſt Exhortation to his Children the Day before his Death. Printed in the Year 1662. with his Picture.

rence

1662. 14 *Car.* II. rence to the Court, as if he had depended on the Royal Mercy he received at the Bar, which was a Reprieve from Death, and a Confinement during Life in the *Iſle of Guernſey*; where he continued above thirty Years a patient and diſcreet Priſoner. And the better to ſecure the King and Government againſt all Attempts and Deſigns of the old Inſtruments of Rebellion, a Proclamation was publiſh'd to command all Officers, under any of the late uſurped Powers, that had been disbanded, to depart 20 Miles from the City and Suburbs of *London*, and not to return within eight Months, unleſs by expreſs Licence obtained from the Privy Council.

King and Parl. differ only in the Caſe of Tolerat. The only Matter wherein the King and his Parliament could ſeem to differ, was in that of Indulgence and Toleration to the Nonconformiſts; of whom the Presbyterians had the beſt Title to be favourably conſidered; for they had generally wiſh'd for the King's Return, and were eminently inſtrumental in it; and moſt of their Divines had appeared in a good Temper for Moderation and Union, declaring for a Regulated Epiſcopacy, and for a reformed Liturgy. For which Reaſons the King had been very kind and gracious to them, and had given them great hopes, that he would either not paſs the Bill for Uniformity, or get them a Clauſe of Exception in it: But finding themſelves diſappointed in both theſe Hopes, and agreeing generally to be ejected at the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*; they ſoon after applied themſelves to the King and Council for a Diſpenſation from the Penalties of that Act. The Council ſhew'd their Averſeneſs to a diſpenſing Power in general, and eſpecially to this particular Exerciſe of it: But the King betray'd a great Inclination for it, and ſeem'd to labour under a Promiſe that he would do it. And therefore to make it the leſs Offence and Surprize, he publiſh'd a ſmooth Declaration on the 26th of *December*, to ſignify to all his loving Subjects, "That he would be conſtant "in the Obſervation of the Act of Indemnity; "that he would by no means introduce the way of "governing by a Military Power; that he ſhould "deſire the Houſe of Commons to prepare ſome "Laws againſt the Growth and Progreſs of Popery; that he would likewiſe recommend to the "Commons the preparing of Laws againſt Licentiouſneſs and Impiety; and alſo to provide ſumptuary Laws, and Laws for the Advance of Trade; "and that he himſelf would endeavour to retrench "the Charge and Expences in his own Family; and "even that he reſolved to maintain the Act of Uniformity; only he ſhould diſpenſe with ſome Matters in it. And in his Speech at the next Seſſion, he concluded with the gentle Intimation of ſome Indulgence which he had granted to Diſſenters; yet renouncing, in a manner, his diſpenſing Power, and ſaying ſoftly, *That if the Diſſenters would demean themſelves peaceably and modeſtly, he could heartily wiſh he had ſuch a Power of Indulgence to uſe upon occaſion.*

King's Declaration of Tenderneſs.

The Houſe of Commons, who were juſtly apprehenſive of the Dangers of a Toleration, becauſe the Papiſts as well as all other Sectaries, would find their Account in it; appointed *Wedneſday* the 25th of *February*, to take into Conſideration his Majeſty's gracious Declaration of the 26th of *December* laſt, and his Speech made at the opening this Seſſion: At which time they unanimouſly reſolved, That the Thanks of the Houſe ſhould be returned to the King's Majeſty for all the other Parts of his Declaration; but as to the point of *Indulgence*, they reſolved, *That it be preſented to the King's Majeſty, as the humble Advice of this Houſe, that no Indulgence be granted to the Diſſenters from the Act of Uniformity.* And they ordered, that *a Committee be appointed to collect and bring in the Reaſons of this Houſe for this Vote upon the preſent Debate.* On the next Day, *Feb.* 26. a Report was made to the Houſe from the Committee by Sir *Heneage Finch*, his Majeſty's Sollicitor General; and after ſome Amendments and Additions, the Reaſons and Addreſs were agreed to, and preſented to his Majeſty in the Banqueting-Houſe at *Whitehall* on *Saturday Feb.* 17. where Mr. Speaker deliver'd himſelf in manner following.

The Parl. againſt Indulgence.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

Speaker's Speech. *THE Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Commons Houſe of Parliament, did with great Joy receive your Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech at the opening this Seſſion of Parliament: And being thereby invited to conſider of your Declaration of the 26th of* December *laſt, they have with all Sobriety, Duty, and Affection, examined the Grounds thereof; and do by me preſent unto your Majeſty their moſt hearty Thanks for the ſame, and humble Advice thereupon. Both which, I do beſeech your Majeſty, that you will vouchſafe me to deliver in their own Words.*

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

Addreſs of the Commons. "WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal "Subjects, the Knights, Citizens, and "Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament aſſembled, having with all Fidelity and Obedience conſidered of the ſeveral Matters compriſed in your Majeſty's late gracious Declaration "of the 26th of *December* laſt, and your moſt gracious Speech at the beginning of this preſent "Seſſion:

"Do in the firſt place for ourſelves, and in the "Names of all the Commons of *England*, render to "your ſacred Majeſty the Tribute of our moſt "hearty Thanks for that infinite Grace and Goodneſs wherewith your Majeſty hath been pleaſed "to publiſh your Royal Intentions of adhering to "your Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, by a conſtant and religious Obſervance of it. And our "Hearts are farther enlarged in theſe Returns of "Thankſgivings, when we conſider your Majeſty's "moſt Princely and Heroick Profeſſions of relying "upon the Affections of your People, and abhorring "all ſort of Military and Arbitrary Rule. But above all, we can never enough remember, to the "Honour of your Majeſty's Piety, and our own "unſpeakable Comfort, thoſe ſolemn and moſt endearing Invitations of us your Majeſty's Subjects, "to prepare Laws to be preſented to your Majeſty, "againſt the Growth and Increaſe of Popery; and "withall, to provide more Laws againſt Licentiouſneſs and Impiety; at the ſame time declaring "your own Reſolutions for maintaining the Act of "Uniformity. And it becomes us alway to acknowledge and admire your Majeſty's Wiſdom "in this your Declaration, whereby your Majeſty "is pleaſed to reſolve, not only by ſumptuary Laws, "but by your own Royal Example of Frugality, "to reſtrain that Exceſs in Men's Expences which "is grown ſo general and ſo exorbitant; and to direct our Endeavours to find out fit and proper "Laws for Advancement of Trade and Commerce.

"After all this, we moſt humbly beſeech your "Majeſty to believe, that it is with extream unwillingneſs and reluctancy of Heart, that we are "brought to differ from any thing which your Majeſty hath thought fit to propoſe; and tho' we do "no way doubt, but that the unreaſonable Diſtempers of Men's Spirits, and the many Mutinies and "Conſpiracies which were carried on, during the "late Intervals of Parliament, did reaſonably incline your Majeſty to endeavour by your Declaration to give ſome allay to thoſe ill Humours, "till the Parliament aſſembled; and the hopes of "Indulgence, if the Parliament ſhould conſent to "it, eſpecially ſeeing the Pretenders to this Indulgence did ſeem to make ſome Titles to it, by virtue of your Majeſty's Declaration from *Breda*. "Nevertheleſs, we your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful

 "and

1662. 14Car.II. “ and Loyal Subjects, who are now return'd to “ ſerve in Parliament, from thoſe ſeveral Parts and “ Places of your Kingdom, for which we were “ choſen, do humbly offer to your Majeſty's great “ Wiſdom, that it is in no ſort adviſable that there “ be any Indulgence to ſuch Perſons, who preſume “ to diſſent from the Act of Uniformity, and the “ Religion eſtabliſhed:

“ *For theſe Reaſons.*

“ We have conſider'd the Nature of your Maje-“ ſty's Declaration from *Breda*, and are humbly of “ Opinion that your Majeſty ought not to be preſs'd “ with it any farther:

“ Becauſe it is not a Promiſe in it ſelf, but only “ a Gracious Declaration of your Majeſty's Inten-“ tions, to do what in you lay, and what a Parlia-“ ment ſhould adviſe your Majeſty to do; and no “ ſuch Advice was ever given, or thought fit to be “ offer'd; nor could it be otherwiſe underſtood, be-“ cauſe there were Laws of Uniformity then in be-“ ing, which could not be diſpenſed with but by “ Act of Parliament.

“ That they who do pretend a Right to that ſup-“ poſed Promiſe, put the Right into the Hands of “ the Repreſentatives, whom they choſe to ſerve “ for them in this Parliament, who have paſs'd, “ and your Majeſty conſented to, the Act of Uni-“ formity. If any ſhall preſume to ſay, that a “ Right to the Benefit of this Declaration doth ſtill “ remain after this Act paſſed,

“ It tends to diſſolve the very Bonds of Govern-“ ment, and to ſuppoſe a Diſability in your Ma-“ jeſty and the Houſes of Parliament, to make a “ Law contrary to any part of your Majeſty's De-“ claration, though both Houſes ſhould adviſe your “ Majeſty to it.

“ We have alſo conſider'd the Nature of the In-“ dulgence propos'd, with reference to thoſe Conſe-“ quences which muſt neceſſarily attend it.

“ It will eſtabliſh Schiſm by a Law, and make “ the whole Government of the Church precarious, “ and the Cenſures of it of no Moment or Conſide-“ ration at all.

“ It will no way become the Gravity or Wiſdom “ of a Parliament, to paſs a Law at one Seſſion for “ Uniformity, and at the next Seſſion (the Reaſons “ of Uniformity continuing ſtill the ſame) to paſs “ another Law to fruſtrate or weaken the Execu-“ tion of it.

“ It will expoſe your Majeſty to the reſtleſs Im-“ portunity of every Sect or Opinion, and of eve-“ ry ſingle Perſon alſo, who ſhall preſume to diſſent “ from the Church of *England.*

“ It will be a cauſe of encreaſing Sects and Secta-“ ries, whoſe Numbers will weaken the true Prote-“ ſtant Profeſſion ſo far, that it will at leaſt be diffi-“ cult for it to defend itſelf againſt them: And, “ which is yet farther conſiderable, thoſe Numbers, “ which by being troubleſome to the Government, “ find they can arrive to an Indulgence, will, as “ their Numbers encreaſe be yet more troubleſome, “ that ſo at length they may arrive to a general “ Toleration, which your Majeſty hath declared “ againſt; and in time ſome prevalent Sect will at “ laſt contend for an Eſtabliſhment, which, for “ ought can be foreſeen, may end in Popery.

“ It is a thing altogether without Precedent, and “ will take away all means of convicting Recuſants, “ and be inconſiſtent with the Method and Pro-“ ceedings of the Laws of *England.*

“ Laſtly, it is humbly conceiv'd, that the Indul-“ gence propoſed will be ſo far from tending to the “ Peace of the Kingdom, that it is rather likely to “ occaſion great Diſturbance. And on the contrary, “ that the aſſerting of the Laws and the Religion “ eſtabliſhed, according to the Act of Uniformity, “ is the moſt probable means to produce a ſettled “ Peace and Obedience throughout your Kingdom: “ Becauſe the variety of Profeſſions in Religion, “ when openly indulg'd, doth directly diſtinguiſh “ Men into Parties, and withal gives them oppor-“ tunity to count their Numbers; which, conſider-“ ing the Animoſities, that out of a Religious Pride “ will be kept on foot by the ſeveral Factions, “ doth tend directly and inevitably to open Di-“ ſturbance. 1663. 14Car.II.

“ Nor can your Majeſty have any ſecurity, that “ the Doctrine or Worſhip of the ſeveral Factions, “ which are all govern'd by a ſeveral Rule, ſhall “ be conſiſtent with the Peace of your Kingdom.

“ And if any Perſons ſhall preſume to diſturb the “ Peace of the Kingdom, we do in all Humility “ declare that we will for ever, and in all occaſi-“ ons, be ready with our utmoſt Endeavour and “ Aſſiſtance, to adhere to and ſerve your Maje-“ ſty, according to our bounden Duty and Al-“ legiance.

The Speaker's Report of the Subſtance of his Majeſty's Gracious Anſwer.

King's Anſwer.

That his Majeſty gave them hearty Thanks for their many Thanks; that never any King was ſo happy in a Houſe of Commons as he in this; that the Paper and Reaſons were long, and therefore he would take time to conſider of them, and ſend them a Meſſage; that they could never differ but in Judgment, and that muſt be when he did not rightly expreſs himſelf, or they did not rightly underſtand him; but their Intereſt was ſo far link'd together, that they could never diſagree.

Diſſenters greateſt Intereſt in the King and Court.

The King had by this Propoſal of Indulgence ſatisfied the more ſober Diſſenters, that he had a tender regard for their Eaſe and Indemnity: And they were now made ſenſible, that they had leſs Intereſt in a Parliament than they had in the Court. It was indeed a great Unhappineſs that they found ſo much Countenance from the King and ſome of his prime Miniſters; for this did but help to harden them in their Prejudices againſt the Church, and made them leſs and leſs inclinable to Conformity and Union; becauſe they flatter'd themſelves with the continual Hopes of Liberty and Toleration. Whereas if they had loſt all dependence on a Court Intereſt, and had found the King and his Miniſtry as intent upon the ſtrict obſervance of the Act of Uniformity, as the Commons of *England* now were, moſt of the Diſſenters no doubt would at this Juncture have conformed, and brought in a great Strength and Glory to this Church and Nation.

Why the King ſo indulgent to Diſſenters.

What Motives diſpoſed his Majeſty to be ſo favourable to them, and to encourage their contending with the Laws of the Land, is not ſo eaſie to determine. Whether the innate Goodneſs and Clemency of his Majeſty's own Royal Diſpoſition, that naturally hated all the appearance of Severity and Rigour? Or whether a tender regard of making good the Hopes and Promiſes, which before, and at the time of his Reſtauration, he had been forc'd to oblige them with? Or whether a generous Senſe of Honour and Gratitude to the Presbyterian Party, who had moſt of them contributed very much to his eaſie and happy Return? Or whether a real Judgment and Perſuaſion, that a greater Liberty of Conſcience than the eſtabliſhed Laws allow'd, was the fundamental Right of Chriſtian People? Or whether a Political Opinion, that preſſing a Conformity by the execution of Penal Laws, would alienate the Hearts of his People, and endanger the beloved Peace and Quiet of his Reign? Or whether above or beyond any of theſe Motives, the ſecret and reſerved Reaſon was, under the cover of an Indulgence to Proteſtant Diſſenters, to give the better Protection and Advantages to Popery? To reſolve which of theſe Cauſes had the greateſt Influence upon the

Mind

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Mind of the King, is, I ſay, no eaſy and perhaps no decent Matter [a].

Intereſt and Policy of the Papiſts.

But by the Sequel of Affairs, it ſeems very probable that the laſt Reaſon had not the leaſt weight with it. For the Papiſts in this Reign had alway a conſiderable Intereſt at Court, and uſed all poſſible Intrigues in the Management of it: And it was plauſible enough for them to promote an Indulgence toward Proteſtant Diſſenters, to bring on by degrees a general Toleration, that could not fail to give Breath and Life to them and their Religion. There is ſome Evidence of this Artfulneſs in what was intended to be a part of the King's Declaration, as the Account is thus given by the Diſſenters; "As the "Lord Chancellor read over the Declaration, each "Party was to ſpeak to what they diſliked, and the "King to determine how it ſhould be as he liked "himſelf. There were various Altercations about "Prelacy and Re-ordination, and the Particulars of "the Declaration; and when the whole was peruſ'd, "the Lord Chancellor drew out another Paper intimating that the King had alſo been petition'd by "the Independents and Anabaptiſts for Liberty, "and therefore he read an additional part of the "Declaration to this purpoſe, that *others alſo be permitted to meet for Religious Worſhip, ſo be it they do "it not to the diſturbance of the Peace; and that no "Juſtice of Peace or Officer diſturb them.* This being "deſign'd to ſecure Liberty to the Papiſts, there "was a general Silence upon the reading it. The "Biſhops thought it a nice Point, and therefore "ſaid nothing: The Presbyterians were afraid to "ſpeak againſt it, leaſt all the Sects and Parties "ſhould look upon them as the Cauſers of their "Sufferings; and they ſhould be repreſented as "groſly Partial in deſiring Liberty themſelves, "while they would have no others have it with "them. At length Mr. *Baxter* fearing their Silence "might be miſinterpreted, ſpake to this purpoſe, "*That Dr.* Gunning *a little before ſpeaking againſt "Sects, had named the Papiſts and* Socinians, *that "for their parts, they did not deſire Favour to themſelves alone, and rigorous Severity againſt none; "but as they humbly thank'd his Majeſty for his declared Indulgence to themſelves, ſo they diſtinguiſh'd "the* Tolerable *Party from the* Intolerable: *For the "former they humbly crav'd juſt Lenity and Favour; "but for the latter, ſuch as the two ſorts mention'd, "for their parts they could not make their* Toleration "*their Requeſt.* To which his Majeſty ſaid, *that "there were Laws ſufficient againſt the Papiſts:* And "Mr *Baxter* reply'd, that *they underſtood the Queſtion to be, Whether thoſe Laws ſhould be executed or "not?* Upon which the Matter was dropp'd.

Abridgment of Mr. *Baxter* his Life.

Among the other Occurrences of this Year it may be remember'd, that the Vice-Admiral Sir *John Lawſon* leaving the Earl of *Sandwich* to Convoy the Queen from *Liſbon*, failed with a Squadron into the *Streights*, and there ſtruck ſuch a terror into all the Neſts of Pirates, *Tunis*, *Tripoli* and *Algiers*, that he made them all ſtoop to the Offer of a Treaty, and to the Acceptance of former Articles. Upon the Concluſion of this Peace, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, to their eternal Praiſe, contributed a great Sum of Money, and ſent their Collection by two of their own Number, the Archdeacon of *Bath*, and a Prebendary, to *Algiers*, with which they redeem'd above one hundred and fifty Chriſtian Slaves, *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh*, from the Miſeries of a *Turkiſh* Captivity. We had the better Advantage of keeping the *African* Parts in awe by our poſſeſſion of *Tangier*; to which the Lord *Rutherford*, late Governor of *Dunkirk*, newly made Earl of *Tiviot*, was ſent to be Governor in the room of the Earl of *Peterborough*; and the King made it now a free Port, and granted it all the Privileges of a Merchant-City, being ſeated very commodiouſly for Strength and Safety to guard our Ships, and to command thoſe Seas: But the vaſt Expence in Fortifying and Defending, and the neceſſity at laſt of demoliſhing that Place, made it more a Burden than a Portion to the Crown of *England*.

Succeſs of our Fleet.

Poſſeſſion of *Tangier*.

The Town and Port of *Dunkirk* might have been another great Advantage to our Trade and to our Power in the Channel; and under this proſpect there had been a Reſolution in the Houſe of Commons to prepare an Act to annex it for ever to the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms; but this not being done, the King with Advice of his Privy-Council, for the Sum of five hundred thouſand Pounds deliver'd it up to the *French* King, and it was ingloriouſly put into his Poſſeſſion under the Government of the Count *d'Eſtrades*, and his Deputy the Marquis of *Montpear*; the *Engliſh* Governour with two Companies guarding the Gates at their Entrance, and delivering the Keys of them. This Action was very ill reſented by the Body of the People of *England*, who were apt to think that the Sale of ſuch an Important Place (after the Parliaments giving and applying Money for the maintenance of it) was the deplorable Sign of a weak and mercenary Court.

Dunkirk ſold to the *French*.

The Lord *Clarendon*, becauſe the prime Miniſter, was to bear the Odium of it; and therefore his new ſtately Houſe, built oppoſite to the Front of the Palace of St. *James*, was commonly in Reproach call'd *Dunkirk-Houſe*: Nay, and in the very next Year, the Earl of *Briſtol* put it into the Articles of High-Treaſon and other Miſdemeanours exhibited againſt him in the Houſe of Lords, *That the ſaid Earl of* Clarendon *had told his Majeſty, that it was better to ſell* Dunkirk *than to be at the Mercy of the Parliament for want of Money, or Words to that effect. And that he had wickedly and maliciouſly, contrary to his Duty of Counſellor, and to a known Law made laſt Seſſions, by which Money was given and particularly applied for the maintaining of* Dunkirk, *adviſed and effected the Sale of the ſame to the* French *King*. And in the Articles of Impeachment preferr'd by the Commons in 1667. this was one, *That he adviſed and effected the Sale of* Dunkirk *to the* French *King, being part of his Majeſty's Dominions, together with the Ammunitions, Artillery, and all ſorts of Stores there, and for no greater Value than the ſaid Ammunitions, Artillery and Stores were worth.*

The Odium caſt on the Ld Chancellor.

William Lenthal Eſq; Speaker of the Long-Parliament, having by the Mercy of the King and Parliament obtained an Indemnity for his Life, died this Year on *Sept.* 3. and left this Memorial of his Penitence, or as his Enemies would repreſent it, of his low and timorous Spirit, as extracted out of a Letter written from *Oxford*, by the Perſon who viſited him in his laſt Sickneſs, Dr. *Ralph Brideoak*.

Death and Repentance of Mr. Speaker *Lenthal*.

"When I came to his Preſence, he told me, *he "was very glad to ſee me; for he had two great Works "to do, and I muſt aſſiſt him in both: to fit his Body for "the Earth, and his Soul for Heaven;* to which purpoſe he deſired me to pray with him. I told him "the Church had appointed an Office at the Viſitation of the Sick, and I muſt uſe that: He ſaid, "*Yes, he chiefly deſired the Prayers of the Church;* "wherein he join'd with great Fervency and Devotion. After Prayers he deſired Abſolution: I "told him I was very ready and willing to pronounce it; but he muſt firſt come to a Chriſti-

[a] Mr. *Baxter* and his Party ſeem'd to underſtand that the King chiefly meant an *Indulgence* to the Papiſts. See his Life, L. 1. P. 11. p. 432.

It is plain by Father *Walſh*, that the *Iriſh* Papiſts might have had full Indulgence by agreeing to the *Remonſtrance* of Loyalty, which was preſented to his Majeſty *May* 6, 1662.

And in *England* the Papiſts were compounding for *Indulgence*, by excepting the *Jeſuits* only from it. But the *Jeſuits* publiſh'd their Reaſons why they ſhould not be exempted from that Grace. And the ſecular Prieſts appear'd againſt them in a Diſcourſe, entituled, *The Jeſuits Reaſons Unreaſonable*; charging them with Treaſons and Seditions in Principles and Facts inconſiſtent with the Peace and Security of the *Engliſh* Government.

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an Confeſſion and Contrition for the Sins and Failings of his Life: *Well, Sir,* ſaid he, *then inſtruct me to my Duty.* I deſired him to examine his Life by the Ten Commandments, and wherein he found his Failings to fly to the Goſpel for Mercy. Then I read the Ten Commandments in order to him, mentioning the principal Sins againſt each Commandment. To paſs by other things (under the Seal of this Office) when I came to the fifth Commandment, and remember'd him that Diſobedience, Rebellion and Schiſm were the great Sins againſt this Commandment. *Yes, Sir,* ſaid he, *there's my trouble, my Diſobedience, not againſt my natural Parents but againſt the* Pater Patriæ, *our deceaſed Sovereign. I confeſs with* Saul, *I held their Cloaths whilſt they murthered him; but herein I was not ſo criminal as* Saul *was; for, God, thou knoweſt! I never conſented to his Death; I ever pray'd and endeavour'd what I could againſt it; but I did too much, Almighty God forgive me!* I then deſired him to deal freely and openly in that Buſineſs, and if he knew any of thoſe Villains that plotted or contriv'd that horrid Murther, who were not yet detected, now to diſcover them. He anſwer'd, *He was a ſtranger to that Buſineſs; his Soul never enter'd into that Secret: but what concerns myſelf,* ſaid he, *I will confeſs freely. Three things are eſpecially laid to my Charge, wherein indeed I am too guilty: That I went from the Parliament to the Army; that I propoſed the bloody Queſtion for trying the King; and that I ſat after the King's Death. To the firſt I may give this Anſwer, That* Cromwel *and his Agents deceived a wiſer Man than myſelf, that* EXCELLENT KING, *and then might well deceive me alſo, and ſo they did. I knew the* Presbyterians *would never reſtore the King to his juſt Rights, thoſe Men ſwore they would. For the ſecond no excuſe can be made, but I have the King's Pardon, and I hope Almighty God will ſhew me his Mercy alſo: Yet, Sir,* ſaid he, *even then, when I put the Queſtion, I hop'd the very putting the Queſtion would have cleared him; becauſe I believed four for one were againſt it, but they deceived me alſo. To the third I make this candid confeſſion, that it was my own Baſeneſs and Cowardice and unworthy Fear, to ſubmit my Life and Eſtate to the Mercy of thoſe Men that* murther'd the King, *that hurried me on againſt my own* Conſcience *to act with them; yet then I thought alſo I might do ſome Good, and hinder ſome Ill. Something I did for the Church and Univerſities, ſomething for the King, when I broke the Oath of Abjuration, as Sir* O. B. *and your ſelf know; ſomething alſo too for his return, as my Lord* G. *Mr.* J. T. *and your ſelf know. But the Ill I did over weigh'd the little Good I would have done; God forgive me for this alſo.* After this I remember'd him, that the Fathers of the Church alſo had been barbarouſly murthered and ruin'd, and aſk'd whether he had any Hand, or gave any Conſent therein? He anſwer'd, *None, for he always did believe that was the Primitive and beſt Government of the Church,* and ſaid, *he died a dutiful* Son of the Church of *England*, *as it was eſtabliſhed before theſe Times; for he had not yet ſeen the Alteration of the Liturgy.* After this Office, wherein indeed he ſhewed himſelf a very hearty Penitent, he again deſired the Abſolution of the Church, which I then pronounced, and which he received with much Content and Satisfaction: *For,* ſays he, *now, now indeed do I find the Joy and Benefit of that Office which Chriſt hath left in his Church.* Then praying for the King, that he might long and happily reign over us, and for the Peace of the Church, he again deſired Prayers. The next Day he received the Sacrament; and after that work I deſired him to expreſs himſelf to Dr. *Dickenſon* (a learned Phyſician, Fellow of *Merton* College, who received the Sacrament with him) concerning the King's Death, becauſe he had only done it to me in Confeſſion, which he did to the ſame Effect as he had to me. The reſt of his Time was ſpent in Devotion and Penitential Meditations to his very laſt."

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State of Religion.

The Church of *England* was now fully reſtor'd and happily eſtabliſhed by the Act of Uniformity, concerning which there were theſe Proceedings in the two Houſes. The Commons, who had brought in the Bill and agreed to it with all imaginable Zeal and Affection, had ſent it up to the Lords, and ſeem'd impatient of any delay in the diſpatch of it; and therefore on *Tueſday*, *Jan.* 13. they order'd that a Meſſage be ſent to the Lords, to deſire them to give diſpatch to the Bill of Uniformity. This occaſioned a Conference between the two Houſes, and on *Thurſday*, *April* 10. a Report was made in the Houſe of Commons from the Conference had with the Lords upon the Bill for Uniformity, that the reaſon of the Delay of the ſaid Bill was, "That the Book of Common-Prayer had, by reference from his Majeſty, been under the Conſideration of the Convocation, who had made ſome Alterations and Additions thereunto; and that the Lords had peruſed the ſame, as alſo the Bill ſent from the Houſe, and had returned the ſame, together with the Book of Common-Prayer, as the ſame is amended, and by them agreed to, and ſome Amendments and Proviſoes to the Bill. On *Saturday*, *April* 12. the Commons read the Amendments and Additions ſent from the Lords to the Bill of Uniformity; and on *Monday*, *April* 14. they read the Amendments to the Book of Common-Prayer. On *Wedneſday*, *April* 16. the Houſe of Commons reſumed the Debate upon the Amendments ſent down from the Lords to the Bill of Uniformity. And the Queſtion being propounded, "Whether Debate ſhall be admitted to the Amendments made by the Convocation in the Book of Common-Prayer, and ſent down by the Lords to this Houſe, it paſs'd in the Negative. And the Queſtion being put, "Whether the Amendments made by the Convocation, and ſent down by the Lords to this Houſe, might, by the Order of this Houſe, have been debated? It paſs'd in the Affirmative. Then the Commons for ſeveral Days reſumed the Debate upon the Amendments ſent from the Lords to the Bill of Uniformity, and on *Monday*, *April* 28. a Proviſo for being uncover'd, and for uſing reverend Geſtures at the time of Divine Service was twice read; but the matter being held proper for Convocation, it was order'd, that ſuch Perſons as ſhall be employ'd to manage the Conference with the Lords, do intimate the Deſire of this Houſe, that it be recommended to the Convocation to take Order for reverend and uniform Geſtures and Demeanours to be enjoined at the time of Divine Service and Preaching.

Proceedings in the Bill for Uniformity.

Proceedings in Convocation.

The Proceedings in Convocation upon this great Buſineſs of *Uniformity* were to this Effect: On *Saturday*, *Apr.* 12. the Biſhop of *London* as Preſident, and the Biſhops, conſidered of a Subſcription to be made to the three Articles compriſed in the 36th Canon, and referred to a Committee of Biſhops the drawing up a Form and Manner of Subſcription. And they treated farther of fit Perſons to be employed for correcting the Impreſſion of the Book of Common-Prayer, and of a fit Method for procuring printed Copies of the ſaid Book to be diſperſed to all Country Churches. On *Monday*, *April* 21. the Preſident and Biſhops conferred about Printing the Book of Common-Prayer before the 24th of *Auguſt* next; and of receiving Directions from the Lord Chancellor of *England*, how the Word *Children* inſtead of *Perſons* (not baptized) might be inſerted in the ſaid Book by the Houſe of Commons. Then the Biſhop of *London*, with Conſent of his Brethren, decreed and ordain'd, that the Biſhop of *Durham* ſhould be joined to the Commiſſioners for Review and

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and Alteration of the Liturgy appointed by Letters Patents dated *March* 25. laſt paſt, in the room of the Biſhop of *Cheſter* deceaſed; and farther decreed, that no Ordination of Clerks ſhould be made by any Biſhop, but only within the four Ember Weeks ſolemnly appointed for that holy Office; and, that no Biſhop ſhould ordain beyond the Bounds of his own Dioceſe, but by Letters dimiſſory firſt obtained from his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. On *Saturday Apr.* 26. the three Forms of Prayer, for the 5th of *November*, the 30th of *January*, and the 29th of *May*, were brought into the upper Houſe, and publickly read, and unanimouſly approv'd. And the care of tranſlating the Book of Common-Prayer into the Latin Tongue was committed to Dr. *John Earle*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and Dr. *John Pearſon*. On *Saturday May* 10. the Preſident and Biſhops held a Debate upon the Direction receiv'd from the Houſe of Commons *about reverend and uniform Geſtures and Demeanours at the time of Divine Service*; and the Majority agreed, that the Conſtitution in the Book of Canons, made in 1603, intitled, *Of ſolemn Reverence to be uſed in time of Divine Service*, ſhould be preſented to the Houſe of Commons, after Conſideration firſt had in the Lower Houſe of Convocation. On *Monday May* 12. the ſaid Canon or Conſtitution was brought up to the Biſhops from the Lower Clergy with ſome Alterations and Amendments, which were agreed to by their Lordſhips. And, without farther proceeding, on *Tueſday May* 20. the Convocation, by virtue of the King's Writ, was prorogued to *Thurſday Febr.* 19. by the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, as Commiſſary of the Biſhop of *London*.

Subſtance of the Act of Uniformity.

In the mean time the Act of Uniformity ordained, "That whereas in the firſt Year of the late "Queen *Elizabeth*, there was one uniform Order of "Common Service and Prayer, and of the Adminiſtration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of *England*, agreeable to "the Word of God and Uſage of the Primitive "Church —— very comfortable to all good People, "deſirous to live in Chriſtian Converſation, and "moſt profitable to the Eſtate of this Realm, upon which the Mercy, Favour, and Bleſſing of "Almighty God, in no wiſe ſo readily and plentifully praiſed as by Common Prayers —— Yet "notwithſtanding, a great number of People in divers parts of this Realm, following their own "Senſuality, and living without Knowledge and "due Fear of God, do wilfully and ſchiſmatically "abſtain, and refuſe to come to their Pariſh "Churches — And whereas by the great and ſcandalous Neglect of Miniſters in the ſaid Order or "Liturgy, great Miſchiefs and Inconveniences, during the Times of the late unhappy Troubles, "have ariſen and grown; and many People have "been led into Factions and Schiſms, to the great "Decay and Scandal of the Reformed Religion of "the Church of *England*, and to the hazard of many Souls. For prevention whereof in time to "come, for ſettling the Peace of the Church, and "for allaying the preſent Diſtempers —— the King's "Majeſty had granted his Commiſſion to ſeveral "Biſhops and other Divines to review the Book of "Common-Prayer, and to prepare ſuch Alterations "and Additions as they thought fit to offer. And "afterwards the Convocations of both Provinces, "by his Majeſty called and aſſembled, and by him "authorized and required to review the ſaid Book "of Common-Prayer, and the Book of the Form "and Manner of the making and conſecrating of "Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons —— upon full and "mature Deliberation they had accordingly reviewed the ſaid Books, and had made ſome Alterations, "which they thought fit to be inſerted to the ſame, "and ſome Additional Prayers, and had preſented "the ſame unto his Majeſty in Writing, in one "Book, intitled, *The Book of Common-Prayer, and* "*Adminiſtration of the Sacraments*, &c. All which "his Majeſty having duly conſidered, had fully approved and allowed the ſame, and recommended "to this preſent Parliament, to be appointed to be "uſed under ſuch Sanctions and Penalties as the "Houſes of Parliament ſhall think fit. Now in regard that nothing conduceth more to the ſettling "the Peace of this Nation (which is deſired of all "good Men) nor to the Honour of our Religion "and the Propagation thereof, than an univerſal "Agreement in the publick Worſhip of God —— It "was enacted, That all and ſingular Miniſters ſhall "be bound to ſay and uſe the Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and all other Common Prayer, in "ſuch Order and Form as is mention'd in the ſaid "Book. And that every Parſon, Vicar, or other "Miniſter, ſhall before the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew* "1662, after reading the ſaid Book, declare his unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to the Uſe of all "Things in the ſaid Book, contained or preſcribed "in theſe Words.

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"*I A. B. do here declare my unfeigned Aſſent and* "*Conſent to all and every thing contained and pre-* "*ſcribed in and by the Book, entitled*, The Book of "Common-Prayer and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the "Church of *England*, together with the Pſalter or "Pſalms of *David*, pointed as they are to be ſung "or ſaid in Churches, *and* the Form or Manner of "Making, Ordaining, and Conſecrating of Biſhops, "Prieſts, and Deacons.

"And all Perſons neglecting or refuſing, ſhall *ipſo facto* be deprived of all ſpiritual Promotions. "And every Perſon hereafter to be preſented or "collated to any Benefice or Promotion, ſhall within two Months after Poſſeſſion, upon ſome Lord's-Day, read Morning and Evening Prayers, and declare the like Aſſent and Conſent under like pain "of Deprivation. And where the proper Incumbent of any Benefice doth reſide on his Living, "and keep a Curate, the Incumbent himſelf in Perſon ſhall once at leaſt in every Month openly and "publickly read the Common Prayers and Service, "upon pain to forfeit the Sum of five Pounds to "the Uſe of the Poor of the Pariſh. And every "Miniſter and Schoolmaſter ſhall before the ſaid "Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew* 1662, or at or before "their reſpective Admiſſion, ſubſcribe the Declaration or Acknowledgement following.

"*I A. B. do declare, That it is not lawful, upon* "*any pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the* "*King*; *and that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſion'd by him*; "*and, that I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church* "*of* England, *as it is now by Law eſtabliſhed. And* "*I do declare, that I do hold, there lies no Obligation upon me or on any other Perſon, from the Oath* "*commonly called* The Solemn League and Covenant, *to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government either in Church or State, and that the* "*ſame was in itſelf an unlawful Oath, and impoſed* "*upon the Subjects of this Realm againſt the known* "*Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.*

"The ſaid Declaration and Acknowledgement "to be Subſcribed by every Dignitary and Miniſter "before the Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or Ordinary of "the Dioceſe, upon pain of Deprivation; and by "every Schoolmaſter and Tutor, under pain of three "Months Impriſonment for the firſt Offence, and "for every other Offence three Months Impriſonment and the Forfeiture of five Pounds to his Majeſty. Provided, that from the 25th of *March* "1682. there ſhall be omitted in the Declaration "theſe Words: *And I do declare that I do hold there*

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“ *lies no Obligation on me or any other Perſon from the Oath commonly called* The Solemn League and Covenant, *to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government either in Church or State, and that the ſame was in itſelf an unlawful Oath, and impoſed upon the Subjects of this Realm againſt the known Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.*

“ No Perſon ſhall be capable of any Benefice, or preſume to conſecrate and adminiſter the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, before he be ordained Prieſt by Epiſcopal Ordination; upon pain to forfeit for every Offence the Sum of one hundred Pounds.

“ No Form or Order of Common Prayer to be uſed in any Church, Chapel, or other publick Place of College or Hall, other than what is here preſcribed and appointed. Provided that it may be lawful to uſe the ſaid Form in Latin within all Colleges and Halls, in the Colleges of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter*, and *Eaton*, and in the Convocations of the Clergies of either Province.

“ That none be received as a Lecturer, or permitted to preach, or read any Sermon or Lecture in any Church or Chapel, unleſs approved and licenſed by the Archbiſhop or Biſhop, and ſhall read the XXXIX Articles of Religion with a Declaration of unfeigned Aſſent to the ſame; and the firſt time he preacheth any Lecture or Sermon, ſhall openly read the Common Prayer and declare his Aſſent to it, and ſhall upon the firſt Lecture-day of every Month afterwards, before Lecture or Sermon, read the Common Prayers and Service, under pain of being diſabled to preach; and if he preach while ſo diſabled, for every Offence to ſuffer three Months Impriſonment. And at all other times of any Sermon or Lecture, the Common Prayer ſhall be read, and the Lecturer then to preach ſhall be preſent at the Reading of it.

“ The ſeveral Laws and Statutes formerly made for Uniformity of Prayer, ſhall be in Force and Strength for eſtabliſhing and confirming the preſent Book of Common Prayer, and be applied for puniſhing all Offences contrary to the ſaid Laws, with relation to the ſaid Book and no other.

“ Provided the Names of King, Queen, or Royal Progeny, may be alter'd from time to time according to the Direction of lawful Authority.

“ A true printed Copy of the ſaid Book to be gotten in every Pariſh Church, Chapel, College, and Hall, at the Coſt and Charge of the Pariſhioners or Society, before the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*, 1662. upon pain of forfeiting three Pounds by the Month.

“ The ſaid Book to be tranſlated into the *Britiſh* or *Welſh* Tongue by the Care of the Biſhops of *Hereford*, St. *Davids*, *Aſaph*, *Bangor*, and *Landaff*, and ſo to be imprinted and uſed in every Church where the *Welſh* is commonly ſpoken or uſed.

“ That all Deans and Chapters ſhall at their proper Coſts and Charges, before the 25th of *Decemb.* 1662. obtain a true and perfect Copy of this Act, and of the ſaid Book annexed hereunto, to keep and preſerve in ſafety for ever. And true and perfect Copies to be delivered into the reſpective Courts at *Weſtminſter*, and into the *Tower of London*, to be there kept and preſerved for ever.

“ Provided, this Act ſhall not extend to the King's Profeſſor of the Law within the Univerſity of *Oxford* for the Prebend of *Shipton* within the Church of *Sarum*, united and annexed to the Place of Profeſſor by the late King *James*.

The Wiſdom and Moderation of this Act.

The World has reaſon to admire not only the Wiſdom of this Act, but even the Moderation of it, as being effectually made for Miniſterial Conformity alone; and leaving the People unable to complain of any Impoſition. It would certainly have had the deſired and moſt happy Effect of Unity and Peace, if the Government had been in earneſt with the execution of it; if the Miniſters inclined to Separation had not been encouraged in it by the Connivance of the Court, and the promis'd Indulgence of the King. The firſt open Violation of the Act was committed by Mr. *Calamy* late Miniſter of *Aldermanbury*, who being preſent at Church on *Dec.* 28. this Year, upon the Default of a Preacher there expected, to prevent a Diſappointment, and anſwer the Importunity of the People, he went up into the Pulpit and preached; and had he taken a practical Subject, and kept to it, no notice would have been taken of that one occaſional neceſſity as it were of preaching: But it look'd like a Plot or formed Deſign, that he choſe a Subject of old *Eli*'s Concern for the *Ark of God*, and ſo applied the Danger of the Church and Religion to the preſent Times; that he could not be thought leſs than a ſeditious, as well as a diſabled, Preacher[a]. And therefore, by Warrant of the Lord Mayor, he was committed to *Newgate*, where he lay but few Days, before he was diſcharged by his Majeſty's expreſs Order, without the due manner of a legal Diſcharge: Which brought a Contempt upon the Law and Church eſtabliſh'd, and gave ſuch a juſt Offence to the Houſe of Commons, that they made ſome Enquiry into the Reaſons of it; and ſome excuſe was made, that the Releaſe of Mr. *Calamy* from his Impriſonment was not owing to the ſole Command of the King, but to a Deficiency in the Act of Parliament, that had not fully provided for his longer reſtraint. Upon which we find this Entry in the Journal of the Houſe of Commons: *Die Jovis, Febr.* 19. 1662. *Upon Complaint made to this Houſe, that Mr.* Calamy *being committed to Priſon upon Breach of the Act of Uniformity, was diſcharged upon pretence of ſome defect in the Act:* Reſolved, *That it be referred to a Committee, to look into the Act of Uniformity as to the Matter in queſtion, and to ſee whether the ſame be defective, and wherein.* But what Proceedings there were in this Caſe, it does not appear. No doubt, it made the Commons ſenſible, that the King was too much inclined to diſpenſe with the Act of Uniformity, or at leaſt to protect and indemnify the breakers of it: And this reaſonable Suſpicion made them the more unanimous to appoint a Committee immediately after, *to bring in the Reaſons of the Houſe for their Advice to the King againſt a Toleration, with an Addreſs to his Majeſty.*

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Mr. *Calamy* guilty of the firſt Breach of it.

Better Maintenance of the Clergy.

The next Eccleſiaſtical Affair of greateſt importance, was the providing a better Maintenance for the conformable Clergy. The Uſurpation of the Monks and Regulars upon the Parochial Prieſts, in robbing God and them of the better part of Tithes and Offerings; the Heat and Haſte and Self-intereſt of the Governours at the Reformation, in alienating thoſe Tithes to mere Lay-men; and the continued Iniquity of Times and Men, in diveſting and deſpoiling the Patrimony of the Church and Clergy more and more; theſe things had brought a great number of Pariſhes into a very miſerable Deſolation. In many of them, the whole Profits intirely appropriated to ſome other Uſes, and a ſorry Stipend allow'd to ſome officiating Curate: In many others, a Vicarage ordain'd, but ſo very ſlenderly endow'd, that a Vicar (tho' a ſingle Perſon) could not tolerably ſubſiſt upon it. This Defect had been the Burden and the Scandal of the Nation, alway complain'd of, but never ſufficiently redreſt. At the King's firſt coming in, all Men of Senſe and Conſcience ſaw that the Church of *England* could not be eſtabliſhed with any Honour or Safety, without providing a more competent Maintenance for the Parochial Clergy. And becauſe many of the Impropriate Rectories did belong to Sees, or Cathedral

[a] See *Maſter Edmund Calamy's Leading Caſe*: With the Lord Mayor's Warrant, dated *Jan.* 5. 1662. 4to.

and

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and Collegiate Bodies, or to other Eccleſiaſtical Dignities; therefore it was very proper, that the good Example ſhould begin among the Clergy themſelves, who were then more eſpecially enabled to augment the Cures, becauſe of the very conſiderable Fines received by them. Hence a Bill was depending in Parliament, for Rules and Orders to be obſerved in ſuch Augmentation of poor Vicarages and other inſufficient Cures. But, to prevent the paſſing ſuch a Bill, it was thought more adviſable, to refer the Matter to the King's Inſtructions; who, accordingly, directed his Royal Letters to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, requiring them, "That forthwith Proviſion be made for the Augmentation of all ſuch Vicarages and Cures where the Tithes and Profits are appropriated to them and their Succeſſors in ſuch manner, that they who immediately attend upon the Performance of Miniſterial Offices, in every Pariſh, may have a competent Portion out of every Rectory Impropriate, *&c.*

K.'s Letter to Biſhops, Deans and Chapters.

But tho' chearful Compliance was generally paid to theſe Letters, and very conſiderable Augmentations were made in moſt of the Rural Churches appropriated to Eccleſiaſtical Bodies; yet this Advice did not reach to the Lay Impropriators, who held many Rectories wherein the Vicar or Curate had not wherewithal to live. There was a pious Diſpoſition in the Commons of *England* to remedy this Evil, and to make every Benefice or Cure a ſufficient Portion for a Miniſter to ſubſiſt upon it with ſome Comfort and Credit. In order to this excellent End, there were many Votes and Reſolutions, tho', alas! all of them ineffectual.

Augmentations made by religious Appropriators.

Nothing done in Lay Impropriations.

On *Tueſday Jan.* 7. 13 *Car.* II. "It was order'd by the Houſe of Commons, that a Committee appointed for this purpoſe, ſhould call before them *Philip Nye* the younger, who was Clerk to the late pretended Triers, and to require and receive from him all Preſentations to any Eccleſiaſtical Benefices or Promotions made in the time of the late uſurp'd Powers, and Entries of any Admiſſions, Inſtitutions, or Inductions thereupon, now in his Cuſtody. On *Monday Jan.* 20. it was order'd, "That the ſame Committee have Power to call before them all other Perſons, and to require and receive from them all Preſentations, *&c.* This was chiefly in order to reſtore the Epiſcopal ſequeſtred Clergy, and to eject thoſe who, under the Violence of the late Times, had intruded upon them; but it likewiſe ſerved the good Deſign of coming to the knowledge of the ſtate of Parochial Cures, and ſo of being the better able to judge of their Neceſſities, and a relief of them. To this immediate purpoſe, a wholſom Bill was brought in, *For increaſing the Maintenance of Miniſters.* And on *Thurſday Apr.* 3. 1662. a Report was made from the Committee, to which the Houſe agreed; that *The beſt way to effect what is deſired in the Bill for increaſing the Maintenance of Miniſters, is, That the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes do inquire the value of all Livings in their ſeveral Precincts contained in the Bill, and that they conſider of the beſt Expedients for the better Maintenance of the Miniſters therein, and to inform the Committee thereof at their next Meeting after their Receſs.* But the King's craving Wants of Aid and Supply, and the Jealouſie and Avarice of ſome Lay Patrons and Impropriators, and the Profaneneſs and Irreligion of many of the leading Courtiers, let this Deſign drop into a Forgetfulneſs of God and the Cure of Souls.

Attempts in the Houſe of Commons.

To make as much as poſſible an Uniformity in Preaching as well as in Prayers, his Majeſty ſet forth *Directions concerning Preachers*, with a Royal Letter prefixed and directed to the moſt Reverend Father in God *William* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury, &c.* Given at *Whitehall Octob.* 14. in the 14th Year of our Reign, 1662. Which the ſaid Archbiſhop tranſmitted to the Lords the Biſhops within his own Province, with his Letter of Advice and Monition, to communicate the Copies of his Majeſty's ſaid *Directions* throughout their reſpective Dioceſes; dated from *Lambeth Octob.* 23, 1662[a].

Directions for Preachers.

That pious and judicious Prelate Dr. *Robert Sanderſon*, Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, died in his Palace at *Buckden* on *Jan.* 29. 1662. and within three Weeks before his Death he made his laſt Will and Teſtament; wherein he gave ſuch a ſolemn Account of his Faith and Perſuaſion in Matters of Religion and Church Government, that it well deſerves to be here inſerted.——"And here I do profeſs, that as I have lived, ſo I deſire, and (by the Grace of God) reſolve to die, in the Communion of the Catholick Church of Chriſt, and a true Son of the Church of *England*; which, as it ſtands by Law eſtabliſhed, to be both in Doctrine and Worſhip agreeable to the Word of God, and in the moſt, and moſt material Points of both, conformable to the Faith and Practice of the godly Churches of Chriſt in the primitive and purer Times, I do firmly believe; led ſo to do, not ſo much from the Force of Cuſtom and Education (to which the greateſt part of Mankind owe their particular different Perſuaſions in point of Religion) as upon the clear Evidence of Truth and Reaſon, after a ſerious and impartial Examination of the Grounds, as well of Popery as Puritaniſm, according to that meaſure of Underſtanding, and thoſe Opportunities which God hath afforded me; and herein I am abundantly ſatisfied, that the Schiſm which the Papiſts on the one hand, and the Superſtition which the Puritan on the other hand, lay to our Charge, are very juſtly chargeable upon themſelves reſpectively. Wherefore I humbly beſeech Almighty God, the Father of Mercies, to preſerve the Church by his Power and Providence, in Peace, Truth, and Godlineſs, evermore to the Worlds end; which doubtleſs he will do, if the Wickedneſs and Security of a ſinful People (and particularly thoſe Sins that are ſo riſe, and ſeem daily to increaſe among us, of *Unthankfulneſs, Riot,* and *Sacrilege*) do not tempt his Patience to the contrary. And I alſo farther humbly beſeech him, that it would pleaſe him to give unto our gracious Soveraign, the Reverend Biſhops, and the Parliament, timely to conſider the great Danger that viſibly threatens this Church in point of Religion, by the late great increaſe of Popery, and in point of Revenue by ſacrilegious Incloſures; and to provide ſuch wholſom and effectual Remedies as may prevent the ſame before it be too late.

Death of Biſhop *Sanderſon.*

An. 1663. Both Houſes of Parliament were highly ſenſible, that the King's Profeſſion of Indulgence toward the Proteſtant Diſſenters did very much encourage the Confidence of Romiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, and ſeemed to be made in favour of them. And therefore they agreed on, *An humble Repreſentation and Petition of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament concerning Romiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty;*

Repreſentation of Lords and Commons concerning the Dangers of Popery.

Shewing,

"THat notwithſtanding your Majeſty's unqueſtionable Affection and Zeal for the true Proteſtant Religion, manifeſted in your conſtant

[a] See *Rex Theologus*: A Diſcourſe, ſhewing that the King's Majeſty's Letter to the late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is moſt conformable to the Judgment and Practice of Antiquity. *London* 1663. *4to.*

The Queſtion to whom it belonged anciently to preach, and whether all Prieſts might or did: Diſcuſſed out of Antiquity. By *Meric Caſaubon*, D. D. occaſioned by the late Direction to Miniſters, ſent by his Grace to all Miniſters. *London* 1663. *4to.*

"Profeſſion

1663. 15 Car. II. "Profeſſion and Practice, againſt all Temptations "whatſoever; yet, by the great Reſort of Jeſuits "and Romiſh Prieſts into this Kingdom, your good "Subjects are generally much affected with Jealou-"ſie and Apprehenſion, that the Popiſh Religion "may much increaſe in this Kingdom (which your "Majeſty hath moſt piouſly deſired may be pre-"vented) and ſo the Peace both in Church and "State may be inſenſibly diſturbed, to the great "Danger of both.

"Your two Houſes of Parliament are therefore "humble Suitors to your Majeſty to iſſue out your "Proclamation, to command all Jeſuits, and all "*Engliſh*, *Iriſh*, and *Scotiſh* Popiſh Prieſts, and all "ſuch other Prieſts as have taken Orders from the "See of *Rome*, or by Authority thereof (except "ſuch foreign Jeſuits or Prieſts as by Contract of "Marriage are to attend the Perſons of either of "the Queens, or by the Law of Nations to attend "foreign Ambaſſadors) to depart this Kingdom by "a Day under pain of having the Penalties of the "Law inflicted upon them.

His Majeſty's Speech at the Reception of the Petition.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Majeſty's Speech. "YOU do not expect that I ſhould give you "an Anſwer preſently to your Petition, yet "I will tell you, that I will ſpeedily ſend you an "Anſwer, which I am confident will be to your Sa-"tisfaction. It may be the general Jealouſie of the "Nation hath made this Addreſs neceſſary, and in-"deed I believe nothing hath contributed more to "that Jealouſie than my own Confidence, that it "was impoſſible there ſhould be any ſuch Jealou-"ſie, and the Effects of that Confidence: But I "ſhall give you Satisfaction, and then I am ſure you "will eaſily ſatisfy and compoſe the Minds of the "Nation.

"I confeſs (my Lords and Gentlemen) I have "heard of one Jealouſie, which I will never forgive "the Authors of, that I had a jealouſie of your Af-"fections, that I was offended with the Parliament "to that degree that I intended to diſſolve it. They "ſay Men are naturally moſt angry with thoſe Re-"proaches which reflect upon their Underſtanding, "which makes them thought weak Men: Truly, I "I ſhould appear a very weak Man, if I ſhould have "any ſuch Paſſion, any ſuch Purpoſe. No, my Lords "and Gentlemen, I will not part with you upon "thoſe Terms; never King was ſo much beholden "to a Parliament as I am to you; and if my Kind-"neſs to you, and my Confidence in you be not "proportionable, I am behind hand with you, which, "God willing, I will not be.

"Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe "of Commons, I am willing to take this occaſion "to give you my particular Thanks for your great "kindneſs in taking hold upon an eaſie Intimation, "rather than an Invitation from me, to enter upon "the Conſideration of my Revenue: It was kindly "done, and I ſhall never forget it. I have given "Order, that you be fully informed of the State of "it, and then I know you will do that which is "good for me and you: And I pray purſue your "good Reſolution, in putting the Kingdom into "ſuch a Poſture, that we may prevent, at leaſt not "fear any deſperate Inſurrection.

His Majeſty's moſt Gracious Anſwer to the Petition.

CHARLES *R.*

Written Anſwer to the Petition. "HIS Majeſty having ſeriouſly conſider'd and "weigh'd the humble Repreſentation and "Petition of his Lords and Commons aſſembled in "Parliament, and the great Affection and Duty "with which the ſame was preſented to him: And "after having made ſome Reflections on himſelf and "his own Actions, is not a little troubled that his "Lenity and Condeſcenſions towards many of the "Popiſh Perſuaſion (which were but natural effects "of his Generoſity and Good-nature, and after ha-"ving lived ſo many Years in the Dominions of *Ro-*"*man* Catholick Princes; and out of a juſt Memo-"ry of what many of them had done and ſuffered "in the Service of his Royal Father of bleſſed Me-"mory, and of ſome eminent Services perform'd "by others of them, towards his Majeſty himſelf "in the time of his greateſt Affliction) have been "made ſo ill uſe of, and ſo ill deſerv'd, that the "Reſort of Jeſuits and Prieſts into this Kingdom "hath been thereby increaſed; with which his Ma-"jeſty is, and hath been long highly offended: And "therefore his Majeſty readily concurs with the Ad-"vice of his two Houſes of Parliament, and hath "given Order for the preparing and iſſuing out ſuch "a Proclamation as is deſired, with the ſame Clauſe "referring to the Treaty of Marriage, as was in the "Proclamation, which, upon the like occaſion, iſ-"ſued out by the Advice of both Houſes of Parlia-"ment in the Year 1640. And his Majeſty will "take farther Care, that the ſame ſhall be effectual "at leaſt to a greater degree than any Proclamation "of this kind hath ever been.

"And his Majeſty farther declares, and aſſures "both his Houſes of Parliament, and all his loving "Subjects of all his Dominions, that as his Affecti-"on and Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion and the "Church of *England* hath not been conceal'd, or "untaken notice of in the World; ſo he is not, nor "will ever be, ſo ſollicitous for the ſettling his own "Revenue, or providing any other Expedients for "the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, as for "the Advancement and Improvement of the Reli-"gion eſtabliſhed; and for the uſing and applying "all proper and effectual Remedies to hinder the "growth of Popery, both which he doth in truth "look upon as the beſt Expedient to eſtabliſh the "Peace and Proſperity of all his Kingdoms. Given "at our Court at *Whitehall* this firſt Day of *April* "1663. in the fifteenth Year of our Reign.

Proclamation againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits. Accordingly his Majeſty did publiſh ſuch a Proclamation, commanding all Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts to depart this Kingdom, dated *April* 9. in the 15th Year of his Reign. But it did not ſeem to be much more in the Intentions of the Court than another popular Proclamation for the better Obſervation of the Lord's-Day, and for renewing a former Proclamation againſt vitious, debauched and profane Perſons, dated *Aug.* 22. 1663. For notwithſtanding theſe Profeſſions toward pleaſing of the People, it is certain that Popery and Profaneneſs were not altogether out of Favour.

The Court more Popiſh. Some Advances toward the Intereſt of *Rome* were thought to appear in the King's change of ſome Miniſters of State. His faithful and wiſe Servant Sir *Edward Nicholas* was removed from his Office of Secretary of State, and Sir *Henry Bennet*, lately the King's Reſident in *Spain*, was put into that Station, one who ſecretly eſpouſed the Cauſe of Popery, and died at laſt in the open Profeſſion of it [a].

The Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* was ſenſible of this Change in his Majeſty's Counſels and Affections; and afterward took occaſion thus to expreſs himſelf in a Petition and Addreſs to the Lords at the time of his departing the Kingdom. *For more than two Years I never knew any difference in the Councils.—But from the time Mr. Secretary* Nicholas

[a] Dr. *Peter du Moulin*, in his Reply to a Perſon of Honour, 1673. 4to. tells him, That by his Anſwer to a Jeſuitical Libel, called *Philanax Anglicus*, in 1662. he had brought ſuch a Charge againſt the *Engliſh* Jeſuits, and ſtruck ſuch a Terror in the Roman Catholick Party, that all the Strength of *Somerſet-Houſe* (where a Man of great Note was concerned in that Charge) roſe up to crave Juſtice againſt him, and he was forbidden by Letter from the Secretary of State to write any more: Which Prohibition was not taken of till upon his Petition in 1668.

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was removed from his Place there were great Alterations; and whoſoever knew any thing of the Court and Counſels, knew well how much my Credit hath ſince that time been diminiſhed.——Nor hath there been from that time to this above one or two Perſons brought to the Council, or preferred to any conſiderable Office in Court, who have been of my intimate Acquaintance, or ſuſpected to have any Kindneſs for me, and moſt of them moſt notoriouſly known to have been very long my Enemies, and of different Judgment and Principles from me both in Church and State.

Lord *Clarendon* out of Favour.

And it was indeed from this Juncture of a Popiſh prevailing Intereſt, that the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* began now to decline in his Royal Maſter's Favour, and to ſtand ready to be given up to his Enemies, and to bear the Odium of every publick Miſcarriage or Misfortune. And therefore in this Seſſion of Parliament, on *July* 10, 1663. the Earl of *Briſtol* exhibited theſe Articles of High-Treaſon and other heinous Miſdemeanours againſt *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord High Chancellor of *England* in the Houſe of Lords [a].

Articles preferr'd againſt him.

I. "That being in place of higheſt Truſt and Confidence with his Majeſty, and having arrogated a ſupreme Direction in all his Majeſty's Affairs, both at Home and Abroad, hath wickedly and maliciouſly, and with a traiterous Intent to draw Scandal and Contempt upon his Majeſty's Perſon, and to alienate from him the Affections of his Subjects, abuſed the ſaid Truſt in manner following, *viz.*

"That he hath traiterouſly and maliciouſly endeavoured to alienate the Hearts of his Majeſty's Subjects from him by Words of his own, and by artificial Inſinuations of his Creatures and Dependencies, that his Majeſty was inclined to Popery, and had a Deſign to alter the Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom.

"That in purſuance of that traiterous Intent, he hath to ſeveral Perſons of his Majeſty's Privy Council held Diſcourſes to this Effect, *viz.*

"*That his Majeſty was dangerouſly corrupted in his Religion, and inclined to Popery.*

"That Perſons of that Religion had ſuch Acceſs and ſuch Credit with him, that unleſs there were a careful Eye had unto it, the Proteſtant Religion would be overthrown in this Kingdom; and in purſuance of the ſaid wicked and traiterous Intent, upon his Majeſty's admitting Sir *Henry Bennet* to be principal Secretary of State in the place of Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, he hath ſaid theſe Words, or Words to this Effect.

"*That his Majeſty had given* 10000 l. *to remove a zealous Proteſtant, that he might bring into that Place of High Truſt a concealed Papiſt*, notwithſtanding that the ſaid Sir *Henry Bennet* is known to have ever been, both in his Profeſſion and Practice, conſtant to the Proteſtant Religion.

"That in purſuance of the ſame traiterous Deſign, ſeveral near Friends and known Dependencies of his have ſaid aloud, that *were it not for my Lord Chancellor's ſtanding in the Gap, Popery would be introduced in this Kingdom*, or Words to that Effect.

"That in purſuance of the aforeſaid traiterous Deſign, he hath not only adviſed and perſuaded the King to do ſuch things, contrary to his own Reaſons and Reſolutions, as might confirm and increaſe the Scandal, which he had endeavour'd to raiſe upon his Majeſty as aforeſaid, of his Favour to Popery, but more particularly to allow his Name to be uſed to the Pope, and ſeveral Cardinals, in the Sollicitation of a Cardinal's Cap for the Lord *Aubigney*, one of his own Subjects, and great Almoner at preſent to his Royal Conſort the Queen.

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"That in purſuance of the ſame wicked and traiterous Deſign, he had recommended to be employ'd to the Pope one of his own Domeſticks, Mr. *Richard Bealing*, a Perſon (tho' an avow'd Papiſt) known to be truſted and employ'd by him in Diſpatches and Negotiations concerning Affairs of greateſt Concernment to the Nation.

"That in purſuance of the ſaid traiterous Deſign, he being the chief Miniſter of State, did himſelf write by the ſaid Mr. *Richard Bealing* Letters to ſeveral Cardinals, preſſing them in the King's Name to induce the Pope to confer a Cardinal's Cap on the ſaid Lord *Aubigney*, promiſing, in caſe it ſhould be attained, Exemption to the *Roman* Catholicks of *England* from the Penal Laws in force againſt them; by which Addreſs unto the Pope for that Eccleſiaſtical Dignity for one of his Majeſty's Subjects and Domeſticks, he hath as far as from one Action can be *inferr'd, traiterouſly* acknowledg'd the Pope's Eccleſiaſtical Sovereignty, contrary to the known Laws of this Kingdom.

"That in purſuance of the ſame traiterous Deſign, he has called unto him ſeveral Prieſts and Jeſuits, whom he knew to be Superiors of Orders here in *England*, and deſired them to write to their Generals at *Rome*, to give their help for the obtaining from the Pope the Cardinal's Cap for the Lord *Aubigney*, as aforeſaid, promiſing great Favour to Papiſts here, in caſe it ſhould be effected for him.

"That he hath promiſed to ſeveral Papiſts he would do his Endeavour, and ſaid, he hop'd to compaſs the taking away all Penal Laws againſt them, which he did in purſuance of the traiterous Deſign aforeſaid, to the intent they might preſume and grow vain upon his Patronage, and by their publiſhing their Hopes of a Toleration, increaſe the Scandal endeavoured by him and by his Emiſſaries to be raiſed upon his Majeſty throughout the Kingdom.

"That in purſuance of the ſame traiterous Deſign, being intruſted with the Treaty betwixt his Majeſty and his Royal Conſort the Queen, he concluded it upon Articles ſcandalous and dangerous to the Proteſtant Religion.

"That in purſuance of the ſame traiterous Deſign, he concluded the ſame Marriage, and brought the King and Queen together, without any ſettled Agreement in what manner the Rites of Marriage ſhould be performed, whereby the Queen refuſing to be married by a Proteſtant Prieſt, in caſe of her being with Child, either the Succeſſion ſhould be made uncertain for want of the due Rites of Matrimony, or elſe his Majeſty to be expoſed to a Suſpicion of having been married in his own Dominions by a *Romiſh* Prieſt, whereby all the former Scandals endeavour'd to be rais'd upon his Majeſty by the ſaid Earl, as to Point of Popery, might be confirmed and heighten'd.

"That having thus traiterouſly endeavour'd to alienate the Affections of his Majeſty's Subjects from him upon the ſcore of Religion; he hath endeavour'd to make uſe of all the malicious Scandals and Jealouſies, which he and his Emiſſaries had raiſed in his Majeſty's Subjects, to raiſe from them unto himſelf the popular Applauſe of being the zealous Upholder of the Proteſtant Religion, and a Promoter of new Severities againſt Papiſts.

"That he hath traiterouſly endeavour'd to alienate the Affections of his Majeſty's Subjects from him, by venting in his own Diſcourſe, and by the Speeches of his neareſt Relations and Emiſſaries, opprobrious Scandals againſt his Majeſty's Perſon and courſe of Life, ſuch as are not fit to be mention'd, unleſs Neceſſity in the way of Proof ſhall require it.

[a] See the Proceedings of the Commons againſt the Earl of *Clarendon*. Publiſh'd in 8*vo.* 1700.

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" That he hath traiterouſly endeavour'd to alienate the Affections of his Highneſs the Duke of *York* from his Majeſty, by ſuggeſting unto him Jealouſies, as far as in him lay, and publiſhing abroad by his Emiſſaries, that his Majeſty intended to legitimate the Duke of *Monmouth*.

" That he hath wickedly and maliciouſly, contrary to the Duty of a Privy-Counſellor of *England*, and contrary to the perpetual and moſt important Intereſt of this Nation, perſuaded his Majeſty againſt the Advice of the Lord General, to withdraw the *Engliſh* Garriſons out of *Scotland*, and to demoliſh all the Forts built there, at ſo vaſt a Charge to this Kingdom.

" That his Majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed to communicate the Deſires of the Parliament of *Scotland*, for the remove of the ſaid Garriſons to the Parliament of *England*, and to ask their Advice therein, the ſaid Earl of *Clarendon* not only perſuaded his Majeſty actually to remove thoſe Garriſons, without expecting the Advice of his Parliament of *England* concerning it, but did by Menaces of his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure deter ſeveral Members of Parliament from moving the Houſe, as they intended, to enter upon Conſideration of that Matter.

" That he had traiterouſly and maliciouſly endeavoured to alienate his Majeſty's Affections and Eſteem from this his Parliament, by telling his Majeſty, *That there was never ſo weak and inconſiderable a Houſe of Lords, nor never ſo weak and heady a Houſe of Commons*, or Words to that Effect, and particularly, *that it was better to ſell* Dunkirk *than to be at their Mercy for want of Money*, or Words to that Effect.

" That he hath wickedly and maliciouſly, contrary to his Duty of Counſellor, and to a known Law made laſt Seſſions, by which Money was given, and particularly apply'd for the maintaining of *Dunkirk*, adviſed and effected the Sale of the ſame to the *French* King.

" That he hath contrary to Law enriched himſelf and his Treaſures by the Sale of Offices.

" That contrary to his Duty he hath wickedly and corruptly converted to his own uſe, great and vaſt Sums of publick Money raiſed in *Ireland* by way of Subſidy, private and publick Benevolency, and otherwiſe, given and intended to defray the charge of Government in that Kingdom: by which means a ſupernumerary and diſaffected Army hath been kept up there, for want of Money to pay them off, occaſion'd it ſeems to be becauſe of the late and preſent Diſtempers of that Kingdom.

" That having arrogated to himſelf a ſupreme direction of all his Majeſty's Affairs, he hath with a malicious and corrupt Intention, prevail'd to have his Majeſty's Cuſtoms farmed at a far lower Rate than others do offer, and that by Perſons with ſome of whom he goes a Share, in that and other parts of Money reſulting from his Majeſty's Revenue.

July 10. 1663. *BRISTOL.*

A Perſonal Quarrel and Popiſh Deſign.

This Accuſation ſeems rather to have been a Perſonal Quarrel than any ſerious Concern for publick Truth and Juſtice. The Words that are charged as ſpoken by him, were generally thought to have been the real Expreſſions or Suggeſtions of that great Man, and *was there not a Cauſe?* They may be taxed for an indecent Freedom, but they can never be imagined to have proceeded from any want of Integrity or Honour. But indeed there ſeems a perverſe Turn in the Articles, firſt to repreſent the Lord Chancellor as jealous of Popery, and complaining of the King's Inclination to it, by taking new Miniſters Popiſhly affected; and yet after all, to make the Chancellor himſelf the Inſtrument of thoſe very Deſigns that were laid for Popery and the profeſt Promoter of them; which the World did not then believe, and Poſterity does leſs believe.

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Proceedings of the Lords.

On the Day theſe Articles were exhibited, this Order was made by the Houſe of Peers. Die Veneris 10. Julii 1663. *Order'd, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, that a Copy of the Articles or Charge of High-Treaſon, exhibited this Day by the Earl of* Briſtol *againſt the Lord Chancellor, be delivered to the Lord Chief Juſtice; who with all the reſt of the Judges are to conſider, whether the ſaid Charge hath been brought in regularly and legally; and whether it may be proceeded in, and how; and whether there be any Treaſon in it or no; and make Report thereof to this Houſe on* Monday *next if they can, or elſe as ſoon after as poſſibly they may.*

Whereupon all the Judges met at *Serjeants-Inn* in *Fleetſtreet*, and did upon Conſideration unanimouſly agree upon this enſuing Anſwer, which on *Monday July* 13. the Lord Chief Juſtice *Foſter* did deliver in, *viz.*

Anſwer of the Judges.

WE conceive that a Charge of High-Treaſon cannot, by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm be originally exhibited by one Peer againſt another unto the Houſe of Peers; and that therefore a Charge of High-Treaſon by the Earl of Briſtol *againſt the Lord Chancellor, mentioned in the Order of Reference to us of the tenth of this inſtant* July, *hath not been regularly and legally brought in; and if the Matters alledg'd in the ſaid Charge were admitted to be true, altho' alledg'd to be traiterouſly done, yet there is no Treaſon in it.*

Ld Chancellor honourably acquitted.

This Anſwer being read in the Houſe of Peers, the Earl of *Briſtol* took Exceptions at it, and ſome of their Lordſhips, who were Friends to the Chancellor, inferr'd, that if it were not a regular and legal Charge it was a Libel, and ought to be condemned, and the Author of it cenſur'd. To ſatisfie the Houſe, one of the Judges upon Conference with his Brethren, did on *Tueſday July* 14. deliver the Reaſons of the Opinion of the Judges in their ſaid Anſwer. And the Earl of *Briſtol*, a little to excuſe himſelf, ſaid the Articles were not intended by him as a Charge, but as an Information. And then their Lordſhips, after a Debate upon the Queſtion, did unanimouſly reſolve to declare their Concurrence with the Opinion of the Judges: And ſo the Plot of running down this great Man fell at preſent; and yet this early ſtep in it had gained very much of the deſign'd Effect, which was to make him leſs Gracious with his Royal Maſter, and leſs reſpected in the Parliament, and leſs beloved by the People; and ſo by degrees a more eaſie Prey, when his Enemies ſhould again meet to hunt him down.

King's Speech at proroguing the Parl.

On *June* 3. his Majeſty by Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Privy Seal, Duke of *Albemarle*, Marquis of *Dorcheſter* and Lord High Chamberlain, had paſſed three publick and ſeven private Bills: And now on *July* 27. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Houſe of Commons to attend him, made a ſhort Speech, wherein " He expreſt a great Satisfaction for what the Parliament had done for him, and how cheerfully he concurred with them in all the Bills they had prepared for the good of the Nation; and had given Directions and Commands to all his Judges, in relation to thoſe Affairs, which the Seaſon and other Neceſſities would not permit to paſs into Acts. Then he gave his Royal Aſſent to *An Act for four entire Subſidies granted to his Majeſty by the Temporalty. An Act to confirm four Subſidies granted to his Majeſty by the Clergy. An Act for the Relief of Indigent Officers. An Act for ſettling the Profits of the Poſt-Office and Wine Licenſes upon the Duke of* York *and his Heirs. An Act for better collecting the Duty of Exciſe, &c.* And ſo Prorogued the Parliament to the 16th of *March* following.

There

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Plots for Schiſm and Rebellion.

There was a ſecret Correſpondence carried on between the Bigots for Schiſm and a Commonwealth, to conſpire for the good old Cauſe, and to take Arms for reſtoring of it. The place of Plotting was chiefly in the *North*, becauſe more remote from the Court, and more near to *Scotland*, where they had their Agitators employ'd among the hotter Kirk Party. They had ſeveral meetings in *Yorkſhire*, and a good number of them were actually in Arms at *Farnley-Wood*. They had an Oath of Secrecy enjoin'd, and had their Agents to ſollicite for Aſſiſtance in *London*, and in moſt of the Counties of *England*. They had agreed to riſe on *October* 12. and gave aſſurance to their Friends, that the Inſurrection would be general; that *Whitehall* ſhould be ſecured; that *Nottingham*, *Gloceſter* and *Newcaſtle* ſhould be ſeiz'd for the moſt convenient Paſſes over the *Severn*, *Trent* and *Tine*; and *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire* for a Sea-port to receive Succours out of *Holland* and other Foreign Parts. Their Pretences were to redeem themſelves from the Exciſe and all Subſidies; to re-eſtabliſh a Goſpel Magiſtracy and Miniſtry; to reſtore the Long Parliament, and to reform all Orders and Degrees of Men, eſpecially the Lawyers and the Clergy. This Conſpiracy being in good time diſcovered, a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* was ſent to *York* for Trial of the principal Leaders of them. Some at their Arraignment confeſt, that the Deſign began in a private Committee at *London*; that *Lambert* or *Ludlow* was propoſed and promiſed to be at the Head of them; that the riſing was to have began in *Ireland*, to have followed in *England*, and then in *Scotland*. Others of the Priſoners behaved themſelves with moſt inſufferable Inſolence, eſpecially *Cotton*, *Denham* and *Atkins*, of whom *Cotton* proteſted in the Face of the Court, that *in ſuch a Cauſe he valued his Life no more than the Judge did his Handkerchief*. After the Conviction of many of them, they were executed, ſome at *York*, ſome at *Leeds*, and others in other Places. They had retained a Printer in *London* to print for them a ſort of Declaration or Call to Rebellion, wherein were theſe Words; [a] *If there be any City, Town or County in the three Nations that will begin this righteous and glorious Work, they may be aſſured, &c.* The Printer being found guilty was drawn, hang'd and quarter'd: And another Printer, Bookſeller and Bookbinder were on the ſame occaſion condemn'd to the Pillory, with their Offence expreſſed in theſe Words: *For ſelling and uttering Malicious, Scandalous and Seditious Books, againſt the King, the State and Peace of the Kingdom.*

Inſolence of theſe Traitors.

King's Progreſs.

In the Long Vacation, his Majeſty, to divert himſelf, and to pleaſe his People, reſolved upon a Progreſs, and a Viſit to the *Bath*, ſetting out with the Queen on *Aug.* 26. and returning to *Whitehall Octob.* 2. after many ſplendid Entertainments given at *Newberry* by Sir *Thomas Doleman*, at *Marlborough* by the Lord *Seymour*, at *Long-Leet* by Sir *James Thynne*, at *Badminton* by the Marquis of *Worceſter*, at *Cornbury* by the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, and at *Oxford* by the Univerſity [b].

The Parliament, according to Prorogation, met at *Weſtminſter* on *March* 16. and their Proceedings will fall in with the following Year.

Death of Archbiſhop *Juxon*.

Dr. *William Juxon*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, died in his Palace of *Lambeth* on *June* 4. and was interred in the Chapel of St. *John*'s College in *Oxford*, to which he was a great Benefactor. His beſt Character was that which his Royal Maſter King *Charles* I. gave him, that *Good Man*.

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Succeſſion of Dr. *Sheldon*.

Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, Lord Biſhop of *London*, who (by reaſon of the good Archbiſhop's Age and Infirmities) had manag'd the Affairs of the whole Province ever ſince the King's Return, was now tranſlated to the See of *Canterbury* with great Solemnity and general Satisfaction. The See of *London* was filled with Dr. *Humphry Henchman*, tranſlated from *Sarum*, a Man of popular Gravity and Temper; and of a Judgment and Wiſdom ſo agreeable to his Aſpect, that he was ſworn one of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council on *Dec.* 9.

Death of Archbiſh. *Bramhal*.

Near the ſame time with Archbiſhop *Juxon*, died another Primate Dr. *John Bramhal*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, who had gone over into *Ireland* as Chaplain to the Lord Deputy, the Earl of *Strafford*; and being there highly ſerviceable to the King and the Church, had been juſtly promoted to the See of *Londonderry*, and after a long Exile with the King, was, at the Reſtoration, deſervedly advanc'd to the chief See and Primacy of *Ireland*.

Diſpoſition of the chief Diſſenters.

The Church of *England* was now ſo firmly by Law eſtabliſh'd, that there could have been nothing wanting toward Peace and Conformity, but a ſteady Execution of the Laws, and ſome tender regard to the ejected Miniſters, who were many of them Men of Piety and Moderation, and did not pretend that the Church Communion was unlawful as to Lay Communion, tho' they thought the Terms of Miniſterial Conformity too hard for them; and therefore after the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry in ſome private Meetings, they uſually came to the publick Offices in their Pariſh-Church, and join'd with the Prieſt and Congregation, not only in Prayers, but in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; ſo beginning the Example of Occaſional Conformity, not for Intereſt, or with any ſecular Intention, but to all appearance for Charity and Brotherly-love. So that at this Juncture had the State been true to the Laws, and the Church been indulgent to the ejected Miniſters; there muſt have been a general Unity and Peace. It was certainly the Strength of Popery that now chiefly made the Separation of Proteſtants from the Church of *England*: The Papiſts laboured for a Liberty, which they knew not how to enjoy without a common Relaxation of the Laws againſt all other Diſſenters. It was purely this Deſign, that put the King upon his Declaration on *Decemb.* 26. 1662. expreſſing his purpoſe to grant ſome Indulgence or Liberty in Religion, not excluding the Papiſts; *Many of whom* (he ſaid) *had deſerved ſo well of him.* The Intent of this Declaration was ſo apparently in favour of Popery, that the Proteſtant Diſſenters did but ſuffer by it in their Intereſt and Credit; for, they were ready to catch at any Offer of Liberty and Eaſe, without ſtaying to conſider the Regularity and Validity of the Grant, or the indirect End and Deſign of that Favour to them. This made the Parliament more jealous of them, as now made inſtrumental to Popery and Arbitrary Power; and therefore the Houſe of Commons made their Votes and their Addreſs againſt all ſuch Royal Indulgence, and forc'd the King to retract all Thoughts of it. This made the Biſhops and Clergy more averſe to them, when they ſaw them now capable of becoming the Tools and Engines of the Church of *Rome*. Nay and this, in the conſequence, made the King and his Court more deſpiſe them, when they were found too weak to defend their own Project of Liberty againſt the Body of the Parliament, and the Weight of the Nation. It may be moſt impar-

Papiſts deſire an Indulgence.

[a] The *Intelligencer*, No. 6. 4*to*. writes thus. *London, October* 7. Here was this Morning ſeiz'd in the Preſs a Libel, not only affirming *in terminis*, that the *People may put their King to Death, and that the Law of God excepts the King no more than any other Perſon, the Lord commanding his Saints to take a two edged Sword in their Hands, to execute his Judgments written in his Word upon wicked Kings.* But this horrid Libel does expreſly adviſe and encourage an Attempt upon the Life of his moſt ſacred Majeſty, telling the People, that if *ever there were a Seaſon that required the Lord's People to ſell their Garments, and to buy Swords, it was now. This Man* (meaning our moſt Gracious Sovereign) *had his Authority from the People of* England, *or elſe he has none: That we are none of this Tyrant's Servants, but he ours:* And exhorting the People to *caſt off the Yoke of this preſent Tyrant.*

[b] See an Account from *Oxford*, dated *Sept.* 28, 1663. of the Reception of the King and Queen in that Place, as put into the *Weekly Intelligencer* by Mr. *L'Eſtrange*.

1663. 15 Car. II. tial to repreſent the preſent Caſe of the Diſſenters from one of their own Advocates, who tells us, that after the King's Declaration of Indulgence on *December.* 26. “ Some of the Nonconformiſts were here-

Account given by Mr. Calamy.

“ upon much encourag'd, and waiting privately on “ the King, were fill'd with Hopes. They would “ have perſuaded their Brethren to have thank'd “ the King for his Declaration; but they refus'd, “ leſt they ſhould make way for the Toleration of “ the Papiſts. The *Declaration* took not at all ei- “ ther with Parliament or People; and ſo the poor “ Nonconformiſts were expos'd to great Severities. “ They who at the King's coming in were ſo much “ careſs'd, were now treated with the utmoſt Con- “ tempt.——About the middle of this Summer, “ there was a freſh Diſcourſe raiſed of Liberty de- “ ſign'd for the ſilenc'd Miniſters. They were bla- “ med by many for not Petitioning the Parliament, “ tho' they had reaſon enough againſt it. Many “ Members of Parliament encouraged the Expecta- “ tion of either an Indulgence, or a Comprehenſion. “ And it was thereupon warmly debated, which of “ the two would be the more deſirable. Some were “ for Petitioning for a general Indulgence, thus ar- “ guing with their Brethren: *You are blind, if you* “ *ſee not that the Act of Uniformity was made ſo rigo-* “ *rous, and the Weight of Conformity ſo much increas'd,* “ *that ſo the Number of the ejected Miniſters might be* “ *ſo great as to force them to be glad of a general To-* “ *leration, which might take in the Papiſts. And if* “ *you think to ſtand it out, they will yet bring you to it* “ *in deſpight of you: They will encreaſe your Burdens,* “ *and lay you in Priſons till you are glad to Petition for* “ *ſuch a Toleration. And ſtand it out as long as you* “ *can, you ſhall be forc'd to procure the Papiſts Liber-* “ *ty; and the Odium of it ſhall not lie on the Biſhops,* “ *but on you that are ſo much againſt it. The Biſhops* “ *ſhall ſpeak againſt it, and they will force you to beg* “ *for it who are againſt it. And if you will not do it* “ *now, you do but ſtay till the Market riſe, and your* “ *Sufferings be made greater, and you ſhall be glad to* “ *do it at dearer Rates.* To whom others reply'd, “ that they would ſuffer any thing rather than pro- “ mote Popery.

“ Mr. *Baxter* was about this time conſulted by a “ Perſon of Honour concerning the matter ſo much “ talk'd of; he preſs'd him to give him his Judg- “ ment whether the way of Indulgence or Compre- “ henſion was more deſirable. He freely gave him “ his Thoughts to this purpoſe: That he was not “ for Comprehenſion without Indulgence, nor for “ Indulgence without the Enlargement of the Act “ of Uniformity to a greater Comprehenſion; but “ for the conjunction of both. He was not for Com- “ prehenſion alone, becauſe when they had gone the “ fartheſt many worthy Perſons, whoſe Gifts in the “ Church might be very uſeful, would be ſtill left “ out; and there would be much want when all “ were employ'd; and the Loſs by their being ut- “ terly ſilenc'd would redound to the Souls of ma- “ ny. He was not for Indulgence alone, unleſs the “ Law were made more Comprehenſive; becauſe “ the Impoſitions and Reſtrictions of the Law were “ really unaccountable; becauſe nothing can be “ more deſirable than the Strength and Unity of “ the eſtabliſh'd Body of the Clergy; and becauſe “ a bare Indulgence would be apt to occaſion ſuch “ Jealouſies and Animoſities as that it would not “ be long enjoy'd in Peace: And therefore he de- “ clared, that he was for a Comprehenſion of as “ many fit Perſons as might be taken in by Law, “ and then a Power reſerv'd to his Majeſty to in- “ dulge the Remnant as far as might be con- “ ducible to the Peace and Benefit of Church “ and State.

“ But inſtead of Indulgence or Comprehenſion on “ the laſt Day of *June*, the Act againſt private “ Meetings for religious Exerciſes paſſed the Houſe “ of Commons, and ſhortly after was made a Law, “ the Sum of it was, *That every Perſon above ſixteen* 1663. 15 Car. II. “ *Years, who is preſent at any Meeting under Colour* “ *or pretence of any Exerciſe of Religion, in other man-* “ *ner than is allowed by the Liturgy or Practice* “ *of the Church of* England, *where there are five* “ *Perſons more than that Houſhold, ſhall for the firſt* “ *Offence by a Juſtice of Peace be recorded and ſent to* “ *Gaol three Months, till he pay five Pounds; and* “ *for the ſecond Offence ſix Months till he pay ten* “ *Pounds; and for the third time being convicted by* “ *a Jury, ſhall be baniſh'd to ſome of the* American “ *Plantations, excepting* New England *or* Virginia. The Author who is giving this Account takes a wrong occaſion to complain, *It was a great* “ *hardſhip that attended this Act, that ſo much Power* “ *was given by it to Juſtices of the Peace, to record a* “ *Man an Offender without a Jury: And if they did* “ *it cauſeleſly, there was no Remedy, ſeeing every Ju-* “ *ſtice was made a Judge.* A wrong Complaint, “ and a Reflection upon many other of our whol- “ ſome Laws, which could never be executed, if E- “ vidence upon Oath before a Juſtice of Peace could “ not make him ſo far a Judge as to pronounce the “ Penalty expreſt in the Letter of the Law, with- “ out the Formality of a Court and a Jury. It is “ ſufficient, that the greater Offences and the grea- “ ter Penalties, affecting Life or Liberty or Eſtate, “ ſhall not be determin'd by any private Juſtices, “ but in the more ſolemn manner of Court and “ Judge and Priſoner and Jury. And ſo it was by “ this very Act accordingly provided, that no one “ ſhould be convicted of the third Offence which “ incurr'd Baniſhment, without a regular Trial by a “ Jury. The Author goes on to tell us much more pertinently, that “ before this Act the Danger and “ Sufferings lay on the Miniſters only, but now the “ People alſo were ſorely try'd. And that after this, “ the Nonconformiſts were not a little divided a- “ mong themſelves, as to the lawfulneſs and expedien- “ cy of worſhipping God in the publick Churches, “ over and above their private Meetings ſtill kept “ up with great Secrecy. Mr. *Baxter* and Dr. “ *Bates*, and ſeveral others with them, were for “ frequenting the publick Churches, when better “ helps were not to be had: And for reſorting to “ them now and then, tho' they had their choice “ to ſhew their Charity. They were for having their “ moſt uſual Communion with thoſe Aſſemblies, “ which they thought were managed moſt agree- “ ably to the rule and end of Worſhip; and yet for “ having occaſional Communion with others, as “ Members of the Catholick Church, to ſhew their “ Catholick Communion with all the Body of Chriſt: “ But others were vehement for an entire Sepa- “ ration.

Miſtakes of this Author.

To this Account it may be fairly added, that it was the Judgment of the two Houſes of Parliament, and of the Body of the People of *England*, that nothing could ſo effectually ſecure the Peace of the State, as the continuing and confirming a general Conformity to the eſtabliſh'd Church: And again, that nothing would more encourage and promote Popery, than the Advantage to be gain'd by a Toleration of Proteſtant Diſſenters. And had the Adminiſtration of Affairs turn'd even and conſtant upon this Baſis, Peace and Happineſs muſt have needs enſued. But the Error in Politicks was ſtill the ſame: The Legiſlative Power drew one way, and the Executive another: The Parliament for a ſtrict Uniformity, the King for Toleration: And therefore the ſtricteſt Laws had their full Influence no longer than during the Seſſion that made them; or at leaſt the returns of a ſitting Parliament. In every Interval, the King relented, and the Judges muſt connive; which extraordinary way of giving and aſſuming Liberty of Conſcience brought in more Miſchief than a legal Toleration could have done. For by this means the King was gaining a Party to ſupport him in the Pretenſions of a Diſpenſing Power. The Diſſenters

Relaxing the Laws dangerous to Church and State.

1664. 16*Car*.II. Diſſenters were taught to ſlight the Laws of the Land, as much as thoſe of the Church; and to fly to the Royal Prerogative for a Protection againſt the common courſe of Juſtice. The Biſhops and Clergy were diſcourag'd from truſting to their legal Conſtitution, and if they proſecuted any upon the Penal Laws, they found the way of Juſtice ſo obſtructed, that they gain'd the Odium of being Perſecutors without Power, and that was all. While the Papiſts [a] triumph'd in their deſired Oppoſition of Church and Conventicle, teaching the Diſſenters to be enraged at the grievous Penal Laws, and the Churchmen to be offended at the trifling Suſpenſion of them; and labouring to poſſeſs the King with the pleaſure of Governing without a Parliament, that his own Indulgence might be a ſtanding Law; the fear of which raiſed ſo many Jealouſies in the Minds of the beſt and wiſeſt People, that his Majeſty was forced to wipe them off in his next Speech to the Parliament.

Proceedings of Convocation. The Convocation finding the Church to be ſufficiently by Law eſtabliſhed, thought it not proper to meddle with any other Buſineſs relating to Religion. on *April* 20. the Biſhops were conſidering of the Expediency of a new *Form of Grammar*, fit to be enjoin'd for the Uſe of all publick Schools: And a Committee of both Houſes was appointed *May* 4. to examine and review the ſaid Form, but nothing was determined in it. And at their next meeting with the Parliament *Nov.* 25. nothing was done but a Prolocutor Dr. *John Dolben* Dean of *Weſtminſter* Elected and Approv'd in the room of Dr. *John Barwick* Dean of *Paul's*, lately deceaſed. Only on *Feb.* 18. the Archbiſhop required the Biſhops then preſent, when they came into their reſpective Dioceſes, to certifie to him the Names and Sirnames of all Clerks within their Juriſdiction who had been ejected from their Cures, with the places of their preſent abode. And on *March* 4. the Archbiſhop deſired all his Suffragan Brethren to take all poſſible Care and Diligence, that all Miniſters, Rectors, Vicars and Curates, ſhould in their Surplices read Divine Service fully and diſtinctly, without omitting any part.

Parliament meets. 1664. The Parliament meeting at the time to which they had been prorogued *March* 16. the King came to the Houſe of Lords on *Monday March* 21. and made this Gracious Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The K's. Speech. "YOU ſee, God be thank'd, you have met together again at the time appointed, and "I do aſſure you, I have been ſo far from ever intending it ſhould be otherwiſe, that I do not "know one Perſon who ever wiſh'd it ſhould be "otherwiſe. Think, therefore, I pray, what good "Meaning thoſe Men could have, who from the "time of the Prorogation to the Day of your "meeting, have continually whiſper'd and induſtriouſly infuſed into the Minds of the People, that "the Parliament ſhould meet no more; that it "ſhould either be preſently diſſolv'd, or ſo continued by Prorogation, that they ſhould be kept "without a Parliament. I pray watch theſe Whiſperers all you can, as Men who uſe their utmoſt "Endeavours to ſow Jealouſies between you and "me: And I do promiſe you they ſhall not prevail "with me, and I do promiſe myſelf they ſhall not "prevail with you: And the truth is, we are both "concern'd they ſhould not, and we ſhall then with "God's Bleſſing prevent all the Miſchief they intend.

"You may judge by the late Treaſon in the *North*, "for which ſo many Men have been executed, how "active the Spirits of many of our old Enemies ſtill "are, notwithſtanding all our Mercy. I do aſſure "you, we are not yet at the bottom of that Buſineſs: Thus much appears manifeſtly, that this "Conſpiracy was but a Branch of that which I diſcover'd as well as I could to you about two Years "ſince, and had been then executed nearer hand, if "I had not by God's goodneſs come to the knowledge of ſome of the principal Contrivers, and ſo "ſecured them from doing the Miſchief they intended. And if I had not by the like Providence "had timely notice of the very Hour, and ſeveral "places of their Rendezvous in the *North*, and provided for them accordingly, by ſending ſome of "my own Troops, as well as by drawing the Train'd-Bands together, their Conjunction would have "been in greater Numbers than had been convenient.

"You will wonder (but I tell true) they are "now even in thoſe parts, and at this time, when "they ſee their Friends under Trial and Execution, "ſtill purſuing the ſame Conſultations: And it is "evident they have Correſpondence with deſperate "Perſons in moſt Counties, and a ſtanding Council "in this Town, from which they receive their Directions, and by whom they were adviſed to defer their laſt intended Inſurrection; but thoſe Orders ſerved only to diſtract them, and came too "late to prevent their Deſtruction. I know more "of their Intrigues than they think I do, and hope "I ſhall ſhortly diſcover the bottom; in the mean "time I pray let us all be as watchful to prevent, "as they are to contrive their Miſchief.

"I cannot omit upon this occaſion to tell you "that theſe deſperate Men in their Counſels (as "appears by ſeveral Examinations) have not been "all of one Mind in the ways of carrying on their "wicked Reſolutions. Some would ſtill inſiſt upon the Authority of the Long Parliament, of "which they ſay they have Members enough willing to meet; others have fancied to themſelves "by ſome Computation of their own, upon ſome "Clauſe in the Triennial Bill, that this preſent Parliament was at an end ſome Months ſince, and "that for want of new Writs, they may aſſemble "themſelves, and chuſe Members for Parliament; "and that this is the beſt Expedient to bring themſelves together for their other Purpoſes. For the "long Parliament you and I can do no more than we "have done, to inform and compoſe the Minds of "all Men, let them proceed upon their peril. But "methinks there is nothing done to diſabuſe them "in reſpect of the Triennial Bill. I confeſs to you, "*my Lords and Gentlemen*, I have often myſelf read "over that Bill, and though there is no colour for "the Fancy of the Determination of this Parliament, "yet I will not deny to you, that I have always "expected you would, and even wonder'd that you "have not conſider'd the wonderful Clauſes in that "Bill, which paſſed in a time very uncareful for "the Dignity of the Crown, or the Security of the "People; I pray Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen "of the Houſe of Commons, give that Triennial "Bill once a reading in your Houſe, and then in "God's Name do what you think fit for me and "your ſelves, and the whole Kingdom. I need "not tell you how much I love Parliaments; never "King was ſo much beholden to Parliaments as I "have been; nor do I think the Crown can ever "be happy without frequent Parliaments. But aſſure your ſelves, if I ſhould think otherwiſe, I "would never ſuffer a Parliament to come together "by the means preſcribed by that Bill.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I muſt renew my

[a] See *A Word in Seaſon, or the great Plot* of reſtoring Popery by oppoſing Uniformity. Printed in the Year 1663. 4*to*. Wherein ſeveral Diſcoveries are made of the Papiſts Intrigues, how much they have tamper'd with our Diſſenters, fomented our Diviſions, and thereby promoted the Growth of Popery in our Nation.

"Thanks

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" Thanks to you for the free Supply you gave me this laſt Seſſion of four Subſidies; yet I cannot " but tell you, that the Supply is fallen much ſhort " of what I expected or you intended: It will hard- " ly be believ'd, yet you know it to be true, that " very many Perſons who have Eſtates of three and " four thouſand Pounds a Year, do not pay for theſe " four Subſidies ſixteen Pounds: So that whereas " you intended and declared, that they ſhould be " collected according to former Precedents, they " do not now ariſe to half the Proportion they did " in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*; and yet ſure the " Crown wants more now than it did then, and the " Subject is at leaſt as well able to give.

" The Truth is, by the Licenſe of the late ill " Times, and ill Humour of this, too many of the " People, and even of thoſe who make fair Profeſ- " ſions, believe it to be no Sin to defraud the Crown " of any thing that is due to it. You no ſooner " give me Tonnage and Poundage than Men are de- " viſing all the ways they can to ſteal Cuſtom; nor " can the Farmers be ſo vigilant for the Collection " as others are to ſteal the Duties. You give me the " *Exciſe*, which all People abroad believe to be the " moſt inſenſible Impoſition that can be laid upon a " People: What Conſpiracies and Combinations are " enter'd into againſt it by the Brewers, who I am " ſure bear not that Burthen themſelves, even to " bring that Revenue to nothing, you will hear in " *Weſtminſter-Hall.* You have given me the Chim- " ney Money, which you have reaſon to believe is " a growing Revenue, for Men build at leaſt faſt e- " nough; and you will therefore wonder, that it is " already declin'd, and that this half Year brings " in leſs than the former did: I pray therefore re- " view that Bill, and ſince I am ſure you would " have me receive whatſoever you give, let me have " the Collecting and Husbanding of it by my own " Officers, and then I doubt not but to improve " that Receipt, and will be cozen'd of as little as I " can.

" I will conclude with deſiring and conjuring " you, my Lords and Gentlemen, to keep a very " good Correſpondence together, that it may not " be in the Power of any ſeditious or factious Spirits " to make you jealous of each other, or either of " you jealous of me, till you ſee me pretend one " thing and do another, which I am ſure you have " never yet done; truſt me, it ſhall be in no body's " Power to make me jealous of you. I pray con- " trive any good ſhort Bills, which may improve " the Induſtry of the Nation; and ſince the Seaſon " of the Year will invite us all ſhortly to take the " Country Air, I deſire you would be ready for a " Seſſion within two Months or thereabouts, and " we will meet next earlier in the Year. And ſo " God bleſs your Counſels.

Murmurs againſt the *Dutch*.

At the firſt opening of this Seſſion, there was a general Diſcontent and Murmur againſt the *Dutch* for breaking in upon our Trade, and affronting our Nation with ſeveral publick Injuries and Inſolencies that were indeed very provoking, wherein they were encourag'd by the *French* Court, and had a promiſe of Support and Aſſiſtance from it. The Houſe of Commons took this matter into their firſt Conſideration, and appointed a Committee to examine the Complaints of the Encroachments made by the *Hollanders* upon the Trade of *England*, and after a Report made by Mr. *Clifford*, the Houſe agreed upon Reſolutions to this effect.

Reſolutions of the Commons.

That the Wrongs, Diſhonours and Indignities, the Damages, Affronts and Injuries done by the Subjects of the United Provinces to our Merchants, were the greateſt Obſtructions to all Foreign Trade. And therefore, that his Majeſty ſhould be moved to take ſpeedy and effectual Courſe for the Redreſs thereof; and that they would aſſiſt him with their Lives and Fortunes againſt all Oppoſition whatſoever.

Addreſs of both Houſes.

The Lords concurred in this Senſe of publick Honour and Intereſt; and ſo both Houſes attended his Majeſty with an Addreſs to repreſent the common Danger. His Majeſty declar'd his high Eſteem of their Care and Tenderneſs for the Honour and Good of the Nation, and expreſs'd his own Royal Senſe of preſerving the Freedom of Trade and the Dominion of the Seas; letting them farther know, that he would examine and prove the particular Complaints; that he would demand Satisfaction by a publick Miniſter, and do his utmoſt Endeavours to ſecure his Subjects from the like Violences for the future, depending upon the Promiſe of both *Houſes to ſtand by him.* For which Royal Aſſurance, both Houſes return'd their humble and hearty Thanks.

A new Act for Triennial Parliaments.

The next Care of the Commons was to debate on that part of his Majeſty's Speech which related to the Act for Triennial Parliaments; upon which they brought in a Bill to repeal that Act, and to eſtabliſh a better Expedient for holding Parliaments once in three Years. At the paſſing of this Act on *April* 6. his Majeſty gave them his Thanks for their ready concurring in a Matter ſo advantagious to the Nation, and for annulling a former Law ſo prejudicial to the Love and Union between King and People, and founded on a fatal Suppoſition, that the Crown was jealous of Parliaments, or the Parliaments jealous of the Crown.

On *April* 5. the Houſe of Lords adjourned to the 18th Inſtant, and on the Day following the Houſe of Commons made the like Adjournment: Both Houſes unanimouſly reſolving to aſſiſt his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes againſt all his Enemies and Oppoſers whatſoever. On *May* 17. the King came to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons to attend him, in a ſhort Speech he let them underſtand, " his Royal Approbation of their " Cares and Labours for the Good of the Publick; " and his Acknowledgments to them for their rea- " dy Compliance with his Advice in the Diſpatch " of all Buſineſs depending in the laſt Seſſion; and " concluding with his Reſolution to prorogue them " to the 20th of *Auguſt* next enſuing; but declaring " farther, that unleſs ſomething extraordinary ſhould " fall out, it was his purpoſe not to call them to- " gether till *November* following, whereof they " ſhould have timely Notice by his Royal Procla- " mation. Then Sir *Edward Turner*, Speaker, repreſented to his Majeſty, " the humble Thanks of " the Houſe for his gracious Acceptance of their " Endeavours in the Service of his Majeſty and the " Publick. After which, he inſiſted upon the un- " ſettled Condition of the Country by reaſon of the " diſaffected Parties of Fanaticks, Sectaries, and " Nonconformiſts, who threatned the Diſturbance " of Church and State. Then he touch'd upon the " Injuries complain'd of by our Merchants, and the " Frauds and ill Practices of our Neighbours the " *Dutch* in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, in *Turkey*, *A-* " *frica*, and other Parts, which beſides the Indignity " offered to his Royal Majeſty and the Crown of " *England*, amounted to no leſs than the Value of " ſeven or eight hundred thouſand Pounds: and " then he preſented ſeveral Bills for the Royal Aſ- " ſent, among which was the memorable *Act to pre-* " *vent and ſuppreſs ſeditious Conventicles*[a].

King's Speech.

Act againſt Conventicles.

Under

[a] See a Letter of Mr. Secretary *Bennet* to the Duke of *Ormond*, expreſſing the ſecret Sentiments of the Court at this Juncture, dated *Apr.* 25, 1664.—The Houſes have agreed to the Vote of Trade, with that complemental Addition which your Grace ſees in the incloſed Paper, and which, if it have no farther Effect, would at leaſt be a point of infinite Reputation to his Majeſty's Government: And in ſo ſhort a Seſſion the World ſhall ſee the Triennial Bill be repeal'd, and ſuch a Vote as this, after they had been prepared to expect nothing but Conteſts and Diſputes with the Crown in the moſt jealous

Points

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Memorial given to the States of Holland.

Under this Diſpoſition of the Parliament and People to quarrel with the *Dutch*, the King had given his particular Inſtructions to his Ambaſſador Sir *George Downing*, who about the middle of *May* gave in a Memorial to the States-General of the great Damages which the *Engliſh* complained to have ſuffered in their Trade and Commerce by the Subjects of thoſe Provinces. The States wiſely declin'd a preſent Anſwer, and came off with a Promiſe of ſending their own Ambaſſadors to the King of *Great Britain*, which had the appearance of a more ſolemn Reſpect, and what was more intended, gave them the opportunity of deliberation and delay.

A Fleet fitted out.

But the King, to loſe no time, gave Orders for ſetting out a conſiderable Fleet, to ſecure his Subjects in their freedom of Trade, and to vindicate the Honour and Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation. But he had one continual Misfortune upon him, the want of ready Money: To ſupply this defect, he ſent ſome Lords of his Privy Council to move the City of *London* for the Loan of an hundred thouſand Pounds upon this extraordinary Occaſion. The Common Council of the City, who were ſenſible of their Sufferings in Trade, readily complied with the King's Requeſt, and voted an immediate Supply of that Sum, to be repaid upon moderate Terms concerted with the Lord Treaſurer.

Satisfaction demanded.

Sir *George Downing*, upon the dilatory Meaſures taken by the States, came over into *England* for more private and poſitive Inſtructions; and returning back held ſeveral Conferences with the Deputies of the States, and deliver'd in ſuch particulars of Damages and Injuries ſuſtained by the *Engliſh*; for which he demanded Reparation. The States again declined all expreſs Anſwer, and put off all Propoſals of making Satisfaction. The King underſtood their Craft to be, the keeping him in ſuſpence till they had got home their ſeveral Fleets of Merchant Men, reſolved to intercept them in the Channel, by way of repriſal, without waiting the Ceremony of a declared War. The Heer *Van Goch* was ſent as Ambaſſador from the States, to expoſtulate with the King upon his viſible Preparations for a War againſt them; and had a ſolemn Audience on *June* 23. but ſeem'd to have no ſufficient Inſtructions to propoſe or accept any ways of preventing an open Rupture[a]. So that the King made it his Buſineſs and his great Pleaſure to viſit his Docks and Ports, and give Orders for fitting and furniſhing a Fleet with all poſſible Expedition, to be under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, and to ſail for *Guinea*, if the *Dutch* Fleet under Admiral *Opdam* ſhould happen to paſs the Channel, and purſue their intended Voyage to thoſe Coaſts. On *Octob.* 15. Prince *Rupert*, with his Squadron of ſixteen Men of War, came to the *Spit-Head*; and at the beginning of *November* the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, went down to *Portſmouth*, and joining with the Prince and Earl of *Sandwich*, took Charge of the Navy, and ſtruck ſuch a Terror upon the Coaſts of *Holland*, that *Opdam* was glad to lay ſtill with his Fleet in the *Goree*, while the *Dutch Bourdeaux* Fleet, laden home with Wine and Brandy, fell moſt of them into *Engliſh* Hands, and with many other of their laden Ships, to the Number of above one hundred and thirty, were brought into our Ports, and by Admiralty condemn'd for lawful Prizes, tho' no War had been actually declared; which Proceeding was thought to be more Arbitrary than the Law of Nations did allow. It is however a Juſtice to obſerve, that this way of dealing with our Friends before we had pronounc'd them Enemies, was not merely a Trick of *France*, or an Intrigue of our own Miniſtry, (as ſome have labour'd to repreſent it) but it was the very Voice of the *Engliſh* People, and eſpecially the Cry of all our Merchants and Traders. The City of *London* were ſo full of ill Reſentments againſt the *Dutch* for engroſſing and uſurping upon Navigation and Commerce, that they not only lent a hundred thouſand Pounds (as before remembred) for Expedition of the Fleet; but, when the King ſtill wanted another like Sum, they advanc'd it with the ſame readineſs, upon a Motion of the Earl of *Mancheſter* Lord Chamberlain, in a Speech deliver'd at the *Guild-hall* in *London* on *Thurſday Dec.* 1. where were preſent many Members of both Houſes of Parliament, who brought with them an *Order* preſented by the Lord Chamberlain to the Lord Mayor, and read by Mr. *Avery* Deputy Town-Clerk, in theſe Words: " *Die Veneris* 25 *Novemb.* " 1664. Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, that the Thanks of both Houſes of Parliament be given unto the City of *London* for their forwardneſs in aſſiſting his Majeſty; and in particular by furniſhing him with ſeveral great Sums of Money toward his Preparations for the Honour, Safety, and Trade of the Nation.

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Dutch Ships taken, even before a War declared.

The Voice of the People.

The Parl. thank the City.

King's Speech.

The Parliament, according to Prorogation, had met again on *Novemb.* 24. when the King in a hearty Speech expreſt to them, " How unkindly he had been treated by his Neighbours the *Dutch*; how much he thought it *his Duty* to vindicate the Rights of his Subjects, and the Honour of himſelf and his Kingdoms; how, to this end he had, upon the Stock of his own Credit, ſet forth a Navy, that would guard his Seas, and would not decline meeting with all the Naval Power of the United Provinces; that he had almoſt emptied his own Stores, and had very liberally borrowed of the City of *London*; ſo that to diſcharge the one, and repleniſh the other, would require little leſs than eight hundred thouſand Pounds; that he had Reaſon to expect from them a ſpeedy and ſubſtantial Supply, and muſt deſire them to frame their Reſolutions with all neceſſary Expedition. The moſt affecting Words of the Speech were theſe: *Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, I know not whether it be worth my Pains to endeavour to remove a vile Jealouſie which ſome ill Men ſcatter abroad, and which, I am ſure, will never ſink into the Breaſt of any Man who is worthy to ſit upon your Benches, That when you have given me a noble and proportionable Supply for the Support of a War, I may be induced by ſome evil Counſellors (for they will be thought to think very reſpectfully of my Perſon) to*

Points belonging to it. —— In another of *May* 14, 1664.—— We hoped his Majeſty would have been this Day at the Parliament to prorogue it; but the Difficulties that offered themſelves in paſſing the Conventicle Bill, ſpun out the time till it was too late. But what was not done this Day, will be on *Monday*, by the Grace of God. Altho' there be Safety (as *Solomon* ſays) in a multitude of Counſellors, yet we cannot but think our ſelves at eaſe when we are fairly rid of them. Earl of *Arlington*'s Letter in *Miſcellan. Aulic.* 8vo. p. 353, 357.

See a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Bennet* to Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall, June* 2, 1664.--- My laſt News was the quiet Receſs of the Parliament, and the Encouragement it had bequeathed his Majeſty to enter into Expoſtulations with the *Dutch* for the Wrongs they daily do us in our Trade; ſince which time all his Majeſty hath yet openly done thereupon, is to make ready ſuch a Fleet as may ſecure us from any Affront from them, and to call hither for a few Days Sir *George Downing*, who is newly arrived, from whom his Majeſty looks for a clear Report of the Temper of that Countrey towards us, who are working Night and Day to ſet out a Fleet of thirty Sail at leaſt. —— Earl of *Arlington's* Letters, Vol. II. p. 24.

[a] Another Letter of Mr. Secretary *Bennet* to Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, dated, *Whitehall, June* 23, 1664. —— Tho' the Town be full of the Talk of a *Holland* War, God be thanked we are yet in Peace at Home and Abroad: And this Day a *Holland* Ambaſſador hath made his Entry, who in the private Audiences he hath had with his Majeſty, recommends much to him the Aſſurances of the States to give us all reaſonable Satisfaction, and his Majeſty is immediately diſpatching back again Sir *George Downing* to receive the Fruits of it.

make

1664. 16 Car. II. *make a ſudden Peace, and get all the Money for my own private Occaſions. But let me tell you, and you may be confident of it, that when I am compelled to enter into a War for the Protection, Honour, and Benefit of my Subjects; I will (God willing) not make a Peace, but upon the obtaining and ſecuring thoſe Ends for which the War is entred into; and when that can be done, no good Man will be ſorry for the determination of it.* The Speaker was inſtructed to anſwer, that "The Commons of *England* could not ſufficiently expreſs their Loyalty and Affection to the "King, nor the deep Senſe which they all had of "*the Injuries and Violations committed by the* "*Dutch; that they had conſidered the Burden of* "*his Majeſty's Expences, and the neceſſity of his* "*Naval Preparations; and begged leave to aſſure* "*him of their Readineſs and Conſtancy to yield him* "*all the Duties of Aſſiſtance and Obedience with* "their Lives and Fortunes[a].

By the 11th of *February* the Bill was ready for the King's Aſſent, and paſs'd into an *Act for granting a Royal Aid of twenty four hundred threeſcore and ſeventeen thouſand and five hundred Pounds*. Hitherto no War proclaim'd, tho' the Acts of Hoſtility had been in a manner commanded by an Order of the King in Council dated in *December*, ſetting forth, that his Majeſty taking into due Conſideration the Injuries, Affronts, and Spoils done by the Subjects of the *United Provinces*, to the Ships, Goods, and Perſons of his Majeſty's Subjects, and having made frequent Demands of Redreſs which were ineffectual, he did therefore now, by Advice of his Privy Council, order, that general Repriſals ſhould be granted againſt the Ships, and Goods, and Subjects of the *United Provinces*.

But the Hearts of the trading part of the Nation being now entirely turn'd againſt the *Dutch*, and the Parliament ſhewing the Senſe of the People by a Royal Aid apparently meant for that purpoſe, the King order'd the drawing up a formal Declaration of War, which it is proper to inſert.

Declaration of War.

At the Court at Whitehall, *Feb.* 22. 1664.

Preſent

The King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

His Royal Highneſs the D. of York.	*Earl of* Carliſle.
His Highneſs Pr. Rupert.	*Earl of* Lauderdale.
Ld. Abp. of Canterbury.	*Earl of* Carbery.
Duke of Buckingham.	*Lord* Wentworth.
Duke of Albemarl.	*Lord* Berkley.
Marquis of Dorcheſter.	*Lord* Aſhley.
Lord Great Chamberlain	*Mr. Treaſurer.*
Lord Chamberlain.	*Mr. Vice-Chamberlain.*
Earl of Berkſhire.	*Mr. Secretary* Morice.
Earl of Angleſey.	*Mr. Secretary* Bennet.
Earl of Bath.	*Mr. Chancellor of the Dutchy.*

"His Majeſty's Declaration touching his Proceedings for Reparation and Satisfaction for ſeveral Injuries, Affronts, and Spoils done by the "*Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Companies, and other the "Subjects of the *United Provinces*, being this Day "read at the Board, was approved: And it was order'd, that his Majeſty's Printers do forthwith "cauſe the ſame to be printed and publiſh'd.

Richard Brown.

And it was ſo printed and publiſhed in theſe Words:

"WHereas upon Complaint of the ſeveral Injuries, Affronts, and Spoils done by the "*Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Companies, and other the "Subjects of the *United Provinces*, unto and upon "*the Ships*, Goods and Perſons of our Subjects, to "*their grievous* Damages, and amounting to vaſt "Sums; inſtead of Reparation and Satisfaction, "*which hath been* by us frequently demanded, we "*found* that Orders had been given to *De Ruyter*, "not only to abandon the Conſortſhip againſt the "Pirates of the *Mediterranean* Seas (to which the "States General had invited us) but alſo to uſe all "Acts of Depredation and Hoſtility againſt our Subjects in *Africa*.

"We thereupon gave Order for the detaining "the Ships belonging to the States of the *United* "*Provinces*, their Subjects and Inhabitants; yet "notwithſtanding we did not give any Commiſſion "for Letters of Mart, nor were there any Proceedings againſt the Ships detained, until we had "a clear and undeniable Evidence that *De Ruyter* "had put the ſaid Orders in execution, by ſeizing "ſeveral of our Subjects Ships and Goods.

"But now ſince finding by theſe freſh Injuries "and Actings of theirs, and the Intelligence we "have had of their great Preparations for War, "and their granting of Letters of Mart againſt our "People, that both our Forbearance and the other Remedies we have uſed to bring them to a "Compliance with us, have proved ineffectual, and "that they are reſolved what they have done by "Wrong, to maintain by Arms and War againſt us.

"We have thought fit, by and with the Advice "of our Privy Council, to declare, and do hereby "declare to all the World, that the ſaid States are "the Aggreſſors, and that they ought in Juſtice to "be ſo looked upon by all Men; ſo that as well "our Fleets and Ships, as alſo all other Ships and "Veſſels, that ſhall be commiſſionated by Letters "of Mart from our dear Brother the Duke of *York*, "Lord High Admiral of *England*, ſhall and may "lawfully fight with, ſubdue, ſeize, and take all "Ships, Veſſels and Goods belonging to the ſaid "States of the *United Provinces*, or any of their "Subjects or Inhabitants within any their Territories.

"And we do hereby Command as well all our "own Subjects, as advertiſe all other Perſons of "what Nation ſoever, not to tranſport or carry any "Soldiers, Arms, Powder, Ammunition, or any "other contraband Goods, to any of the Territories, Lands, Plantations, or Countries of the ſaid "States of the *United Provinces*; declaring, that "whatſoever Ship or Veſſel ſhall be met withal, "tranſporting or carrying any Soldiers, Arms, Powder, Ammunition, or other contraband Goods to "any of the Territories, Lands, Plantations, or "Countries of the ſaid States of the *United Pro-*

[a] See the Letters of Mr. Secretary *Bennet* to Sir *Richard Fanſhaw* in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall Novemb.* 24. 1664.—— Our laſt Letters from *Holland* do almoſt aſſure us that the *Dutch* Fleet will not come out. However, his Royal Highneſs doth not yet think it fit to leave the Fleet, and we have begun the Buſineſs now by the only way left us; that is, by ſeizing of their Ships whereſoever we meet them. And this Day our Parliament met, very well diſpoſed, in appearance, to contribute liberally towards the Maintenance of the War. By this Day Se'night I hope I ſhall be able to ſend you a good Vote of theirs upon this Subject.——Another of the ſame Miniſter to the Lord *Hollis*, Ambaſſador in *France*, dated, *Whitehall Nov.* 28. 1664. My laſt told your Excellency of the opening of the Parliament by his Majeſty's Speech, and the next Day to juſtify all the fair hopes we had of their ſupporting cheerfully this War, the Houſe of Commons voted the raiſing to his Majeſty in three Years two Millions five Hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling: But coming the next Day to debate the manner of raiſing it, they did not agree ſo well, but parted late in the Evening with great Heat.—— *Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 60.

vinces;

1664. 16 *Car.* II. " *vinces*; the ſame being taken, ſhall be condemned " as good and lawful Prize.

" And we do farther declare, that whatſoever " Ship or Veſſel, of what Nation ſoever, ſhall be " met withal having any Goods, Merchandiſes, or " any number of Perſons in her belonging to the ſaid " States of the *United Provinces*, or any of their Sub- " jects or Inhabitants, the whole being taken, ſhall " be adjudged as good and lawful Prize. As like- " wiſe all Goods and Merchandizes, of what Nation " ſoever, whether of our own or of Foreigners, that " ſhall be laden aboard any Ship or Veſſel, that ſhall " belong to the States of the United Provinces, or " any of their Subjects, or any inhabiting with " them, and ſhall be taken, the whole ſhall be con- " demn'd as good and lawful Prize; except the ſaid " Ship or Veſſels has ours or our dear Brother's Let- " ters of ſafe Conduct granted to them.

" And to the End that due Intimation and Publi- " cation of this our Declaration may be made, and " publick Notice thereof be taken, it is our Will " and Pleaſure that this our preſent Declaration be " publiſhed in due and uſual Form.

Richard Browne.

Baſeneſs of *De Ruyter.* The higheſt Provocation to this War was the perfidious baſeneſs of *De Ruyter*, who commanded the Squadron ſent by the States in conjunction with an *Engliſh* Fleet under Sir *John Lawſon*, to reduce the *Algerines* to the terms of Peace and free Trade; when as ſoon as *De Ruyter* enter'd the *Streights*, and had cruiſed a little about *Gibraltar*, he deſerted the *Engliſh* and the common Service, and ſail'd away to the Coaſts of *Guiney*, and diſpoſſeſſed the *Engliſh* of their Factories at *Cape-Verd* and the Iſle of *Gogee*; and after that ſtruck off to the *Barbadoes*, and made an attempt of landing, but was beat off with loſs and ſhame; and then ſtood for *Long-Iſland*, and there committed great Depredations upon the *Engliſh*; thus ingloriouſly beginning a Piratick War under the ſacred Bands of Friendſhip and Alliance. And they inſulted the *Engliſh* for the loſſes by ſuch treachery brought upon them: For a *Dutchman* in *London* pretending himſelf to be a *Swede*, lately come from *Guiney*, made it his profeſt Buſineſs and Pleaſure to report the utter deſtruction of the *Engliſh* there by *De Ruyter*; for which Inſolence he was on *Feb.* 25. whipp'd thro' the Streets of *London*.

The States all the while affected to be ſilent, and hop'd to decline the Imputation of being the firſt Aggreſſors; tho' their Orders and the execution of them ſufficiently betray'd, that they did not wait to be on the Defenſive ſide. When charg'd by our Ambaſſador with many Inſtances of their Violation of Faith and Honour with us; they condeſcended to publiſh a very diſingenuous Libel entitul'd, *An Extract of the Memorials of the States General of the United Provinces upon the Memorial of Sir* George Downing, *Envoy Extraordinary of the King of* Great Britain. Paper War. Wherein were ſo many Invectives againſt the King, and ſo many Aſperſions upon the *Engliſh* Nation, that it put Sir *George* upon the neceſſity of a printed Vindication. And the States (as if deſigning no more than a Paper War) contented themſelves with a ſecond Libel called, *A ſummary Obſervation and Deduction deliver'd by the Deputies of the States General, upon the Memorial of Sir* George Downing, *Envoy*, &c. When they ſaw the *Engliſh* upon denial of Satisfaction to be in earneſt for a War, they ſent away Monſieur *Benninghen* to inform the King of *France* of their proſpect of a Rupture with *England*, who ſeemed to promiſe them his Favour and Protection; and yet to take advantage of their Neceſſities, he orders his Ambaſſador in *Holland* to demand Reparations for the loſs of two very conſiderable *Eaſt-India* Ships formerly taken from his Subjects [a]. 1664. 16 *Car.* II.

Church Affairs. We ought to look back on the Church of *Scotland*, where Presbytery began to vaniſh upon the firſt appearance of Monarchy; and all the Miſeries and Confuſions of that Kingdom were expreſly enough charged upon the Kirk Party, in one of the firſt Acts of Parliament for obſervation of the twenty ninth of *May*, having this Preamble, *The States of the Parliament of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *taking into their Conſideration the ſad Condition, Slavery and Bondage this ancient Kingdom has groaned under theſe twenty three Years; in which, under very ſpecious Pretences of Reformation, a publick Rebellion has been by the Treachery of ſome and Miſperſuaſion of others, violently carried on againſt ſacred Authority, to the Ruin and Deſtruction, as far as was poſſible, of Religion, the King's Majeſty and his Royal Government, the Laws, Liberties and Property of the People, and all the publick and private Intereſts of the Kingdom; ſo that Religion itſelf hath been proſtituted for the warrant of all theſe treaſonable Invaſions made upon the Royal Authority, and diſloyal Limitations upon the Allegiance of the Subject: Therefore*, &c. The *Scots* ſenſible of the evils of Preſbytery. And yet the Kirk had a right of Eſtabliſhment by Law, but ſo weak in the Hearts of the People, and eſpecially of the Nobles and Lairds, that it was to fall of itſelf, without the Honour of a legal Diſſolution. Upon this proſpect of a favourable turn, in the beginning of 1661. ſome of the moſt worthy *Scotch* Presbyters Mr. *James Sharp*, Mr. *Hamilton*, Mr. *Farwel*, Mr. *Loghton* came to *London*, and were there firſt ordained Deacons and Presbyters, and then conſecrated Biſhops, by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and two other aſſiſting *Engliſh* Prelates; by which Act they expreſly renounc'd the Validity of their former Ordination, and obtain'd a Royal Proclamation dated *Sept.* 6. declaring the King's Pleaſure to be for reſtoring the Government of the Church of *Scotland* by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, as it was exerciſed in the Year 1637. and farther ſignified that he had nominated and preſented Archbiſhops and Biſhops, to the ſeveral Sees, to be inveſted with the ſame Authority they had in the Reign of his Royal Grandfather. To obey and execute this good Intention, the Privy Council of *Scotland*, *Jan.* 9. following, did ſtrictly diſcharge all Eccleſiaſtical meetings in Synods, Presbyteries and Seſſions, until they ſhould be authoriz'd by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, upon their entry on the government of their reſpective Sees. And in farther purſuance of this good Deſign, the reſtoring Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, the Parliament in their ſecond Seſſions made an *Act to redintegrate the Biſhops to the Exerciſe of their Epiſcopal Function, and to all their Privileges, Dignities, Juriſdictions and Poſſeſſions, due and formerly belonging thereunto.* And another Act did *command all Miniſters to repair unto their Dioceſan Aſſembly, and concur in all Acts of Church Diſcipline, as they ſhould be thereunto required by the Archbiſhops or Biſhops of the Dioceſe, under pain of being ſuſpended from their Office and Benefice, till the next Dioceſan meeting for their firſt fault; and if they amend not, to be deprived and the Church to be declared vacant.* And whereas by the Presbyterian Diſcipline all the Right of Patronage in Parochial Churches was taken from the Nobility and other Laity, and even from the Crown; the Parliament did now provide in their ſecond Seſſion 1662. that *all Miniſters who had enter'd to the Cure of any Pariſh within Burgh or Land, in or ſince the Year of God* 1649. *to have no right to uplift the Rents of their reſpective Benefices, modified Stipends, Marſh or Glebe for this in-*

Scotch Biſhops.

Epiſcopacy reſtor'd.

Acts of Parl. for an Epiſcopal Ch.

[a] See a Letter of Lord *Holles* in the *French* Court to Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated, *Paris* 4, *Febr.* 1664.—Here the *Dutch* Envoy, *Van Benninghen*, preſſes hard for a Declaration of Aſſiſtance, &c. Fanſhaw's *Letters*, 8*vo*. p. 456.

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ſtant Year 1662. nor for the Year following, unleſs they ſhould obtain a Preſentation from the lawful Patron, and have collation from the Biſhop of the Dioceſe where he liveth, before the twentieth of September *next.* And to pluck up the root of all Evil, on *Sept.* 5. 1662. the Parliament formed a Declaration to be ſubſcrib'd by all who ſhall have any publick Charge, Office or Truſt within the Kingdom in theſe Words:

Declaration againſt the ſolemn League and Covenant.

I A. B. *do ſincerely affirm and declare, that I judge it unlawful to Subjects, upon pretence of Reformation, or any other Pretence whatſoever, to enter into Leagues and Covenants, or to take up Arms againſt the King, or thoſe commiſſionated by him; and that all theſe Gatherings, Convocations, Petitions, Proteſtations, and erecting and keeping Counſel Tables, that were uſed in the beginning, and for the carrying on the late Troubles, were unlawful and ſeditious. And particularly that thoſe Oaths whereof the one is called the* National Covenant, *and the other entituled* A ſolemn League and Covenant, *were and are in themſelves unlawful Oaths; and were taken by and impoſed upon the Subjects of this Kingdom againſt the Laws and Liberties of the ſame: And that there lieth no Obligation upon me, or any of the Subjects from the ſaid Oaths, or either of them, to endeavour any Change or Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State, as it is now eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Kingdom.*

This Revolution and Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *Scotland* was during the Commiſſion of the Earl of *Middleton*, who did all that was poſſible to aſſert the King's Supremacy, and to ſettle him a good Revenue. But in the beginning of 1663. the Earl of *Middleton* was remov'd, and the Earl of *Rothes* was appointed to be High Commiſſioner of *Scotland*, a Ringleader of the Presbyterians under King *Charles* I. and even the principal of thoſe Conſpirators who ſubſcribed a Letter to the King of *France*, directed *Au Roy*, to aid their Kirk and Covenant againſt their lawful Prince. And yet now under his Adminiſtration the Presbyterians loſt ground more and more. The ſtanding High Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes was in Hands that extended their Authority in a moſt vigorous manner. And the Parliament to demoliſh all the Remains of Kirk Diſcipline, ordain'd a new Conſtitution of a National Synod or General Church Aſſembly, whereby the external Government of the Church was declared to be inherent in the King, by virtue of his Prerogative Royal in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; that the Members of this Synod were to be only Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, the Moderators of Meetings for Exerciſes, with one Miniſter of each Meeting, to be choſen by the Moderator and plurality of Miniſters for the ſame. The Synod to meet at ſuch Time and Place only as his Majeſty ſhould appoint by Proclamation; and to debate of ſuch Matters only relating to the Government and Doctrine of the Church, as his Majeſty ſhould recommend. And laſtly, no Aſſembly to be held without the preſence of his Majeſty or his Commiſſioner. And in the next Seſſion of Parliament, a Proclamation was iſſued out, commanding all Miniſters who had enter'd before the Year 1649. and ſince the reſtitution of the Church Government by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, had relinquiſhed their Miniſtry, or had been depoſed by their Ordinary, to remove themſelves within forty Days after their relinquiſhment or depoſal, out of the Pariſhes whereof they had been Incumbents, and not to reſide within twenty Miles of the ſame, nor within ſix Miles of *Edinburgh*, or any Cathedral, nor within three Miles of any Burgh Royal, nor to inhabit two in one Pariſh, upon penalty of incurring the Laws made againſt Movers of Sedition.

Form of *Scotch* Synods.

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Death of Archbp. *Frewen.*

The Church of *England* loſt a great Prelate, Dr. *Accepted Frewen* Archbiſhop of *York*, who had been elected Preſident of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford* 1626. and inſtall'd Dean of *Glouceſter* 1631. and conſecrated Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* 1644. and tranſlated to *York* in *October* 1660. He died at his Manor of *Biſhop's-Thorp* on *March* 28. 1664. and was buried on *May* 3. under the great *Eaſt* Window of his Cathedral Church, with a ſplendid Monument ſoon after erected for him [a].

Proceedings in Convocation.

The Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* held their frequent Seſſions, and having diſpatch'd the Buſineſs of Religion, they fell upon a matter of Eccleſiaſtical cogniſance, the better Government of Grammar Schools. Several Complaints had been made of the Faults and Defects of *Lilly's Grammar*: The uſe of which had been preſcrib'd by the Royal Eccleſ. Supremacy; and therefore it was thought proper that a new publick Form of Grammar ſhould be now drawn up and approv'd in Convocation, to be enjoin'd by the ſame Royal Authority. Hence on *April* 20. the Archbiſhop and his Brethren conſulted of bringing in ſuch a new Form of Grammar, and of appointing fit Perſons for the Examination and Correction of it. On *May* 4. ſuch a Form of Grammar was brought in by Dr. *John Pierſon*, and the Reviſal of it was recommended to a Committee of both Houſes. But this matter dropp'd as a dubious and difficult Task, or at leaſt was interrupted by the death of the Prolocutor Dr. *John Barwick* Dean of St. *Paul's*; into whoſe place the inferior Clergy elected Dr. *John Dolben* Dean of *Weſtminſter*, who was preſented to the Archbiſhop, and confirmed by him on *Friday December* 2. Nothing more was done till *Febr.* 18. when the Archbiſhop deſired the Biſhops, when they ſhould come to their reſpective Dioceſes, to return to him an account of the Names of all Miniſters who had been ejected from their Cures, and the places of their Habitation. And on *March* 4. his Grace recommended to the ſaid Biſhops, their taking all poſſible Care and Diligence that all Miniſters and Curates within their reſpective Dioceſes ſhould read the Divine Service as preſcribed by Law, diſtinctly and fully, without omiſſion of any part in the right Order and in Canonical Habit.

The Clergy firſt tax'd by the Houſe of Commons.

This Year began a very remarkable Change in the Liberties and Properties of the Clergy of *England*, by altering the way of taxing themſelves, and being tax'd in common with the People in Parliament. It muſt be obſerv'd, that by original Conſtitution the Lords Spiritual and Prelates and Clergy were eſteem'd one of the three Eſtates of the Realm, and therefore met in Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies on the civil account of giving their own Money, and ſecuring their own Secular Rights and Liberties. This was the true and only Reaſon of the inferior Prelates and Clergy being call'd to Parliament by a Clauſe of *Præmunientes* inſerted in the Parliamentary Writ of Summons to every Biſhop, as the Practice began in 23 *Ed.* 1. by which Parliamentary Summons, the lower Clergy never found place among the Temporal Commons, as the Biſhops had long before done among the Temporal Lords; but they were only to meet in a diſtinct Aſſembly in Parliament time, for the Parliamentary purpoſe of aiding the King with Money, and making their Petitions for any redreſs of Grievances, or grant of Liberties, &c. And theſe Parliamentary Convocations meddled only with the Civil Rights of the Church, not concerning themſelves with Doctrine or Diſcipline or other Spiritual things, which were reſerved to the proper *Eccleſiaſtical Synods*, that were called independently on Parliaments, to meet in two Provincial Aſſemblies, before the reſpective Archbiſhops. This Conſtitution of the Church was not alter'd by the Reformation,

[a] See the *Intelligencer*, Numb. 36.—*York, Apr.* 30. 1665. On *Monday* laſt the Body of his Grace the late Archbiſhop of *York* was brought into this City, and lies now in State at a Houſe of a Kinſman's of his in the Cloſe of the Cathedral, &c.

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any farther than as the Eccleſiaſtical Synods could no longer be called but by the King's Writ, nor act but by his Authority, becauſe he was now declared the *Supreme Head*. And there was a leſs Change in the Parliamentary Convocations, they gave their Money as before, only their Grants of Subſidy were now generally confirm'd by Acts of Parliament; and yet they gave Benevolences as formerly, to be levied and paid according to Rules and Conſtitutions of their own making. But by degrees theſe two different Aſſemblies of the Clergy in Eccleſiaſtical Synods and in Parliamentary Convocations, grew in effect into one Body, becauſe the Provincial Writs generally brought the Clergy together at the ſame time with the *Præmunientes* Clauſe; not but that they had ſtill a diſtinct Capacity, and might have a ſeparate Being; and they actually had ſo in 1640. when the Parliamentary Convocation expiring with the Parliament diſſolv'd, the Provincial Synod did continue in a legal Being, till diſſolved by a ſeparate Writ, as the Judges themſelves affirmed to be Law. In ſhort, by virtue of ſuch original Conſtitution, the Clergy tax'd themſelves, and were never included in any Bill of the Lay Commons, till the times of Rebellion and Uſurpation, when the Church of *England* being diſſolv'd, this Right among others was ſwallow'd up; and the Schiſmatical Miniſters having no great title to be diſtinguiſh'd from the common People, had their Benefices tax'd in common with Lay Eſtates. But when the Church was reſtor'd in 1660. this original Right was reſtor'd with it; and was exerciſed at the Beginning of this Convocation, when the Clergy granted to the King four Subſidies, and had their ſeparate Grant confirm'd by Act of Parliament, *Stat.* 15 *Car.* II. *cap.* 10. But it ſo happen'd, that the Biſhops and Clergy now thought themſelves griev'd in this Method of Taxing, by which they paid more in proportion than the Laity, and were ſubject more to the Pleaſure of the Court, and more to the Humour of the Commons, who expected and often requir'd that the Clergy ſhould give beyond their Proportion, and even beyond their Abilities. And beſides all theſe Miſchiefs and Dangers, the Body of the Clergy were left too much at the mercy of the Convocation Divines, who were many of them Court-Chaplains and Seekers of Court-Preferment, and ſo might be tempted to raiſe their own Fortune by laying a heavier Burden on their Brethren. The Experience or the Fear of theſe Evils put the Archbiſhop and ſome of the chief Biſhops into a Conſult with the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, and ſome other prime Miniſters of State; wherein it was concluded, that the Clergy ſhould tacitly recede from the Cuſtom of Taxing themſelves, and ſhould be included in the Money-Bills prepared by the Houſe of Commons; and to encourage their Aſſent, ſhould have two of the four Subſidies remitted to them; and ſhould have a Clauſe of ſaving the ancient Rights belonging to the Clergy, as in this part of the *Act for granting a Royal Aid unto the King's Majeſty*, in the Seſſion held at *Weſtminſter Nov.* 24. 1664. "——Provided always, and be it enacted by " the Authority aforeſaid, that all ſpiritual Promo-" tions, and all Lands, Poſſeſſions, or Revenues an-" nex'd to, and all Goods and Chattels growing or " renewed upon the ſame or elſewhere, appertaining " to the Owners of the ſaid ſpiritual Promotions or " any of them, which are or ſhall be charged, or " made contributary by this Act towards the Pay-" ments aforeſaid, during the time therein appoint-" ed, *(which was to be rais'd, levied, and paid in the* " *ſpace of three Years)* ſhall be abſolutely freed and " diſcharg'd from the two laſt of the four Subſidies " granted by the Clergy to his Majeſty, his Heirs " and Succeſſors, by an Act made in a former Seſ-" ſion of this preſent Parliament, intitled, *An Act* " *for confirming of four Subſidies granted by the Clergy*, " any Clauſe or Thing in the ſaid Act to the contra-" ry notwithſtanding. —— Provided always, that " nothing herein contained ſhall be drawn into Ex-" ample to the Prejudice of the ancient Rights be-" longing unto the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, " or Clergy of this Realm, or unto either of the " Univerſities, or unto any Colleges, Schools, Alms-" Houſes, Hoſpitals, or Cinque-Ports.

The firſt Act of Taxing the Clergy with the People.

Whether this great Change in the manner of Taxing now introduc'd, and likely to continue, be more to the Intereſt or to the Prejudice of the Church and Clergy in *England*, is not ſo eaſy to determine; tho' excepting the former Independence of the State of the Clergy, and the Danger of being oppreſs'd when they ſhall hereafter fall under the Diſpleaſure of a Houſe of Commons; we muſt confeſs, that they have been hitherto better dealt with than while they tax'd themſelves, and they ſeem only to have loſt the Benefit of preſenting their Articles of Grievances, and obtaining the more eaſy Redreſs of them, as a Reward of their Liberality to the Crown. Nay the Clergy have gain'd one Privilege, that of all Rectors and Vicars voting for Members of Parliament, which they never did, till their Money was now given by the Lay Commons; and therefore they ought to be now repreſented by them, and ought for the ſame Reaſon to loſe their Votes in all Parliamentary Elections, if ever they could reaſſume the Practice of Taxing themſelves. There is a Clauſe that does ſufficiently reſerve that Right: But ſuppoſing the Clergy ſhould think fit to claim it, it is a great Queſtion whether the Houſe of Commons will allow it; who, being now in poſſeſſion of the Cuſtom of Taxing the Clergy, may not be willing to relinquiſh that Cuſtom.

Duke of York Admiral.

On *March* 23. his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* ſet out, with a noble Attendance, to go aboard the *Engliſh* Fleet [a]; which being now ready to ſail, a proper care was taken to complete the Preparation by an Order for a *General Faſt* to be obſerved on *April* 5. *To implore the Bleſſing of God upon his Majeſty's Forces employed againſt the* Dutch. And it was remarked, that the Queen-Mother and Queen-Conſort did eminently ſhew their Zeal on this Occaſion; and did, by expreſs and particular appointment, command all their Domeſticks to ſet themſelves apart with entire Abſtinence and extraordinary Devotions for the Service of the Day [b].

The Dutch not willing to enter into a War.

The *Dutch* were not ready to come forth; and did not indeed ſeem to be in earneſt for a War:

[a] See Letter of Mr. Secretary *Bennet* to Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, dated, *Whitehall*, *March* 16. 1664/5. ——— To morrow his Royal Highneſs, in the Evening, leaves this Town, to go and embark himſelf with part of that Fleet that is ready expecting his Pleaſure, which will contribute much to the compleating of all things, he being unwilling the Enemy ſhould be at Sea before him, *&c.* ———Another of *March* 30. 1665. ———A *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador is hourly expected here; and the *French* Ambaſſador's arriving together with his, and upon a very preſſing and urgent Subject, they are not likely to leave us much Leiſure to talk with other Men. His Royal Highneſs is in the mean time in the Fleet at *Harwich*, and hath above ſixty brave Ships with him, and Men who perſuade themſelves they can conquer the World. God give them Succeſs according to their Confidence. ——— *Letters of Earl of* Arlington, *8vo.* Vol. II. p. 72.

[b] There be many other Inſtances to prove, that a War with the *Dutch* was puſh'd on by the *French* and Popiſh Intereſt. And even the Mediation of the *French* King was but a Feint, to ſet us more effectually together by the ears. Our Miniſters ſaw it, and in effect confeſs'd it. Mr. Secretary *Bennet* to Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, our Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated *Apr.* 27. 1665. ——— We have expected all this Week what Progreſs the *French* Ambaſſadors would make towards an Accommodation betwixt the *Hollander* and us; but yet nothing appears from them upon that Point. It is poſſible the *Dutch* did not hope the King our Maſter would ſo readily have accepted of the *French* King's Mediation, *&c. Ib.* p. 75. ——— In another of *May* 25. 1665. ——— The *French* Ambaſſadors are preparing ſome Proportions of Accommodement betwixt his Majeſty and *Holland*; but, by what we hear of them, not ſuch as are likely to pleaſe us.

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They were rather ſolliciting the King of *France* to interpoſe; who, accordingly, ſent Monſieurs *Verneuel* and *Courtine* his Ambaſſadors extraordinary to our Court, who came to *London Apr.* 6. and had Audience of the King *May* 9. Their chief Errand was reported to be the Mediation and Compoſure between *England* and *Holland*; but they could not effect it, becauſe it is moſt probable their Maſter did not intend it. In the mean while, all the *Dutch* could do, was to enlarge their Embargo upon the *Engliſh*, and to provide, that none of the Subjects of that State ſhould inſure any Goods belonging to the Subjects of the King of *England*, and to forbid all Neuters to carry Counterband Goods to any of the Dominions of his *Britannick* Majeſty.

The King of France ſeems to mediate.

Some of our Cruiſers began with good Succeſs, and took three *Dutch* Frigats; the firſt a Caper of 7 Guns and 47 Men; the other two were Direction-Ships; one of 32 Guns and 80 Men, taken by the *Diamond*, wherein Captain *Golding*, a brave Officer, was ſlain; the other of 22 Guns and 60 Men, taken by the *Yarmouth*, after a ſtout Reſiſtance. One of theſe Direction-Ships was commanded by young *Everts*, whom the Duke treated with great Courteſie, and the King gave him his Liberty, and a conſiderable Preſent, as an acknowledgement for the good Offices he had formerly received from his Father in *Holland*. On *April* 21. his Royal Highneſs ſet ſail with the whole Fleet, made up of one hundred and fourteen Sail; and finding the Chanel clear, he reſolved to viſit the *Dutch* upon their own Coaſts, and came before the *Texel* on *Apr*. 28. and ſent in a Squadron ſo near the Shore and Harbour, that the *Dutch* were in a great Alarm and Conſternation, and erected Beacons all along the Sands from the *Texel* to the *Maeſe*, to give notice upon any Attempt of Landing. All this daring of the *Engliſh* could not draw out the *Dutch* Fleet; and therefore, after the taking many rich Merchant-Men in the very Mouth of the Rivers and Ports, the Duke carried back his Navy to the *Engliſh* Coaſts. The *Dutch* took that Opportunity of coming out, and by *May* 29. appeared about the *Dogger Sands*, divided into ſeven Squadrons; 14 Men of War and 2 Fireſhips under *Opdam*, a like number under *John Everts*, 15 Men of War and 1 Fireſhip under *Cortenaer*, 14 Men of War and 1 Fireſhip under *Stillingwers*, 16 and 1 Fireſhip under *Trump*, 14 and 1 Fireſhip under *Cornelius Everts*, and 16 with 2 Fireſhips under *Schram*; in all 103 Men of War, 11 Fireſhips, and 7 Yatchs, beſides Tenders. And by the Duke's retiring from the *Holland* Coaſts, they took the Advantage of intercepting our *Hamburgh* Fleet, who had ſent to the Duke, lying before the *Texel*, for a Convoy, which was diſpatch'd to them; and bringing them along the *Holland* Coaſts when the Duke was ſail'd away, and miſſing of the *Roe-Ketch*, which the Duke had ſent to meet them, and give them Notice of the Duke's removal, they fell in with a Squadron of the *Dutch* ſent out on purpoſe to watch and attack 'em, and were moſt of them taken.

Opening of the War.

The Duke ſails to the Coaſts of *Holland*,

And returns.

Then the *Dutch* came out.

And take our *Hamburgh* Fleet.

This incenſed the Duke to come the ſooner to a general Engagement. So having weighed Anchor from the *Gunfleet* on *May* 30. he came to *Southold Bay* on *June* 1. and bore up to the *Dutch* Fleet, and engaged them *June* 3. and obtained a very ſignal Victory, taking 18 capital Men of War, and ſinking and firing about 14 more, and blowing up *Opdam* in his Flag Ship, with 500 Men and 84 Guns. On our ſide was loſt but one Ship, the *Charity*; and that had been before taken from the Enemy: But we loſt many brave Men of Quality and Courage; the Earl of *Falmouth*, the Lord *Muskerry*, and the Honourable Mr. *Boyle*, fell all three by one Cannon Shot, ſo very near the Perſon of the Duke that he was ſprinkled with their Blood and Brains. The Earl of *Portland*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and Rear-Admiral *Sampſon*, were kill'd in the Fight; and Sir *John Lawſon* ſoon after died of his Wounds[a].

The Duke fights and obtains a ſignal Victory.

Our Loſs of many great Men.

It is fit for Hiſtory to be adorn'd with this admirable Letter, wrote on Shipboard upon the Coaſts of *Holland* by the Right Honourable *James* Earl of *Marlborough*, a little before his death; directed *To the Right Honourable Sir* Hugh Pollard, *Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold.*

A Letter from the Earl of *Marlborough.*

S I R,

" I Believe the Goodneſs of your Nature, and the " Friendſhip you have always borne me, will " receive with Kindneſs the laſt Office of your Friend. " I am in Health enough of Body, and (through " the Mercy of God in Jeſus Chriſt) well diſpoſed in Mind. This I premiſe, that you may be " ſatisfied that what I write proceeds not from any " fantaſtick Terror of Mind, but from a ſober Reſolution of what concerns my ſelf, and earneſt deſire to do you more Good after my Death, than " mine Example (God of his Mercy pardon the " Badneſs of it) in my Life-time may do you harm. " I will not ſpeak ought of the Vanity of this " World; your own Age and Experience will ſpare " that Labour. But there is a certain thing that goeth up and down the World, call'd *Religion*, dreſſed and pretended fantaſtically, and to Purpoſes " bad enough, which yet by ſuch evil-dealing loſeth " not its Being: The great good God hath not left " it without a Witneſs, more or leſs, ſooner or later, in every Man's Boſom, to direct us in the " purſuit of it: And for the avoiding of thoſe inextricable Diſquiſitions and Entanglements our " own frail Reaſons would perplex us withal, God " in his infinite Mercy hath given us his holy Word, " in which as there are many things hard to be underſtood, ſo there is enough plain and eaſie, to " quiet our Minds, and direct us concerning our " future Being. I confeſs to God and you, I have " been a great neglecter, and I fear a deſpiſer of it: " God of his infinite Mercy pardon me the dreadful Fault: But when I retired myſelf from the " Noiſe and deceitful Vanity of the World, I found " no true Comfort in any other Reſolution than " what I had from thence. I commend, from the " bottom of my Heart, the ſame to your (I hope) " happy Uſe. Dear Sir *Hugh*, let us be more generous than to believe we die as the Beaſts that " periſh; but, with a Chriſtian, Manly, Brave Reſolution, look to what is eternal. I will not trouble you farther. The only great God, and holy " God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, direct you " to an happy End of your Life, and ſend us a joyful Reſurrection. So prays,

Old-James near the Coaſt of *Holland*, *April* 24. 1665.

Your true Friend,

Marleburgh.

I beſeech you to commend my Love to all mine Acquaintance: particularly I pray you that my Couſin Glaſcock *may have a ſight of this Letter, and as many Friends beſides as you will, or any elſe that deſire it.*

To return to the glorious Victory. Two thouſand

Particulars of the Victory.

[a] The Earl of *Arlington* in a Letter to our *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall, June* 15, 1665.——In fine, after all our own Relations, we do not reckon upon more Miſchief than the *Hollanders*, as is to be ſeen in this incloſed Liſt of their Ships burnt and taken, upon the exact Truth of which you may depend. 'Tis true, the diſſipating their Fleet, killing their Admirals, forcing them into their Ports again, is what we value our ſelves moſt upon: And all this, with the loſs of one Ship only on our Side, 283 Men killed, and 440 wounded. Whereas, beſides their Ships, the Enemy will find they want at leaſt 7000 of their Men; a conſiderable Article in the Proviſion they are making to come quickly out again. *Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 80.

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ſand ſixty three *Dutch* Priſoners, whereof thirteen were Commanders, were brought to *Colcheſter* on *June* 15. before which Day the Duke himſelf came Poſt to *Whitehall*, and received the Congratulations of the Court. And a ſolemn Day of publick Thankſgiving for the late Victory, was obſerved in *London* and *Weſtminſter* on *June* 30, and throughout all other Parts of *England* and *Wales* on *July* 4. And the King having waited on his Royal Mother to the Sea Coaſts of *Kent*, in order to her return into *France*, on *June* 29. went aboard the *Royal-Charles* in the *Buoy of the Nore*, where he beſtowed the Honour of Knighthood upon ſeveral Captains who had behav'd themſelves with the moſt diſtinguiſhing Valour in the late Fight, as Rear-Admiral *Tyddeman*, Captain *Jordan*, Captain *Spragge*, and Captain *Cuttings*; as he had ſome few Days before conferred the ſame Honour, for the ſame Service, on Capt. *Chriſtopher Mimmes* and Capt. *Jeremy Smith*. In *Holland*, the Misfortunes of their Fleet put the common People into ſo many Complaints and Murmurs, that the States were forced to comply with the popular Paſſions, and to queſtion many of the Officers for Cowardice, or for ill Management, or even for Treachery itſelf; and, for a Sacrifice, to execute three of their Sea-Captains at the *Helder*; and to order two more to have their Swords broken over their Heads, and to make another ſtand ſome Hours upon a Scaffold with a Halter about his Neck. All which Ceremony of Juſtice was rather to appeaſe the madneſs of the People, than to vindicate the Honour of their Country.

Many of the Captains Knighted.

Diſcontents in *Holland*.

The great Plague.

The Joys in *England* were ſoon abated by the dreadful Calamity of a raging Peſtilence, which broke out in *London* about the middle of *May*, and ſpread with intolerable Infection through the City and Suburbs; and within thoſe Bounds ſwept away 97306 Perſons. It happen'd juſt forty Years after the Plague that dreadfully prevail'd in 1625, and made ſome People impute a Fatality to that Number; as if in this ſenſe the *Land* was to have *Reſt* but *forty Years*. The King retired to *Hampton-Court*, and thence to *Saliſbury*, leaving the contagious Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* to the affectionate Care of *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, who in the heat of the Diſtemper continued at *Whitehall*, and gave Orders and Relief with ſuch an unſhaken Courage, as if he had been born to triumph over Diſeaſes and Death. The firſt Method of Healing was by Proclamation to command a *General Faſt*, to be Religiouſly obſerved throughout the Kingdom of *England*, to the end that *Prayers and Supplications might be every where made for the removal of ſo heavy a Judgment*; in a *Form* drawn up by the Biſhops, and appointed by the King to be likewiſe *uſed in all Churches and Chapels within the Bills of Mortality*, *on every* Wedneſday *in the Week*, *during the Contagion*. A ſecond Office of Piety and Charity, was to order the making of continual Collections, publick and private, for Relief of the Sick and Needy in the time of ſuch miſerable Diſtreſs. A third Means of ſtopping the Plague, or hindring the Tumults and Diſtractions that might ariſe upon it, was to publiſh *A Proclamation requiring all disbanded Officers and Soldiers who had ſerved in the Armies of any of the late uſurped Powers, to depart the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and not to return within twenty Miles of the ſame till* November *following*. And laſtly, Another way of reſtoring wholſome Breath was made uſe of, by ordering continual Fires to be kindled and kept in all the Streets and open Places of the City three whole Days and Nights together, to purify the Air[a].

A Faſt.

Collections.

Proclamation.

The Lord High Admiral, the Duke of *York*, cared not to adventure his Perſon in another Sea-fight, and therefore committed to the Earl of *Sandwich* the chief Command of the Navy; which, having repaired the Loſſes ſuſtained in the late Action, and having fitted out for Service ſeveral of the *Dutch* Prizes, on the 5th of *July* they weigh'd about ſixty Sail from *Soulbay*, and made for the Coaſt of *Holland*; the Standard was born by the Earl of *Sandwich*, under whom Sir *George Aſcue* was Vice-Admiral, and Sir *Thomas Tyddeman* Rear-Admiral, Sir *William Pen* was Admiral of the White, under him Sir *William Berkley* Vice-Admiral, Sir *Joſeph Jordan* Rear-Admiral. The Blue Flag was carried by Sir *Thomas Allen*, whoſe Flag Officers were Sir *Chriſtopher Mimmes*, and Captain *Harman*. The *Dutch* waited for the return of *De Ruyter* from *Newfoundland*, to which Place, after his being beat off from *Barbadoes*, he had ſteer'd his Courſe with 17 *Dutch* Men of War, and arriving at St. *John*'s, he took the *Diamond* of *Plimouth* and the *Unity* of *Dartmouth*, and plunder'd the Colony of their Proviſion and their very Cloaths: At *Bay Bull*'s Harbour he took two Ships more, and in *Pitt*'s Harbour three other Ships, and ranſack'd all the Fiſhing Coaſts, and brought away above a hundred of the moſt able Seamen, becauſe they refuſed to enter into the Service of the States. With theſe few Prizes and his own Ships extremely damag'd, he crept home by the Coaſt of *Norway* and *Denmark*, and was immediately made Admiral of the *Dutch* Fleet, yet rather to carry the Flag than to command the maritime Affairs, which in a new Model were put under the Superintendency of three of their great Men, *De Witt*, *Huygens* and *Boreel*.

Return and Exploits of *De Ruyter*.

Actions of the Earl of *Sandwich*.

[b] The Earl of *Sandwich* finding the *Dutch* Fleet were not yet ready to meet him, ſailed in three Squadrons toward the North-Seas, and having notice that the *Dutch Smyrna* and *Streights* Fleet, with ſome of their *Eaſt-India* Men, were got into the Harbour of *Bergen* in *Norway*, he ſent a Squadron of 22 Men of War under the Command of Sir *Thomas Tyddeman*, with Orders to ſail directly and attack them in that Port. This Enterprize had been more ſucceſsful, but that the Wind did not ſerve the *Engliſh* at the Mouth of the Harbour, and the *Danes* aſſiſted the *Dutch* in raiſing a Battery on the Banks of it; but, however, the *Engliſh* Ships lay and fir'd with ſo much Reſolution, that ſome few of the *Dutch* were fir'd, and many were diſabled. In this Action was ſlain a near Relation of the Earl of *Sandwich*, the Honourable *Edward Mountague*, Son to the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*. After this Attempt, the *Engliſh* Fleet on *Aug*. 30. ſet ſail for the Coaſt of *Holland*, and having ſuffer'd much by a Storm that carried them back Northward, on *Sept*. 4. they met with the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Men, and ſeveral other Merchant-men under a good Convoy; and tho' the ſtormy Weather

[a] See the beſt Account, given by Dr. *Gumble* in his Life of General *Monk*, 8*vo*. p. 415.——A Judgment ſo great and grievous, that this Relator, who was Reſident with the General at the *Cock-Pit* all the time, cannot write of it without Terror and Trembling.——I cannot write this without Tears, much leſs could I ſee it, as I did all the time, without the greateſt Grief and Horror.——

[b] See Letter of Lord *Arlington* to our Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated, *Hampton-Court*, *July* 20, 65.——We have received Letters this Day from my Lord *Sandwich* till the 17th, at which time he and all his Fleet were in good Health, very cheerful and impatient of coming to ſome Action, with their Eyes about them every way, to ſee what will firſt offer it ſelf. He is gone to the Northward towards the Coaſt of *Denmark*, whither we ſuppoſe, by all our Intelligence, all their Fleet coming home is directed. The *Dutch* Fleet is not come out yet.——Another dated *Aug*. 13, 65. We have no News from our Fleet ſince my laſt. *De Ruyter* is gotten in, and the *Dutch* Fleet is ready to go out, if not already. They have made him Commander in chief, upon which *Tromp* refuſeth to ſerve. A third dated, *Sarum*, *Aug*. 22, 65.——Since my laſt we have had a Repulſe at *Bergen*. My Lord *Sandwich* detached a Squadron of about 20 Ships to take or burn 50 of the *Hollanders* Merchants there, whereof ten from the *Eaſt-Indies*; and notwithſtanding the Difficulties in the Undertaking, it was executed with all poſſible Valour and good Conduct, and, if the Wind had not fail'd us, would in all probability have had a proportionable Succeſs; but the Caſtles and Ships uniting themſelves againſt us, we loſt many of our brave Men, and ſome Captains, and were fain to retire.

1665. 17 *Car.* II. much favour'd the Eſcape of the *Dutch*, yet we took eight good Men of War, two of their beſt *Eaſt-India* Ships, and twenty Sail of their Merchant-men. And on *Sept.* 9. a part of our Fleet fell in with 18 Sail of *Hollanders*, and took the greateſt part of them, bringing away with the other Prizes four *Dutch* Men of War, and above one thouſand Priſoners.

Parl. meet at *Oxford*.

The Parliament having been prorogued from *March* 2. to *June* 21. was by Proclamation on *May* 30. farther prorogu'd to a time which ſhould be prefixed at their Day of meeting on *June* 21. when it was accordingly prorogu'd to *Aug.* 1. and then again prorogu'd to meet at *Oxford* on *Octob.* 9. the King and Court chuſing that Place, as the moſt free from Infection. So on *October* 10. the King ſeated on a Throne at the upper-end of the great Hall in *Chriſt-Church*, made an acceptable Speech before the two Houſes to this effect:

King's Speech.

"That they might confidently believe, that had "it not been abſolutely neceſſary to conſult with "them, he would not have now called them toge-"ther, when the Contagion had ſpread it ſelf over "ſo many parts of the Kingdom. That he had en-"ter'd upon a War with the States General, by their "Advice and Encouragement; and that therefore "he deſired they might receive Information of the "Conduct and Effects of it, to the end he might "have the continuance of their cheerful Supply. "That this War had prov'd more chargeable to him "than he could imagine it would have done. That "the Addition and Recruits which the *Dutch* made "to their Fleets, made it unavoidably neceſſary for "him to make a proportionable Preparation. That "as the *Dutch* endeavour'd by falſe Suggeſtions to "make themſelves Friends, ſo he himſelf had not "been wanting to encourage thoſe Princes who had "been wrong'd by the *Dutch*, to recover their own "by force; to which end he had aſſiſted the Biſhop "of *Munſter* with a conſiderable Sum of Money. "That for theſe Reaſons his Supply already grant-"ed was near ſpent, and the Publick Occaſions "would require much greater Aid. However, that "he made not War for War's ſake, but was ready "to receive all fair Propoſitions; tho' he thought "indeed the *Dutch* were no leſs inſolent than ever; "and yet had gain'd no Advantage that he knew "of.

Speech of the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*.

When his Majeſty had done ſpeaking, the Lord Chancellor *Hyde* made a much larger Speech, running over the whole Proceſs of State Affairs from before his Majeſty's Reſtauration to the preſent Juncture, obſerving, "That notwithſtanding the Af-"fronts put upon the Royal Family in *Holland* du-"ring the Uſurpation, his Majeſty was pleaſed to "imbark himſelf in one of their Ports, tho' preſs'd "by the two Neighbour Kings to have taken his "Paſſage thro' any part of their Territories. That "being return'd, the King was forc'd to ſupport "himſelf upon Credit, till the Armies were diſ-"banded, and the Fleet paid off; which Debt was "heighten'd by the neceſſary Supplies of his Ma-"jeſty's Stores, ſo exhauſted at that time, that there "was not Arms for five thouſand Men, nor Provi-"ſions for the ſetting out ten new Ships. That "under all theſe Difficulties, his Majeſty had re-"pleniſh'd his Stores, had reduc'd the Expence of "his Navy, by providing only a neceſſary Guard "for the Narrow Seas, and a Fleet againſt the "Pyrates, which had brought them to Submiſſion. "Then he repeated the ſeveral Injuries and Inſo-"lencies committed by the *Dutch*; the neceſſity of "vindicating the Rights and Honour of our Na-"tion; the King's referring of this Cauſe to the "Parliament, the Parliaments humble Deſires of "Redreſs; the States Preparations for War; and the "whole Series of the War, and its Succeſs until "that time; and then reflecting upon the greatneſs "of the King's Expence, he concluded with an "earneſt Motion for farther ſpeedy and effectual "Supplies. 1665. 17 *Car.* II.

Proceedings of the Commons.

In anſwer to this, the Houſe of Commons ſoon "return'd their Thanks to his Majeſty for his gra-"cious Care and Conduct, for the preſervation of "his People, and advancement of the Honour of "the Nation; declaring they would aſſiſt him with "their Lives and Fortunes in carrying on the pre-"ſent juſt and neceſſary War. And they readily made good their Promiſe by granting an additional Supply of 1250000*l.* to be raiſed by monthly Aſſeſſments, and threw in for a Benevolence one Months continuation of the Tax, to come in the Rear after the expiration of the other Payments, which they deſir'd his Majeſty would beſtow upon his Royal Highneſs[a].

The Honour done to the University.

On the laſt Day of their Seſſions the Houſe of Commons conſidering, that they ſate in the Convocation Houſe, voted, that *the Thanks of their Houſe ſhould be given to the Chancellor, Maſter and Scholars of the famous Univerſity of* Oxford, *for their eminent Loyalty to his Majeſty, and to his Father of bleſſed Memory during the Rebellion; particularly for their Zeal and Courage in refuſing to be viſited by the uſurp'd Powers, and to ſubſcribe the Solemn League and Covenant; and in publiſhing to the World their excellent Reaſons to juſtifie their refuſal, and to aſſert his Majeſty's and their own Rights.* Which Thanks were accordingly preſented to the Univerſity in a full Convocation, by Mr. *Lawrence Hyde*, Sir *Heneage Finch*, Sir *John Berkenhead*, and Colonel *Strangways*, all which were now, or a little before, made Doctors of Laws. And then on this 20th of *October* the Money Bill, the Bill of Attainder of certain *Engliſh* Fugitives who had join'd with the *Dutch*, and a Bill for farther reſtraint of the Nonconformiſt Teachers, with ſome other Bills being paſs'd, the Parliament was prorogued to the twentieth of *February* next enſuing, then to meet at *Weſtminſter*, and at that meeting was again prorogued to *April* 23.

Acts paſs'd.

The Term kept at *Oxford*.

On *October* 11. his Majeſty by Proclamation had adjourn'd the *Michaelmas* Term from *Weſtminſter* to *Oxford*; ſo that ſoon after the Receſs of the Parliament, the ſeveral Courts of Juſtice ſate in the publick Schools; Sir *John Keeling* then firſt appearing on the Bench as Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and Sir *William Morton* one of the Judges of the ſame Court, in the place of Sir *Wadham Windham* deceas'd. The next *Hilary* Term was from hence adjourn'd to *Windſor*, but upon ceaſing of the Plague was from thence reſtored to *Weſtminſter*.

Dutch Ambaſſador.

In the heat of this Summer's War, the *Dutch* had ſtill their Ambaſſador *Van Gotch* Reſident in *England*, but when they found his Sollicitations for a Peace were to no purpoſe, they recalled him, and he took his leave of the King at *Oxford*, then receiving his Majeſty's Letter to the States, wherein he poſitively charg'd them to be Authors of the War, yet ſignified to them his readineſs to come to any fair and honourable Terms of Accommodation. In the mean time, the *Mediterranean* Seas were well ſecured by a good Squadron of Ships under the Command of Sir *Jeremy Smith*, and the Chanel by another ſtrong Squadron Commanded by Sir *Chriſtopher Mimmes*; who hearing of a *Dutch* Squadron near *Oſtend*, ſail'd after them, and chaſed them into the *Weilings*; and clearing the Seas and the very Coaſts of all *Dutch* Veſſels, he ſail'd away for the Coaſt of *Sweden*, and

Our Seas ſecured.

[a] See Letters of Lord *Arlington* to the D. of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, dated, *Oxon.* 12. *Octob.* 1665. —— The Parliament looks as well towards that end [of giving Money] as we could wiſh. *Monday* they met, and yeſterday the King ſpoke very well to both Houſes in *Chriſt-Church*: My Lord Chancellor ſeconded his Majeſty with a very long and material Narrative of all the Proceedings with the *Dutch* ever ſince his coming to *Breda*; which being printed, will much forward the general Inclinations to ſupport it vigorouſly. —— *Miſcell. Aulica*, 8*vo.* p. 362.

came

1665. 17 *Car.* II. came to an Anchor at the Mouth of the *Elve*, where General *Wrangle* travell'd above thirty Miles to give a Viſit and a Complement to the *Engliſh* Admiral, who entertained him on Ship-board with great Civility and Splendor.

Biſhop of *Munſter* againſt the *Dutch*.

While the *Dutch* were ſo great Sufferers at Sea, they had greater difficulty to defend themſelves by Land. For the Biſhop of *Munſter*, ſupported by the King of *England*'s Money, had advanc'd into the Country of *Frieſland*, and defeating ſeveral conſiderable Parties of the *Dutch*, had taken ſome Towns, and had ſpoil'd and burnt ſeveral Villages, whilſt Prince *Maurice* with eighteen thouſand Men was able to do little more than to look on. The *Dutch* had no Friends or Aſſiſtants but the King of *France*, and Dukes of *Lunenberg*, and the *Brandenburghers*; theſe laſt were cold in the Cauſe, and choſe rather to be negotiating a Mediation between the States of *Holland* and the Biſhop of *Munſter*. The Dukes of *Lunnburg* were altogether as indifferent in the matter, and ſent to excuſe themſelves to the King of *England*, for what they had done, and pretending ignorance of the Grounds and Cauſes of the Biſhops taking Arms. The greateſt Hopes and Dependance of the States were in the *French* King, who yet ſent them only a Supply of ſome ſickly Troops, who could do no other Service but that of infecting a Camp, and therefore were ſent to Quarter in the *Brandenburgher*'s Country, as if going merely for freſh Air.

King of *France* faintly aſſiſts them.

Is afraid of the Advantage of the *Engliſh*.

In the middle of Winter the *French* King began to be very ſenſible, that the *Engliſh* by Sea were much Superior to the *Dutch*, and therefore his Deſigns having been barely to keep the Balance even, and to let them fight till they were both equally weaker than himſelf, he was now ſo much afraid of the [a] prevalency of the *Engliſh*, that he threaten'd to declare a War againſt them; but yet to make it rather an Intrigue than an open Rupture, he began with acquainting the Queen-Mother of *England*, that tho' he could no longer keep off a Declaration of War againſt his Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, yet he ſhould always preſerve the ſame Eſteem and Value for his Majeſty's Perſon, hoping his *Britannick* Majeſty would always continue the ſame Kindneſs and Affection for him. Accordingly upon *January* 27. the *French* King's Declaration of War was publickly Proclaim'd, upon pretence of ſuccouring the States General, in conſequence of the Treaty made with them in 1662. The Lord *Hollis* being then Ambaſſador in *France*, enter'd his Remonſtrance againſt the Injuſtice of that ſudden Declaration, which ſubjected all *Engliſhmen* in their Perſons and Effects to the immediate Acts of Hoſtility, contrary to the Treaties between the two Crowns, which allow'd the Subjects of each Kingdom three Months time for the withdrawing their Eſtates and Perſons after any Rupture. And this prevail'd with the *French* King to iſſue out a ſecond Order, giving the *Engliſh* the ſaid Liberty of three Months to tranſport themſelves and their Goods. King *Charles* had no inclination to break with the *French*, and therefore demurr'd a while, but finding his People heartily diſpoſed to it, and knowing no other way to ſave his Honour, he did on *Febr.* 10. publiſh a Declaration, ſhewing, that *whereas the* French *King pretending an Alliance Defenſive with the States General, had proclaimed War againſt his Subjects, he was reſolved to proſecute the War which the* French *King had ſo unjuſtly undertaken againſt him with his utmoſt Force by Sea and Land.* He then iſſued out his Orders to all the Maritime Counties to put themſelves into a poſture of Defence, which they did with all poſſible alacrity, ſhewing the good old natural Averſion to the encroaching Power of *France*, and offering the continual Attendance of their Militia in Arms; but the King unwilling to give them a needleſs Trouble and Expence, was pleaſed to direct their diſmiſſion and return home till farther occaſion ſhould require.

Declares War againſt *England*.

K. *Charles* not inclin'd to a War with *France*.

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Parl. in *Ireland*.

The Duke of *Ormond* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was remanded back to that Kingdom, and being receiv'd at *Dublin* in great Splendor and Magnificence, held a Parliament there at the end of this Year, wherein ſeveral of the Members were accuſed and examined for having been in the Plot againſt the Government in 1663. and *Robert Shapcot*, Eſq; *Alexander Staples*, Eſq; and five others were called to the Bar, and there expelled the Houſe, and made incapable of ever ſitting in any Parliament of that Kingdom.

Parl. in *Scotland*.

The Parliament in *Scotland* iſſued out a ſevere Proclamation againſt the Conventicle Preachers as movers of Sedition; being provok'd to it by the inſolent Carriage of one *Alexander Smith* a depoſed Miniſter, who being taken at a Conventicle, was conven'd before the High Commiſſion Court, where he gave ſuch reviling Language to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, who ſate there as Preſident, that the Lord Commiſſioner order'd him to be put in Chains twenty four Hours in the *Thieves Hole*.

State of Religion.

As to Religion, the Government was more and more jealous of the Nonconformiſts, partly becauſe ſome of the rigid Fanaticks went into the actual Service of the *Dutch* againſt their own natural Prince and Country, for which they were attainted in the *Oxford* Parliament, and the King afterward ſet forth his Proclamation, commanding Colonel *John Desborough*, Colonel *Thomas Kelſey*, and ſeveral others, who had been Officers in the late disbanded Armies to return into *England* by *July* 22. 1666. or elſe to ſtand guilty and be liable to the Pains of High-Treaſon: And partly becauſe the more moderate Diſſenters ſhew'd no affection to a War againſt the *Dutch*, but rather deſired they might be alway our Proteſtant Allies, and upon a Peace made with them to turn our Arms againſt the *French*: And again partly, becauſe the Conventiclers in *Scotland* were very mutinous and inſolent, and were thought to have held Correſpondence with ſome of the Brethren in *England*. Hence to be the better informed of the Number and Strength of their teaching Leaders, there were Orders and Inſtructions ſent from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to the ſeveral Biſhops of his Province, "requiring them "punctually to obſerve all the Canons and Rules "concerning Ordination; and that, for the future, "they yearly certify the Names of all ordained by "them; and that they forthwith make a Return of

The Government provok'd by the Diſſenters.

Orders of the Abp. of *Canterbury* to find out the number of Diſſenting Teachers.

[a] A Letter of the Earl of *Arlington* to the Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, dated, *Oxon. Nov.* 1. 1665.——— Yeſternight at Six a-Clock his Majeſty diſmiſſed the two Houſes with a ſhort Speech, which ſhall be ſent to your Grace by the next, with Mr. Speaker's long one. They are prorogued till the 20th of *February*; but his Majeſty declared they ſhould not meet till *April*, unleſs ſome preſſing Occaſion did oblige it. Since my laſt, the *French* Ambaſſador made ſome new Propoſitions to his Majeſty towards an Agreement with *Holland*; and not being ſatisfactory, his Majeſty took occaſion of declaring to them, that things would be very improperly left to the *French* King's Arbitrage, (for that was a part of ſome of the Propoſitions) ſince he had declared himſelf ſo partial to the *Hollanders*, and his being under the Tye of a ſecret Treaty with them. *Miſcellan. Aulica*, p. 366.———

Nothing was more evident than a Diſpoſition in the People of *Holland*, and in the Prince of *Orange*, to have a Peace made with *England*: But the *French* King obſtructed it all that was poſſible by his Miniſters and Creatures in *England*, and by his engaging the prime Counſellor *De Wit* in *Holland*, and by ſecretly offering, and at laſt openly declaring a War againſt *England* to encourage the *Dutch* to ſtand out.——Our chief Secretary of State, the Lord *Arlington*, was ſenſible enough of theſe *French* Intrigues in the ſame Letter, *Oxon. November* 1. 1665.—— The beſt News we have out of *Holland* is, that their vaſt Expences and Loſſes this Year make the Generality call for Peace; and the Province of *Overyſſel* has made a formal Propoſition to the States General, which is likewiſe printed, to ſend the Prince of *Orange* as Ambaſſador to the King to make Peace; but 'tis likely, when *De Wit* returns, theſe things will be ſuppreſs'd.

"the

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"the Names and Degrees of all their Beneficed "Clergy, and of Lecturers, Schoolmaſters, and "Uſhers, and Practitioners of Phyſick; as likewiſe "of all ejected Nonconformiſt Miniſters, with their "Place of Abode, and Manner of Life. Dated "*July* 7. 1665. The Returns of the ſeveral Biſhops made hereupon are ſtill preſerved in *Lambeth* Library. And the Parliament at *Oxford* ſeem'd to be ſo apprehenſive of Danger from that Party, that they made a Law more ſevere than any former againſt the Teachers of them, to prohibit their dwelling or coming, unleſs upon the Road, within five Miles of any Corporation, or any other Place where they had been Miniſters, or had preach'd after the Act of Oblivion, unleſs they firſt took the following Oath.

Corporation Act.

I A.B. do ſolemnly declare, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take up Arms againſt the King[a]*: And that I do abhor the traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſion'd by him, in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion. And I do ſwear, that I will not at any time to come endeavour the Alteration of the Government either in Church or State. So help me God.*

Diſſenters own Judgment of it.

If the Reader would have the Diſſenters own Opinion and Account of this Act, he muſt take this late Report made of it in the *Abridgment of Mr.* Baxter's *Life.*——"The main Promoters of this Act among "the Clergy were Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, and Biſhop "*Ward* of *Salisbury*: And tho' the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord Treaſurer (who was one that had ever "adher'd to the King, but underſtood the Intereſt "of his Country and of Humanity) vehemently "oppoſed it, yet the Lord Chancellor and his Party carried it. When this Act came out, thoſe Miniſters that had any Maintenance of their own, "found out ſome Dwellings in obſcure Villages, or "in ſome few Market-Towns that were not Corporations. And ſome that had nothing, left their "Wives and Children, and hid themſelves abroad, "and ſometimes came ſecretly to them by Night; "but the moſt, reſolved hereupon to preach the "more freely in Cities and Corporations, till they "went to Priſon.———But the Nonconformiſts "being in this Act charg'd with ſeditious Doctrines "and heinous Crimes, many were much concern'd. "And hereupon they endeavour'd to find out a "Senſe in which the Oath might be taken ſafely, "to prevent their paſſing under that Brand to Poſterity. Dr. *Bates* conſulted the Lord Keeper "*Bridgman*, who profeſs'd a great Reſpect for him, "about his taking it in a ſound Senſe. He, to ſatisfie him, promis'd to be at the next Seſſions, "and there on the Bench to declare openly, that "by *Endeavour* in the Oath to change Church Government, was meant only *unlawful Endeavour*. "Upon which Declaration he and ſundry other "Nonconformiſts, to the number of twenty, took "it at the Seſſions, to avoid the Imputation of ſeditious Doctrine."

Many Diſſenters take the Oath with a very odd Diſtinction.

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The Matters of Fact here deliver'd are very much to be queſtion'd, and the Scruple itſelf ſeems very unreaſonable; for there hardly appears to be any diſtinction in a private Perſon's *lawfully* or *unlawfully endeavouring* any Alteration of the Government in Church or State, ſince whoever endeavours it, will be ſure to think it *lawful* ſo to endeavour: And yet while a *lawful* Government is legally eſtabliſh'd, the very Endeavours of private Men to alter it ſeem to be in themſelves *unlawful*. There ought perhaps rather to have been a Scruple at the round Expreſſion of *not taking Arms againſt thoſe that are commiſſionated by the King, in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion*; and they might rather deſire to have it thus explain'd or underſtood, Thoſe that are *legally* commiſſionated, in a *legal* purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion.

Diſſenters alway favour'd by the King.

Tho' our own Diſſenting Brethren did, for the Reaſons before mentioned, and upon Account of the then receiv'd Opinion, that Indulgence to them was a Favour to the Papiſts, happen to raiſe the Zeal or Jealouſie of the two Houſes of Parliament againſt them; yet the King and his ſecret Council were alway diſpoſed to countenance and protect them: And the King, in Clemency and Good-nature, if not in Judgment and Conſcience, gave a very generous and faithful Protection to the Foreign Proteſtants, and eſpecially the *French*, even after the Breach with that Court; reſerving his Promiſes of Safety and Protection to them in his Declaration of War; for which, on *Feb.* 28. ſome Deputies from the *French* Church in the *Savoy* attended his *Majeſty*, with the humble Thanks of that Church for his good Protection and kind Indulgence expreſt toward them in his late Declaration againſt *France*. And to give them the greater Invitations of Security and Eaſe, the *French* Proteſtants had the Favour to have a new Church, and full Liberty of uſing it, granted to them in the City of *Dublin*: And when their firſt Aſſembly met at the opening of it, the Lord Lieutenant honour'd them with his Preſence, and with a firm Aſſurance of continuing to them their Liberty and a peaceable Enjoyment of it.

The King protects the *French* Proteſtants.

The States of *Holland* having concluded a Peace with the Biſhop of *Munſter*, a mercenary Prince, and alſo with the King of *Denmark*, and depending on a joint Fleet from the King of *France*, began to put early out to Sea. Our Navy was in equal Forwardneſs: And becauſe the Duke of *York* was no more to adventure in Perſon, and the Earl of *Sandwich* was ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*, therefore Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle* were appointed to be his Majeſty's Generals at Sea for this Summer's Expedition, having Sir *Thomas Allen* Admiral of the White, and Sir *William Berkley* of the Blue; and on *Apr.* 23. they went down to the Fleet, and entred on their Command of it. They lay ſome time in the *Buoy in the Nore*, where they were viſited by his[b] Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs on *May* 3. and on 1666.

Pr. Rupert and the *D.* of *Albemarle* joint Commanders at Sea.

[a] A Letter from a Perſon of Quality to his Friend in the Country, publiſh'd 1675. 4*to.* tells the truth, that this Oath in the Five-Mile Act was ſtrongly oppoſed by the Lord Treaſurer *Southampton*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Aſhley*, and others.——And another Writer has added, this Act was ſeconded the ſame Seſſions by another Bill in the Houſe of Commons to have impoſed that Oath on the whole Nation; and the Providence by which it was thrown out was very remarkable; For Mr. *Peregrine Bertie* being newly choſen, was that Morning introduced into the Houſe by his Brother the now Earl of *Lindſey*, and Sir *Tho. Oſborn*, now Lord Treaſurer, who all three gave their Votes againſt that Bill; and the Numbers were ſo even upon the Diviſion, that their three Votes carried the Queſtion againſt it.

[b] See the *French* playing their double Game, as in a Letter of Lord *Arlington*, Secretary of State to our *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall* 26 *Apr.* 1666.——*France* makes it their Buſineſs to aſſure them in *Flanders*, that they will not break the Peace with them. As long as this Art will take place, we do not look they ſhould cloſe with us; but what Security they can have that we ſhall be in the ſame State of embracing their Friendſhip, I cannot imagine. For *France* ſtill hold out their hands to us, and would certainly very willingly be Friends, foreſeeing our War with *Holland* cannot laſt long, if but for the Expence on both Sides. And tho' their Propoſitions to my Lord *Holles* of agreeing as at the ſame time with *Holland* and them, are frivolous, and ſuch as his Majeſty rejected as ſoon as he ſaw them; yet it is probable they will find ſome Means or other to entertain us in Talk, even when my Lord *Holles* is come away, whom his Majeſty hath now very poſitively again ordered to depart without Delay; finding they make ill uſe of thoſe ſeeming Treaties to debauch all our Friends from us, as they have lately done the Biſhop of *Munſter*, after a thouſand needleſs Proteſtations made by him, and ſigned with his Hand, that whatſoever Appearances he was obliged to entertain of treating, he would never conclude any thing without his Majeſty's Participation. And thus they likewiſe amuſe the Party in *Holland*, that he is inclined to Peace, adviſing them to forbear the Proſecution of it, ſince it is ſo far advanced in their Hands. The ſame Art they uſed towards *Swedeland*, whom they would fain divert from a Conjunction with us, aſſuring them they are agreeing with us.

Our Fleet divided.

the 22[d] arriv'd at the *Gun-fleet*, and were riding in the *Downs* on *May* 29, when Prince *Rupert* receiv'd Orders to ſail with the White Squadron to the *Weſt*, to fight the *French* Fleet; who, by Report, were come out to join the *Dutch*: An artificial Rumor, that ſeems to have been given out on purpoſe to anſwer a double Deſign, of diſappointing the *Dutch* and dividing the *Engliſh*. What follows is ſaid to be an Account given by Sir *John Harman* himſelf, who was Vice-Admiral of the Blue.

Sir *John Harman's* Account.

"At the ſame time Prince *Rupert* ſailed from the Fleet, the *Dutch* put out to Sea, the Wind at *North-Eaſt*, a freſh Gale. This brought the *Dutch* Fleet on the Coaſt of *Dunkirk*, and carried the Prince to St. *Helens* on the *Iſle of Wight*. But the Wind ſuddenly turning into the *South-Weſt*, blew a ſtrong Gale, which brought the *Dutch* and *Duke* to an Anchor; when Captain *Bacon* of the *Briſtol*, by firing of his Guns, gave notice to the *Duke* of the approach of the *Dutch*. The *Duke* ſummoned all the Captains on board, and in a Council of War agreed to weigh Anchor, and fight the Enemy. This was *June* 1. the Wind at *South-Weſt*, blowing a ſtiff Gale, ſo that the *Dutch* were forc'd to cut their Cables, not having time to weigh Anchor: And tho' the *Engliſh* had the Weathergage of the *Dutch*, yet the Wind ſo bowed the *Engliſh* Ships, that they could not uſe their loweſt Tire when they came up to fight. Sir *William Berkley's* Squadron led the Van: The *Duke*, when he came on the Coaſt of *Dunkirk*, to avoid running on a Sand, made a ſudden Tack, which brought his Top-maſt to the Board; whereupon he was forced to lie-by four or five Hours, till another was ſet up: But the Blue Squadron knowing nothing of this, ſailed on, fighting through the *Dutch* Fleet, which were five to one to the Blue. Here Sir *William* was kill'd, and his Ship the *Swiftſure*, a ſecond Rate, taken; ſo was the *Eſſex*, a Frigat of the third Rate; and Sir *John Harman*, in the *Henry*, got among nine Ships of the *Zealand* Squadron, commanded by Vice-Admiral *Everts*; and theſe ſo diſabled the *Henry*, that *Everts* offered Sir *John* Quarter if he would yield; but Sir *John* told him it was not come to that yet, and gave him a Broadſide, and killed *Everts*.

"Hereupon this *Zealand* Squadron ſailed to aſſiſt their Fellows behind, and left Sir *John* to the Mercy of three Fireſhips; one of which grappled the *Henry* on her Starboard Quarters: The *Dutch* Fireſhips do not take Fire at firſt, as the *Engliſh* do, but firſt raiſe a Smoak incredibly ſtinking, and ſo thick as nothing can be ſeen at the leaſt diſtance; ſo as it could not be ſeen where the Fireſhip's Grappling-Irons were fixed; but upon the Fireſhip's taking Fire, Sir *John's* Boatſwain ſwang himſelf into the Fireſhip, and by the light of the Fire found where the Grappling-Irons were fixed in the Fireſhip, and let them looſe, and got on Board again. But another Fireſhip grappled the *Henry* in her Lar-board Quarter Deck, and took Fire; and Sir *John's* Chaplain, and about 50 more skipped into the Sea: Whereupon Sir *John* ran among the Mariners, and threatned to kill any who did not aſſiſt in quenching the Fire; whereupon Sir *John's* Cabbin-Boy ſeeing the Sails on Fire, with wet Cloths encounter'd, and put it out; but the Cordage being burnt, the Croſs-beam fell upon Sir *John's* Leg, and brake it. By this time the third Fireſhip made towards the *Henry*; but four Pieces of Cannon, laden with Chain-Shot, diſabled her; ſo that Sir *John* made a hard ſhift to bring his Ship into *Harwich*, and the next Day after fitted her up; and tho' his Leg were broke, went out to Sea again to have fought, but the Fight was over before he could come up to the Fleet.

"In this Day's Fight, the *Engliſh* could make no uſe of their lower Tire of Guns, and therefore Sir *Thomas Tiddiman*, Rear-Admiral of the Red, refuſed to engage; the *Engliſh* were much damnified in their Rigging, yet next Day the *Duke* engaged the *Dutch* again, tho' above double his Number of Ships, and the *Dutch* hourly receiving freſh Supplies: So he did the Day after, the 3[d] of *June*, when the Duke cauſed ſeveral of his moſt diſabled Ships, after he had taken out their Men, to be burnt, and had but ſixteen Ships left able to fight, with which he retreated, putting them between the *Dutch* and his unburn'd diſabled Ships.

"Towards the Evening the *Engliſh* eſpied the White Squadron making up towards them, and therefore were ſtriving to make the neareſt way to meet them. The *Prince-Royal*, commanded by Sir *George Askew*, run on a Sand and was loſt, and Sir *George* made Priſoner: Yet next Day the Fleets fought again; and by the Help of the White Squadron, with much ado got into Harbour.

This Account ſeems to have too much Sharpneſs in it, as wrote with a ſtrong Biaſs of Prejudice to the Court and Councils of that time; and therefore concludes with *leaving it a Problem, whether it were a greater Treachery to divide the Fleet, or Madneſs to fight the* Dutch *with the reſt, when they could not uſe their lower Tire of Guns*. By more authentick Reports it did appear, that in the firſt Day's Fight the *Dutch* had two of their great Ships fired; and in the ſecond Day's Engagement loſt three ſail more; and in the laſt Day, when the Prince was joined, the *Engliſh* fought through the *Dutch* Fleet five ſeveral times with good Advantage, and ſo broke them, that they had not above 25 in any one Body, who only maintained a running Fight; having loſt above 15 Ships and 21 Captains, and of common Seamen above five thouſand.

A farther Account.

The Policy of the *French* King was on this occaſion very eminent and odious; for, inſtead of ſending his promiſed Fleet to aſſiſt the *Dutch*, he ſent it to deſtroy the *Engliſh* in their Plantations upon the *Leeward Iſlands*, and almoſt totally expell'd the *Engliſh* out of St. *Chriſtopher's*, and interrupted all the Trade in thoſe Parts. And to do ſecret Miſchief nearer home, he ſends the Governour of *Chouſey* over from *France* in a ſmall Boat to carry a [a] Letter to Major General *Lambert* there in Priſon, and to offer him good Terms for contriving how to de-

Policy and Treachery of the *French* King.

[a] It was very plain that the *French* purpoſely declin'd joining the *Dutch*, that they and the *Engliſh* might beat one another. The Earl of *Arlington* in a Letter to the Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, dated, *Whitehall, June* 26. 1666. — We can learn nothing poſitively of the Deſign of *France*, or of *de Beaufort's* Proceeding toward us.—— We know not where he is; but we are aſſured from *Holland* their Fleet expect a Conjunction with his in this threaten'd Deſcent, and they there complain he hath delayed his Conjunction longer much than was promiſed. — In another of the 3[d] of *July*. The News this Night tell us, that they [the *Dutch*] are lying at the Gun-Fleet, and that they are hourly expecting the Arrival of the *French* Fleet to them. My Lord of St. *Alban's* Letter to the King ſpeaks uncertainly of Monſieur *de Beaufort's* being at *Rochel*; — and he uſes many Expreſſions of the Unwillingneſs there to make the Quarrel with us more deſperate than the pure Obligation of Honour engages them. Notwithſtanding this, we have convincing Arguments to aſſure us, that the *French* by a Conjunction with the *Dutch* are endeavouring to kindle a Flame in his Majeſty's three Kingdoms; that he is induſtriouſly ſeeking a *General* to command the diſcontented Party here, and had ſet on foot a Practice to ſet *Lambert* at liberty, and another for as conſiderable a Head; that their hopes of ſucceeding this way are more piquant in *Scotland*; and that the Invaſion from the *Dutch* at leaſt is deſigned upon *Scotland*, and the *French* upon *Ireland*. *Miſcell. Aulica*, 8*vo*. p. 406. —— And again to *July*, 1666. We cannot yet hear any more of Monſ. *Beaufort*, than from the Reports at *Paris*, that he is at *Rochel*. — And *July* 24. 66. We have no certain News of Monſ. *de Beaufort*: They complain much of his Abſence in *Holland* from the great Engagement; which being over, perhaps they will think themſelves free to treat without them.

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liver up that Iſland to the *French*; But this perfidious Governour being apprehended, did at laſt confeſs the whole matter, and he and the Pilot were executed on the common Gallows for Spies.

The *Dutch* come out again.

The *Dutch* had the credit of appearing at Sea again before the *Engliſh* were ready to come out; and therefore ſeem'd to ride braving on our Coaſts, and often to make toward *France*, in a ſecond expectation of meeting a *French* Fleet to join them, under the Command of *Beaufort*, who had other ſecret Orders. By *July* 19. the *Engliſh* Fleet under the ſame Command of Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle*, ſailed from the *Buoy in the Nore*, the Flags being carried by Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, Sir *Robert Holmes*, Sir *Thomas Allen*, Sir *Thomas Tiddiman*, Captain *Utburt*, Sir *Jeremy Smith*, Sir *Edward Spragge*, and Captain *Kempthorn*. They ſoon came up with the *Dutch*, and obtain'd a glorious Victory, ſinking and burning above 20 of their Ships, killing *Evertſon*, Admiral of *Zealand*, *Tirrick Hiddes*, Admiral of *Friezland*, the Vice-Admiral of *Friezland*, and Rear-Admiral *Van-Saen*, with above 4000 common Seamen, and near 3000 wounded; and chaſing their Ships along the Coaſts of *Zealand* and *Holland*, till with the Advantage of Flats and Banks, over which our great Ships could not follow them, they got into the *Weilings*. And the good uſe that was made of this Victory in a wiſe purſuit of it, was a greater Honour to the *Engliſh*, and a ſeverer Blow to the *Dutch*, than the Victory itſelf. There is this Account of it given by Authority.

Engliſh Fleet gains a Victory.

Account of it given by the Publick.

A true and perfect Narrative of the great and ſignal Succeſs of a part of his Majeſty's Fleet under his Highneſs Prince Rupert, *and his Grace the Duke of* Albemarle, *burning one hundred and ſixty* Dutch *Ships within the* Ulie: *As alſo the Town of* Brandaris *upon the Iſland of* Schelling, *by ſome commanded Men under the Conduct of Sir* Robert Holmes, *the* 8th *and* 9th *of this inſtant* Auguſt.

" ON the 29th of *July* his Majeſty's Fleet, under his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, and his Grace the Duke of *Albemarle*, weighed Anchor from within ſight of *Zealand*, and ſteer'd their Courſe for the *Ulie*; But the Winds being contrary, they did not make the Iſland till the 7th of *Auguſt*, in which time ſeveral rich Ships happen'd to get in, which had otherwiſe fell into their hands. Being come to an Anchor, the Generals were informed, that the Iſlands of *Ulie* and *Schelling* were very ill guarded, notwithſtanding there were Storehouſes both for the *States* and the *Eaſt India* Fleet, and Riches to a good Value; and what did weigh moſt, a conſiderable number of good Merchant-Ships uſually riding there. Upon which, it was reſolved by the Generals, that there ſhould be a ſpeedy Attempt made. A Council of Flag-Officers was called; and it was determined there, that it ſhould be carried on in the manner following, *viz.* That 300 Men ſhould be drawn out of each Squadron, conſiſting of two parts Landmen and the third Seamen: Theſe to be commanded by nine Captains, *viz.* Sir *Robert Holmes*, Rear-Admiral of the Red, to command in chief, Sir *Philip Howard* to command 120 Voluntiers, Captain *John Bellaſis*, Captain *Hayman*, Captain *Wiltſhire*, Captain *Haddock*, Captain *Guy*, Captain *Silver*, Captain *Healing*, Captain *Butler*, Captain *John Holmes*, each to Command a Company. Sir *William Jennings* was alſo order'd, that in caſe they had attack'd both Iſlands at one time, he ſhould have Commanded one Diviſion of the whole. The Ships appointed for this Expedition were the *Advice*, *Hampſhire*, *Tyger*, *Dragon* and *Aſſurance* Fourth Rates; the *Garland*, *Pembroke*, *Sweepſtakes* Fifth Rates; five Fireſhips and ſeven Ketches; which being in a readineſs on *Wedneſday* the 8th inſtant, about eight in the Morning weighed from the reſt of the Fleet, and came to Anchor about a League from the Buoys, where they met the Prince's Pleaſure-Boat called the *Fan-Fan*, who had diſcover'd within a conſiderable Fleet of Ships near the *Ulie*, which proved to be 170 Merchant Ships, the leaſt of which was not leſs than 200 Tons Burthen, with two Men of War, who had lately convoy'd near 100 of the aforeſaid Ships from the *Northward* homeward bound; ſome from the *Streights*, ſome from *Guinea*, ſome from *Ruſſia*, ſome from the *Eaſt-Countries*, the reſt were outward bound Ships, all likewiſe richly laden.

" Sir *Robert Holmes* conſidering, that if it ſhould proceed, as his Deſign was, firſt to attempt the Land, that numerous Fleet might poſſibly pour in ſuch numbers of Men as might render the Succeſs hazardous, reſolv'd to begin with the Ships, and accordingly having order'd the *Advice* and *Hampſhire* to lie without the *Buoys*, he weigh'd with the reſt of his Fleet; and the Wind being contrary, he turn'd with much ado into *Schelling* Road, where the *Tyger* came to an Anchor, and immediately Sir *Robert* went on Board the *Fan-Fan* and put out his Flag; upon which the Officers came on Board him, where it was order'd, that the *Pembroke*, which drew the leaſt Water, with the five Fireſhips, ſhould fall in amongſt the Enemies Fleet with what ſpeed they could; Captain *Brown* with his Fireſhip choſe very bravely to lie the biggeſt Man of War on Board, and burnt him downright. Another Fireſhip running up at the ſame time to the other Man of War, he backing his Sails eſcap'd the preſent execution of the Fireſhip; but ſo as to run himſelf by it on Ground, where he was preſently taken by ſome of the Long-boats and fir'd. The other three Fireſhips clapp'd the three great Merchant Men on Board, which carried Flags in their Main-tops, and burn'd them. This put all their Fleet in a great confuſion, which Sir *Robert Holmes* perceiving, made Sign for all the Officers to come on Board again, and preſently gave Order that Sir *William Jennings*, with all the Boats that could be ſpar'd, ſhould take the advantage and fall in and burn and deſtroy all they could; but with a ſtrict Command they ſhould not Plunder. The Execution was ſo followed, each Captain effecting his Share, ſome 12, ſome 15 a-piece, that of the whole Fleet there eſcap'd not above eight or nine Ships, one of which, a *Guiney* Man of 24 Guns, and three ſmall Privateers, who being driven up into a narrow corner of the Stream, ſerv'd to protect four or five Merchant-Men that were a-head of them; where it was not poſſible for our Boats to come at them, tho' even theſe few were much damag'd. This Work took up moſt part of that Day, being the ninth of *Auguſt*, ſo that we had that Day enough to fall upon the Iſland of the *Ulie*; Sir *Robert Holmes* being alſo inform'd by ſome Priſoners, that the Place was not ſo conſiderable as it had been repreſented; and Night coming on, and perceiving two of our Frigots, *viz.* the *Dragon* and *Garland* aground, it was thought moſt convenient for all Hands firſt to go to work to get them off, which being done, he continued in his Intention of attempting the *Ulie* the next Morning, aſſoon as the High-water would permit the Motion of his Veſſels, but his Deſign was then likewiſe prevented; for ſo great a Guſt and Rain happen'd that Night, that the Arms and Ammunition in the Boats, Hoys and Ketches having receiv'd much Damage, he thought it beſt to weigh, and as the Wind ſtood to attempt ſomething upon the Iſland of *Schelling*; which, the Morning proving moderate Weather, he accordingly proſecuted, landing by the help of his Long Boats 11 Companies on ſhore, where he diſcover'd only ſome few ſcattering Fellows, but met with little

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"or no oppoſition. Leaving therefore one Company to ſecure his Boats, himſelf with ten Companies marched up three Miles to the Capital Town call'd *Brandaris*, a very fair Town or Dorp of above 1000 Houſes, where keeping five Companies upon the ſkirts of the Town, to prevent any Surprize of the Enemy, he ſent the other five to fire and burn the Town; but finding them (as his Vigilance was to ſecure a ſafe Retreat) ſomewhat ſlow to execute that Order, and fearing they might be tempted to forget themſelves in the Pillage, he himſelf was forc'd to ſet fire to ſome Houſes on the Windward, the ſooner to perfect the Work and haſten his Men away; which burnt with that violence, that in half an Hour's time the moſt part of the Town was in a Flame. The Town was reported by thoſe that were found in it to have been very Rich, and ſo it appear'd by ſome of the Soldiers Pockets; but very few People were to be ſeen in it, having had time to run away from the Danger, except ſome old Men and Women, who were uſed with all gentleneſs and humanity.

"The remaining Villages of that Iſland, which are two or three, had certainly run the ſame Fortune, but conſidering it was near High-water, Sir *Robert* thought it not fit to loſe that opportunity of getting off to Sea, which he thought more conſiderable than to ſtay 24 Hours for the deſtruction of them, remembring likewiſe, that the Chanels between the *Buoys* were narrow, and not bold without a frank Wind. By High-water he got off all his Men, and ſet Sail out of that place, retaining ſtill his firſt Intention of falling in upon the *Ulie*; but as he was going on Board he receiv'd Orders from the Generals to return to the Fleet with all ſpeed, which accordingly he did that Evening, being *Auguſt* 10. leaving behind him the Marks of a ſingular Conduct and moſt vigorous Execution, and bringing off beſides a conſiderable Booty to the private Soldiers and Seamen, the States Pleaſure-Boat of 12 Guns, without other loſs than of ſix Men kill'd, and about as many wounded.

The *Dutch* put to Sea again.

To recover theſe Diſaſters, or to ſeem not to feel them, the *Dutch* put to Sea again about the end of *Auguſt*, and on *September* 1. paſſed by *Dover*, making for the Coaſts of *France*, ſtill purſuing the vain hopes of being join'd by the *French* Admiral the Duke of *Beaufort*, who lay at *Rochel* with 40 Sail. Our Fleet under the ſole Command of Prince *Rupert* ſtood after them to the *Bulloign-Road*, where the *Dutch* to avoid fighting hawl'd cloſe to ſhore, and had been there burnt and ſtav'd, if a ſudden Storm had not oblig'd the *Engliſh* to return to St. *Hellens*, and given the *Dutch* opportunity to reach their own Coaſts. The *French* Fleet made a little ſhew of ſailing, when three or four Men of War being ſeparated from the reſt, fell among a Squadron of ours, Commanded by Sir *Thomas Allen*, who took the *Ruby*, a Ship of 1000 Tuns and 500 Men, Commanded by Monſieur *la Roche*; which Accident was a fair Pretence for the *French* Fleet to come no farther. And *De Ruyter* being forc'd to go home by Sickneſs, made the States recal their Fleet, and brought the People into great Murmurs at the ill Succeſs of it. *Van Tromp* and *De Ruyter* fell out, and laid the Miſcarriage upon one another; [a] the States favour the latter, and took away *Tromp*'s Commiſſion, and confin'd him to *Amſterdam*, and examin'd many of the Captains for Cowardice or Ill-conduct, putting ſome to death and fining others.

Fire of *London*.

In the mean time there came a moſt dreadful Calamity upon the City of *London*, of which, this Account was given by Authority. "On *September* 2. at one of the Clock in the Morning, there happen'd to break out a ſad and deplorable Fire in *Pudding-lane* near *New-fiſh-ſtreet*, which falling out at that Hour of the Night, and in a Quarter of the Town ſo cloſe built with wooden pitch'd Houſes, ſpread it ſelf ſo far before Day, and with ſuch diſtraction to the Inhabitants and Neighbours, that Care was not taken for the timely preventing the farther diffuſion of it by pulling down Houſes, as ought to have been: So that this lamentable Fire in a ſhort time became too big to be maſter'd by any Engines or working near it. It fell out moſt unhappily too, that a violent *Eaſterly* Wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that Day and the Night following, ſpreading it ſelf up to *Grace-Church-ſtreet*, and downwards from *Cannon-ſtreet* to the Water-ſide as far as the *Three Cranes* in the *Vintry*.

"The People in all parts about it diſtracted by the vaſtneſs of it, and the particular Care to carry away their Goods; many Attempts were made to prevent the ſpreading of it, by pulling down Houſes, and making great Intervals, but all in vain; the Fire ſeizing upon the Timber and Rubbiſh, and ſo continuing itſelf even through thoſe Spaces, and raging in a bright Flame all *Monday* and *Tueſday*, notwithſtanding his Majeſty's own, and his Royal Highneſſes indefatigable and perſonal Pains to apply all poſſible Remedies to prevent it, calling upon and helping the People with their Guards, and a great number of Nobility and Gentry unweariedly aſſiſting therein, for which they were requited with a thouſand Bleſſings from the poor diſtreſſed People. By the favour of God the Wind ſlacken'd a little on *Tueſday* Night, and the Flames meeting with Brick Buildings at the *Temple*, by little and little it was obſerv'd to loſe its force on that ſide; ſo that on *Wedneſday* Morning we began to hope well; and his Royal Highneſs never deſpairing or ſlackning his perſonal Care, wrought ſo well that Day, aſſiſted in ſome parts by the Lords of the Council before and behind it, that a ſtop was put to it at the *Temple* Church, near *Holbourn-Bridge*, *Pye-Corner*, *Alderſgate*, *Cripplegate*, near the lower end of *Coleman-ſtreet*, at the end of *Baſing-hall-ſtreet*, by the *Poſtern*, at the upper end of *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet* and *Leaden-hall-ſtreet*, at the *Standard* in *Cornhil*, at the Church in *Fan-Church-ſtreet*, near Cloathworker's-Hall in *Mincing-lane*, and at the middle of *Mark-lane*, and at the *Tower-Dock*.

"On *Thurſday* by the Bleſſing of God it was wholly beat down and extinguiſh'd; but ſo, as that Evening it unhappily burſt out again afreſh at the *Temple*, by the falling of ſome Sparks (as is ſuppoſed) upon a Pile of wooden Buildings: But his Royal Highneſs who watch'd there that whole Night in Perſon, by the great Labours and Diligence uſed, and eſpecially by applying Powder to blow up the Houſes about it, before Day moſt happily maſter'd it.

"Divers Strangers, *Dutch* and *French*, were du-

[a] The chief Miniſter was Monſ. *de Wit*, who had inflam'd the People againſt *England*, and had enter'd into ſecret Meaſures with *France*, even to give up his Country to them, as our Court underſtood, the Lord *Arlington* expreſſing himſelf thus in a Letter to the Duke of *Ormond*, dated, *Whitehall*, *Aug.* 28. 1666.—Our Fleet was to ſet Sail this Day, and we know nothing yet what contradicts that Reſolution. They are ſtronger than ever, and, if poſſible, with better Hearts to fight. God ſend them good Succeſs; for notwithſtanding the Conjectures of the Intentions to join Monſieur *de Beaufort*, we are aſſur'd the Reſolution of the Enemy is to come ſtrait to fight us. *Un Coup des Eſpoir* of Monſieur *de Wit*, who thinks he cannot without it maſter the Diſcontents at home, ſeeing his inevitable Ruin if he be beaten, and reſolving to caſt his Country under the Power of *France*, if it be never ſo little a Succeſs. He is Maſter enough of them to make them take that Reſolution. This will ſeem ſtrange to your Grace, but we have the Aſſurance of it from good Hands. *Miſcell. Aulica*, p. 416.

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“ ring the Fire apprehended, upon ſuſpicion that they contributed miſchievouſly to it, who are all impriſon'd, and Informations prepar'd to make a ſevere Inquiſition thereupon by my Lord Chief Juſtice *Keeling*, aſſiſted by ſome of the Lords of the Privy Council, and ſome principal Members of the City; notwithſtanding which Suſpicions, the manner of the burning all along in a Train, and ſo blown forward in all its way by ſtrong Winds, makes us conclude, the whole was the effect of an unhappy Chance, or to ſpeak better, the heavy Hand of God upon us for our Sins, ſhewing us the terrour of his Judgment in thus raiſing the Fire, and immediately after his miraculous and never enough to be acknowleg'd Mercy in putting a ſtop to it, when we were in the laſt Deſpair; and that all Attempts for the quenching it, however induſtriouſly purſued, ſeem'd inſufficient. His Majeſty then ſate hourly in Council, and ever ſince hath continued making Rounds about the City in all parts of it where the Danger and Miſchief was greateſt, till this Morning, *September* 8. that he hath ſent his Grace the Duke of *Albemarle*, whom he hath called for to aſſiſt him on this great Occaſion, to put his happy and ſucceſsful Hand to the finiſhing this memorable Deliverance.

Such was the Account given by Authority the ſame Week wherein this Conflagration happen'd On the Monument afterward erected near the place where the Fire began there was an Inſcription to this effect, that *the* [a] *dreadful Flames broke out in a Lane adjoining, about Midnight, and being driven by a high Wind, conſumed not only the adjacent Parts, but Places far remote; and with incredible noiſe and fury deſtroy'd eighty nine Churches, among which was the Cathedral of* Paul's, *City-Gates,* Guild-Hall, *many publick Structures, Hoſpitals, Schools, Libraries, a vaſt number of ſtately Edifices, thirteen thouſand two hundred dwelling Houſes, four hundred Streets; of ſix and twenty Wards it utterly ruin'd fifteen, and left eight others ſhatter'd and half burnt. The Ruins of the City were four hundred thirty ſix Acres, extending from the* Tower *along the* Thames *ſide to the* Temple *Church, and from the* North-Eaſt *Gate along the City Wall to* Holbourn-Bridge *or* Fleet-Ditch. *It was mercileſs to the Eſtates and Fortunes of the Citizens, but favourable to their Lives, that it might in all things reſemble the laſt and great Conflagration. The Deſtruction was ſudden, for in a ſhort time the ſame City which was ſeen in a flouriſhing Condition was reduc'd to nothing; and after three Days, when the fatal Fire had in appearance overcome all means of Reſiſtance and Humane Counſels, by the Will of Heaven it ſtopt and was extinguiſh'd.*

Account inſcribed on the Monument.

Conject. how this Fire began.

Various were the Opinions how this Fire began. Moſt People did then look upon it to be the Hand of God in a terrible Judgment upon a wicked City: Some ſaid it was contriv'd and carried on by a Conſpiracy of Papiſts, which was offer'd to be made appear in the Popiſh Plot [b]. Others did ſuſpect it an inſidious way of the *Dutch* and *French* making War upon us, their two Fleets being neareſt to joining at that very time. There was but one Man tried at the *Old-Bailey* for being the Incendiary, who was convicted by his own Confeſſion, and executed for it. His Name was *Robert Hubert*, a *French Hugonot* of *Rohan* in *Normandy*. Some People ſhamm'd away this Confeſſion, and ſaid he was *Non Compos*, and had a mind it ſeems to aſſume the *Glory* of being hang'd for the greateſt Villain: Others ſay he was Sober and Penitent; and being after Conviction carry'd thro' the Ruins to ſhew where he put Fire, he himſelf directed thro' the Aſhes and Rubbiſh, and pointed at the very Spot whereon the firſt burning Houſe had ſtood. It was ſoon after complain'd of, that *Hubert* was not ſufficiently examin'd, who ſet him to work, or who join'd with him. And Mr. *Hawles* in his Remarks upon *Fitz-Harris*'s Trial, is bold to ſay, *that the Commons reſolving to examine* Hubert *upon that matter, next Day* Hubert *was hanged before the Houſe ſate, and ſo could tell no farther Tales.* But among all the Proofs or Conjectures, nothing is more certain than this, that in the beginning of this very Year, *John Rathbone*, *William Sanders*, and ſix others, formerly Officers or Soldiers in the great Rebellion, were Tried, Convicted and Executed for conſpiring the Death of his Majeſty, and the Subverſion of the Government; in order whereunto the City of *London* was to be ſet on Fire by them on *Sept.* 3. which by ſome Aſtrological Scheme they pitch'd upon as a lucky Day for ſuch an Enterprize. So as the Fire being afterward at the height of that very Day, made People call that late Trial to Remembrance, and ſent them back to a publick Gazette of *Apr.* 30. 1666. Numb. 48. wherein a notorious Account of the Diſcovery and Evidence of that Plot to fire the City is deliver'd in Print. And it ſo far encreaſed a Suſpicion of the Malice of our Foreign Enemies, that thoſe Conſpirators ſo condemn'd and executed were ſaid to be under the Direction of a Committee who ſate conſtantly in *London*, and received Orders from another Council in *Holland*.

Parliament meet.

The Parliament this Year was to have met on *April* 23. but for fear of the Contagion yet remaining, the King by Proclamation of *April* 6. prorogu'd the Parliament to *Sept.* 18. next enſuing. At which time they met, and the King in a Speech expreſſed *his Satisfaction to ſee them happily come together, after the ſad Calamities of the Peſtilence and the Fire; he then ſpoke of the Progreſs of the War, and his vaſt Expences in it; and concluding with recommending the urgent Occaſions of Supply.* The Commons immediately reſolved, that the humble and hearty Thanks of the Houſe ſhould be return'd to the King's Majeſty for his great Care in the management of the War; and that they would grant a Supply proportionable to the great Occaſions of carrying on the War. And ſoon after they voted a Royal Aid of one Million eight hundred thouſand Pounds. And on *Sept.* 25. about three in the Afternoon, *the two Houſes of Parliament in a Body attended his Majeſty, according to his appointment at the Banquetting-Houſe in* Whitehall, *to manifeſt their hearty Concurrence in the Vote for ſupplying his Majeſty with whatſoever was neceſſary for the carrying on of the War, which his Majeſty received with all the Satisfaction imaginable, and very graciouſly diſmiſs'd them.* Both Houſes were truly ſenſible of the reſtleſs and implacable Spirit of the Papiſts, and made their Addreſs to his Majeſty for putting the Laws in Execution againſt them: Upon which, on *November* 10. a Proclamation was given, *for ſuppreſſing the Inſolencies of the Papiſts*, by charging and requiring all Popiſh Prieſts and Je-

The K.'s Speech.

[a] Of the various conjectures about the occaſion of this Fire; whether Chance or Deſign, or Judgment of God: See Sir *William Dugdale*'s Hiſtory of *Paul's*, *Fol.* p. 151. The Houſe of Commons enquir'd into the Cauſe, and appointed a Committee for that purpoſe, before whom Informations and Depoſitions were taken ſufficient to prove there was Treachery in it. See *London's Flames reviv'd*, or an *Account of the ſeveral Informations exhibited to a Committee appointed by Parliament*, &c. 1689. 4*to*. The King in his Speech to the two Houſes, *Sept.* 21. 1666. only mention'd the Calamity in general Words. My Lords and Gentlemen, I am glad to meet ſo many of you together again, and God be thanked for our meeting together again in this Place. Little time hath paſſed ſince we were in deſpair of having this Place to meet in: You ſee the diſmal Ruins the Fire hath made, and nothing but a Miracle of God's Mercy hath preſerved what is left from the ſame Deſtruction.

[b] Sir *Henry Capell*, in a Speech in the Houſe of Commons in 1680. ſpoke thus. In *April* 1666. ſome Perſons that were then hang'd confeſs'd they had been treated with, and had treated with others to burn the City of *London* in *September* following; of which Confeſſion we then took as little notice, as we have of other Diſcoveries ſince. However, accordingly in *September* thirteen Thouſand of the Houſes of the City of *London* were burnt; and thoſe that were taken in carrying on that Work, generouſly diſcharg'd without any Tryal; and one Papiſt that confeſs'd that himſelf and others did ſet the City on fire was in great haſte hang'd; and ſo the Buſineſs was huſh'd up, branding *Hubert* that then made that Confeſſion with Madneſs, as theſe laſt Witneſſes with Perjury, Sodomy, and what not.

ſuits

1666. 18Car.II. ſuits to depart the Kingdom, &c. On Friday Jan. 18. his Majeſty went to the Parliament, where he was pleaſed with the uſual Solemnities to paſs ſeveral Bills, of which theſe five were Publick. 1. *An Act for raiſing Money by a Poll, and otherwiſe, towards the Maintenance of the preſent War.* 2. *An Act againſt Importing Cattle from* Ireland, *or other Parts beyond the Seas, and Fiſh taken by Foreigners.* 3. *An Act for encouraging of Coinage.* 4. *An Act to continue a former Act for preventing Theft and Rapine upon the Northern Borders of* England. 5. *An Act for burying in Woollen only.* Then after a Gracious Speech to both Houſes, his Majeſty return'd, leaving them to finiſh the remaining Buſineſs of this Seſſion, which he was pleaſed to declare, he intended ſhould end on *Monday* ſeven-night next. And accordingly on *Feb.* 8. his Majeſty went again to the Houſe of Lords, where appearing in his Robes, with the Crown on his Head, after a kind and affectionate Speech made to both Houſes of Parliament, he was graciouſly pleaſed to paſs ſeveral Publick and Private Acts, proroguing the Parliament till *October* 10. next. The Publick Acts were, 1. *An Act for granting the Sum of twelve hundred fifty ſix thouſand three hundred forty ſeven Pounds and thirteen Shillings to his Majeſty, towards the Maintenance of the preſent War.* 2. *An Act explanatory of an Act for raiſing Money by a Poll, and otherwiſe, towards the Maintenance of the preſent War.* 3. *An Act for erecting a Judicature for determining of Differences, touching Houſes burnt or demoliſhed, by reaſon of the late Fire in* London. 4. *An Act for rebuilding the City of* London. 5. *An Act to prevent the Diſturbances of Seamen and others, and to preſerve the Stores belonging to his Majeſty's Navy Royal.* 6. *An Act for the Relief of poor Priſoners, and ſetting them on work.* 7. *An Act for extending a former Act concerning Replevins and Avowries to the Principality of* Wales *and the County Palatine.* 8. *An Act for the Redreſs of Inconveniences by want of Proof of the Deceaſe of Perſons beyond the Seas, or abſenting themſelves, on whoſe Lives Eſtates depend.*

Bills paſt.

Parl. prorogued.

The Lord *Hollis* had return'd from his Ambaſſy to *France*, and the Lord *Bellaſis* from his Government of *Tangier* in the beginning of *May*. *Henry Coventry* Eſq; arrived at *Whitehall* from his Ambaſſy to *Sweden* on *June* 21. Sir *Richard Fanſhaw* Ambaſſador to *Spain* died at *Madrid June* 26. The Lord *Willoughby*, Governor of the *Caribbee* Iſlands, was unfortunately loſt in a Hurricane near *Martinico* at the latter end of *July*. The Earl of *Oſſory* was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council on *June* 12. and being called by his Majeſty's Writ to the Houſe of Peers, took his Place on *Sept.* 18. On the Death of Sir *Hugh Pollard*, Knight and Baronet, the Place of Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold was conferred on Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who was alſo ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, with this publick Character, that it was "For "the ſingular Zeal, wherein he had on all occaſi"ons merited in his Majeſty's Service, and more "eminently in the honourable Dangers of this War "againſt the *Dutch* and *French*, where he has been "all along a conſtant Actor, having been obſerved "to have made it his Choice to take his Share in "the warmeſt part of thoſe Services. On *Dec.* 12. *Robert* Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord High Chamberlain of *England*, was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council; and the Earl of *Bridgwater* was likewiſe ſworn on *Feb.* 13. On *March* 8. came out a Proclamation for apprehending *George* Duke of *Buckingham*, importing, "That it did appear to his "Majeſty, that the ſaid Duke, who was of his "Majeſty's Privy Council, and otherwiſe employ'd "in great Truſt, relating to his Majeſty's Perſon "and the Publick, and not only bound by com"mon Duty and Allegiance, but farther obliged by "ſpecial and extraordinary Ties of Gratitude and "Fidelity to the Crown, had, notwithſtanding, "held and maintained ſecret Correſpondencies by "Letters and other Tranſactions, tending to raiſe "Mutinies in ſome of his Majeſty's Forces, and "ſtir up Sedition amongſt his People, and other "traiterous Deſigns and Practices. And that when, "to bring the ſaid Duke to anſwer what might be "objected againſt him, his Majeſty had given Or"der to one of his Serjeants at Arms to uſe all dili"gence to apprehend him, his Majeſty's Miniſter "was ill treated, and contemptuouſly reſiſted, not "without the Knowledge of the ſaid Duke himſelf, "who, as conſcious of his Demerits, had now ſe"cretly eſcaped and withdrawn himſelf, and did "hide in Places obſcure and unknown: Therefore "his Majeſty commands the ſaid Duke to render "himſelf to one of his Majeſty's Secretaries of State "or his Lieutenant of the *Tower*, charging all his "Subjects to be diligent to apprehend him, and "threatning all Severity to thoſe who ſhould har"bour or conceal him.

Places and Preferments.

Proclamation for apprehending the Duke of *Bucks.*

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In *Ireland* the Garriſon of *Karickfergus* fell into a Mutiny about the middle of *May*, proteſting in a Declaration, under their Hands, againſt diverting the publick Money to other Uſes when it was deſigned for their Pay: They turn'd their Officers out of Town, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Caſtle, and were making themſelves a formidable Party; but the Earl of *Arran* with four Companies of the Royal Regiment, being ſent from *Dublin* in the *Dartmouth* Frigat to reduce them, forc'd them from the Walls of the Town, and purſued them to the Caſtle, where they defended themſelves with great Obſtinacy, till his Grace the Lord Lieutenant himſelf arrived with ſome of his Horſe Guards, and made them yield upon Diſcretion. The Tories were very inſolent and troubleſome, one *Gorſteloe* at the Head of a great Party of them aſſaulted the Caſtle of *Cornet-Ormſby* in the County of *Mayo*, and took it. In *Ulſter* ſeveral other Parties of them got together and did much Miſchief. Sir *James Ware*, his Majeſty's Auditor General, died at *Dublin* on *Saturday Dec.* 1. and was buried there the *Tueſday* following, his Place being conferred on his Son, who was on St. *Andrew*'s Day ſworn in the Exchequer.

Iriſh Affairs.

In *Scotland* the rigid Presbyterians were as mutinous as the Popiſh Tories were in *Ireland*. Fifteen hundred of them got into a Body, and by degrees formed themſelves into an Army, having their Foot commanded by one *Wallace*, and their Horſe by one *Lairmont*, formerly a Taylor; moſt of the other Leaders of their Troops were caſhier'd Preachers, by whoſe Advice they all took the Covenant at *Lanrick*, and being drawn up for Battle on *Pentland* Hills, their Word was, *The Covenant*. They were abſolutely defeated and diſpers'd by the King's Forces, who had on their Right Wing his Majeſty's two Troops of Guards, and the Major Generals Troop making four Squadrons; and on the Left the Lieutenant General Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Aysby*, and many other Noblemen. Of the Rebels about 500 were kill'd, and 100 taken Priſoners, of which moſt were executed. After the quieting of this dangerous Inſurrection, the Convention of the Eſtates met at *Edinburgh* in *January*, and fell immediately upon the effectual Means of ſecuring the Kingdom from publick and domeſtick Dangers, and of putting the ſame into a poſture of Defence, and of raiſing ſix thouſand Pounds *Engliſh* by the Month, to maintain ſuch Forces as ſhould be employ'd in his Majeſty's Service.

Tueſday Aug. 14. was with Joy and Devotion obſerv'd as a Day of Thankſgiving for the ſignal Victory it pleaſed God lately to give his Majeſty's Fleet over the *Dutch*, with a Form of publick Thankſgiving compoſed for that Occaſion, and an excellent Sermon preach'd before his Majeſty at *Whitehall* by the Reverend Dr. *Dolben*, Clerk of the Closet and Dean of *Weſtminſter*, publiſhed by his Majeſty's ſpecial Command. This Example ſet in the

State of Religion.

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the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* on *Aug.* 14. was by like Authority follow'd in all Parts of *England* upon *Thurſday Aug.* 23. A Proclamation was given *September* 13. in a very pious and affectionate Style, for enjoining a General Faſt to be obſerv'd throughout *England* and *Wales*, to be ſolemnly obſerv'd on [a] *Wedneſday October* 10. upon occaſion of the late dreadful Fire in *London*. And by Act of Parliament the ſecond of *September* was to be annually obſerv'd within the Bills of Mortality, for a Day of Faſting and Humiliation, with a publick Office preſcrib'd for that purpoſe. The dreadful Plague had by ſlow degrees abated, but was not perfectly extinct till the beginning of this cold Winter, when *Nov.* 14. his Majeſty in Council was pleaſed to order, that *Tueſday* the twentieth of this Month ſhould be obſerv'd in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the ſeveral Pariſhes within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, as a Day of Thankſgiving to God for aſſwaging the late Contagion and Peſtilence.

Annual Thankſgiving on *Sept.* 2.

Dangers of Popery.

The Fears and Jealouſies of Popery were very juſt and very great, and were chiefly owing to the Mediations of the Queen-Mother in *France*, the private Sollicitations of the Duke of *York*, and the unhappy perverſion of his Ducheſs, the like Inclinations of the new Miniſtry, and eſpecially of *Bennet* and *Clifford*; and the King's own Diſpoſition to any thing that he was told ſhould be conſiſtent with his Intereſts and Pleaſures. The Lords and Commons in Parliament, tho' ſo many of the Members were themſelves a part of the Court, Camp and Miniſtry, would not be ſilent under theſe imminent Perils, but agreed in a zealous Addreſs to the King for executing the Laws againſt Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, who were labouring to pervert his Majeſty's Subjects; and for maintaining the true Religion eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*. Which concurrent Senſe of the two Houſes could not ſuffer the King to do leſs than to publiſh a Proclamation *Nov.* 10. [b] for the Baniſhment of all Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, and putting the Laws in ſpeedy and due execution againſt all other Popiſh Recuſants; his Majeſty therein declaring, "That he had ſeriouſly "conſider'd of the late Addreſs and humble Deſire "made to him by the Lords Spiritual and Tempo- "ral and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſem- "bled, for ſuppreſſing the Inſolencies of the Papiſts; "and accepting with much contentment their great "Care for the preſervation of the true Religion e- "ſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom; and therefore he had "thought fit to charge and require all Popiſh "Prieſts and Jeſuits to depart the Kingdom before "*Decemb.* 10. next enſuing, upon pain of having "the Laws and Statutes of this Realm inflicted up- "on them, the Magiſtrates and Officers in all Ports "having Order upon their declaring themſelves [c], "to aſſiſt them in ſeeing them ſhipp'd and ſent a- "way; and charging the Judges and all Magiſtrates "and Miniſters of Juſtice to put the Laws in exe- "cution againſt all Papiſt Recuſants, and ſuch as "are ſuſpected ſo to be, in order to their Convicti- "on; and that in their reſpective Courts, Aſſizes, "Goal-deliveries, and Quarter-Seſſions, they pub- "lickly give the Laws in charge againſt them; and "that the Judges of Aſſize in their Returns give an "Account of their Proceedings therein to the Chan- "cellor for the time being.

Addreſs of both Houſes to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of the Papiſts.

A Proclamation enſues.

Caſe of the Diſſenters.

The Proteſtant Diſſenters were by the King's principle of Government as much unmoleſted as the Juſtices and Magiſtrates would poſſibly allow; and the deſtruction of Churches, and diſperſion of the Clergy of *London*, gave the Nonconformiſt Preachers a better opportunity of gathering Congregations to them, their own Hiſtory tells us, "This unhappy Fire "made the way of the Nonconformiſts yet the "plainer to them: For the Churches being burnt, "and the Pariſh Miniſters gone, for want of Places "and Maintenance, the People's Neceſſities became "unqueſtionable, for they had no Places now to "worſhip God in, ſaving a few Churches that were "left ſtanding, which would not hold any conſi- "derable part of them. Whereupon the Noncon- "formiſts open'd publick Meeting Houſes, and were "very full: And as Circumſtances then ſtood, to "have forbid the People to hear them, had been in "effect to forbid them all publick Worſhip of God, "and require them to live like Atheiſts.

Repreſented by themſelves.

1667.

Commiſſioners for publick Accounts.

His Majeſty at the cloſe of the laſt Seſſion had promiſed his two Houſes of Parliament, that he would conſtitute Commiſſioners for taking the Accounts of the ſeveral Sums of Monies which had been raiſed and aſſign'd to his Majeſty, during the preſent great and important Wars, to the end that his Majeſty and his People might be ſatisfied in the faithful Application and Expence of them. In diſcharge of this Royal Word and Promiſe, the King granted a Commiſſion under his Great Seal of *England* to *John* Earl of *Bridgewater*, *Oliver* Earl of *Bolingbrook*, *Robert* Earl of *Ailesbury*, *Edward* Viſcount *Conway*, *John* Lord *Lucas*, and *John* Lord *Crew*, Peers of this Realm, together with Sir *William Lowther*, Sir *Tho. Meares*, Sir *Humphry Winch*, Sir *Tho. Littleton*, Sir *William Thompſon*, Sir *Thomas Osborne*, Sir *Thomas Gower*, Col. *Sam. Sandys*, *Giles Strangways*, *William Garway*, *Edward Boſcowen* and *John Jones*, Eſquires, being Members of the Houſe of Commons, with full Power to examine and ſtate the ſaid Accounts; and they open'd their Commiſſion on *Wedneſday April* 17. by which manner of Proceeding it appear'd, that the Enquiry into publick Accounts was hitherto reſerv'd to the King, and by him graciouſly promiſed to the People, and purſued in a Method that ſeem'd to ſignify, the Lords were as much concern'd in this matter as the Commons.

Negotiations for a Peace with *Holland*.

The Ambaſſadors Extraordinary from *Sweden* (who took leave of his Majeſty in a ſolemn Audience on *April* 26.) were Mediators for a Treaty of Peace with the *Dutch* to be negotiated at *Breda*: And for the Management of it the King appointed the Right Honourable *Denzil* Lord *Hollis*, one of the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, and the Honourable *Henry Coventry*, Eſq; of his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber, his Ambaſſadors Extraordinary for the ſaid Treaty, who took their leave of his Majeſty on *May* 1. and arriving in few Days at *Breda*, made their publick Entry there in a very ſolemn [d] manner, and fell upon adjuſting the Preliminaries of a common Treaty, which being ſettled about the beginning of *June*, the Ambaſſadors of *England*,

[a] Dr. *Sancroft*, Dean of *Paul's*, preach'd before his Majeſty. Dr. *Seth Ward*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, before the Lords; and Mr. *Stillingfleet* and Mr. *Frampton* before the Commons.

[b] See a large *Preface to the Romaniſts*, dated *Novemb.* 10. 1666. Prefix'd to the *Hiſtory of Romiſh Treaſons and Uſurpations*. Fol.

[c] This Zeal againſt the Papiſts proceeded from a general Suſpicion that the City had been fir'd by the Papiſts: And the wiſer People underſtood, that *Hubert* the *Frenchman*, who confeſs'd himſelf the prime Incendiary, was really a *French* Papiſt, tho' he was to be call'd a *Huguenot*. The ſober Writer of *An Anſwer to the Apology of the Papiſts in behalf of the Proteſtants*, 1667. 4*to*. ſays thus to the Popiſh Author: (ſuppos'd to be *Roger Palmer*—E. of *Caſtlemain*) You call *Hubert* your Enemy, and a *Huguenot* Proteſtant; which *Hubert*, after Father *Harvey* had had him in Confeſſion, did indeed affirm himſelf to be a Proteſtant; but then being ask'd whether he meant an *Huguenot*, (which it ſeems was beyond his Inſtructions to ſay) he earneſtly denied that, as he very well might: For he then alſo declared, that he believ'd *Confeſſion* to a Prieſt was neceſſary to his Salvation; and being admoniſh'd to call upon God, he repeated an *Ave-mary*, which was his uſual Prayer. So that it evidently appears, that he was not either *Huguenot* or Proteſtant, nor your Enemy upon any account of Religion.

[d] The Artifices of *France* in keeping this Peace in ſuſpence for their own Terms upon it, are to be ſeen in the Letters now written by our prime Miniſters of State. The Earl of *Arlington* to the Lord *Sandwich* in *Spain*, *Feb.* 21. 166$\frac{6}{7}$.— His Majeſty hath not yet received any Anſwer to his Letter from *Holland*: The Party of the Univerſality ſhew a great Diſpoſition to embrace the Offer; but the Party influenc'd by

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England, *France* and *Sweden*, the Plenipotentiaries of the States, and of *Denmark*, repaired to the Caſtle belonging to the Prince of *Orange*, and fell upon the Buſineſs of a general Accommodation with great Care and Diligence. Mr. *Coventry*, one of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, to prepare for the finiſhing Stroaks was ſent over to the *Engliſh* Court for a private Conference with the King and his Cabinet Council, and came back with the full Reſolutions of Agreement. So that on *June* 21. the Articles were ſign'd by the ſeveral Miniſters; yet the Inſtruments of Ratification were not interchang'd till *Auguſt* 14. when the Peace was immediately proclaim'd before the Doors of all the Plenipotentiaries; and was publiſh'd by Proclamation in the City of *London* on *Aug.* 24. and was afterward confirm'd by an additional Treaty, concluded by Sir *William Temple* in *January* following.

Made and publiſh'd.

Falſe ſteps in this Affair.

There was this falſe ſtep in the Management of this Affair, that the King conſented to a Motion for this Treaty without requiring a Ceſſation of Arms: and yet imagin'd that the commencing of a Treaty would of it ſelf as effectually bring on that *Ceſſation*. So the King in a reliance upon the Honour of the *Dutch*, that they would not be open Enemies while they were treating to be Friends; and being eaſily inclin'd to ſave ſo great a part of the Revenue for other occaſions, ſet out no Fleet, and ſeem'd to make no Preparations for it. The *Dutch* took their Advantage of this Negligence and Security, and appeared abroad at Sea with a Fleet of above 70 Sail; and well knowing that our great Ships were laid up, they rode in triumph upon our Coaſts, and at the Mouth of the *Thames*, and ſeeing no oppoſition they ſailed up to the *Medway*, and made themſelves Maſters of the Fort of *Sheerneſs*, tho' ſtoutly defended by Sir *Edward Spragge*. To ſtop their farther Progreſs ſeveral Veſſels were ſunk about *Muſcle-Bank*, the narroweſt part of the River, and a ſtrong Chain was put croſs, and the Lord General, the Duke of *Albemarle*, was got down there with a Land Force to oppoſe them. But having the Advantage of an Eaſterly Wind and a ſtrong Tide, they preſt on and broke through the Chain, and burnt the three Ships that lay to guard it, the *Mathias*, the *Unity* and the *Charles* the Fifth, all three *Dutch* Ships taken in the preſent War, damaging many other of our Veſſels, and carrying along with them the Hull of the *Royal Charles*, which was twice fired by the *Engliſh* and as often quench'd by the Enemy. They advanc'd with ſix Men of War and five Fireſhips as far as *Upnore-Caſtle*, and burnt the *Royal-Oak*, and much injur'd the *Loyal-London* and the *Great James*, which they left moſt part under Water: And after all this Inſult and Miſchief, they fell down the River again with no great Damage to themſelves but the running a-ground two of their Men of War, which they were forc'd to ſet on Fire.

Advantage taken by the *Dutch* coming up the River.

Conſternation at Court.

The Conſternation at Court, and in the City of *London* was extremely great. An Eye Witneſs has thought fit to give this Account of it. "I was on "*June* 10. in the Morning walking in St. *James's* "Park, when a Gentleman whiſper'd to me, that "the *Dutch* were enter'd the River. Then the King "had fed his Ducks, and was walking on the Weſt "ſide of the Park; and as we walked Prince *Rupert* overtook us, and met the King at the farther "end of the *Pall-Mall*; and the King told the "Prince how he had ſhot a Duck, and ſuch a Dog "fetch'd it; and ſo they walked on till they came "to St. *James's* Houſe, and there the King ſaid to "the Prince, *Let's go ſee* Cambridge *and* Kendal (the "Duke's two Sons who then lay a dying) but upon his return to *Whitehall* he found all in an Uproar, the Counteſs of *Caſtlemain* (as 'twas ſaid) "bewailing above all others, that ſhe ſhould be the "firſt torn in pieces.—— I was at *London* in the "Plague and Fire Years, yet in neither did I obſerve ſuch Conſternation and Confuſion in the "Looks of all Men, as at this time, and with great "Cauſe: For if the *Dutch* had then come up to "*London* they had found all open to them; [a] not one "Gun mounted at *Tilbury-Fort*, nor one Frigot "ready in the River, ſo as they might have forced "all the Ships in the River up to the Bridge, and "there have burnt them, which would have "certainly fired the *Tower* and all the Suburbs "Weſt to *Blackwall*, as well as *Southwark* below "Bridge.

Mr. *Roger Cook.*

Other Attempts of the *Dutch.*

When the *Dutch* got out to Sea again, they made many other Attempts of Bravery, or rather Revenge; even after the Peace was actually concluded at *Breda*, they ſail'd to *Portſmouth* with a Deſign upon our Ships in that Harbour, but finding them too well ſecured by the Diligence of the Earl of *Macclesfield* and Captain *Eliot* (whom the King had ſent thither for that purpoſe) they appear'd before *Plymouth* on *July* 15. and made an Attempt upon *Torbay* on *July* 19. but were beaten off; then they ſtood Eaſtward, and again enter'd the River of *Thames* on *July* 23. and got above 25 Sail into *Tilbury-Hope*, where we had all our Naval Strength lying, about 18 Men of War and Fireſhips. Sir *Edward Spragge* who Commanded this *Engliſh* Squadron was unluckily abſent when the *Dutch* came firſt up to them; and therefore the *Dutch* with their Fireſhips did ſome conſiderable Miſchief; but Sir *Edward* returning on Ship-board, and being ſoon after join'd with a ſmall Squadron from *Harwich* under Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, the *Dutch* were glad to fall down the River again, with as much Damage to themſelves as to us. After this they bid defiance to the Town of *Harwich*, and landed three thouſand Men near *Felſtone-Cliff*, and made two Aſſaults upon *Languard-Fort*, and made a ſtand againſt the Train'd-Bands, under Command of the Earl of *Suffolk*, and without any great loſs or execution they imbark'd and ſailed away again for the River *Thames*, and came up once more as far as *Hull-Haven*, and engaged the Squadron of Sir *Edward Spragge*, made up of the *Succeſs* and 18 other Men of War; where the Encounter was ſo ſharp that the *Engliſh* ſtood off for *Graveſend*, and left the *Dutch* at Anchor in the *Hope*; but they ſoon fell down to the *Buoy in the Nore*, and leaving Sir *Edward Spragge* the Honour of ſeeming to purſue them, they got to Sea again, and made to the Weſtern Coaſts, and attempted to land firſt at *Wenbury* in *Devonſhire*, and then near *Cawland* in *Cornwal*, and hover'd about with continual Alarms and Offers of Deſcent, till not be-

France would fain elude it: They are expecting Reſolutions from *France*, &c.——The ſame to the Duke of *Ormond*, *Feb.* 18. 1667.——And again to the Earl of *Sandwich* in *Spain*, dated *Whitehall*, *Feb.* 18. 1667.——*France*, whom his Majeſty endeavoured by my Lord St. *Albans* to render inclinable to the Peace, ſhew'd at firſt a great Eaſineſs in it, but ſince they ſeem to have humour'd the *Dutch*, in inſiſting upon unreaſonable Conditions, ſo as we have cauſe to doubt their Sincerity towards us. And tho' in a Letter they wrote lately to the States they recommended to them the coming to treat at *Dover*, yet that Letter is full of ſo many malicious Reflections on his Majeſty, that we can by no means like it; and among them one notorious Untruth, where they ſay, my Lord St. *Albans* was in that Court with a full Power to treat the Peace there, for which they give a ſcurvy Excuſe, that if they had thought of it they would not have put it in.——*Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 221.

[a] Of the great Security and Negligence that gave the *Dutch* Encouragement to come up the River, *&c.* *See* Gumble's *Life of General* Monk, 8*vo.* p. 449.—That the *French* ſet them on, is thus intimated by the Earl of *Arlington* in his Letter to our Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall*, *June* 10. 1667.—By what you find in the incloſed Relation, you will ſee the Affront and Spoil the Enemy hath made upon us at *Chatham*, and from all our Letters, what a Conſternation is put upon this Town.—They are deſigning new Miſchief upon expecting the *French* to join with them therein.——

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ing able any longer to diſſemble their knowledge of a Peace, *De Ruyter* invited ſome of the *Corniſh* Gentlemen on Board him, and gave them a liberal Entertainment; and excuſing ſome of his later Acts of Hoſtility, he diſmiſt them civilly and ſail'd home.

No ſatisfaction made for theſe Inſults.

It was ſome wonder to the wiſer Men, that theſe hoſtile Attempts of the *Dutch* did not ſeem at all to interrupt or retard the depending Treaty; there ſeem'd to be no thoughts of Repriſal, or of any demand of Satisfaction; nay, to obviate the Expectance of any Reparation, this Article was inſerted, *That all Offences, Injuries, Damages, and Loſſes ſuſtained on either ſide by the King and States, or their Subjects, during this War, or at any time before, upon any Cauſe or Pretence whatſoever, be totally expunged and buried in Oblivion:* With another 4th Article, *That all Ships, Goods and Moveables which had come at any time into the Power of either Party, or their Subjects, ſhould remain with the preſent Poſſeſſors thereof, without any Compenſation or Reſtitution for the ſame, without any exception of Time, Place or Things.*

Fall of the Earl of Clarendon.

The Miſcarriages of this Summer made it neceſſary that ſome one great Miniſter of State ſhould bear the Odium of 'em, and be given up for a Sacrifice to the murmuring part of the People. In purſuance of this common Policy, on *Aug.* 31. his Majeſty thought fit to take the Great Seal from his faithful Miniſter the Earl of *Clarendon*, and give it to Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, with the Title of Lord [a] Keeper; and by that Mark of Diſgrace to give up the Lord *Clarendon* to the Malice of his Enemies, who ſoon hunted him into Impeachment and Baniſhment; though, no doubt, the greateſt Diſpleaſure taken at him, was for his heartily oppoſing Popery, and thoſe new Miniſters who were the profeſs'd Favourers and Promoters of it. The King diſcharg'd this wiſe Counſellor when he had greateſt need of him; for he had within few Months before loſt his other greateſt Stateſman, the Lord Treaſurer *Southampton*; and the King not knowing where to find a ſingle Perſon of equal Capacity for ſo great a Truſt, made Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, his Grace the Duke of *Albemarle* Lord General, the Right Honourable the Lord *Aſhley* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, Sir *William Coventry* and Sir *John Duncomb* Knights and Privy Counſellors.

Commiſſioners for the Treaſury.

The Terrors of the *Dutch* Fleet made another great Alteration in calling the Parliament together before their time; for the King was ſo ſurpriz'd, and the Miniſtry ſo afraid, that on *June* 26. his Majeſty declared by Proclamation, That whereas the Parliament now in being did ſtand Prorogued till the 10th Day of *October* next, his Majeſty having had reaſon to believe at the time of the ſaid Prorogation, that his Affairs might have permitted the Attendance of the Members of both Houſes on his Majeſty's Service and their own Occaſions in their reſpective Countries until that time; his Majeſty now finding this his Kingdom invaded during a Treaty of Peace, and eſteeming himſelf ever moſt ſafe in the Advice and Affection of his People, in Parliament, hath therefore thought fit to call together both his Houſes of Parliament, ſtraitly charging and commanding all and every the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all Knights, Citizens, Burgeſſes, and Barons of the Cinque-Ports, that they and every of them do perſonally appear, re-aſſemble themſelves, and give their Attendance at *Weſtminſter* on the 25th Day of *July* next, then and there to treat of the weighty Affairs of his Majeſty's Kingdom.

Parliam. to meet before their time.

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In Obedience to this his Majeſty's Proclamation, on *Thurſday* the 25th of *July* the two Houſes aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* [b], and upon his Majeſty's Deſires, made known to them by the Lord Chancellor, adjourn'd till *Monday* the 29th inſtant, at which time his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords with the uſual Ceremonies, and made a gracious Speech to the two Houſes, “excuſing the Trouble of extraordinary Attendance, and telling them the Occaſions of their Meeting were now leſs urgent, and therefore he could again diſmiſs them to the Day formerly prefix'd, and ſhould take an Opportunity, in the mean while, to do ſome things which he hoped would not be unwelcome to them; and ſo Prorogu'd them to the 10th of *October*.

King's Speech.

Accordingly on *Thurſday Octob.* 10. his Majeſty with the uſual Solemnity came into the Houſe of Lords, where the Houſe of Commons with their Speaker attending him, his Majeſty in a ſhort Speech acquainted them, “That at their laſt Meeting, about eleven Weeks ſince, he thought fit to Prorogue them to this Day, reſolving there ſhould be a Seſſion now, and in the mean while giving himſelf time to do ſome things which he hoped would not be unwelcome to them, but be a Foundation for a greater Confidence between them for the future; which things he had ſince done, and would therefore now leave the other Reaſons of their Prorogation, with ſome other Matters of which he was pleaſed to acquaint them, to be declared by the Lord Keeper. And accordingly the new Lord Keeper *Bridgman*, in Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands, began in a larger Speech to acquaint the two Houſes with “his Majeſty's farther Reaſons for the late Prorogation, together with his Deſires of recommending to their Wiſdom the Obſtructions of foreign Commerce, and the Settlement of ſuch a Balance of Trade between the Subjects of this Kingdom and thoſe of *Scotland*, that we may not be prejudiced by the Import of their Commodities hither, nor yet they ſo far diſcourag'd as to leave off Trading here, and find out another Vent abroad; in which his Majeſty had uſed ſome Endeavours, but found it too hard for him without the Aſſiſtance of his Parliament. That as to the Accounts of the Monies given towards the War, which his Majeſty formerly promiſed ſhould be given them, his Majeſty had commanded his Officers to make them ready; and ſince that way of Commiſſion wherein he put the Examination of them had been ineffectual, his Majeſty was willing the Parliament ſhould follow their own method to examine them in what way and as ſtrictly as they pleaſed, aſſuring them he will leave every one concerned to ſtand or fall according to his own Innocency or Guilt. That his Majeſty having reaſon to believe, that ſome diſaffected Perſons taking Advantage of the publick Neceſſity, had ſpread abroad Diſcourſes and Rumours reflecting upon the Government; yet his Majeſty promis'd himſelf, from the good Affections of his Parliament,

King's ſecond Speech.

Lord Keeper's Speech.

[a] The Earl of *Arlington* tells the Lord *Sandwich* in a Letter, dated, *Whitehall, Septemb.* 5. 1667. —His Majeſty hath taken the Seals from the Lord Chancellor, and given them to my Lord *Bridgman*, with a great deal of Satisfaction to the World, and to himſelf; and he hopes, that rectifying ſome other important things before the Parliament, he may expect they will deliver him out of the Straits he is ſo unhappily fall'n into.——*Letters of Lord* Arlington, Vol. II. p. 235.

[b] I have by me the original Letter of Sir *William Coventry* to his Brother *Henry Coventry* Eſq; Ambaſſador at *Breda*, dated *July* 26. 1667.——The Parliament met at the Day; and after the Speaker took the Chair, he told us that the King had ſent for him the Night before, and told him he believed the Houſe would be thin, ſo would have us adjourn till *Monday* next. But that did not ſerve the turn; but we paſſed a Vote to ſend the Privy Counſellors (which were Members) to the King, to deſire, that ſo ſoon as the Peace was made he would diſband the new raiſed Troops; which being done, the Houſe adjourned till *Monday*. Much Anger there is ſtirring; where it will fall, I cannot tell.

“ that

"that every one of them, in their ſeveral Places, "would endeavour to preſerve a good Underſtanding betwixt him and his People: Adding, That if "any juſt Grievances ſhall have happen'd, his Majeſty will be as willing and ready to redreſs them "for the future, as they to have them repreſented: "His Majeſty not doubting but that they will give "healing and moderate Counſels, and imprint that "known Truth into his Subjects Hearts, that there "is no diſtinct Intereſt betwixt the King and his "People, but that the good of the one is the good "of both.

Proceedings of the Commons.

The Houſe of Commons took into Conſideration his Majeſty's gracious Speech, and reſolved upon an Addreſs of Thanks to his Majeſty, in which they deſired and obtained the Concurrence of the Lords: Accordingly on *Octob.* 15. after Noon, the two Houſes in a Body, with their Speakers, attended his Majeſty in the Banquetting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, where the Lord Keeper, as Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, in the Name of the two Houſes, made this following Addreſs to his Majeſty.

Addreſs to the K.

"WE your Majeſty's Loyal and Faithful Sub-"jects, the Lords and Commons in Par-"liament aſſembled, having taken into our ſerious "Conſideration your Majeſty's gracious Speech, "wherein you were pleaſed to let us know, that "your Majeſty thought fit to Prorogue this Parlia-"ment till the 10th of *October*, that you might give "your ſelf time to do ſomething which would not "be unwelcome, but a Foundation for a greater "Confidence for the future between your Majeſty "and your People; we find ourſelves bound in "Duty to return your Majeſty our humble and "hearty Thanks for the gracious Declaration of "your Royal Intentions in that your Majeſty's "gracious Speech, and in that deliver'd by your "Majeſty's Command by the Lord Keeper. And "particularly that your Majeſty hath been pleaſed "to diſband the late raiſed Forces, and to diſmiſs "the Papiſts from out your Guards and other mili-"tary Employments: For your Majeſty's Care in "quickening the Execution of the Act for reſtrain-"ing the Importation of foreign Cattel: For cau-"ſing the *Canary* Patent to be ſurrender'd and va-"cated: And that, more eſpecially, your Majeſty "hath been pleaſed to diſplace the late Lord Chan-"cellor, and remove him from the Exerciſe of "Publick Truſt and Employment in Affairs of "State.

King's Anſwer.

To which Addreſs his Majeſty was pleaſed to make his Return to this effect: *That he thanked the Houſes for their Thanks; that he was glad that what he had done had ſo well pleaſed them; and, that for what concerned the Earl of* Clarendon, *he ſhould not, during his Life, be employed in any Places of Publick Truſt.*

Caſe of the E. of *Clarendon.*

As to the Caſe of this great Man, the Earl of *Clarendon*; It was on *Octob.* 26. that Mr. *Edward Seymour* charg'd him in the Houſe of Commons *vivâ voce* [a] with many great Crimes: whereupon, after a long Debate upon the manner of Proceeding, a Committee was appointed to reduce the Accuſation to Heads, and preſent them to this Houſe. And accordingly on *Novemb.* 6. Sir *Thomas Littleton* reported, that the Accuſation was reduced to Heads, which he read in his Place, and afterward delivered the ſame in at the Clerk's Table; which are as followeth:

Charge againſt him.

I. "That the Earl of *Clarendon* hath deſigned a "Standing Army to be raiſed, and to govern the "Kingdom thereby, and adviſed the King to diſ-"ſolve this preſent Parliament, to lay aſide all "Thoughts of Parliaments for the future, to go-"vern by a military Power, and to maintain the "ſame by free Quarter and Contribution.

II. "That he hath, in the Hearing of the King's "Subjects, falſly and ſeditiouſly ſaid, That the King "was in his Heart a Papiſt, or Popiſhly affected; "or Words to that effect.

III. "That he hath received great Sums of Mo-"ney for the procuring of the *Canary* Patent, and "other illegal Patents; and granted illegal Injun-"ctions to ſtop Proceedings at Law againſt them, "and other illegal Patents formerly granted.

IV. "That he hath adviſed and procured divers "of his Majeſty's Subjects to be impriſoned againſt "Law, in remote Iſlands, Garriſons, and other "Places, thereby to prevent them from the Benefit "of the Law, and to produce Preſidents for the "impriſoning any other of his Majeſty's Subjects "in like manner.

V. "That he procured his Majeſty's Cuſtoms to "be farmed at Under-rates, knowing the ſame; "and great pretended Debts to be paid by his Ma-"jeſty, to the Payment of which his Majeſty was "not in ſtrictneſs bound; and afterwards received "great Sums of Money for procuring the ſame.

VI. "That he received great Sums of Money "from the Company of *Vintners*, or ſome of them, "or their Agents, for inhancing the Prizes of "Wines, and for freeing them from the Payment "of legal Penalties which they had incurred.

VII. "That he hath in a ſhort time gained to "himſelf a greater Eſtate than can be imagined to "be gained lawfully in ſo ſhort a time, and, con-"trary to his Oath, he hath procured ſeveral Grants "under the Seal, from his Majeſty to himſelf and "Relations, of ſeveral of his Majeſty's Lands, He-"reditaments, and Leaſes, to the Diſprofit of his "Majeſty.

VIII. "That he hath introduced an Arbitrary "Government in his Majeſty's foreign Plantations, "and hath cauſed ſuch as complained thereof be-"fore his Majeſty and Council, to be long impri-"ſoned for ſo doing.

IX. "That he did reject and fruſtrate a Propoſal "and Undertaking approved by his Majeſty for the "Preſervation of *Nevis* and St. *Chriſtopher's*, and "reducing the *French* Plantations to his Majeſty's "Obedience, after the Commiſſions were drawn for "that purpoſe; which was the Occaſion of our "great Loſſes and Damage in thoſe Parts.

X. "That he held Correſpondence with *Cromwel* and his Complices when he was in Parts be-"yond the Seas attending his Majeſty, and thereby "adhered to the King's Enemies.

XI. That he adviſed and effected the Sale of "*Dunkirk* to the *French* King, being part of his "Majeſty's Dominions, together with the Ammu-"nitions, Artillery, and all ſorts of Stores there, "and for no greater Value than the ſaid Ammuni-"tions, Artillery, and Stores were worth.

XII. "That the ſaid Earl did unduly cauſe his "Majeſty's Letters Patents under the Great Seal of "*England* to one Dr. *Crowther*, to be alter'd, and "the Enrollment thereof to be unduly raſed.

XIII. "That he hath in an arbitrary way exami-"ned and drawn into queſtion divers of his Maje-"ſty's Subjects, concerning their Lands, Tene-"ments, Goods, Chattels, and Properties, deter-"mined thereof at the Council-Table, and ſtopped "Proceedings at Law by Order of the Council-Ta-"ble, and threatned ſome that pleaded the Statute "of 17 *Car.* 1.

[a] A late Author writes thus: The Count *D'Eſtrades* informs us, that it was by the Intrigues of the Count *de Molina* and the Baron *Iſola*, that Chancellor *Hyde* was diſgrac'd. But we can hardly think any thing good was intended by it, when the chief Promoter of it was Mr. *Edward Seymour*, whoſe whole Life cannot produce one Action that tended to the Good of the Commonwealth, except his taking Arms againſt King *James* at *Exeter*.

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XIV. “ That he hath cauſed *Quo Warranto*'s to “ be iſſued out againſt moſt of the Corporations of “ *England*, immediately after their Charters were “ confirmed by Act of Parliament, to the Intent he “ might require great Sums of Money of them for “ renewing their Charters; which when they com- “ plied withal, he cauſed the ſaid *Quo Warranto*'s “ to be diſcharged, and Proſecution therein to “ ceaſe.

XV. “ That he procured the Bills of Settlement “ of *Ireland*, and received great Sums of Money “ for the ſame in a moſt corrupt and unlawful man- “ ner.

XVI. “ That he hath deluded and betrayed his “ Majeſty and the Nation in all foreign Treaties “ and Negotiations relating to the late War, and “ betrayed and diſcovered his Majeſty's ſecret Coun- “ ſels to his Enemies.

XVII. “ That he was a principal Author of that “ fatal Council of dividing the Fleet about *June* “ 1666.

After a ſecond reading of theſe Heads of Accuſation, it was reaſonably moved, that *in regard the Articles were many, they might be referr'd to the Committee to ſee how far they were true, becauſe Fame is too ſlender a ground to bring a Man upon the Stage.* But this was carried in the negative; and the Articles were again ſingly and ſeparately read over, and ſeveral Members ſpoke to the Truth or Probability of them: And the Queſtion being put, *Whether this Houſe hath ſufficient Inducement to Impeach*, it was carried in the affirmative. And after farther Debate, whether to Impeach of Treaſon or high Miſdemeanors only, it was reſolved that *an Impeachment of Treaſon, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors, be carried up to the Lords againſt* Edward *Earl of* Clarendon *by Mr.* Seymour; who on *Novemb.* 12. went up to the Houſe of Lords, and the Lord Keeper *Bridgman* being come to the Bar to meet him, he deliver'd himſelf to this purpoſe.

Reſolutions to impeach him.

My Lords,

Mr. *Seymour*'s Speech at his carrying up the Impeachment.

THE *Commons aſſembled in Parliament having been informed of ſeveral traiterous Practices, and other high Crimes and Miſdemeanors committed by* Edward *Earl of* Clarendon, *a Member of this honourable Houſe, have commanded me to impeach him; and I do accordingly impeach him of High Treaſon, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors, in the Name of the ſaid Commons, and of all the Commons of* England. *And they have farther commanded me to deſire your Lordſhips to ſequeſter him from Parliament, and to commit him to ſafe Cuſtody, and in convenient time they will exhibit Articles againſt him.*

Lords not ſatisfied with this Proceeding.

The Lords were generally diſſatisfied with this Proceeding, and did not commit the Earl to Cuſtody, and gave this Reaſon for their not doing it, in a Conference with the Commons, *Becauſe the Accuſation is only of Treaſon in general, without charging any thing in particular* [a]. The Commons highly diſpleaſed at the Lords not committing the Earl, referred it to a Committee to bring in Reaſons why a Perſon generally charged by the Houſe of Commons for High Treaſon ought to be committed to ſafe Cuſtody, tho' the particular Treaſon be not ſpecified at the time of ſuch Charge. Which Reaſons and the Precedents to inforce them were communicated at a free Conference; after which, on *December* 2. the Lords ſent down a Meſſage to the Commons by two Judges to this effect, *That upon the Report made to them of the laſt free Conference, they are not ſatisfied to commit or ſequeſter from Parliament the Earl of* Clarendon, *without the particular Treaſon be mention'd or aſſign'd.* And in return the Commons did reſolve, *That the Lords not having complied with the Deſire of the Commons in committing the Earl of* Clarendon, *and ſequeſtring him from Parliament upon the Impeachment from this Houſe, is an obſtruction to the publick Juſtice of the Kingdom, and is a Preſident of evil and dangerous Conſequence.*

Difference between the two Houſes.

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The Earl ſeeing no hopes of allaying this Storm ſo raiſed againſt him, thought it moſt adviſeable to withdraw himſelf, and only to leave behind him ſome written Vindication of his Innocence and Honour, which he did in a Paper thus entitul'd.

The Earl withdraws and leaves a Paper.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, the Humble Petition and Addreſs of Edward *Earl of* Clarendon.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

“ I Cannot expreſs the inſupportable Trouble and “ Grief of Mind I ſuſtain under the Appre- “ henſion of being miſrepreſented to your Lord- “ ſhips; and when I hear how much of your Lord- “ ſhips time hath been ſpent upon the mention of “ me, as it is attended with more publick Conſe- “ quences, and of the Differences of Opinion which “ have already, or may probably ariſe between your “ Lordſhips and the Honourable Houſe of Com- “ mons, whereby the great and weighty Affairs of “ the Kingdom may be obſtructed in the time of ſo “ general a diſſatisfaction.

“ I am very unfortunate to find myſelf to ſuffer “ ſo much under two very diſadvantagious Re- “ flections, which are in no degree applicable to “ me.

“ The *Firſt*, from the greatneſs of my Eſtate and “ Fortune collected and made in ſo few Years, “ which if it be proportionable to what is report- “ ed, may very reaſonably cauſe my Integrity to be “ ſuſpected.

“ The *Second*, That I have been the ſole Mana- “ ger and chief Miniſter in all the Tranſactions of “ State ſince the King's return into *England* to *Auguſt* laſt, and therefore that all Miſcarriages and “ Misfortunes ought to be imputed to me and my “ Councils.

“ Concerning my *Eſtate*, your Lordſhips will not “ believe that after *Malice* and Envy have been ſo “ inquiſitive and ſo ſharp-ſighted, I will offer any “ thing to your Lordſhips but what is exactly true; “ and I do aſſure your Lordſhips, in the firſt place, “ that (excepting from the King's Bounty) I have “ never received nor taken one Penny but what was “ generally underſtood to be the juſt lawful Perqui- “ ſites of my Office, by the conſtant Practice of the “ beſt Times, which I did in my own Judgment “ conceive to be that of my L[d] *Coventry* and my L[d] “ *Elſmere*; the Practice of which I conſtantly ob- “ ſerved, altho' the Office in both their Times was “ lawfully worth double to what it was to me, and “ I believe now is. That all the Courteſies and Fa- “ vours which I have been able to obtain from the “ King for other Perſons in Church or State, or in “ *Weſminſter-hall*, have never been worth to me five “ Pounds: So that your Lordſhips may be confident “ I am as innocent from Corruption as from any “ diſloyal thought, which after near 30 Years Ser- “ vice of the Crown in ſome Difficulties and Di- “ ſtreſſes, I did never expect would be objected to “ me in my Age. And I do aſſure your Lordſhips, “ and ſhall make it very manifeſt, that the ſeveral

[a] See the Letter of Lord *Arlington* to the Earl of *Sandwich* in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall, Novemb.* 28. 1667.—— All our Days are ſpent in attending the Parliament, where the Privileges of both Houſes, inſiſted on earneſtly by both, have yet delay'd the Progreſs. In the Impeachment of the Earl of *Clarendon* this Day, they had a free Conference upon this Matter; and to morrow 'tis likely either of the Houſes will accommodate to the other's Opinion, or ſo finally adhere, as the Impeachment will fall to the ground betwixt them.

Sums

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“ Sums of Money, and ſome parcels of Land, which
“ his Majeſty hath bountifully beſtowed upon me,
“ ſince his return into *England*, are worth more
“ than all I have amounts unto; ſo far am I from
“ advancing my Eſtate by indirect means. And
“ tho' this Bounty of his hath very far exceeded my
“ Merit or my Expectation, yet ſome others have
“ been as fortunate at leaſt in the ſame Bounty,
“ who had as ſmall pretences to it, and have no
“ great reaſon to envy my Condition.

“ Concerning the other Imputation of the Credit
“ and Power of being *Chief Miniſter*, and ſo cauſing
“ all to be done that I had a mind to, I have no
“ more to ſay, than that I had the good Fortune
“ to ſerve a Maſter of a very great Judgment and
“ Underſtanding, and be always join'd with Per-
“ ſons of great Ability and Experience, without
“ whoſe Advice and Concurrence never any thing
“ hath been done.

“ Before his Majeſty's coming into *England*, he
“ was conſtantly attended by the then Marquis of
“ *Ormond*, the late Lord *Culpeper*, and Mr. Secre-
“ tary *Nicholas*, who were equally truſted with my
“ ſelf, and without whoſe joint Advice and Concur-
“ rence, when they were all preſent (as ſome of
“ them always were) I never gave any Council. As
“ ſoon as it pleaſed God to bring his Majeſty into
“ *England*, he eſtabliſhed his Privy Council, and
“ ſhortly out of them he choſe a number of Honour-
“ able Perſons of great Reputation (who for the
“ moſt part are ſtill alive) as a Committee for Fo-
“ reign Affairs, and Conſideration of ſuch things
“ as in the nature of them required much Secrecy,
“ and with theſe Perſons he vouchſafed to join me;
“ and I am confident this Committee never tranſact-
“ ed any thing of Moment (his Majeſty being al-
“ ways preſent) without preſenting the ſame firſt to
“ the Council Board, and I muſt appeal to them
“ concerning my Carriage, and whether we were
“ not all of one Mind in matters of Importance.

“ For more than two Years I never knew any
“ Differences in the Councils, or that there were
“ any Complaints in the Kingdom, which I whol-
“ ly impute to his Majeſty's great Wiſdom, and
“ the entire Concurrence of his Counſellors, with-
“ out the vanity of aſſuming any thing to myſelf:
“ And therefore I hope I ſhall not be ſingly char-
“ ged with any thing that hath ſince fallen out a-
“ miſs. But from the time Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*
“ was removed from his Place there were great Al-
“ terations; and whoſoever knew any thing of the
“ Court and Councils, know well how much my
“ Credit hath ſince that time been diminiſhed, tho'
“ his Majeſty graciouſly vouchſafed ſtill to hear my
“ Advice in moſt of his Affairs: Nor hath there
“ been from that time to this above one or two
“ Perſons brought to the Council, or preferred to
“ any conſiderable Office in the Court, who have
“ been of my intimate Acquaintance, or ſuſpected to
“ have any kindneſs for me; and moſt of them moſt
“ notoriouſly known to have been very long my E-
“ nemies and of different Judgment and Principles
“ from me, both in Church and State, and have ta-
“ ken all opportunities to leſſen my Credit with the
“ King, and with all other Perſons, by miſrepre-
“ ſenting and miſreporting all that I ſaid or did;
“ and perſuading Men I have done them ſome pre-
“ judice with his Majeſty, or croſſed them in ſome
“ of their Pretenſions; tho' his Majeſty's Goodneſs
“ and Juſtice was ſuch, that it made little Impreſſi-
“ on upon him.

“ In my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes
“ of the Kingdom have proceeded from the War, to
“ which it is notoriouſly known, that I was always
“ moſt averſe, and may without Vanity ſay, I did
“ not only foreſee, but declare the Miſchiefs we
“ ſhould run into, by entring into a War before any
“ Alliances made with the Neighbouring Princes,
“ and that it may not be imputed to his Majeſty's
“ want of Care, or the Negligence of his Counſel-
“ lors, that no ſuch Alliances were enter'd into, I
“ muſt take the boldneſs to ſay, his Majeſty left
“ nothing unattempted in order thereunto, and
“ knowing this well, that *France* reſolv'd to begin
“ a War upon *Spain*, as ſoon as his Catholick Ma-
“ jeſty ſhould depart this World, which being
“ much ſooner expected by them, they had in the
“ two Winters before been at great Charges in pro-
“ viding plentiful Magazines of all Proviſions upon
“ the Frontiers, that they might be ready for the
“ War, his Majeſty uſed all poſſible Means to pre-
“ pare and diſpoſe the *Spaniard* with that Appre-
“ henſion, offering his Friendſhip to that degree
“ as might be for the Benefit and Security of both
“ Crowns.

“ But *Spain* flattering itſelf that *France* would not
“ break with them, at leaſt, that they would not
“ give them any Cauſe, by adminiſtring matter of
“ Jealouſy to them, never made any real Approach
“ towards a Friendſhip with his Majeſty, but both
“ by their Ambaſſadors here, and to his Majeſty's
“ Ambaſſador at *Madrid*, always perſiſted as Preli-
“ minaries upon the giving up of *Dunkirk*, *Tangier*
“ and *Jamaica*.

“ Tho' *France* had an Ambaſſador here, to whom
“ a Project of a Treaty was offer'd, and the Lord
“ *Hollis* his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at *Paris*, uſed all
“ Endeavours to purſue and proſecute the ſaid Trea-
“ ty, yet it was quickly diſcern'd, that the princi-
“ pal Deſign of *France* was to draw his Majeſty in-
“ to ſuch a nearer Alliance as might advance their
“ Deſign, without which they had no mind to en-
“ ter into the Treaty propoſed. And this was the
“ State of Affairs, when the War was enter'd in-
“ to with the *Dutch*, from which time neither
“ Crown much conſider'd the making any Alliance
“ with *England*.

“ As I did from my Soul abhor the entring into
“ this War, ſo I preſumed never to give any Ad-
“ vice or Counſel for the way of managing it, but
“ by oppoſing many Propoſitions, which ſeemed to
“ the late Lord Treaſurer and myſelf to be unrea-
“ ſonable, as the payment of the Seamen by Tickets,
“ and many other Particulars which added to the
“ Expence, my Enemies took all occaſions to inveigh
“ againſt me, and making their Friendſhip with o-
“ thers out of the Council of more licentious Prin-
“ ciples, and who knew well enough how much I
“ diſliked and complained of the Liberty they took
“ to themſelves of reviling all Counſels and Coun-
“ ſellors, and turning all things ſerious and ſacred
“ into Ridicule; they took all ways imaginable to
“ render me ungrateful to all ſorts of Men (whom
“ I ſhall be compelled to name in my defence) per-
“ ſuading thoſe who miſcarried in any of their De-
“ ſigns, that it was the Chancellor's doing; where-
“ of I never knew any thing. However, they could
“ not withdraw the King's Favour from me, who
“ was ſtill pleaſed to uſe my Service with others,
“ nor was there ever any thing done but with the
“ joint Advice of at leaſt the major part of thoſe
“ who were conſulted with. And as his Majeſty
“ commanded my Service in the late Treaties, ſo I
“ never gave the leaſt Advice in private, nor wrote
“ one Letter to any one Perſon in either of thoſe
“ Negotiations but upon the Advice of the Council,
“ and alſo after it was read in Council, or at leaſt
“ by the King himſelf and ſome others: And if I
“ prepared any Inſtructions or Memorials it was by
“ the King's Command, and the Requeſt of the
“ Secretaries who deſired my Aſſiſtance: Nor was
“ it any Wiſh of my own, that any Ambaſſador
“ ſhould give me any Account of the Tranſactions,
“ but to the Secretaries, whom I was always rea-
“ dy to adviſe; nor am I conſcious to myſelf of
“ ever having given Advice that both proved miſ-
“ chievous or inconvenient to his Majeſty; and I
“ have been ſo far from being the ſole Manager of

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“ Affairs, that I have not in the whole laſt Year been above twice with his Majeſty in any Room alone, and very ſeldom in the two or three Years preceding. And ſince the Parliament at *Oxford*, it hath been very viſible that my Credit hath been very little, and that very few things have been hearken'd to, which have been propoſed by me, but contradicted *eo nomine* becauſe propoſed by me.

“ I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to remember the Office and Truſt I had for ſeven Years, in which, in diſcharge of my Duty, I was obliged to ſtop and obſtruct many Mens Pretences, and refuſed to ſet the Seal to many Pardons and other Grants, which would have been profitable to thoſe who procured them, and many whereof, upon my Repreſentation to his Majeſty, were for ever ſtopt, which naturally has raiſed many Enemies to me. And my frequent concurring, upon the Deſires of the late Lord Treaſurer (with whom I had the Honour to have a long and vaſt Friendſhip to his Death) in repreſenting ſeveral Exceſſes and Exorbitancies, the yearly Iſſue ſo far exceeding the Revenues, provok'd many Perſons concern'd, of great Power and Credit, to do me all the ill Offices they could. And yet I may faithfully ſay, that I never meddled with any part of the Revenue or the Adminiſtration of it, but when I was deſired by the late Lord *Treaſurer* to give him my Aſſiſtance and Advice, having had the Honour formerly to ſerve the Crown as *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer*, which was for the moſt part in his Majeſty's Preſence. Nor have I ever been in the leaſt degree concerned in point of Profit, in letting any part of his Majeſty's Revenue, nor have ever treated or debated it but in his Majeſty's Preſence, in which my Opinion concurr'd always with the major part of the Counſellors who were preſent.

“ All which upon Examination will be made manifeſt to your Lordſhips, how much ſoever my Integrity is blaſted by the Malice of thoſe who I am confident do not believe themſelves. Nor have I in my Life upon all the Treaties, or otherwiſe, received the value of one Shilling from all the Kings or Princes in the World (excepting the Books of the *Louvre* Print, ſent me by the Chancellor of *France* by that King's Direction) but from my own Maſter, to whoſe entire Service and the Good and Welfare of my Country, no Man's Heart was ever more devoted.

“ This being my preſent Condition, I do moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to entertain a favourable Opinion of me, and to believe me to be innocent from thoſe foul Aſperſions, until the contrary ſhall be proved, which I am ſure can never be by any Man worthy to be believ'd: And ſince the Diſtempers of the Times, and the Difference between the two Houſes in the preſent Debate, with the Power and Malice of my Enemies, who gave out that I ſhould prevail with his Majeſty to prorogue or diſſolve this Parliament in Diſpleaſure, and threaten to expoſe me to the Rage and Fury of the People, may make me to be look'd upon as the Cauſe which obſtructs the King's Service, and Unity and Peace of the Kingdom.

“ I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips, that I may not forfeit your Lordſhips Favour and Protection by withdrawing myſelf from ſo powerful a Perſecution, in hope that I may be able by ſuch withdrawing hereafter to appear, and make my Defence, when his Majeſty's Juſtice (to which I ſhall always ſubmit) may not be obſtructed or controuled by the Power and Malice of thoſe who have ſworn my Deſtruction.

CLARENDON.

1667. 19 *Car.* II

Upon News at Court of the Earls withdrawing, there was care taken to give this publick Advertiſement of it. *Whitehall* December 4. *Yeſterday Morning became publick the firſt notice of the Earl of* Clarendon's *having withdrawn himſelf, but the time when he retired is not certain. This Afternoon his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare his Pleaſure in Council, that the ſaid Earl be put out of the Council, and remain henceforth diveſted of the Place of a Counſellor.* The Lords, on *Dec.* 3. ſent a Meſſage to the Commons by two Judges, that *they had received a large Petition from the Earl of* Clarendon, *which intimated that he was withdrawn.* Whereupon the Commons order'd, that Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Comptroller of the King's Houſhold, be ſent to the King, to deſire the Ports may be ſtopped. And at a Conference between the two Houſes, the Duke of *Buckingham* deliver'd up the Earl's Petition in this way of Inſult and Deriſion; “ That the Lords had commanded him to deliver to the Commons that ſcandalous and ſeditious Paper ſent from the Earl of *Clarendon*: they bid me preſent it to you, and deſire you in convenient time to ſend it to them again; for it has a Style which they are in love with, and they deſire to keep it. This way of ridiculing the Afflictions of a great Man, and turning the Juſtice of the Nation into a Jeſt, could not but offend all ſober ſerious People, and made them the more capable of underſtanding *Who* it was *Whom* the Earl in his Paper chiefly meant, when he complained of ſome *Enemies of more licentious Principles, who took to themſelves the Liberty of reviling all Counſels and Counſellors, and turning all things ſerious and ſacred into Ridicule.*

Publick Account of the E.'s with-drawing.

Proceedings upon it in Parliament.

Inſult of the D. of *Buck.*

The Commons, to juſtify their own Proceeding, reſolved upon the Queſtion, *That the Paper ſent to the Lords by the Earl of* Clarendon, *and by them ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, and now read, is ſcandalous and ſeditious, and doth reproach the King and the publick Juſtice of the Nation.* And after a Motion and Debate for burning the Paper, or deſiring the Lords to burn it (as was done by the Hands of the common Hangman on *Dec.* 12.) and a Propoſal for bringing in a Bill of Attainder; the Houſe at laſt agreed in this Vote, *Reſolved, that this Houſe taking notice of the Flight of the Earl of* Clarendon, *being under an Impeachment of High Treaſon by this Houſe, the King's Majeſty be humbly deſired to iſſue out his Proclamation for ſummoning the ſaid Earl to appear by a Day, and to apprehend him in order to his Trial.* And Reſolved, *To ſend to the Lords for their Concurrence to this Vote.* But the Lords, who ſeemed to have a more favourable Opinion of the Perſon accuſed, as well as a Concern for their own Rights, would not concur; and on *Dec.* 14. deliver'd their Reaſons for not concurring, having the Day before ſent down to the Commons a Bill for baniſhing the ſaid Earl, and therefore now declaring, that *their Lordſhips, upon Conſideration of the whole State of Affairs, and of the Kingdom, had, upon Grounds of Prudence and Juſtice, thought fit, for ſecuring of King and Kingdom, to proceed in a Legiſlative way againſt the ſaid Earl, and had to that end paſs'd and ſent down to them a Bill of Baniſhment and Incapacity againſt him.* After many Speeches and Debates among the Commons, ſome being againſt the Bill, becauſe it went too far in condemning a Man before the Hearing of him; others oppoſing it upon a contrary Opinion, that the Penalties of Incapacity and Baniſhment were not adequate to the Crimes which that Houſe had charged againſt him; on *Dec.* 18. the Bill was read the third time, and the Queſtion being put for paſſing of it, ſixty five were for it, and forty two againſt it. And it eaſily obtained the Royal Aſſent; for it was indeed the wiſeſt Courſe to prevent a Legal Anſwer, and to ſtop the Diſcovery of ſome Secrets that muſt have been otherwiſe expoſed.

The Earl's Paper cenſur'd by the Commons.

A Bill of Baniſhment.

Paſs'd by the King.

This Summer the *French* King, with a mighty Army, had fallen into *Flanders*, and taken *Charleroy*,

Actions of the *French.*

Oudenard,

Oudenard, *Tournay*, *Doway*, *Courtrich*, *Liſle*, and other Parts of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and had farther advanc'd his Conqueſts in *Alſatia* and *Franche-Comte*; that he began to ſtrike a Terror upon the *Dutch*, and a reaſonable Jealouſy upon the *Engliſh*, and to make it their mutual Intereſt and Inclination to ſtop the furious Progreſs of his Arms. Under this Diſpoſition the King ſent to Sir *William Temple*, his then Reſident at *Bruſſels*, to take joint Meaſures with the States for a defenſive Alliance againſt the *French*. The States being very apprehenſive of their Danger, did wiſely and readily comply with the Propoſals offer'd by Sir *William*, who ſtept over to wait on the King, and to take his more immediate Inſtructions, and within five Days after was ſent back with Powers to conclude a ſtricter Defenſive League between his Majeſty and the States General, which was ſoon concluded and ſigned at the *Hague*, and brought over to *Whitehall* by Mr. *Temple*, Brother to the Envoy on *Jan.* 19. And becauſe the *Swedes* ſoon after enter'd into it, it was call'd the *Triple Alliance*; ſo grateful to the Parliament, and ſo very pleaſing to the People, that it was of mighty Service to the King and his Miniſtry, and cover'd them a while from all Suſpicion of Popery and a *French* Intereſt.

Triple League.

On *Decemb.* 19. after paſſing the Bill againſt the Earl of *Clarendon*, and a Bill for taking the Publick Accounts, *&c.* the Parliament adjourned to *Feb.* 6. and then meeting, adjourned again to *Monday*, *Feb.* 10. on which Day his Majeſty was pleaſed to come to the Houſe of Lords, and having on his Crown and Robes, with the uſual Solemnity took his Seat, where the Houſe of Commons with their Speaker attending him, his Majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs himſelf to both Houſes in this following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech.

"I Am glad to ſee you here again, to tell you " what I have done in this Interval; which " I am confident you will be pleaſed with, ſince it " is ſo much for the Honour and Security of this " Nation. I have made a League Defenſive with " the States of the *United Provinces*, and likewiſe a " League for an efficacious Mediation of Peace be- " tween the two Crowns; into which League that " of *Sweden*, by its Ambaſſador, hath offer'd to en- " ter as a Principal.

" I did not at our laſt Meeting move you for any " Aid, tho' I lie under great Debts contracted in the " laſt War; but now the Poſture of our Neighbours " abroad, and the Conſequence of this new Alliance, " will oblige me, for our Security, to ſet out a " conſiderable Fleet to Sea this Summer; and be- " ſides, I muſt build more great Ships; and 'tis as " neceſſary that I do ſome things in order to the " fortifying ſome of our Ports. I have begun ſome- " thing my ſelf in order to theſe Ends; but if I " have not your ſpeedy Aſſiſtance, I ſhall not be " able to go through with it. Wherefore I do ear- " neſtly deſire you to take it into your ſpeedy Con- " ſideration; for the loſs of a little time now, may " beget a Prejudice not to be repaired. And for the " ſettling a firm Peace as well at home as abroad, " one thing more I hold my ſelf obliged to recom- " mend to you at this preſent, which is, that you " would ſeriouſly think of ſome Courſe to beget a " better Union and Compoſure in the Minds of my " Proteſtant Subjects in Matters of Religion; where- " by they may be induced not only to ſubmit quiet- " ly to the Government, but alſo cheerfully give " their Aſſiſtance to the Support of it.

Peace with *Spain* and *Portugal.*

Nigh the ſame time, by the Mediation of the Earl of *Sandwich*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *Spain*, and of Sir *Robert Southwell* [a], his Majeſty's Envoy to *Portugal*, a Peace was concluded between thoſe two Crowns, and the King of *England* declared the Mediator and Guarantee of it. So that all things ſeem'd to be put into a condition of reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*, and reſtoring the Balance of *Europe*.

Death of Great Men.

At the beginning of this Year, *March* 25. died the Earl of *Cleveland*, Captain of his Majeſty's Band of Penſioners; which Office was conferred on the Lord *Bellaſis*. On *Wedneſday*, *May* 22. died at the Palace of *St. James's* the Duke of *Kendal*, ſecond Son to his Royal Highneſs; and the Duke of *Cambridge*, his elder Brother, after a grievous and tedious Diſtemper, died at *Richmond* on *Thurſday June* 20. to the great Affliction of the Court. The wiſe and good Miniſter of State, *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, died on *May* 16. at his Houſe in *New Southampton Square*. The excellent Poet Mr. *Abraham Cowley* died on *July* 28. and had the Honour of a publick Funeral and a proper Monument beſtow'd on him by the Generoſity of the Duke of *Buckingham*: And this Account was publiſh'd of it; *Whitehall*, *Aug.* 4. *Yeſterday in the Evening the Body of Mr.* Abraham Cowley, *who died the* 28th *paſt*, *was conveyed from* Wallingford-Houſe *to* Weſtminſter-Abbey, *accompanied by divers Perſons of eminent Quality, who came to perform this laſt Office to one who had been the great Ornament of our Nation, as well by the Candour of his Life as the Excellency of his Writings.*

State of Religion.

In Matters of Religion, it is obſervable that the Nonconformiſts were pleaſed with the Fall of the Earl of *Clarendon*, looking upon him as a ſtout and ſteady Protector of the Church of *England*; and rejoiced as much that the Duke of *Buckingham* was received into the King's Favour, and into the Reputation of prime Miniſter, eſteeming him their great Patron. They themſelves give this Account. " In " the Year 1667. the Lord Chancellor *Hide* was " impeached and diſcarded: And it ſeem'd a re- " markable Providence of God, that he who had " been the grand Inſtrument of State in the fore- " going Tranſactions, and had dealt ſo ſeverely with " the Nonconformiſts, ſhould at length, by his own " Friends, be caſt out and baniſh'd, while thoſe " whom he had perſecuted were the moſt moderate " in his Cauſe, and many for him. The Duke of " *Buckingham* ſucceeded him as chief Favourite: " He was a Man for Liberty. Under him the Non- " conformiſts in *London* were conniv'd at; and Peo- " ple went openly to their Meetings, without fear. " This encourag'd the Country Miniſters, who did " the like in moſt Parts of *England*, and Crowds of " the moſt religiouſly-inclined People were their " Auditors. It muſt be added to the Foot of this Account, that it could be no Credit to the Diſſenting Party to have had the Earl of *Clarendon* their Oppoſer, and the Duke of *Buckingham* their Promoter; the firſt oppoſing them upon no worſe Principle, than a Zeal to the eſtabliſh'd Church, as the moſt effectual Bulwark againſt Popery; and the other appearing in their Intereſt upon no better Account, than a ſtrong Affection to the univerſal Liberties of Opinion and of Practice.

Prejudice of the Diſſenters againſt the E. of *Clarendon.*

Judgment of the Commons that Popery was promoted by Indulgence to Diſſenters.

But the Houſe of Commons, who run down the Earl of *Clarendon*, had ſtill a Majority of the ſame Judgment with his Lordſhip, " That Popery had " its Encouragement and Growth under the Cover " of indulging the Proteſtant Diſſenters: And therefore tho' his Majeſty had graciouſly obliged them in his Speech of *Feb.* 10. by recommending to the two Houſes, that *they would ſeriouſly think of ſome Courſe to beget a better Union and Compoſure in the Minds*

[a] See the ſeveral Letters of Sir *William Godolphin* and the Lord *Sandwich*. Both in Embaſſy to *Spain* to my Lord *Arlington* of the Negotiations of Peace between *Spain* and *Portugal* in 1667. Publiſh'd from the Originals. 1703. 8*vo.*

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1667. 19*Car*.II. *of his Proteſtant Subjects*; yet the Commons were ſo ſenſible that this Royal Motion made the Nonconformiſts too preſuming in their Liberty, and the Papiſts too inſolent in their Hopes and Expectations; and therefore their Houſe, upon ſolemn Debate and Reſolution, made and preſented a *Humble Petition* to his Majeſty, "That he would iſſue out his Proclamation for enforcing the Laws againſt Conventicles; and that Care might be taken for Preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom againſt unlawful Aſſemblies of Papiſts and Nonconformiſts.

Petition of the Commons againſt Popery.

And accordingly on *March* 10. his Majeſty (who was under expectance of a liberal Supply from the Commons) was pleaſed to iſſue out his *Proclamation*, declaring, "That upon Conſideration of the late "humble Petition of his Loyal Subjects the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, and upon Information that divers Perſons, in ſeveral Parts of this "Realm, abuſing the Clemency which had been uſed towards Perſons not conforming to the Worſhip and Government eſtabliſh'd in the Church "of *England* (even whilſt it was under Conſideration to find out a way for the better Union of his "Proteſtant Subjects[a]) have of late frequently and "openly, in great Numbers, and to the great [b] Diſturbance of the Peace, held unlawful Aſſemblies "and Conventicles; therefore his Majeſty had been "pleaſed in Council to declare, that he will by no "means permit ſuch notorious Contempts of himſelf and his Laws to go unpuniſh'd; but by Advice of his Privy Council does order this his Proclamation to be iſſued out, requiring, charging, "and commanding all Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Juſtices of Oyer and Terminer, Juſtices of Aſſize and Goal-Delivery, Juſtices of "Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and all other his Majeſty's Officers whatſoever, that they be circumſpect "and vigilant each of them in their ſeveral Charges "and Juriſdictions, to inforce and put in Execution all the Laws now in force againſt unlawful "Conventicles; ſtrictly charging and commanding "his ſaid Magiſtrates and Officers, that they, and "every of them in their ſeveral Places, do take care "for the Preſervation of the Peace of his Kingdom, "againſt unlawful Aſſemblies of Papiſts and Nonconformiſts.

The K's. Proclamation.

1668. The *French* King was ſo afraid of the Conſequence of the Triple League, and the Peace between the two Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, that he immediately enter'd upon a Treaty at *Aix la Chapelle*, employing in that Affair his greateſt Miniſter Monſieur *Colbert*, and the King of *England* ſending thither his Ambaſſador Extraordinary Sir *William Temple*. By their Negotiation a Peace was there concluded and ratified between *France* and *Spain*, the Miniſters of the King of *England* and of the States-General of the *United Provinces* attending the *French* King at *Paris* on *May* 18. and there exchanging the Inſtruments of Ratification[c].

Peace between *France* and *Spain*.

On *May* 9. his Majeſty was pleaſed to be preſent in the Lord's Houſe; where the Commons attending him, the Speaker preſented him theſe following publick Acts: 1. "An Act for raiſing three hun- "dred and ten thouſand Pounds by an Impoſition "on Wines and other Liquors. 2. An additional "Act againſt the Importation of foreign Cattel. "3. An Act for proceeding to Judgment on Writs "of Error brought in the Exchequer. 4. An Act "for giving Liberty to buy and export Leather and "Skins Tanned or Dreſſed. 5. An Act for the better Payment of Monies received for the Uſe of "the Crown. 6. An Act for the Increaſe and Preſervation of Timber within the Foreſt of *Dean*. "7. An Act to regulate the Trade of Silk-throwing. Which, with ſeveral private Bills, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to paſs; and the Parliament afterwards adjourn'd till the 11th of *Auguſt* next enſuing; and then again, by his Majeſty's Direction, adjourn'd themſelves to the 1ſt of *March*: But the King being in Peace and Plenty, did by Proclamation, dated *Dec*. 18. Prorogue the Parliament upon and from the ſaid 1ſt Day of *March* until the 19th Day of *October* next following.

Acts paſs'd in Parliament.

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After this general Peace of *Europe*, the King, to maintain the friendly Correſpondence, ſent away Sir *William Godolphin*, lately Knighted by him, to reſide as his Ambaſſador in the Court of *Spain*; and Sir *Edward Spragge* as Envoy to the Conſtable of *Caſtile* upon his entry on the Government of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and Sir *William Temple* as his Ambaſſador Extraordinary in *Holland*; and Sir *Daniel Harvey* as Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*; Sir *John Trevor* as Envoy Extraordinary to *France*; the Earl of *Carliſle* Ambaſſador to the Crown of *Swedeland*; and received Monſieur *Colbert* as Ambaſſador from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who made his publick Entry into *London Aug*. 17. as did likewiſe, on *September* 17. Signior *Pietro Morcenigo*, Ambaſſador from the State of *Venice*.

Ambaſſadors ſent abroad.

The King conferred the Honour of Knighthood on *John Vaughan*, who being ſolemnly ſworn Serjeant at Law in the Court of *Chancery* on *Friday May* 22. was next Day admitted Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*. On *Friday* Morning *June* 12. died of a ſhort Apoplectical Diſtemper *Charles* Lord Viſcount *Fitz-Harding* of the Privy-Council, and Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſhold, which Office his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer upon Sir *Thomas Clifford* formerly Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſe, and that of Comptroller upon *Francis* Lord *Newport*, who on *July* 1. was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council. On *Sept*. 19. the Duke of *Monmouth* in *Hyde-Park* was plac'd by his Majeſty in the Command of Captain of his Life-Guard of Horſe, void by the Reſignation of the Lord *Gerard* of *Brandon*. Sir *John Trevor* who had return'd from his Employment as Envoy Extraordinary to the moſt Chriſtian King on *June* 18. and had given his Majeſty a ſatisfactory Account of his Negotiation in that Court, was on *Sept*. 29. ſworn

Honours and Preferments.

[a] For uniting the Proteſtant Intereſt, a *Comprehenſion*, as they call'd it, abating the Terms of Communion for all moderate Diſſenters to conform, was projected and carried on with good Meaning on both Sides; tho' it had been better effected, if a reaſonable Scheme had been ſettled of Alterations and Amendments on the Church Side only. For before both Parties could be ſatisfied, Time and Patience were gone: The Well-wiſhers to it of the Church Communion were the Lord Keeper *Bridgman*, Sir *Matthew Hale*, Sir *John Barber*, Dr. *Wilkins*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and others eminent for Goodneſs, Wiſdom and Learning. *See the Life of Mr*. Baxter, *written by himſelf, and of Sir* Mat. Hale, *by Dr*. Burnet. *Life of Lady* Eliz. Brook, *by Mr*. Parkhurſt. *A Breviate of the Bill for Comprehenſion and Indulgence*. 1668.

[b] The Popiſh Intereſt Abroad was employ'd to protect and cover their Friends in *England*: And the Peace between *France* and *Spain* was recommended by the Pope for that Purpoſe. As the Lord *Sandwich*, our Ambaſſador at *Madrid*, ſufficiently intimated in a Letter to the Earl of *Arlington*, dated, *Nov*. 16. 1667. On *Sunday* laſt the Count *Penaranda* came to me from the Queen with a Meſſage to this Purpoſe: That her Majeſty had lately heard of renewed Sufferings of the Roman Catholicks in *England*, and did deſire the King my Maſter, as much as was poſſible, to take off or mitigate the ſame, &c.

[c] This Peace was made by the neceſſity of Affairs, not with the good Will of the Kings and chief Miniſters of *England* and *France*. The ſecret Intention was for *England* and *France* to come to another War with *Holland*. Sir *William Temple* obſerves, that the Deſign of a War was not only laying, but well advanc'd by the Practices of Monſieur *Colbert* upon the Miniſters of our Court, (where he was now Ambaſſador) and by the violent Humour of my Lord *Clifford* to enter the Leagues then projected by *France*. So that the very Day the Parliament gave his Majeſty a mighty Sum of Money to complement him upon ſo applauded a Counſel and Succeſs as that of the Triple Alliance in this Year 1668, that Lord coming out of the Houſe of Commons, where he was now a Member, could not hold ſaying to a Friend of mine that came out with him, that for all this great Joy, it muſt not be long before we have another War with *Holland*. *Temple's Memoirs*. II. p. 162.

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one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State upon the Reſignation of Sir *William Morrice*.

Our Fleet at Sea.

It having been a fatal Error in the Adminiſtration not to have had a Fleet at Sea in time of War the laſt Summer; it was now amended by another extreme, the keeping out our Fleet in a time of Peace with all our Neighbours. This Fleet under Command of Sir *Thomas Allen*, was viſited by his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs in the *Downs* on *June* 23. and was thence order'd to ſail *Weſtward*, and having ſafely ſhew'd their Grandeur in the Chanel, Sir *Thomas* upon expreſs Orders on *Aug* 20. ſailed by *Plymouth* towards the *Mediterranean*, and at the end of *September* came before *Algiers*; and threatning the Town made them offer a Releaſe of all the Captive *Engliſh*, and renew their former Peace with us, upon good additional Articles to this effect, 1. *That all their Captives ſhould be commanded to let all* Engliſh *Veſſels paſs without Damage or Moleſtation, upon their ſhewing* Engliſh *Colours. If in any Veſſel the* Engliſh *were equal to the Strangers, they ſhould then be free; if the Strangers exceeded the* Engliſh, *then lawful Prize; yet, if they could ſhew an* Engliſh *Paſs, to be let go.* 2. *That none of their little Frigots with Oars ſhall ſtop any Veſſels laden with Proviſions or Ammunition for* Tangier. 3. *That they ſhall not deliver any of their little Frigots with Oars to any of the* Salley *Men to make uſe of.* 4. *That if any of their little Veſſels intended for* Tangier, *they ſhould take a Paſs from the* Engliſh *Conſul at* Algier.

Algiers brought to ſubmiſſion.

State of Religion.

As to Religion, the Church and State were equally in Peace and Quiet, and the Nonconformiſts finding no hopes of a legal Toleration were the better diſpoſed to deſire a Comprehenſion, and to accept any reaſonable Terms of being brought into one Communion. They themſelves have thus repreſented their Inclinations and Attempts this Year. "In "*January* 1668. Mr. *Baxter* received a Letter from "Dr. *Manton*, intimating that he was told by Sir "*John Barber*, that the Lord Keeper *Bridgman* deſired to confer with them two about a Comprehenſion and Toleration. Hereupon he came to *London*, and they two waited on the Lord Keeper, "who told them, that he had ſent for them to "think of a way of their Reſtauration: To which "end, he had ſome Propoſals to offer to them, "which were for a *Comprehenſion* for the *Presbyterians*, and an *Indulgence* for the *Independents* and "the reſt[a]. They ask'd him, whether it was his "Pleaſure, that they ſhould offer him their Opinion "of the Means, or only receive what he offer'd to "them? He replied, that he had ſomething to offer, "but they might alſo make their own Propoſals. "Mr. *Baxter* told him, he thought they might be "able to offer him ſuch Terms (without injuring "any one) as might take in both *Presbyterians* and "*Independents*, and all ſound Chriſtians into the publick eſtabliſh'd Miniſtry. He anſwer'd, that that "was a thing that he would not have, and ſo it "was agreed to go firſt upon the *Comprehenſion*. A "few Days after he ſent his Propoſals. After this "they met with Dr. *Wilkins* and Mr. *Burton* to confer about the matter. The thing they moſt differ'd about was *Re-ordination*. At length by Conference with Sir *Matthew Hale* that Point was thus "adjuſted, that there ſhould be an admiſſion into the "Miniſtry of the Church of *England*, of thoſe who "had been Ordained before, according to this Form "of Words, *Take thou legal Authority to preach the* "*Word of God, and adminiſter the Holy Sacraments* "*in any Congregation of* England, *where thou ſhalt* "*be lawfully appointed thereunto.* It was agreed the "Ceremonies ſhould be left indifferent, and the Liturgy alter'd; and that there ſhould be an Indulgence of ſuch as could not be *Comprehended*; the "Names of the Teachers and all the Members of "their reſpective Congregations being Regiſter'd: "And a Bill was accordingly drawn up by Judge "*Hale* to be preſented to the Parliament. But they "no ſooner ſate than the High-Church Party made "ſuch an Intereſt, as that upon putting it to the "Vote, it was carry'd that no Man ſhould bring "an Act of this Nature into the Houſe; and ſo they "prevented all Talk or Motion of ſuch a thing: "And the Lord Keeper who ſet it on Foot, grew "as indifferent about it as any one, when he ſaw "which way the Stream was ſtrongeſt.

Nonconformiſts offer at a Comprehenſion.

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1669.

Prince of *Tuſcany* comes into *Engl.*

This Year begin with the Reception of the Prince of *Tuſcany*, who in the *Portland* Frigot from *Corunna* after being driven into *Kingſale* in *Ireland*, and again into the Iſle of *Silly*, arrived at *Plymouth* on *Mar.* 22. and being there honourably received by Sir *John Skelton* the Governour, he left the Town on the 27th and lay the next Night at *Exeter*, being there complemented and attended by the Mayor and his Brethren. On *April* 1. he came to *Saliſbury*, where he was waited on by the Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Mayor and Aldermen in their Habits; the next Day he was nobly entertain'd by the Earl at his Houſe in *Wilton*; and proceeding on his Road, he was met and Complemented in his Majeſty's Name at *Brentford*, by the Lord Viſcount *Mandeville* in one of his Majeſty's Coaches, and coming to *London April* 5. *Incognito*, he was at his arrival attended by Sir *William Killigrew* with a Complement from her Majeſty, by the Earl of *Peterborough* from his Royal Highneſs, and from her Royal Highneſs by Sir *William Powel* the Maſter of her Horſe. At the end of the Month he went along with the King and the Duke of *York* and Prince *Rupert* to *Newmarket*, and having diverted himſelf with the Recreations of that Place, he went to *Cambridge* on *May* 1. and was received with all Reſpect imaginable by the Univerſity and Town, being attended at his Lodgings, and Complemented in the Name of the Univerſity by the two Divinity Profeſſors accompanied by all the young Noblemen then Students there, and by the Mayor and Aldermen from the Town; which done his Highneſs being pleaſed to go abroad, the Vice-Chancellor with the Doctors and both the Proctors, ſtood ready in their Habits of Formality to receive him at the publick Schools, all the Scholars being ranged on each ſide of the way; the publick Orator entertain'd him with a Speech at the Gate, from whence his Highneſs was conducted into the Regent-Houſe, where was held a Congregation for creating in all Degrees and Faculties on this occaſion, by the particular Command of his Majeſty, where a ſecond Speech was made to him by the ſame Orator. In the Afternoon he was pleaſed to be preſent at a Philoſophy Act appointed for that purpoſe, and performed to the great Satisfaction of the Prince and the whole Auditory. The Prince went away to *Northampton*, and being entertain'd at Dinner on

His Reception at *Cambridge*.

[a] See the Perjur'd Phanatick, or the malicious Conſpiracy of Sir *John Croke* of *Chilton*, Baronet, Juſtice of Peace in Com. *Bucks*, *Henry Larimore*, Anabaptiſt Preacher, and other Phanaticks, againſt the Life of *Robert Hawkins*, M. A. Miniſter of *Chilton*, occaſioned by his Suit for Tythes: Diſcover'd in a Tryal at *Aileſbury* before the Right Honourable Sir *Matthew Hale*, Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, on *Thurſday March* 11. 1668. Publiſh'd by his Lordſhip's Command. *Fol.* 1669. *Note*, the Miniſter ſo tried and acquitted, publiſh'd a ſecond Edition of this Tryal two and forty Years after it, in 1710. With a Preface to the Reader, giving a more full Account of the Occaſion of his Troubles. He was ſtill a ſtrong hearty old Man; and giving me a printed Copy of the new Edition of his Tryal, which he diſtributed for want of being provided for, he told me, that after his Tryal, tho' acquitted, he was forc'd to remove from *Chilton*, and to accept of *Beckley*, a poor Curacy, near *Oxford*, not exceeding 10 *l. per Ann.* being at the ſame time employ'd by Mr. *Croke* of *Studley* to preach the Lecture there, founded by his Anceſtor Judge *Croke*: But upon that Gentleman's Deceaſe he was depriv'd of the Lecture; and being reduc'd to great Neceſſities, he was forc'd to come up and take Refuge in *London*, where he had no other Support but 12 *l. per Ann.* for helping to bury the Dead in the Pariſh of *Cripplegate*, and what he could get by the occaſional reading of Prayers in other Churches in or near the Town.

Monday

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Andat Oxford.

Monday May 3. he came very late that Night to *Oxford*, and refuſing the Lodgings offer'd him by the Vice-Chancellor in *Chriſt-Church*, went to be more private in the *Angel-Inn*; where the next Morning he was attended by the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors in their Scarlet to Complement him, and to know his Pleaſure when he would be at leiſure to be received in Convocation; the Vice-Chancellor with ſome Doctors afterwards waiting on him the ſame Morning to ſhew him moſt of the chief Colleges, where he was received by the reſpective Societies and Complemented with Speeches. In the Afternoon the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors went again to his Lodgings, and conducted him thence to the Convocation, his Highneſs being pleaſed to walk all the way on Foot, thro' the Ranks of Scholars placed on each ſide from his Lodgings to the Schools. The Maſters of Arts being ſet in the Convocation-Houſe attended there his Arrival, upon which the Convocation began, the Prince being firſt ſeated in a Chair of State provided for that occaſion on the right hand of the Vice-Chancellor, then the publick Orator Dr. *South* made him an Oration, which ended, and ſeveral Academical Affairs diſpatch'd, to ſatisfy his Highneſs of the manner of acting in thoſe Aſſemblies; his Phyſician (a Doctor of *Bononia*) was incorporated and admitted to the ſame Degree. Then the Prince was conducted to the New-Theatre, and ſo to the publick Library, where he had a view of the choiceſt Manuſcripts, Coins, and other Rarities of that Place; and hence to the ſeveral Schools, in moſt of which the Profeſſors and Lecturers were reading in their ſeveral Faculties, and Diſputations held in the others: His Highneſs was pleaſed particularly to take a Seat in that of *Geometry*, and to hear a learned Lecture read by Dr. *Wallis*; and having heard ſome Diſputations in the School of Tongues, and in that of Natural Philoſophy, he was entertain'd in the Muſick School with Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſick, and at ſeven in the Evening was reconducted to his Lodgings by the Vice-Chancellor and ſome of the Doctors, who attended him again the next Morning, and took their leave upon his departing that Day for *Windſor*. On *May* 11. he was carried by his Majeſty into *Hyde-Park*, to take a view of the three Troops of his Majeſty's Horſe-Guards, and ſeven of the Regiment of Guards Commanded by the Earl of *Oxford*, with fourteen Companies of the Foot Guards of his Majeſty's Regiment, and of the Generals Regiment of Guards, all drawn up in excellent Order and Equipage. On *Monday May* 31. his Majeſty and Royal Highneſs were pleaſed to do the Prince the Honour to ſup with him at St. *Alban's* Houſe in St. *James's-Fields*, and were entertain'd by him with great Magnificence. The next Day he took his leave of the Court, and departed for *Holland* much ſatisfied with his Reception here, and the Honours he had received.

At the beginning of *July* Prince *George* of *Denmark*, after a ſhort Tour in *France*, came over to ſee the *Engliſh* Court, and on *Wedneſday July* 21. was by the Lord Chamberlain conducted to his Majeſty, and in the Afternoon was introduc'd to the Queen, and after an honourable Reception return'd again for *Denmark*.

Opening of the Theatre at Oxford.

On *Friday July* 9. the Univerſity of *Oxford* being aſſembled in a full Body, went to take poſſeſſion of the new Theatre, the Magnificent Benefaction of his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, where after the reading of his Graces Grant by the Regiſter of the Univerſity, Dr. *South*, the publick Orator made an excellent Speech upon the Occaſion: In the Afternoon, being again aſſembled and placed in the Theatre, after the Muſick, were pronounc'd ſeveral Panegyricks, the firſt in Proſe, then one in Pindarick Verſe; after that an Oration, then a Dialogue in Poetry; which having taken up a conſiderable time, the Auditory was diverted with excellent Muſick, Vocal and Inſtrumental; which ended, they were again entertain'd with another Oration, follow'd by two Speeches in Poetry, and afterwards by a Diſcourſe in favour of Learning, then a ſhort Speech from the Muſick Gallery, uſhering in two Odes, which were excellently ſung; after which follow'd another Speech, which concluded the Solemnity of that Day.

D. of Ormond made Chancellor of Oxford.

On *Wedneſday Aug.* 4. was held a Convocation by the Univerſity in the uſual Place, in which upon a Reſignation of the Chancellorſhip, which was ſent by his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to the Vice-Chancellor, the Univerſity according to Statute proceeded to a new Election, and unanimouſly made choice of his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* to ſucceed in that honourable Charge. This Reſignation of the Archbiſhop was made upon a Reſolution of his retiring from publick Buſineſs, and a Satisfaction to himſelf that he had ſerved the Univerſity with as much Affection and greater Munificence than any of his Predeceſſors. He earneſtly recommended the Duke of *Ormond* to be his Succeſſor, having a great and juſt Opinion of the Duke's Integrity and Honour; and to ſhew the higher Eſteem of him, he did this at a Juncture, when the Duke was out of Favour at Court; having been called out of *Ireland*, and leaving his Son the Lord *Oſſory* to command in his Abſence, was ſoon ſucceeded by the Lord *Roberts*, but left a Reputation and an Intereſt in that Kingdom exceeding great; and upon the firſt News of the Change, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, the Provoſt of the College, the Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, and moſt of the Clergy attended the Lord *Oſſory*, to make a ſolemn Acknowledgement of the many Benefits which the City had receiv'd from the Government of his Father and himſelf, and the Protection and Favours which the Church had enjoy'd, as well by their good Examples as by the plentiful Proviſion made by them for the Clergy.

His good Character

Ambaſſadors ſent abroad.

Mr. *Montague* was ſent Ambaſſador from his Majeſty of *Great Britain* to the *French* King, and made his publick Entry into *Paris April* 25. and with great State [a] and Ceremony had his Audience the next Day. Sir *Peter Wich* was ſent Envoy to the Court of *Muſcovy*, and arrived at *Riga* on *May* 1. having been upon the way civilly treated and complemented

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[a] The Intrigues of the *French* Court were already working how to break the *Triple Alliance* betwixt *England*, *Holland*, and *Sweden*; and Monſieur *Colbert*, the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*, had his Inſtructions to ſpread about his Maſter's Gold for that purpoſe. A Letter of Sir *William Temple*, Ambaſſador in *Holland*, to the Lord Keeper, dated, *April* 2. 1669. N. S. gave his Lordſhip early Notice, informing him, that Monſieur *Paffendorf*, the *Swediſh* Agent, in his late Return from *Paris*, had acquainted Monſieur *De Wit*, that the *French* Miniſters had told him in that Court that *England* would certainly fail in the *Triple Alliance* and Meaſures with *Sweden* and *Holland*: And when he queſtion'd this Report, M. *Jurenne* at laſt ſhew'd him a Letter from M. *Colbert*, their Ambaſſador in *England*, wherein he gave an Account of the happy Succeſſes he had met with in his Negotiations in our [*Engliſh*] Court; of the good Diſpoſitions there, and eſpecially thoſe of ſome of our chief Miniſters; upon which he added theſe Words: *Et Je leur ay enfin ſentir tout l'etendue de la Liberalite de ſa Majeſte.*

A late Writer under very good Inſtruction has told us: It is not to be imagin'd how the *French* King's Agent deſcended in their Briberies; they made uſe of the meaneſt Tools, and fix'd their Gold on Fellows that never ſaw any before in their Lives; as I have read ſomewhere of the Traffick of the *French* Ambaſſador in King *Charles's* Reign, who dealt even with Slaves to gain his Ends. His Maſter was then endeavouring to bring *England* to join with *France* againſt *Holland*, and gave his Money away very freely. Among others that had taſted of his Bounty, was a *Black* belonging to a Perſon of Quality, from whom this Story came, and in one of the moſt ſervile Employments of his Family. The Ambaſſador found a way to give this Boy ten Guineas, only to get out of him what he heard the Servants of a higher Form talk about a *Holland* War. —— There was a certain great Favourite in King

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plemented by the Magiſtrates of *Dantzick*, and afterwards entertain'd at *Coningsbergh* in *Pruſſia* by his Electoral Highneſs of *Brandenburgh*, and honourably treated through the Territories of the Duke of *Courland*. Sir *Thomas Higgons* had gone Envoy Extraordinary to his Highneſs the Elector of *Saxony*, and had carried to him the Order of the Garter, returning in the beginning of *June*, and reporting that he had been treated with extraordinary Kindneſs and Bounty. Sir *William Godolphin* was ſent with the like Character to the Court of *Portugal*, and arriving at *Liſbon* on *May* 18. had his publick Audience from the Prince and Princeſs, to which he was conducted in the Prince's Coach by *Don Lucas de Portugal*. The Lord *Howard* being appointed by his Majeſty to go in an Ambaſſy to the Emperor of *Morocco*, imbark'd himſelf with a very ſplendid Train at *Plimouth*, in a Squadron under the Command of Sir *Thomas Allen*. The Lord Viſcount *Falconbridge* being diſpatch'd on an Ambaſſy Extraordinary to the Republick of *Venice*, and ſeveral Princes of *Italy*, departed from *London* on *Jan* 18.

Death of great Men.

On *July* 16. died the Right Honourable the Earl of *Berkſhire* of a lingering Diſtemper, occaſion'd ſome Months ago by an accidental Fall; on the twentieth in the Evening his Body was honourably attended to his Interment in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. He was near the 90th Year of his Age, and the eldeſt Knight of the Right Honourable Order of the Garter. The Queen-Mother *Henrietta Maria*, who in *June* 1665. had again croſs'd the Seas to reſide in her Native Country, departed this Life on *Aug.* 10. N. S. about four in the Morning, at her Houſe at *Colombe* four Leagues from *Paris*, in the 60th Year of her Age. Her Body was Embalm'd and expoſed ſome time in an Apartment within the Caſtle of *Colombe* with great Ceremonies; her Heart was in a Veſſel of Silver inſcrib'd with her Name and Title carried in a Mourning Coach to the Monaſtery of *Chaliot*, attended by the Lord *Montague* her Almoner and a long Retinue: Her Body was convey'd to St. *Dennis*, and receiv'd at the Door of the Church by the Religious with Tapers in their Hands, where the grand Almoner made a Diſcourſe upon the Subject, which was anſwer'd by the Prior; then the Body was placed in a Chapel behind the Quire, and afterward interr'd with great Solemnity. She was no more Popular in the Reign of her Son, than ſhe had been in that of her Royal Husband, and had the common Imputation of bringing no leſs Miſchiefs on the one Reign than ſhe had Miſeries on the other.

And of the Queen-Mother.

Of Sir *Ed. Nicholas.*

On *Wedneſday Sept.* 1. Sir *Edward Nicholas* one of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, a Perſon of great Abilities and Integrity, by which he had faithfully ſerv'd his Majeſty and his Royal Father, in the Employment of Secretary of State, dy'd at his Houſe in *Horſley* in the County of *Surry*, after a long Sickneſs, in the 77 or near the 78th Year of his Age.

Duke of *Albemarle.*

The Duke of *Albemarle* had fallen this Summer into a long and dangerous Diſtemper, but in the beginning of of *July* he thought himſelf perfectly recover'd and reſtor'd to his former Health by the Aſſiſtance of a Quack, one *William Sermon* of *Briſtol*, whoſe Pills had that Succeſs as to bring him perfectly to his Sleep and Appetite, and wholly to abate all the Symptoms of his Diſeaſe, ſo that on *July* 12. as being perfectly cur'd, he diſmiſſed his Phyſicians from their farther Attendance; and next Day Mr. *Sermon* was preſented to his Majeſty in St. *James's-Park*, where he had the Honour to be admitted to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand, and to receive his Thanks for the good Service of that excellent Cure performed upon his Grace. But toward Winter the Duke fell into a Relapſe, and died at the *Cockpit* by *Whitehall* on *Jan.* 3. in the ſixty ſecond Year of his Age. His Garter being brought to the King, was by his immediate Command carried back to the Earl of *Torrington* then by his Father's Death Duke of *Albemarle*; with a kind Aſſurance that he ſhould ſucceed in the place of Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Devon*; and as the laſt Mark of his Majeſty's Gratitude to the immortal Memory of the Deceaſed, his Majeſty would himſelf take care for the Funeral, to be celebrated with a Solemnity, ſuch as may become the glorious Things he did in the Service of the Crown, and the eminent Senſe and Value his Majeſty will ever retain of them. Accordingly after the Body had lain in State ſome time in *Somerſet-Houſe*, a publick Funeral was magnificently celebrated in a ſolemn Proceſſion from thence to *Weſtminſter-Abbey* on *April* 30. 1670. accompanied by a long Train of Perſons of Quality, with all the Triumphs of Honour becoming ſo great a General, and was buried on the *North* ſide of King *Henry* VII's Chapel, with an Eloquent Sermon preach'd and publiſh'd by *Seth* Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*. As he had been ſingularly happy in being the chief Inſtrument of the King's Return, he was no leſs happy in the Senſe the King ever continu'd to expreſs of ſo great an Obligation: It ſhew'd him to be a Man of great Sincerity and true Judgment, that he did not ſeem to over value his own Services, but kept himſelf all along in the Eſteem of the Court and the Affections of the People. His Wife the Dutcheſs died in the ſame Houſe the twenty third Day of the ſame Month, and was privately interr'd in the ſame Chapel.

Meeting of Parliament.

On *October* 19. the two Houſes of Parliament according to their laſt Prorogation met at *Weſtminſter*, where his Majeſty in a gracious Speech acquainted [a] them *with his Joy to ſee them at that time, and the Hopes he had of a happy meeting, which he promiſed to himſelf from the great Experience he had of their Affection and Loyalty, of which he doubted not the continuance; briefly minding them of his Debts, which tho' preſſing, he was unwilling to call for their Aſſiſtance till this time; acquainting them, that what they laſt gave was wholly apply'd to the Navy, and to the extraordinary Fleet for which it was intended, deſiring they*

King *Charles*'s Court, who thought of a pretty Device to receive a great Sum of Money to ſerve the *French* Intereſt, and to do it with Decency. It muſt be own'd he was faithful to that Intereſt to the laſt, at the Expence of his Maſter's Honour, and the Safety of his Country. Whether the Sum was too great to be paid ſecretly, or whether he choſe to let the World ſee a new Art of taking a Bribe openly, without running the hazard of being call'd in Queſtion; true it is, that tho' he was very far from being a Gameſter, he found Means to put a vaſt Sum in his Pocket; and it was no hard matter to do it, when the Gentleman that play'd with him loſt it willingly, and in concert with him that won it. On this Head a Man of Worth and Intelligence wrote thus above twenty Years ago.—— There is a certain Gentleman in *England*, at this very Day, that has paid many thouſands of Pounds of the *French* King's Money, in order to enſlave *England*; and which is ſtrange, both ignorant of the Perſons to whom he paid it, and is notwithſtanding a very honeſt Man himſelf. But the manner of his paying it ſeem'd to be copied exactly from Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Pattern. Being in the Service of a great Foreign Miniſter, the then Diſtributer of the Favours of *Lewis* XIV. He was ſometimes charg'd with a greater, ſometimes a leſſer Bag of Money, according as People's different Services deſerv'd; but for the moſt part, St. *James*'s *Park* was the Place where thoſe Showers of Gold fell. It was to ſuch or ſuch a particular Tree, as number'd in ſuch a Row in the Park, that this Gentleman was directed; and there he was, without ſpeaking one ſingle Word, to deliver ſuch a particular Purſe of Money to a Man he ſhould find in ſuch or ſuch a Poſture, leaning againſt a Tree in ſuch a particular Habit, but always with his Face cover'd ſome way or other. *Secret Hiſt. of* Engl. P. II. 284.

[a] Before the meeting of Parliament, the Miniſtry were to diſpoſe the Commons to give much Money, and to make no Complaints; as Lord *Arlington* to Sir *William Godolphin* in *Spain*, by Letter, dated, *Whitehall*, *Auguſt* 26. 1669.——Our next Buſineſs will be to turn our ſelves to expect the Parliament in *October*, which we pray may be a quiet and bountiful one to his Majeſty. We have need of both thoſe Qualifications in them. *Letters of Lord* Arlington. Vol. II. p. 279.

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would now take his Debts effectually into their Conſideration; afterwards hinting to them a Propoſal of great Importance concerning the Uniting of England *and* Scotland, *which requiring ſome length, his Majeſty left it and ſome other things to his Lord Keeper to open them more fully*; which his Lordſhip accordingly did in a larger Speech. After which the Commons return'd to their Houſe and Adjourn'd till the *Thurſday* following, and the Houſe of Lords Adjourn'd till *Monday*.

Thanks of the two Houſes for ſuppreſſing Conventicles.

On *November* 6. both Houſes in purſuance of a Vote of the third inſtant attended his Majeſty in the Banqueting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, where the Lord Chief Juſtice *Vaughan*, ſupplying the room of the Lord Keeper then indiſpoſed, in the name of both Houſes return'd his Majeſty their Thanks for his Care of the Publick, in iſſuing out his Proclamation for ſuppreſſing Conventicles; deſiring his Majeſty to continue the ſame Care for the future: To which his Majeſty return'd a gracious Anſwer to the ſatisfaction of both Houſes. On *December* 11. the Black Rod was ſent from the Houſe of Peers to that of the Commons, to tell them, that *the Lords Authorized by Commiſſion from his Majeſty, deſired the Attendance of that Honourable Houſe immediately in the Houſe of Peers*, who accordingly went thither with their Speaker, to whom his Majeſty's ſaid Commiſſion being read, the Parliament was Prorogu'd till *Feb.* 14. next enſuing. On *Thurſday December* 23. his Majeſty in Council order'd a Proclamation to declare his full Purpoſe and Reſolution, that the Parliament ſhould meet and ſit on the ſaid *Feb.* 14. and therefore to require the Attendance of all the Peers and Commons preciſely on that Day, his Majeſty expecting a ready Conformity to his Royal Will and Pleaſure. And accordingly on *Monday February* 14. his Majeſty went to *Weſtminſter* in a Coach, preceded by his Trumpets and Kettle-Drums at the head of his new Guards, and followed by his Horſe-Guards, and in his Robes took his Seat in the Houſe of Lords, where he was attended by the Houſe of Commons with their Speaker, to whom he made a gracious Speech, which was enlarged by another from the Lord Keeper. Then the Houſe of Commons return'd to their own Houſe, and voted his Majeſty's Speech to be taken into Conſideration the *Thurſday* following. Upon which there aroſe an unhappy Difference between the two Houſes; but publick Information was given from *Whitehall February* 22. that *this Day the two Houſes of Parliament did, at his Majeſty's gracious Recommendation, come to an happy Agreement in the Matter in Difference between them, to the great Joy and Content of all that wiſh well to the Proſperity of his Majeſty's Government, and the Publick Quiet of this his Kingdom.*

Parl. meet again.

The Parliament in *Scotland* met the ſame Day with that of *England October* 19. and his Majeſty wrote this Letter to them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

K.'s Letter to the Parl. in *Scotland.*

"WE do often reflect, with Thankfulneſs and "Joy, upon the Goodneſs of Almighty "God, for reſtoring us to our Kingdoms, and them "to their former Liberty and Peace: And we ac"knowledge, it a farther Inſtance of God's Good"neſs, that as he hath filled our Heart with Kind"neſs towards our Subjects of that our antient "Kingdom, and with a conſtant Zeal to promote "what we judge conducible to their Welfare; ſo "he hath bleſt us with returns from them of Love, "Loyalty, and ready Compliance with our Pleaſure "on all Occaſions, moſt ſuitable thereunto; of which "our late Parliament hath given ſignal Proofs, as "well as our other good Subjects. And this gives "us Confidence, that the earneſt Deſire we have "to render this Iſland more happy than ever it was "in times paſt, by ſettling amongſt all our good "Subjects within the ſame a mutual Affection that "may endure to all Poſterity, ſhall meet with a free "Concurrence from you our Parliament, whom we "have call'd together chiefly for this End.

"The bringing of theſe two Kingdoms of *Scot*"*land* and *England* to as cloſe and ſtrict an Union "as is poſſible, is the means that we propoſe for "the effectuating thereof; which as it is the high"eſt and nobleſt Deſign we can have, for witneſ"ſing our Royal Affection to them both; ſo the "Accompliſhment of it will raiſe our Satisfaction "almoſt as high as our Wiſhes. For by the Union "of the Hearts and Hands of our People, not only "our Throne ſhall be ſtrengthned, and they have "Peace and Love ſettled among them for ever; but "we ſhall have the Glory of accompliſhing what "our Royal Grandfather King *James*, of ever bleſ"ſed Memory, attempted, as the greateſt thing he "could deviſe, and wherein he, who was a compe"tent Judge, placed the Happineſs of the Crown "and Kingdoms, and wherein he meant to have "gloried as the chiefeſt Action of his Life.

"We have fully inſtructed our Commiſſioner "with our Intentions as to this Subject, and con"cerning ſuch other Matters as ſeem to us to be "uſeful for the conſtant Peace and Welfare of the "Church and State in that our Kingdom. You are "to give him full Credit, and he will acquaint us "with all Matters; and what is farther neceſſary "for us to do, will be ſpeedily performed. So we "bid you heartily farewel.

At the opening of the ſaid Parliament, his Grace the [a] Earl of *Lauderdale*, his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner, made this Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

E. of *Lauderdale*'s Speech.

"BY the Authority of the King, and his ſpecial "Command, you are here aſſembled in his "high Court of Parliament. You have heard his "Royal Intentions under his own Hand, with the "chief Reaſons of his calling you together. You "have heard his moſt gracious Expreſſions of his "Kindneſs to his Subjects in this his antient King"dom, and his Confidence of you their Repreſen"tatives. And I ſhall, as ſhortly as I can, acquaint "you with what I have farther in Command from "my Maſter to ſay in his Name at the opening of "this his Parliament.

"And *firſt* I am to aſſure you of his Majeſty's "conſtant and unalterable Zeal for maintaining and "defending the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion

[a] The Earl of *Lauderdale* knew well that the Duke of *York* was a Papiſt, and in fear of a Popiſh Succeſſion, he gave in to a Scheme of obtaining a Divorce for the King, to leave him at liberty for lawful Iſſue. His Chaplain Dr. *Burnet*, when Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, was charg'd with a Paper written by him, ſtating the Lawfulneſs of *Divorce* in caſe of Barrenneſs, with relation to King *Charles* II.'s Marriage, which they ſaid was a Project of the Earl of *Shaftſbury*'s and his Party to put by the Duke of *York*. To which the Biſhop anſwered, what the Earl of *Shaftſbury*'s Deſigns were in that Matter I do not know; for he never once ſpoke of them to me. But I remember well that the Duke (then Earl) of *Lauderdale* moved it to me. He was the firſt that ever diſcover'd to me the Secret of King *James*'s Religion; and when he ſaw me ſtruck with great Apprehenſions upon it, he fell upon the Head of *Divorce*, and told me many Particulars that I think fit to ſuppreſs. I afterwards knew that the Matter of Fact was falſly ſtated to me. I was then but ſeven and twenty, and was pretty full of the Civil Law, which had been my firſt Study: So I told him ſeveral things out of the Digeſts, Code and Novels upon that Head; and in a great Variety of Diſcourſe we went through many Parts of it. He ſeem'd ſurpriz'd at many things that I told him, and he deſir'd me to ſtate the Matter in Paper. I very frankly did it. Yet I told him I ſpoke of the ſudden; but when I went home among my Books, I would conſider it more ſeverely. The following Winter, I writ to him, and retracted that whole Paper. —— He knew that he had preſſed me to talk of this Subject to the King himſelf, which I had refuſed to do. A great deal more belongs to this Matter, which I think fit to ſuppreſs.

"in

1669. 21 *Car.* II. " in this his Kingdom, for which he will conſtantly " lay out his whole Power and Authority; as alſo " for diſcouraging and puniſhing all Atheiſm and " Profanities, and all that is contrary to true Reli- " gion and Godlineſs.

" I am farther particularly commanded to aſſure " you, that with no leſs Zeal and Conſtancy he " will maintain and defend the ancient Government " by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, as now it is happily " ſettled, as a ſure Fence for the true Reformed " Proteſtant Religion. A Government moſt ſuit- " able to Monarchy; and well may I call it anti- " ent; for, whoever will look into Antiquity, ſhall " find Epiſcopal Government hath continued in the " whole Catholick Church, both *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, " even from the moſt Primitive and Apoſtolick " Times. I ſhall not inſiſt on the ſad Calamities " and Confuſions which the violent and rebellious " Endeavours to overturn this Government produ- " ced in this Kingdom. His Majeſty's gracious " Act of Pardon and Oblivion forbids the ripping " up thoſe Sores which his own Royal Hand hath " cured; and long may they be buried in Oblivion. " Yet ſure I am, the Reflexions on thoſe diſmal " Days ought to raiſe no leſs Zeal in the Parlia- " ment, and in all good Subjects, for the maintain- " ing of that Government, as now it is happily " ſettled: For in his Majeſty's Name, and by his " ſpecial Command I do aſſure you, he will employ " his utmoſt Power in the Maintenance of that Go- " vernment, and will protect the Perſons of my " Lords the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and of the " Loyal, Orthodox, and peaceable Clergy, in the " Exerciſe of their Functions. He will not endure " thoſe numerous and unlawful Conventicles which " tend to Sedition and Schiſm, which have been too " frequent in ſome few Shires of this Kingdom. " Good Laws have been made, and in Proſecution " of thoſe Laws, the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy " Council have ſhewn their Care for ſuppreſſing " thoſe ſeditious Aſſemblies: Yea, and of late his " Majeſty has graciouſly indulged the planting of " ſome who were eſteemed peaceable Men, in va- " cant Churches (though they came not up to the " Rules eſtabliſh'd.) It will be expected, that they " walk worthy of ſo great a Favour: But if, after " this removal of the very Pretence of unlawful " Conventicles, any factious People ſhall, in con- " tempt of his Majeſty's Laws, yea and of his In- " dulgence alſo, ſeditiouſly aſſemble themſelves un- " der pretence of Religious Worſhip, his Majeſty " doth require his Parliament, and all in Authority " under him, vigorouſly to ſuppreſs ſuch Meetings, " and to bring the pretended Preachers, and the " Ringleaders of ſuch unlawful Aſſemblies, to con- " dign and exemplary Puniſhment.

" In the next place, I am commanded to let you " know that I am ſufficiently inſtructed to give his " Majeſty's Royal Aſſent to ſuch Laws as ſhall be " prepared in this Parliament, for the conſtant " Peace and Welfare of this Church, and of the " Kingdom in all its Relations: But the chief Oc- " caſion of calling this Parliament, is the proſecu- " ting that great and glorious Deſign of bringing " his Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England* to a ſtrict- " er and nearer Union. This Deſign was begun by " his Royal Grandfather of bleſſed Memory, who " went ſo far on towards this great Work, that in " the firſt Year of his Reign over *Great-Britain*, " King *James* named Commiſſioners for this King- " dom, who by Act of Parliament were authorized " to treat and conſult with Commiſſioners for the " Kingdom of *England* concerning ſuch an Union: " And in purſuance of their Treaty, Acts were made " for the Repealing of hoſtile Laws, and the utter " abolition of all memory of Hoſtility between the " two Nations: And in the ſeventh Year of his " Reign, it was by the Judges of all the Courts of " *Weſtminſter-Hall* in *England*, ſolemnly adjudged " in the Caſe of the *Poſtnati*, that thoſe who after " the deſcent of the Crown of *England* to K. *James* " were born in *Scotland*, were no Aliens in *England*, " and conſequently were capable not only of Land, " but of all other Immunities, as if they had been " born in *England*; ſo much was done in King " *James's* time. And the occaſions of his Majeſty's " Reſolutions to proſecute the great Work, were " theſe: Complaints having been made to his Ma- " jeſty, that ſince the 25th Day of *March* in the " 12th Year of his Reign, new Duties were impoſed " in *England* upon divers Commodities of the " Growth, Production, and Manufacture of *Scot- " land*, and Incapacities laid upon the Subjects of " *Scotland*; it pleaſed the King to appoint divers " Meetings upon this matter, tho' without Succeſs; " whereupon the late Parliament in this Kingdom " impoſed in their third Seſſion *Ann.* 1663. great " Duties upon the Commodities of the Growth, " Production or Manufacture of *England*, which " by his Majeſty's Command were ſuſpended, and " have not been exacted, tho' the Duties in *Eng- " land* ſtill continue; and upon his Majeſty's Re- " commendation to the Parliament of *England*, " an Act was lately made for ſettling Freedom and " Intercourſe of Trade between the two Kingdoms: " Thereupon Commiſſioners were nominated and " appointed by his Majeſty for both Kingdoms to " treat upon that Affair, who had many Meetings, " but produced no Effect, unleſs it were a Convi- " ction of the difficulty, if not impoſſibility, of ſet- " tling it in any other way, than by a nearer and " more complete Union of the two Kingdoms.

" His Majeſty is fully perſuaded, that nothing " can tend more to the Good and Security of both " Nations than ſuch an Union: And finding that in " his Royal Grandfather's time ſo great an advance " was made towards this Union, and that the con- " tinuance under the ſame Obedience for near ſe- " venty Years having begotten the ſame common " Friends and common Enemies to both Nations, " and taken off a great part of thoſe Difficulties " which at the firſt (notwithſtanding the Union in " Obedience to one Sovereign) ſtood in the way; " his Majeſty well hopes, that what is yet wanting " to the perfecting of it, may be now accompliſh'd. " And therefore, in his Majeſty's Name, I do moſt " heartily recommend this great Work unto you: " and I doubt not but you will ſpeedily ſend ſuch " an humble Anſwer to his Majeſty's moſt gracious " Letter, as may witneſs how well-grounded that " Confidence is which his Majeſty hath expreſſed " of you.

" This Day the Parliament of *England* meets, and " the King will, both by himſelf and his Lord- " Keeper, make the like Propoſals (as to the Uni- " on) unto both Houſes: And I am confident that " Loyal Parliament, who have all along given ſuch " ample Teſtimonies of their Duty and Affection to " his Majeſty, will upon this Occaſion make a " ſuitable return to his Propoſals. What is farther " to be propoſed upon this Matter, ſhall be offer'd " at your next Days meeting: And the King doubts " not, but that after the meeting of Commiſſioners " for both Kingdoms, theſe things will be tender'd " to your Conſideration, in order to the Union, as " ſhall tend to the Honour of his Majeſty, and the " common Good of all his Subjects. Theſe things " I was commanded before I came away from his " Majeſty, to acquaint you with; and I have ſince, " upon another occaſion, received an Order in Wri- " ting, bearing Date the 7th of this Month, by " which I am again commanded amply to declare " his Majeſty's unchangeable Reſolution to main- " tain Epiſcopal Government in the Church. So " having begun and ended with this Declaration, I " hope both the groundleſs Jealouſies on the one " hand, and the vain and idle Hopes on the other, " ſhall be at an end.

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After ſome Conſideration the Parliament of *Scotland* returned this Anſwer to his Majeſty's gracious Letter.

Anſwer of the *Scots* Parliament to the King's Letter.

Moſt Sacred Soveraign,

" THE Goodneſs of God in reſtoring your Ma-" jeſty to your Government, and thereby " this your antient Kingdom to its former Liberty " and Peace; hath been, and will ever, with all hum-" ble Duty and Thankfulneſs, be acknowledged as " the greateſt Bleſſing we are capable of in this " World. And the many ſingular and renewed " Teſtimonies this Kingdom hath ſince met with, " of your Fatherly Care, Kindneſs, and Zeal to " promote its Welfare and Happineſs in all its Con-" cerns, have ſo engaged the Hearts and Affections " of your Subjects, that we can with Confidence " aſſure your Majeſty of a chearful Concurrence " from this Kingdom in every thing that may tend " to your Majeſty's Honour, or the good of your " Subjects.

" We do, with the like Duty and Thankfulneſs, " acknowledge your Majeſty's Grace and Goodneſs " in your Deſires to render this Iſland more happy " than ever it was in former times, by ſettling a-" mong your good Subjects within the ſame, ſuch a " mutual Affection as may endure to all Poſterity. " And ſince the bringing of your two Kingdoms of " *Scotland* and *England* to as cloſe and ſtrict an Union " as is poſſible, is the Mean your Majeſty propoſes, " for effectuating thereof we ſhall be ready to give " our hearty Concurrence therein; and in order " thereunto, are willing that Commiſſioners be ap-" pointed for this Kingdom, to treat with ſuch as " ſhall be employ'd for the Kingdom of *England*, " upon the Grounds and Conditions of this Union; " reſerving always to the Parliament, to whom the " Reſolution of theſe Commiſſioners are to be re-" turned, the Conſideration thereof, and the allow-" ing or diſallowing of the ſame, as they ſhall " judge fit. And in confidence of your Majeſty's " moſt excellent Judgment, and great Affection in " all things relating to the happineſs of your Peo-" ple, whereof this Kingdom hath already had ſuch " ſignal Proofs, we do freely and heartily offer to " your Majeſty the nomination of the Perſons to " treat for this Kingdom, with the appointing of " their Number, Quorum, Time, and Place of their " meeting: And upon ſignification of your Maje-" ſty's Pleaſure therein, we ſhall give ſuch Commiſ-" ſions and Orders for promoving of the Treaty, as " (reſerving the full determination of all to the Par-" liament, as aforeſaid) ſhall witneſs our cheerful " Compliance with your Majeſty's deſires.

" The Earl of *Lauderdale*, whom your Majeſty, " to the great Satisfaction of your People, and In-" tereſt of your Service, has been pleaſed to autho-" rize as your Commiſſioner, hath in your Majeſty's " Name renewed to us the Aſſurances of your Ma-" jeſty's Care and Reſpect, to the good of this your " antient Kingdom; for which we do humbly re-" turn unto your Majeſty the offer of our Lives " and Fortunes for the Advancement of your Maje-" ſty's Honour and Greatneſs, and Maintenance of " your Royal Authority and Government: And in " every thing ſhall be propoſed by him, we ſhall " not only give Credit as to your Commiſſioner, " but alſo ſuch chearful and ready Obedience, as " may evidence to the World the Loyalty of our " Hearts. And in Teſtimony hereof, theſe Preſents " are by Warrant, and in the Name of your Par-" liament, Signed by,

Moſt Sacred Soveraign,

Edinburgh, Octob. 22, 1669.

Your Majeſty's moſt faithful, moſt obedient, and moſt humble Subject and Servant,

ROTHES, *Cancell.*

In præſentia Dominorum PARLIAMENTI.

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Farther Proceedings of the *Scots* Parliam.

We preſent theſe Letters and Speech to the Reader, to ſhew what Inclinations and what Attempts have been for a Union between the two Kingdoms; and how the former Motions of that kind have been heavily carried on, and abruptly ended. During this Seſſion of the *Scots* Parliament, they made *An Act aſſerting his Majeſty's Supremacy over all Perſons and in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical*, to a higher and more effectual degree than had ever been before legally declared. And they made another *Act* for the Benefit of Trade by the *Naturalization of Strangers within the Kingdom of* Scotland; providing, that all Strangers of the Proteſtant Religion, who ſhould think fit to bring their Eſtates into the ſaid Kingdom, or ſhould come to ſet up new Works and Manufactures therein, ſhould be received and treated as Native-born Subjects to all Intents and Purpoſes. The King farther declaring, that upon Application made to him by ſuch Strangers, he would grant them the free and publick uſe of their Religion in their own Language, and the Liberty of having Churches of their own. But in the mean time, as to the *Union*, nothing in Parliament was done, and very little mention'd of the matter. It is obſervable, that tho' the Deſign tended moſt to the Intereſt of *Scotland*, and the Wiſhes and Deſires of it ſeem'd to come from thence; yet the Objections and Interruptions were chiefly from the ſame Quarter, and were owing to the Jealouſies of ſuffering as the weaker ſide, to the Love of Independence, and the Affectation of a ſeparate Intereſt, and the Remembrance of being an antient Kingdom within itſelf; which Principles muſt needs indiſpoſe them to the Propoſal or Reception of any effectual Terms of Union; tho' indeed under all theſe Diſadvantages, they were in great meaſure united by *Oliver Cromwel*.

State of Religion.

Nonconformiſts indulged.

The Nonconformiſts had their open Meetings more full and frequent, and their Intereſt and Figure growing more conſiderable, by reaſon of the King's apparent Inclinations of Indulgence to them; and by the particular Countenance and Protection of ſome of the chief Miniſters of State, who agreed in the Patronage of them, tho' on a different Principle; ſome out of Humanity and Moderation, but others from a worſe Motive of gaining the more Liberty to Papiſts, and weakning the Communion of the Eſtabliſh'd Church. Under theſe Advantages the Nonconformiſts aſſum'd a Liberty that became very offenſive to thoſe who were by Conſcience in the Communion of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, and had a reſpect for the legal Conſtitution of the Kingdom. For by their own Account, " Mr. *Baxter* and other " Teachers now openly boaſted of the Act againſt " Conventicles being no longer in Force; of their " Meetings being not now contrary to Law; of no " Act in being that could convict them of keeping " Conventicles; of the *Oxford* Act only ſuppoſing " Perſons already convicted, but not enabling any " to convict them; of the *Oxford* Oath no way con-" cerning their Teachers, and that it ought not to " be put upon them. And to make themſelves a more formidable Body againſt the Church, the two chief Parties, the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, were now projecting a Union with one another, as the Fact and Method are thus deliver'd in their own way. " At this time (1669) Mr. *Baxter* was pro-" jecting an Agreement with the Independents for " the ſtrengthning of the common Intereſt: Dr. " *Owen*, in his Catechiſm, had made two conſide-" rable Conceſſions, *viz. That the People have not* " *the Power of the Keys*; and, *That they give not the* " *Power of the Keys, or their Office Power to the Pa-* " *ſtors*. Theſe Conceſſions he thought very improv-" able, and therefore he propoſed to him, that they " two ſhould ſee how far they could go towards an " Accommodation, before the Matter was commu-" nicated to others. The Method he offer'd was

Union propos'd between *Presbyter.* and *Independ.*

" this:

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"this: That they ſhould firſt fix the Eſſentials of Religion and Communion, which are the Terms that all Chriſtians agree in; and then endeavour to find out the Means of bringing both Sides to conſent to Communion upon thoſe Terms. He thought the moſt likely Method would be, the drawing up a Writing containing all the Points of Diſcipline, great and ſmall, which the two Parties were really agreed in, which would make the few things they differ'd in ſeem ſo ſmall, as not to be ſufficient to hinder Communion. He was for each of them to draw up a draught, and then conſider the Matter together; but the Dr. highly approving the Motion, deſired him to undertake it. Whereupon he drew up a great many *Theſes*, as the Matter of their common Concord. He complained they were too many, and might be abridg'd: Whereupon he quickly carried him another Draught, of ſo many of thoſe things which both *Presbyterians* and *Independents* are agreed in, as are neceſſary to their practical Concord and Communion with reſpect to the things wherein they are or ſeem diſagreed. The Dr's Objections were principally four: That the Particulars inſiſted on were too many for the firſt Attempt; that the *Socinians* would agree to make the Creed, as expounded in the firſt four Councils, the Teſt of Orthodoxy; that ſome Expreſſions ſuited to prevent future Diviſions and Separations, would ſeem to reflect on former actings; and, that the inſiſting on the Power of the Magiſtrate, eſpecially as under Civil Coercion and Puniſhment, was not neceſſary in the firſt Attempt."

Confidence of the Diſſenters.

Under this Diſpoſition of all the Diſſenters jointly to oppoſe the Church of *England*, they ſeem'd to deſpiſe, and indeed to defy the Laws againſt them. When Mr. *Baxter* was brought before the Juſtices of Peace, and told by them, that he was convict of keeping Conventicles contrary to the Law, and ſo tender'd him the *Oxford* Oath; he anſwer'd boldly, *That he took not his Meeting to be contrary to Law; and that the* Oxford *Oath did not concern him; nor could he apprehend they were impower'd by the Act to put it upon him.* And when for his Offence and Contempt he was committed to Goal for ſix Months, many at Court mov'd for him; the Earl of *Orrery*, Earl of *Mancheſter*, Lord *Arlington*, and Duke of *Buckingham*, intimated to the King, that his Impriſonment was not for his Service: And Sir *John Barber* came to him in Priſon, to let him know, that the King in Diſcourſe had ſignified to him, *That he was not willing to be ſeen to relax the Law, but that he would not be offended if he ſought his Remedy at Law.* And accordingly, his *Habeas Corpus* was demanded at the *Common Pleas*, and granted: The Judges declar'd the *Mittimus* invalid, and he was diſcharged; "having receiv'd in Priſon 20 Broad Pieces from Sir *John Bernard*, 10*l.* from the Counteſs of *Exeter*, and 5*l.* of Alderman *Beard*; which defray'd his Law and Priſon Charges."

Abridgm. of Mr. Baxter's Life.

A formidable Party.

The whole Party were indeed ſo bold in trampling upon the Laws and Conſtitution, that it juſtly raiſed not only the Indignation of the Church-Men, but the Jealouſie of all who were honeſtly concern'd for the Government, and the legal Adminiſtration of it. And therefore the better to diſcover their Numbers and places of publick Meeting, the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſent his circular Letter, dated from *Lambeth June* 8. 1669. requiring the Bp of *London* and his other Suffragans, to take a particular Account of them within their reſpective Dioceſes. And the Return of this Enquiry made ſuch a due Impreſſion on the better part of the Miniſtry, that on *Friday July* 16. "Upon ſeveral Informations which had been given in to his Majeſty from ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, that thoſe who ſeparate themſelves from the eſtabliſh'd Worſhip, do meet in greater Numbers than formerly, to ſuch a degree as may endanger the publick Peace, by which his Majeſty could not but take notice how far his known and ſtill avowed Eaſineſs to indulge tender Conſciences was abuſed thereby; his Majeſty was pleaſed, by the Advice of his Privy Council, to order his Proclamation to be iſſued out, ſtraitly charging and commanding all his Juſtices of the Peace, within the Limits of their ſeveral Juriſdictions, where they ſhall find ſuch Meetings to be held; that they put the Laws in execution for Suppreſſion thereof, and particularly proceed againſt the Preachers, according to the Statute made in the 17th of his Majeſty's Reign, intitled, *An Act for reſtraining Nonconformiſts from inhabiting in Corporations.*" This Proceeding of the King in Council met with ſuch a general Approbation from the Nobility and Gentry, that at the next Meeting of the Parliament, both Houſes, in a ſolemn manner, on "*Novemb.* 6. return'd his Majeſty their Thanks for his Care of the Publick, in iſſuing out his Proclamation for ſuppreſſing Conventicles; and humbly deſired his Majeſty to continue the ſame care for the future."

Proclamation for ſuppreſſing Conventicles.

Royal Favours to the Sees of *Exeter* and *Sarum*.

His Majeſty was pleaſed this Year to confer two ſignal Marks of Favour upon the two Epiſcopal Sees of *Exeter* and *Sarum*. For upon the Vacancy of the Deanery of St. *Burien* in *Cornwal*, the Dignity and Revenue thereof was by Royal Authority annex'd and united for ever to the Biſhoprick of [a] *Exeter*, for the better ſupport of that See miſerably impoveriſh'd at the Reformation. And in a Chapter of the moſt noble Order of the Garter held at *Whitehall* on *Nov.* 19. the Sovereign then declared, that the Reaſon of calling this Chapter was to conſider of the Pretenſions of Dr. *Seth Ward* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, exhibited in a Petition concerning the Title and Claim of himſelf and his Succeſſors unto the Office of Chancellor of the moſt noble Order of the Garter (when the ſame ſhould become void) the Biſhop grounding the Equity of his Claim upon a Charter firſt granted by King *Edward* the Fourth, in the fifteenth Year of his Reign, unto *Richard Beauchamp* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and his Succeſſors for ever; which Charter hath been ſince confirm'd under the Great Seal of *England* by other Kings and Queens, and particularly by King *Charles* the Firſt, of ever bleſſed Memory: Hereupon the Biſhop being called in, and commanded to produce his Proofs to make good that his Pretenſion, accordingly the Biſhop humbly offer'd an authentick Copy of the Original Charter of the ſaid King *Edward* [b] the Fourth, renewed and confirmed by the ſaid King *Charles* the Firſt, in the fourth Year of his Reign; the which being read and truly conſider'd, together with the Objections to the contrary, particularly that the Poſſeſſion and Execution of the ſaid Office of Chancellor, had been for above an hundred Years committed unto Lay-Men; notwithſtanding which, the Sovereign and Companions be-

[a] The *Gazette* gave an Account of his Majeſty's annexing the Revenue of the vacant Deanery of St. *Burien* to the Biſhoprick of *Exeter*, for the better Support of that Dignity. *Numb.* 384. And Dr. *Pope*, in his Life of Dr. *Seth Ward*, then Biſhop of *Exeter*, tells us he made the Biſhoprick better than he found it, by procuring the Deanery of St. *Burien*, near the Lands-End in *Cornwall*, to be ſettled upon the Biſhops of *Exeter* for ever by the King's Letters Patents after the Death of Dr. *Weeks*, who was then incumbent. It did not become void till Biſhop *Sparrow*'s Time. He firſt enjoy'd it, and it does ſtill, and I hope ever will (ſaith the Doctor) continue in the Poſſeſſion of the Biſhops of *Exeter*. But there is now a Failure of thoſe Hopes. Upon the Death of Biſhop *Blackhall*, the See was given to Dr. *Blackburn*, and the Deanery to Mr. *Harris*, Clerk of the Cloſet to the Prince.

[b] See *Aſhmole* of the Garter, *Fol.* p. 243.

ing

1669. 21 *Car.* II. ing fully ſatisfied with the juſtneſs of the Claim of the ſaid Biſhop, grounded upon the aforeſaid Charters, and likewiſe conſidering, that the returning of the ſaid Office to the firſt Inſtitution would be for the Honour and Dignity of the ſaid moſt Noble Order; the Sovereign thereupon with the unanimous conſent of the moſt noble Companions then preſent, did declare and ordain, that the Biſhop of *Sarum*, and his Succeſſors for ever, ſhall have and execute the Office of Chancellor of the ſaid moſt Noble Order, and receive and enjoy all Rights, Privileges and Advantages thereunto belonging, immediately upon the firſt vacancy of the ſaid Office.

Dr. *Peter Gunning* made Bp. of *Chicheſter.* *March* 6. The Ceremony of Conſecration of the Right Reverend and Learned Dr. *Peter Gunning* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, was performed in the Chapel of his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the uſual Solemnities, in preſence of both the Archbiſhops, moſt of the Biſhops now in Town, and many Perſons of Honour and Quality.

Acts paſt in Parl. 1670. The Parliament having prepar'd their Bills and diſpatch'd all other Buſineſs, on *Monday April* 11. in the Afternoon, his Majeſty was pleaſed to be preſent in the Houſe of Peers, where the two Houſes being met, the King gave his Royal Aſſent to theſe publick Acts.

1. *An Act for granting his Majeſty an Impoſition upon all Wines and Vinegar imported, between* June 24. 1670. *and* June 24. 1678.

2. *An Act for taking away the Benefit of Clergy from ſuch as ſteal Cloth from the Racks, and from ſuch as ſhall ſteal or embezel his Majeſty's Ammunition and Stores.*

3. *An Act for Improvement of Tillage, and the Breed of Cattle.*

4. *An Act for aſcertaining the Meaſures of Corn and Salt.*

5. *An Act for the repairing the Haven and Peers of* Great Yarmouth.

6. *An additional Act for the better repairing of Highways and Bridges.*

7. *An Act for advancing the Sale of Fee-Farm Rents, and other Rents.*

8. *An Act to ſuppreſs and prevent Seditious Conventicles* [a].

9. *An Act for ſettling the Impoſition on Brandy.*

10. *An Act for Authorizing ſeveral Commiſſioners of the Realm of* England, *to treat with Commiſſioners of* Scotland *for the Weal of both Kingdoms.* 1669. 21 *Car.* II.

11. *An additional Act for rebuilding of the City of* London, *uniting of Pariſhes, and rebuilding of the Cathedral and Parochial Churches within the ſaid City.*

12. *An Act to enable the King's Majeſty to make Leaſes, Grants and Copies of Offices, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, parcel of his Highneſſes Dutchy of* Cornwal, *or annex'd to the ſame.*

13. *An Act for Sale of part of the Eſtate of Sir* John Petiman, *for ſatisfaction of a Debt due to the King's Majeſty.*

After the paſſing theſe and 25 other private Acts, his Majeſty ſignified his Pleaſure, that the two Houſes ſhould adjourn till *October* 24 next; which was accordingly done.

The Act of treating for a Union between the two Kingdoms, was by concert follow'd in *Scotland*, with an Act of that Parliament for appointing their Commiſſioners to meet and act in purſuance of that great Affair: But after many Conferences and ſeeming Reſolutions of Agreement in the main things, they broke off in mutual Jealouſies and a general diſſatisfaction. I have heard one of the *Scots* Commiſſioners themſelves confeſs it was their own Fault in being over-wiſe and nice in the ſmaller terms of Accommodation. Union of the two Kingdoms a Project ineffectual.

The Dutcheſs of *Orleans* the King's Siſter was preparing for a Voyage to *England*, in appearance for a Viſit of Love and Reſpect to her Brothers, in deſign for a Meſſage from the *French* Court, to break the Triple League, and to draw in the King of *England* to aſſiſt *France* againſt the *Dutch*. His Majeſty in a kind expectation of her ſent the *Advice*, the *Guernſey*, and ſeveral Yatches to receive her Royal Highneſs at *Dunkirk*, and haſted himſelf to *Dover* on *Sunday May* 15. accompanied by the Duke of [b] *York*, Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and many other Perſons of Honour and Quality. The Dutcheſs landed the next Morning, and was received and entertain'd by his Majeſty with all poſſible Expreſſions of Kindneſs. She was attended by the Mareſchal *De Pleſſis Praſlin*, and his Brother the Biſhop of *Tournay*, Madam *De Pleſſis* the Mareſchal's Son's Lady, the Counteſs of *Grammont*, and a beau- Dutcheſs of *Orleans* meets the King at *Dover.*

[a] In preparing this Act againſt Conventicles. *March* 17, 1669/70. Leave given in the Houſe of Commons to bring in a Bill for ſuppreſſing of Conventicles. *March* 9, 1669/70. the Commons paſs'd the Bill for ſuppreſſing Conventicles, and ſent it to the Lords. The next Day, *March* 10, Mr. *Trevor* acquainted the Houſe of Commons, that upon attending his Majeſty with their Votes and Deſires for ſuppreſſing of Conventicles, and putting the Laws in Execution againſt the Papiſts, his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare, that effectual Courſe ſhould be taken with both. *March* 25, 1670. the Lords debated the Bill for ſuppreſſing of Conventicles, and made ſeveral Amendments to it. *March* 28. the Bill for ſuppreſſing Conventicles was ſent back to the Houſe of Commons, who agreed to ſeveral Amendments of the Lords, but adher'd to their own Clauſe of making *above Five* an unlawful Aſſembly. *March* 30. the Commons had a Conference with the Lords, manag'd by Sir *Heneage Finch*, who gave the Reaſons for their Adherence, and ſome Amendments in the Bill to ſuppreſs Conventicles.

[b] Father *Orleans*, who pretends to have been let into Secrets by King *James* II. in his *Hiſtory of the Revolutions in England*, tells us expreſſly, that Madame, the late Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, concluded now a Treaty between *England* and *France*, when ſhe made that myſterious Voyage beyond the Sea: And that in this Treaty one Article related to Religion, *i. e.* the granting of Liberty of Conſcience for favouring of the Catholicks: That all the Debate was concerning the Extent of that Liberty; and the two Kings acting in Concert, that Affair was handled in their Treaty. Several Propoſals were made, ſome more, ſome leſs advantageous to the Catholicks. *France* was for the more moderate, as the ſafeſt and moſt ſeaſonable; that his Majeſty ſhould grant Liberty of Conſcience to all his Subjects in general. I am not ignorant, (ſays a later Writer) that many will not allow there ever was a formal Treaty concluded at *Dover*: But whether there was any ſuch Convention or no, the Event abundantly ſhew'd that King *Charles* was drawn into a verbal Aſſurance at leaſt, and Promiſe to favour the *French* Deſigns, *&c.* *Life of Sir* William Temple. 8*vo.* p. 165.

This Intrigue was underſtood in *Holland* as well as in *France*. The *Hiſtory of* Cornelius *and* John De Wit, printed in *French* in two Volumes, tells it thus. Vol. II. p. 344. If the King of *Sweden* was not dazled with *French* Gold, it gain'd more on the King of *England*, by the Perſuaſions of the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, his Siſter, ſupported by Monſieur *Colbert* the *French* Ambaſſador, who made the King believe what he would. A hundred thouſand Piſtoles were remitted to that Miniſter, which he laid out to Advantage, to engage thoſe that had the greateſt Intereſt in the King. The Lords of the CABAL had the greateſt part of that Money; they were known to be the moſt mortal Enemies of the *United Provinces*, &c.

There was an Opera prepared for the Entertainment of the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* at her Return to *Paris*, called *de Genie de France*, written by Monſieur *St. Ange*, a Penſioner of the *French* King, wherein the Author thus addreſs'd himſelf to the Dutcheſs: "It is from your heavenly Wiſdom to manage "your Royal Brother's tender Soul, that we expect the happieſt of Conſequences. 'Tis from the Torch of your Love "to our Catholick Apoſtolick Church we hope to ſee his "*Britannick* Majeſty's Zeal to the ancient Religion of his "Anceſtors take Flame, by the Sympathy of a neareſt Relation. We long with ſomewhat of Impatience for the "happy Reſult of your Conſultations: We doubt not to ſee "that Monſter Hereſy lie grovelling at our invincible Monarch's "and your Brother's Feet, and her Supporters expiring in Chains.

The Abbot *Primi* in his *Hiſtory of the Dutch War*, printed at *Paris* 1682. is poſitive that ſome things engag'd the King of *England* to ſign a ſecret Treaty with *France*: And to make it the more firm, *Henrietta*, Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, went over into *England* in 1670, and propos'd a Treaty to her Brother in the Name of the moſt Chriſtian King, wherein ſhe proffer'd to ſecure to him an *abſolute Authority over his Parliament*, and the *Re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholick Religion in his three Kingdoms.*

tiful Servant Madam *De Quenovaille*, whom ſhe left behind her, an Object of the King's Affection and the Nation's Hatred, the enamouring and intriguing Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*.

The *French* King ſeem'd impatient in the Expectance of his Siſter's return, as if ſhe were to bring him News of very great Importance; and therefore he came to *Dunkirk* and ſtay'd there ſome Days for her arrival: The King of *England* ſending over my Lord *Bukhurſt*, and his Royal Highneſs Mr. *Thinne* to complement his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in that Port, which ought rather to have been ſtill in *Engliſh* hands. She embark'd from *Dover* on *Thurſday June* 2. and landed at *Calais* the ſame Evening. But her ſtay in *England* having been longer than *Monſieur* her Husband allow'd or expected, it raiſed a Jealouſie, or at leaſt a Diſcontent in him; and it was plainly owing to his unkind Reception of her, that in her perfection of Strength, and Health, and Age, ſhe was hurried out of the World within few Days after her return. Our Court in great Amazement † durſt not betray a ſuſpicion of her indirect way of dying, but gave this ſoft Account of it, *June* 22. *This Day arrived an Expreſs from Mr.* Montague *his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at* Paris, *with the ſad News of the Death of* Madam *his Majeſty's only Siſter, to the infinite Grief and Affliction of their Majeſty's and Royal Highneſſes, as well for the greatneſs of this loſs as for the aſtoniſhing ſuddenneſs of it. She died at St.* Clou *about four of the Clock on* Monday *Morning of a ſudden and violent Diſtemper, which had ſeized her at five of the Clock the Evening before, and was by the Phyſicians taken for a kind of Bilious Cholick.*

Her ſudden Death.

Prince of *Orange* viſits the King.

His Majeſty receiv'd this Year a more happy Viſit from his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, who had lately at eighteen Years of Age been choſen *Firſt Noble* of Zealand, and began now to *ſhew himſelf very forward, and to deſerve the Character of being a moſt extreme hopeful Prince: And to ſpeak more plainly* (in Sir *William Temple*'s own Words) *ſomething much better than he expected, a young Man of more Parts than ordinary, and of the better ſort, that is, not lying in that kind of Wit which was neither of uſe to ones ſelf nor any Body elſe; but in good plain Senſe, which ſhews Application if he had Buſineſs that deſerved it, and with extreme good and agreeable Humour and Diſpoſitions, and thus far of his way without any Vice; beſides, being ſleepy always by ten a Clock at Night, and loving Hunting as much as he hated Swearing, and preferring Cock-Ale before any Wine.*

About the beginning of *June* he had been introduced into the Council of State, and that with all the pleaſing Circumſtances of being ineffectually oppoſed, and of prevailing by the Affections of the People. At this Juncture he reſolv'd upon a Journey into *England*, but before he ſet out, he was very earneſt with the *Engliſh Ambaſſador* to have his Opinion, whether he was likely to procure any Satiſfaction in his Pretenſions there; ſaying, that *all his beſt Friends in* Holland *were of Opinion, that in caſe that ſhould wholly fail him, his Journey would prove of great prejudice to his Affairs at home, by letting his Friends ſee how little he was conſidered by his Majeſty, whoſe Countenance would be a great ſupport to him in the courſe of his Fortunes.* Theſe Pretenſions of his were ſuppoſed to be ſome Money owing from *England* upon the account of his Mother's Fortune; for the Ambaſſador's Anſwer to him on this Subject was, *That he was wholly ignorant of all his Majeſty's Affairs, beſides what related to that Country, and particularly of the preſent State of his Revenue, or how much the late Supplies had contributed towards the eaſe of it.* Upon which the Prince ſeem'd very deſirous that the Ambaſſador (Sir *William Temple*) ſhould touch on it to one of the chief Miniſters in *England*, ſo as to have his Thoughts upon it before he went. This Motion was ſuppoſed to have proceeded chiefly from the Princeſs *Dowager*, who declared her Opinion poſitively ſome Weeks before to the Ambaſſador upon that matter to the ſame purpoſe, and for ſome time perſiſted in it. This private Affair might be one Motive and the more profeſt Reaſon of his Journey to *England*; but no doubt he had ſome more publick Thoughts and Cares upon him, relating to his own Honour and Hereditary Claims, and the Intereſt of his Country, and the common Good of *Europe*, which were all now upon a very Critical Turn.

His Reception.

But whatever were the main Hopes and Deſigns of his Journey, it was diſcourag'd and protracted from time to time; yet with a Spirit not eaſily diverted from any Reſolution, he embark'd at the *Bril* on *October* 27. upon one of his Majeſty's Yatches that waited there for him, and arrived at *Margate* on *October* 29. He immediately took poſt for *Canterbury*, and lay that Night at *Rocheſter*, and went forward next Morning to *Graveſend*, where he was attended by Sir *Charles Cotterel* Maſter of the Ceremonies, with his Majeſty's Barges, and ſo conducted to *Whitehall*, where landing, he was received at the Stairs foot by the Lord Chamberlain, and conducted to the Preſence of both their Majeſty's, who received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of Affection and Joy, as did likewiſe their Royal Highneſſes, to whom he was in like manner conducted, and thence to the Apartment prepared for him at the *Cockpit*. On *Nov.* 10. the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and [a] Aldermen of *London* came and Complemented his Highneſs upon his arrival in *England*, as foreboding his being the future Reſtorer and Preſerver of their Rights and Liberties. On *Nov.* 26. being at *New-market* he viſited *Cambridge*, where he was honourably received by the whole Body of the Univerſity, entertain'd in Congregation with Speeches, and treated at Dinner by Dr. *Fleetwood* Provoſt of *King's-College*. On *December* 6. he was treated with extraordinary Magnificence by the Lord Mayor and City at *Draper's-Hall*. *December* 18. he went to *Windſor*, and from thence next Day to *Oxford*, where he was received at the Eaſt-Gate by the Mayor and Aldermen, and at St. *Mary*'s was attended by the Vice-Chancellor and the whole Body of the Univerſity, and at the great Gate of *Chriſt-Church* was received and complemented by the Dean, Canons and whole Society, and by them conducted to his Apartment in that College, where his Highneſs and his Train were nobly treated by the Dean the generous Dr. *Fell*. The next Morning his Highneſs went to view the ſeveral Colleges, and found the Heads with their reſpective Societies ſtanding at the Gates in a readineſs to receive him. After Noon he viſited the Schools, the Library and Theatre, in which laſt place a Convocation was held, where his Highneſs was Complemented in a Speech by the Orator Dr. *South*, and did the Univerſity the Honour of accepting a Degree (as did ſeveral other Honourable

† The ſeveral Authorities for concluding that the Dutcheſs was certainly poiſon'd, are well put together in the *Secret Hiſtory of* Europe. P. I. p. 108. He has omitted one thing in a Diſcourſe upon the Death of the Earl of *Eſſex* in the *Tower*.—The King had not the Courage to reſent the poiſoning his own Siſter by her Huſband the D. of *Orleans*, at a juncture when he might have made *France* feel the Effects of his Juſtice and Diſpleaſure.—For I remember, that when the late Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* had come Poſt from *Paris* to give his Majeſty an Account how *Orleans* had poiſoned the Princeſs *Henrietta*, he only replied, *Orleans is a Raſcal; but pray thee*, Tom, *do not ſpeak of what he hath done.*

[a] See a Letter of the Lord *Arlington* to Sir *William Godolphin* in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall*, *Nov.* 21. 1670. —— The Prince of *Orange* hath been now three Weeks amongſt us, much to the Satisfaction of the King, and all that have ſeen him; being a young Man of the moſt extraordinary Underſtanding and Parts, beſides his Quality and Birth, that makes him ſhine the better. His Majeſty hath promiſed him to pay his Debt, or aſſign it upon a good Fond, before he goes, which he hopes will be an Encouragement to the Queen of *Spain* to do the like. *Letters of Earl of* Arlington. Vol. II. p. 311.

Perſons

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Perſons of his Train) and of an Invitation from the Vice-Chancellor to his College of St. *John's*, where he was entertain'd with an excellent and liberal Dinner. On *Monday February* 15. the Prince parted from *Whitehal* early, in order to his return for *Holland*, *infinitely ſenſible of the great Tenderneſs and Affection expreſt to him by their Majeſty's during the time he had been in* England, *and not leſs ſatisfied with the univerſal Eſteem and Reſpects of the Court and People here.* His Highneſs din'd at *Rocheſter*, and thence having view'd the Ships that lie in the River, he embarked about five in the Evening on board his Majeſty's Yatch at *Sheerneſs*, being accompany'd by the Earl of *Oſſory*, whom his Majeſty had particularly appointed to attend his Highneſs in his Paſſage over. He came to the *Hague* privately on *Saturday* Evening, in an ordinary Stage-Coach, attended by one or two Servants, to avoid all publick Ceremony; all which could not hinder the People, who had known of his arrival, from flocking to ſee him paſs, and were not wanting to expreſs by loud Acclamations their Joy for his Highneſs's ſafe return.

His Return.

The King by his Siſter's Importunity and other Solicitations was now unhappily diſpoſed to a nearer Alliance and Correſpondence with the *French* King, who had ſeconded the Motions ſuppoſed to be whiſper'd from the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, by his Ambaſſador in Ordinary Monſieur *Colbert* [a], and by another expreſs Agent the Marquis *De Bellefonds*; and to ſoften things, had deſcended from his former ſtiffneſs, and had deliver'd up to Sir *Charles Wheeler* the *Engliſh* Portion of St. *Chriſtophers*, yet deſtroy'd all the Plantations, and carried away all that was portable, and left the Country in a worſe Condition than if it had never been inhabited. By this Intrigue of new Friendſhip, the *French* King was enabled to keep the Emperor and the Duke of *Lorrain* from entring (as before inclin'd) into the Triple League; and to engage the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* and the Biſhop of *Munſter* (two Princes of the Empire) againſt the *Dutch*; and to prepare a Fleet more formidable than the Kingdom of *France* had ever before pretended to ſhew; wherein he was aſſiſted by *Engliſh* Shipwrights and *Engliſh* Timber, to the reproach of our Court, and the great damage of our Dominion and Trade at Sea.

A nearer Alliance with Fr.

James Duke of *Monmouth* was admitted into the Privy Council on *April* 28. he was the eldeſt and beſt beloved Natural Son of King *Charles* by Mrs. *Lucy Walters*, born at *Rotterdam* on *April* 9. 1649. and bearing the Name of *James Crofts* till his Majeſty's Reſtoration; bred chiefly at *Paris* under the Eye of the Queen-Mother, and the Government of *Thomas Roſs*, Eſq; afterwards Secretary to Mr. *Coventry* Ambaſſador to the King of *Sweden*, Keeper of the King's Library, and Groom of the Privy Chamber: His Beauty, his Mien and Behaviour, in thoſe Years of Childhood were ſaid to be Graceful and Majeſtick, and to Charm all that ſaw him. He was brought over to *England* in *July* 1662. and received by the King at *Hampton-Court* with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy and Affection. He had an Apartment fitted up for him in the Privy Gallery at *Whitehall*; he had his Gentlemen and Pages to attend him, with other Equipage, Train, and Penſion, ſuitable to his Birth and Royal Relation. The ſame Year he was created Duke of *Orkney* in *Scotland*, and the 25th of *Febr.* Duke of *Monmouth*. He then took his Seat in the Houſe of Peers, and in *April* 1663. he was inſtall'd Knight of the Garter, with the uſual Solemnities, at *Windſor*. In 1665. he was entred a Member of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, having been before incorporated a Maſter of Arts in both Univerſities: In this ſame Year he was made Maſter of the Horſe, and ſoon after married *Anne* Daughter and Heir to *Francis* Earl of *Buccleugh* in *Scotland*, generally eſteem'd the greateſt Fortune and the fineſt Woman in the three Kingdoms. His Majeſty gave him ſeveral other Places of Honour and Profit, as General of his Land-Forces, Captain of his Life-guards of Horſe, Lord Lieutenant of the Eaſt-Riding of *Yorkſhire*, Governour of the Town and Citadel of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, Chief Juſtice in *Eyre* on the South-ſide of *Trent*, and in Right of his Lady, Duke of *Buccleugh*, and Lord Great Chamberlain of *Scotland*: And, what was above all other Titles, he grew every Day more and more a Favourite of the King and of the People.

Duke of Monmouth comes into Favour.

John Lord *Berkley* was appointed by the King to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and arriving at *Dublin* on *April* 21. entred that Day upon the Poſſeſſion of his Government, the Lord *Roberts* delivering up the Sword to him, with a ſhort Speech, in Council. On *Tueſday Apr.* 26. the Univerſity of *Dublin* attended his Excellency, introduced by the Lord Primate, where Dr. *Ward* made him an excellent Oration in *Latin*; to which his Excellency made his return in *Engliſh*, letting them know the Kindneſs he had for Learning and Learned Men; concluding with this Counſel to them, that they would apply their Minds and Studies to the moſt uſeful Parts of Learning, ſuch as did moſt conduce to the Benefit of Mankind, to which he promiſed them all due Encouragement.

Ld. Berkley made Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was ſent Ambaſſador from his Majeſty of *Great Britain* to the King of *Denmark*, and made his ſolemn Entry into *Copenhagen May* 14. *Henry* Earl of *Ogle*, the only Son of his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, was ſworn a Privy Counſellor on *June* 15. The Duke of *Buckingham* was ſent with [b] private Inſtructions to the *French* King, and had Audience from him at St. *Germains* in the beginning of *Auguſt*, where his Majeſty entertain'd him with a Review of his Army drawn out of the Camp at St. *Sebaſtien*, with which he preſently after took Poſſeſſion of *Lorrain*. Sir *William Temple* return'd from his Embaſſy in *Holland*, and was graciouſly received by his Majeſty on *Sept.* 20.

Embaſſies abroad.

His Majeſty, by entring into new Counſels and a ſtricter Correſpondence with the *French* King, became the more jealous of the Diſcontents of his own People: And it was on this account, that on *June* 10. his Majeſty order'd a Proclamation to be iſſued out, commanding all Officers and Soldiers ſerving in any of the Armies of the late Uſurped Powers,

[b] This intimate Correſpondence between the two Courts of *England* and *France* to the Jealouſy of *Holland* was ſufficiently confeſs'd in a Letter of the Earl of *Arlington* to Sir *William Godolphin* in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall, Aug.* 19, 1670.— This part of the World, apt to be diſcompoſed upon any new Motion of the King of *France's* Troops, as they were alarm'd at the beginning of the Year by that King's March to the Frontiers, and are now again by the raiſing of his Camp about St. *Germains*, and ſending his Troops thither. Monſieur *Van Benninghen* was with me yeſterday brimful of theſe Apprehenſions, and inferring poſitively from them, that the Peace would be immediately broken. I told him I could not believe it, becauſe the King our Maſter hath all the moral Aſſurances that can be receiv'd from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he will inviolably keep the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*: On the Confidence of which we live in a perfect good Underſtanding with that Court; and ſuch Civilities paſs between the two Kings, as give much Umbrage and Offence to Monſ. *Van Benninghen*, &c.

[b] The Mareſchal *de Bellefond* had been lately ſent over by the *French*, under a pretence of condoling the Death of Madam, the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*. His Arrival at *London* alarm'd the *Dutch* Miniſters in our Court; and Monſ. *De Wit* no longer doubted of a good Underſtanding between K. *Charles* and *Lewis* XIV. tho' the Miniſtry in *England* acted their Parts very well, purſuant to the Inſtructions given them by *France*, not to ſeem at all inclin'd to break the Alliance, till the two Courts were ready to ſtrike the deciſive Blow. Tho' the Duke of *Buckingham* was diſpatch'd to *France* to return Monſieur *de Bellefond's* Compliment, and purſue his Negotiations; yet ſo well did the Court of *England* diſſemble, that they diſſipated all Monſieur *Van Benninghen* the *Dutch* Ambaſſador's Apprehenſions, and made him look on the Voyages of the Mareſchal and Duke as pure Ceremonies only. *Secret Hiſt. of* Europe. P. I. p. 114.

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not having a conſtant Habitation, to depart out of the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, on or before the 16th of *June*, and not to return again, or come within 20 Miles, till after the 10th Day of *December* next, and in the mean time to carry no Sword, *Piſtol*, or other Arms.

Meeting of Parl.

Monday Octob. 24. the two Houſes of Parliament, according to their adjournment, re-aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, where his Majeſty made a ſhort gracious Speech to the two Houſes, leaving the Lord Keeper to open to them more at large the Particulars, which were, "The great Care his Majeſty " had taken of them and of the Kingdom ſince their " laſt Receſs, and that beſides the Triple-League " he had made many advantageous Alliances, both " for Security and Profit of Trade, with the *Swede*, " *Dane*, *Spaniard*, and the Duke of *Savoy*: But ſince " the *Dutch* and *French* made ſuch vaſt Naval Pre- " parations, it was neceſſary, for the Safety and " Honour of the Nation, that the King ſhould at " leaſt keep equal pace with them, which could " not be done without great Supplies, which muſt " be ſpeedily granted; for the King intended to put " an end to this Seſſion before *Chriſtmas*. This done, the Commons, with their Speaker, returned to their Houſe, and the ſame Morning adjourned, as did alſo the Houſe of Lords till *Thurſday*[b]. And notwithſtanding his Majeſty's declar'd Intention, they continued to ſit till *Monday March* 6. when his Majeſty gave his Royal Aſſent to ſeveral Bills preſented to him; among which, the publick ones were theſe that follow: 1. " An Act for regulating the " making of *Kidderminſter* Stuffs. 2. An Act to " prevent the malicious Burning of Houſes, Stacks " of Corn, and Hay, and killing and maiming of " Cattel. 3. An Act to prevent malicious maim- " ing and wounding. 4. An Act for re-veſting the " Power of granting Wine-Licenſes in his Majeſty's " Heirs and Succeſſors, and for ſettling a Revenue " on his Royal Highneſs in lieu thereof. 5. An Act " for granting a Subſidy to his Majeſty for Supply " of his extraordinary Occaſions. 6. An Act for " continuance of a former Act, entitled, An Act " to prevent delays in extending Statutes, Judg- " ments and Recognizances. 7. An Act for con- " tinuance of a former Act, to prevent Arreſts of " Judgments, and ſuperceeding Executions. 8. An " Act for an additional Exciſe on Beer, Ale, and " other Liquors.

Acts paſſed.

Barbarous Aſſaults on the D. of Ormond and Sir John Coventry.

In the ſame Month of *December* this Year, there were two barbarous Aſſaults made; one upon the Duke of *Ormond*, and the other upon Sir *John Coventry*; which gave expreſs occaſion to the above-mentioned *Act for preventing malicious Maiming and Wounding*, and therefore commonly called *Coventry's Act*. The Relations of theſe Facts were thus given by Authority. " On *Tueſday* the 6th of this inſtant " *December*, between the Hours of Six and Seven in " the Evening, a barbarous and inhumane Attempt " was made upon the Perſon and Life of his Grace " *James* Duke of *Ormond*, who was ſet upon in the " Streets, as he was going in his Coach, between " St. *James's* and *Clarendon-Houſe*, by ſix Perſons " armed and mounted on Horſes, who forced him " out of his Coach, and then cauſed him to be ſet " on Horſe-back behind one of their Company, with " intent to have carried him to ſome obſcure Place " out of Town, where they might with more priva- " cy have executed their villanous and bloody Con- " ſpiracy, until at laſt, the ſaid Duke endeavouring " to reſcue himſelf, by diſarming and diſmounting " him that rode before him, was very much woun- " ded in that Conflict, and lies languiſhing under " thoſe Wounds at his Lodgings in *Clarendon-Houſe*. " His Majeſty ſet forth a Proclamation, promiſing " a Reward of one thouſand Pounds to any Perſon " who ſhould diſcover any one of thoſe ſix Per- " ſons, or any of their Aiders or Abettors. It ſeems the Perſons with great probability ſuſpected, were *Richard Hallowell* alias *Holloway*, a Tobacco-Cutter in *Frying-pan Alley* in *Petticoat-Lane* without *Biſhopſgate*; *Thomas Allen*, alias *Ally*, alias *Ayliffe*, a pretended Chirurgion or Doctor of Phyſick, lodging near *Aldgate*; *Thomas Hunt*, and one *Hurſt*: But the chief of them, a Leader of the reſt of the Crew, was *Blood*, a notorious Traitor, out-law'd in *Ireland*, who with his own Hand pull'd his Grace out of the Coach, and with the help of *Ralph Alexander*, mounted him behind his eldeſt Son, *Blood* himſelf following with a Blunderbuſs to keep off the People; but his Grace's Porter ſeeing what had happen'd, ran after his Maſter, and help'd to diſingage him, and after great oppoſition to carry him ſafe to his own Houſe. *Blood's* Pretence was, that he intended no Injury to his Grace's Perſon, but only to keep him in private on the other ſide of the Water, till his Grace had ſign'd ſome Writings to ſurrender an Eſtate to *Blood* that he had forfeited by Rebellion in *Ireland*[c]: A deſperate Villain! who failing in this Attempt, made another on the Crown it ſelf in the following Year. ——— In the Preamble of the *Act to prevent malicious Maiming and Wounding*, this Account is given of the other more bloody Aſſault. " On *Decemb.* 21. a violent and inhumane Attempt " was made upon the Perſon of Sir *John Coventry*, " Knight of the Honourable Order of the *Bath*, be- " ing a Member of the Commons Houſe of Parlia- " ment, and then attending the Parliament, and up- " on the Perſon of his Servant *William Wylkes*, by " a conſiderable number of armed Men, both on " Foot and Horſeback, whereby the ſaid Sir *John* " *Coventry* and his Servant then loſt ſeveral Goods, " and the ſaid Sir *John Coventry* received divers " Wounds, ſome of which were given him in ſuch " barbarous manner, that ſome of the Offenders held " him whilſt others wounded him. The Fact, by " Bills of Indictment, was found to be committed " by Sir *Thomas Sandys*, Knight, *Charles Obrian*, " Eſq; *Simon Parry* and *Miles Reeves*, who were " fled from Juſtice, not daring to abide a legal " Trial.

State of Religion.

Act to ſuppreſs Conventicles.

The *Act* made in the former Seſſion *to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious Conventicles*, was (as the Preamble ſet forth) for " Providing farther and more ſpeedy " Remedies againſt the growing and dangerous Pra- " ctices of ſeditious Sectaries and other diſloyal Per- " ſons, who under Pretence of tender Conſciences, " have or may at their Meetings contrive Inſurre- " ctions, as late Experience hath ſhewn. And there- " fore it is Ordained, That if any Perſon of Sixteen

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[a] Mr. *Marvell* in his *Growth of Popery* 4to, 1677. tells us of this Parliament, that they met *Octob.* 20. 1670. and it is not without much labour that I have been able to recover a written Copy of the Lord *Bridgman's* Speech, none being printed but forbidden. He ſpoke thus: My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens,———when the two Houſes were laſt adjourned, this Day, as you well know, was prefixed for your Meeting again, &c.

[b] See Letter of Lord *Arlington* to Sir *William Godolphin* in *Spain*, dated *Whitehall*, *Octob.* 27. 1670.——By the Copies of the King's and Lord Keeper's Speeches, you will ſee what is ſaid to the Parliament meeting on *Monday* laſt, which adjourned itſelf to this Day, and the Houſe of Commons for a good beginning cheerfully voted, *Nemine Contradicente*, that the King ſhould be ſupplied proportionable to his preſent Occaſions.

[c] People began now to be afraid of the King's Guards, and that they would be employ'd not to defend the King, but to aſſault the Subject. The Reverend Mr. *Samuel Johnſon* wrote thus in his *Notes on the Paſtoral Letter*, of thoſe ſtanding Guards in the time of Peace, the Parliament Men us'd to ſay, *there go our Maſters*; and ſo they had reaſon after Sir *John Coventry's* uſage, and which all the great Lawyers in *England* declar'd to be illegal from the firſt, and ſuch a Force upon the Nation as the Law abhors. The Lord chief Juſtice *Vaughan* had the Honeſty and Courage to tell my Lord *Macclesfield* ſo; though he then commanded and was at the Head of them. My Lord very honourably remembred this as an Inſtance of that Great Man's Integrity, &c.

1670. 22 *Car.* II. "Years or upwards ſhall be preſent at any Aſſembly, Conventicle, or Meeting, under colour or "pretence of any Exerciſe of Religion, in other "manner than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of *England*, where five Perſons or more ſhall be aſſembled beſides the Family, and be thereof convicted by Confeſſion of the "Party, or the Oath of two Witneſſes, ſhall pay "five Shillings for the firſt Offence, and ten Shillings for the ſecond: And every Perſon taking "upon him to teach or preach in ſuch Meeting, "ſhall forfeit for the firſt Offence twenty Pounds, "and for the ſecond Offence forty Pounds; and if "the Preacher cannot be found, or be unable to "pay, then the Penalty to be levied by Warrant "upon the Goods and Chattels of any who were "preſent. And every Perſon wittingly and willingly ſuffering any Conventicle in his or her Houſe, "to forfeit the Sum of twenty Pounds. For the "better execution of the Act, Juſtices and Conſtables were impowered to break open Doors upon "refuſal of admiſſion: And Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and commiſſion'd Officers of the "Militia, were, on Certificate made by any Juſtice, to diſperſe the ſaid Conventicles. The Act, "and all Clauſes in it, to be conſtrued moſt largely and beneficially for the ſuppreſſing of Conventicles, and for the Juſtification and Encouragement of all Perſons to be employ'd in the execution thereof. There was a concluding Clauſe to provide, That neither this Act, nor any thing therein "contained, ſhould extend to invalidate or void his "Majeſty's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

Diſſenters much grieved at this Act.

This new Act was thought by the Diſſenters a mighty Grievance; and it ſeem'd the greater to them, becauſe they depended on the King's Diſpoſition of Indulgence, and a Court Intereſt that was running into a general Toleration of Papiſts, and, for the ſake of them, of all Proteſtant Diſſenters. They complain therefore of the *new Hardſhips put upon the poor Nonconformiſts*, and give their own Hiſtory of this Year in theſe Words: "The Act againſt Conventicles was renew'd, and made more ſevere than "ever: Several new Clauſes were put in; as, that "*the fault of the Mittimus ſhould not diſable it; that* "*all doubtful Clauſes in the Act ſhould be interpreted as* "*would moſt favour the ſuppreſſion of Conventicles*; "and *that they that fled, or remov'd their dwelling* "*into another Country, ſhould be purſu'd by Execution*, "&c. Dr. *Manton*, tho' he had great Friends and "mighty Promiſes of Favour, was ſent Priſoner to "the *Gatehouſe* for Preaching the Goſpel in his own "Houſe in the Pariſh where he had formerly been "Miniſter, and for not taking the *Oxford* Oath, "and yet coming within five Miles of a Corporation: And he continued there ſix Months, and all "that time the Meetings in *London* were diſturb'd "by Bands of Soldiers, to the Terror of many, and "the Death of ſome. About this time my Lord "*Lauderdale* going into *Scotland*, ſignify'd to Mr. "*Baxter* a purpoſe there was of taking off the Oath "of Canonical Obedience, and all Impoſitions of "Conformity there, ſave only that it ſhould be neceſſary to ſit in Presbyteries and Synods with the "Biſhops and Moderators; and told him, he had "the King's Conſent to offer him what Place in "*Scotland* he would chooſe, either a Church, or a "College in the Univerſity, or a Biſhoprick. From "accepting which Motion he excus'd himſelf, from "his Weakneſs and Indiſpoſition, and the Circumſtances of his Family. After that the Earl of "*Lauderdale* was in *Scotland*, Sir *Robert Murley*, a "great Confident of his, ſent Mr. *Baxter* the Frame "of a Body of Church-Diſcipline for *Scotland*, and "deſir'd his Animadverſions. The Scheme was "handſomly contriv'd, and ſavour'd of much Moderation; but the Power of Synods was contrived to be in the King: Mr. *Baxter* made his Remarks as he was deſired.

Their Complaints of it.

The Reaſons for this Act.

We ſhall do them this Juſtice all along, to give their own Story in their own Words. But tho' the Wiſdom of the Nation had very good Reaſons to make a more effectual Law againſt Conventicles[a], yet 'tis certain the Diſſenters had no great Reaſon to complain of the rigorous execution of it: It was a needful Reſtraint and Awe, rather than an actual Storm upon them. Nor did all the Sufferers of that Party ſeem to ſuffer for Conſcience-ſake, if we believe this Relation given by Authority. "*Wincheſter*, *Novemb.* 1. Two Perſons, a Man and his "Wife, both Nonconformiſts, and great pretenders "to Godlineſs, being upon ſome Miſdemeanors "committed to the Houſe of Correction in this "City, the Woman was ſeveral times obſerved to "encourage her Husband *to do what* (ſhe ſaid) *the* "*Lord had put in his Heart*, and not to be fainthearted; of which the Keeper ſuſpected not her "meaning, till entring the Room to give them "Correction, of which he pardoned the Man upon "his Submiſſion, and gave but four Stripes to the "Woman, tho' by her Haſtineſs and ill Behaviour "ſhe had much provok'd him; he was, as he was "going out of the Room, ſuddenly ſtabb'd by the "Man into the left Breaſt with a Knife; which "Wound, 'tis feared, may prove mortal. The "Priſoners are ſo little ſenſible of the heinouſneſs "of the Fact, that they have expreſſed themſelves "to be ſorry that they had not diſpatch'd the Keeper "and his Wife together; and ſeem to fear the "Knife has not done what they deſired.

Meeting-Houſes turned into Tabernacles.

That the People by ſuppreſſing of Conventicles might not be deprived of equal Opportunities to worſhip God in a ſolemn and lawful manner; it was order'd by the King and Council, that all ſuch Places of Meeting within the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* ſhould be turned into ſtated Tabernacles and be regularly ſupply'd by the Church-Divines: And therefore on *June* 15. publick Notice was given, "That the Places under-named, of late made "uſe of for Conventicles and unlawful Aſſemblies, "are now by his Majeſty's particular Command in "Council appointed to be uſed every Lord's-day "for celebrating divine Worſhip and Preaching the "Word of God, by approved Orthodox Miniſters, "thereto to be appointed by the Right Reverend "Father in God the Lord Biſhop of *London*, to begin on the next Lord's Day, for the benefit of the "Inhabitants, of the Pariſhes near adjoining reſpectively, where the Pariſh Churches have been "conſumed by the Fire.

"In *Fiſher*'s-*Folly* in *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet* a convenient Place with two Galleries, Pews and Seats.

"In *Hand-Ally* in *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet* a large "Room purpoſely built for a Meeting-Houſe, with "three Galleries, thirty large Pews, and many "Benches and Forms, known by the Name of "*Vincent*'s Congregation.

"In St. *Michael*'s-Lane, a large Room with two "Galleries and thirty nine Forms.

"In *Mugwel-ſtreet* Mr. *Doolittle*'s Meeting-Houſe,

[a] It was about this time to ſerve *French* Popery that the High Church Folks were taught to ſay, I had *rather be a Papiſt than a Preſbyterian*; which Dr. *Lewis du Moulin* forgot not in his *Appeal of the Nonconformiſts*, printed 1681. 4*to*. They have made it now become a common Proverb in the Mouths of this corrupt Church of *England* Party, that they had rather be Papiſts than Preſbyterians; and that were there a turn of State (as God forbid) they would ſooner turn Papiſts than Preſbyterians——Yet upon the Popiſh Plot this fooliſh Diſtinction vaniſh'd, and could not get Breath under all the Shams of a Preſbyterian Plot, and was hardly heard of again till toward the latter end of Queen *Anne*; when no doubt it was the Deſign and the Intereſt of *France* and the Pretender, that the good People of *England* ſhould rather be *Papiſts* than *Preſbyterians*.

"built

1670. 22 *Car*. II. " built of Brick with three Galleries, full of large " Pews, and thirty eight large Pews below, with " Locks and Keys to them, beſides Benches and " Forms.

" The *Cockpit* in *Jewin-ſtreet*, a Meeting-Houſe " of one *Grimes*, three Galleries, many Pews, Forms " and Benches.

" In *Black-Friers* Mr. *Wood*'s Meeting-Houſe, " four Rooms opening into one another, with Lat- " tice Partitions, each Room conveniently filled " with Benches and Forms.

" In *Salisbury-Court* four Rooms opening into " one another, in the Poſſeſſion of *John Fowl* a " School-Maſter.

" In *New-ſtreet* within *Shoe-Lane* four Rooms " opening into one another, with ſeventeen Pews " and divers Benches, in the poſſeſſion of Mrs. " *Turner*.

Dangers of Popery. The Lords and Commons in Parliament gave a ſufficient Proof that their Care in ſuppreſſing Conventicles was a neceſſary Means to diſcourage Popery, and to prevent the Hopes and Deſigns of that growing Faction: And therefore the two Houſes join'd in an humble Addreſs to the King, repreſenting [a] their Fears and Apprehenſions of the growth of the Popiſh Religion, and their Deſires to have the Laws impartially executed on all Popiſh Recuſants, and eſpecially on the Prieſts and Jeſuits. Upon which his Majeſty could not forbear to iſſue out his Royal Proclamation of the 23d of *March*, declaring, "That " whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and " Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, " have by their humble Petition repreſented to his " Majeſty their Fears and Apprehenſions of the " growth and encreaſe of the Popiſh Religion in " theſe his Majeſty's Dominions, together with the " Cauſes thereof, and alſo ſuch Remedies as they con- " ceive may be proper to prevent ſuch growing " Miſchiefs. Which Petition of theirs his Majeſty " having ſeriouſly conſider'd, and with much Con- " tentment and Satisfaction, accepting and appro- " ving the great Care of the ſaid Lords Spiritual and " Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, " for the Preſervation of the true Religion eſtabliſh'd " in this Kingdom; to which his Majeſty declares, " as he hath always adhered againſt all Temptati- " ons whatſoever, ſo he will ſtill employ his utmoſt " Care and Zeal in the Maintenance and Defence of " it. And therefore ſtrictly charges and commands " all Jeſuits and *Romiſh* Prieſts, that before the " firſt of *May* they depart out of *England* upon pain " of having the Penalties of the Laws and Statutes " of this Realm inflicted upon them. And for the " better diſcovery of all others who are Popiſh Re- " cuſants, or juſtly ſuſpected to be ſo, his Majeſty " commands, that all the Judges, Barons of the Ex- " chequer, Juſtices of Peace, *&c.* do not only ob- " ſerve his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure therein be- " fore expreſſed, but alſo forthwith put all other " the Laws in due Execution againſt all Popiſh Re- " cuſants, and ſuch as are ſuſpected to be ſo, in or- " der to their ſpeedy Conviction and due Proceſs " upon ſuch Convictions. And becauſe there may " be ſome Prieſts impriſoned in this Realm, yet un- " known to his Majeſty, all Sheriffs, Bayliffs and " Keepers of Priſons are within twenty Days after " publication of this Proclamation to advertiſe ſome " of the Lords of the Privy Council of their Names, " and by whom and for what Cauſe they were com- " mitted, to the end Order may be given for their " Tranſportation. 1670. 22 *Car*. II.

Conſecration of Dr. *Creighton*. On *June* 19. Dr. *Creighton* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* was ſolemnly Conſecrated at *Lambeth* with the uſual Ceremonies; at which aſſiſted the Biſhop of *London* in the place of his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* not then fully recover'd from his late Diſtemper, with the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Ely*, where the Sermon was preach'd on that occaſion by Dr. *Hill* Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*; after which, the Biſhops, ſeveral of the Nobility and many Perſons of Quality were entertain'd at a plentiful Dinner.

Conſecration of the Church of *Shadwel*. On *Sunday*, *March* 12. the new Church in *Shadwell*, formerly in the Pariſh of *Stepney*, and now made Parochial by Act of Parliament, and plentifully endowed by the Dean of St. *Pauls* and —— *Neal*, Eſq; was with the uſual Solemnity conſecrated by the Right Reverend Father in God *John* Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, commiſſionated thereunto by *Humphrey* Lord Biſhop of *London*, as being in his Dioceſe. Moſt of the Gentry of thoſe Quarters aſſiſting at the Ceremony, which being ended, the ſaid Biſhop of *Rocheſter* made an excellent and moſt learned Sermon upon that Occaſion, to the great Satisfaction and Applauſe of all that were preſent.

1671. Death of the Dutcheſs of *York*. This Year begins in Mourning for the Death of *Anne* Dutcheſs of *York*, the eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, late Lord Chancellor of *England*: After a growing Corpulency that caſt her into a long Indiſpoſition of Health, ſhe died in the 34th Year of her Age at the Palace of St. *James*'s on *Friday March* 31, between two and three in the Afternoon, and on *Wedneſday April* 5. was interr'd in a large Vault on the South Side of King *Henry* VII.'s Chapel; her Body being accompanied from the Painted Chamber in the Palace at *Weſtminſter* (whither it was privately brought from St. *James*'s) by his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, who appear'd as chief Mourner, and by moſt of the Nobility, who follow'd in Order; the Kings and Officers of Arms giving their Attendance; their Majeſty's and Royal Highneſſes Servants, and ſeveral Gentlemen and Perſons of Quality preceding the Corps to the Place of Interment, with the Solemnities uſually practis'd on the like Solemnities. She left Iſſue by *James* Duke of *York* one Son, *Edgar* Duke of *Cambridge*, who after a long Weakneſs from his very Birth, died at *Richmond* on *Thurſday June* 8. and two incomparable Daughters, the Princeſs *Mary* and the Princeſs *Anne*, both preſerved for a moſt ſingular ſucceſſive Bleſſing to this Church and Nation, and one other younger Daughter, *Catherine*, who at about ten Months old died at *Whitehall* on *Wedneſday December* 6. within this ſame Year.

Addreſs of the two Houſes. The two Houſes on their laſt Day of Sitting, *April* 22. waited in a Body upon his Majeſty in the Banquetting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, with their humble Addreſs, "That his Majeſty would be graciouſly plea- " ſed by his own Example to encourage the conſtant " wearing of the Manufactures of his own Kingdom " and Dominions, and diſcountenance the Wear of " any Manufactures made in Foreign Countries. His " Majeſty very graciouſly accepted their humble " Motion, and was pleaſed to declare, that *he would* " *comply with their Deſires; that he had in his own Per-* " *ſon as little uſed them as any, and for the future would*

[a] These Dangers of Popery were the more apparent by the growing Intimacy and Intrigues betwixt the Courts of *England* and *France*, and the Proſpect of a Rupture with *Holland*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſador going away in diſcontent; as in a Letter of the Lord *Arlington* to Sir *William Godolphin*, dated, *Whitehall, Decemb.* 22. 1670. Monſieur *Van Benninghen*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, hath left us ſomewhat in a ſtrange manner. His whole Diſcourſe ran upon the Argument of the Greatneſs of *France*, the Solicitation of the Concerns of the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Incluſion of the Emperor in the Guaranty of Peace, and many hot Skirmiſhes with us upon the Buſineſs of *Surinam*; in which, notwithſtanding his great Talent, being worſted by us, he took Pet, and a Reſolution to leave us ſooner than we expected ——

A Letter of *March* 30. 1671.——The *Hollanders* Fears increaſing, the States have by their Letters to his Majeſty and Ambaſſador reſiding here, made an Overture of a ſtricter Alliance in the nature of an offenſive and defenſive Treaty with them regulated, that now upon an Aggreſſion we ſhould likewiſe break with the Aggreſſor, [*i. e.* the *French*;] but this was rejected.

1671. 23Car. II. " *diſcountenance thoſe that ſhould.* In the Afternoon of the ſame Day, his Majeſty with the uſual Solemnities being preſent in the Houſe of Peers, and the Houſe of Commons with their Speaker there attending, was pleaſed to give his Royal Aſſent to ſeveral Bills then preſented to him, fourteen private Acts and eighteen publick, of which laſt were, 1. " An Act to prevent the delivery up of Merchants " Ships, and for the Encreaſe of good and ſerviceable Shipping. 2. An Act for exporting of Beer, " Ale and Mum. 3. An Act for laying Impoſitions on Proceedings at Law. 4. An Act for the " better ſettling of Inteſtates Eſtates. 5. An Act " for determination of Differences touching Houſes " burnt or demoliſhed within four Years ſince the " late dreadful Fire in *London.* 6. An Additional " Act for aſcertaining the Meaſures of Corn and " Salt. 7. An Act for the better and more certain " Recovery of Fines and Forfeitures due to his Majeſty. 8. An Act for the better paving and clearing the Streets and Sewers in and about *London.* " 9. An Act for the Relief and Releaſe of poor diſtreſſed Priſoners for Debt. 10. An Act for the " Diſcovery of ſuch as have defrauded the Poor of " the City of *London* of the Monies given for their " Relief, at the times of the late Plague and Fire, " and for the recovery of the Arrears thereof. 11. " An Act for the better regulating of Work-houſes " for ſetting the Poor on Work. 12. An Act for " the better ſettlement of the Maintenance of the " Parſons, Vicars and Curates in the Pariſhes of " the City of *London,* burnt by the late dreadful " Fire there. 13. An Act for veſting certain Fee-Farm Rents, and other ſmall Rents, in Truſtees. " 14. An Act to prevent Frauds in the buying and " ſelling Cattle in *Smithfield* and elſewhere. 15. An " Act for the better Preſervation of the Game, and " for the ſecuring Warrens not encloſed, and the ſeveral Fiſhings of the Realm. 16. An Act for taking the Accompts of 60000 *l.* and other Monies " given to the Loyal Indigent Officers. 17. An Act " to prevent the Planting of Tobacco in *England,* " and for regulating the Plantation Trade. 18. An " Act to revive a former Act entituled, An Act to " prevent the Diſturbances of Seamen and others, " and to preſerve the Stores belonging to his Majeſty's Navy Royal, with ſome Alterations and Additions. After the paſſing of which Acts my Lord Keeper by his Majeſty's Command prorogued the Parliament till *April* 16 next.

Acts paſſed.

Attempt to ſteal the Crown.

May 9. a bold and incredible Attempt was made to ſteal the Crown out of the *Tower* of *London* in this manner: About ſeven in the Morning four Men came to Mr. *Edwards,* Keeper of the Jewel Houſe in the *Tower,* and deſired to ſee the Regal Crown remaining in his Cuſtody; he carried them into the Room where it was kept, and ſhewed it to them as to innocent and undeſigning Strangers; but they to carry on their villainous Intention, clap'd a Gag of a ſtrange Form into the old Man's Mouth, who making what Noiſe and Reſiſtance he could, they ſtabb'd him a deep Wound in the Belly with a Stilletto, adding ſeveral other dangerous Wounds in the Head with a ſmall Beetle, which they had brought for the purpoſe of beating together and flattening the Crown, to make it the more eaſily portable; which having, together with the Ball put into Bags provided by them for that uſe, they fairly walk'd out, leaving the old Man groveling on the Ground gagged and pinioned. Thus they paſſed by all the Sentinels, till, in the mean time, the Son-in-Law of Mr. *Edwards* caſually paſſing by, and hearing the Door ſhut and ſome buſtle, went in to look what the matter might be, where he found his old Father in the miſerable Condition they had left him; whereupon running out in all haſte, and crying to ſtop the Authors of that horrid Villainy, the Perſons began to mend their Pace, and to make a ſpeedier Eſcape, which the laſt Sentinel perceiving, bid them ſtand; but inſtead of ſtanding to give an Account of themſelves, one of them fired a Piſtol at the Sentinel, and he his Musket at them; which gave the Alarm ſo, as with the purſuit of Mr. *Edwards*'s Son-in-Law, two of the Malefactors were immediately ſeized; but two more with another that held their Horſes without the *Tower-Gate* eſcaped: With the two that were taken were found the Crown and Ball, only ſome few Stones miſſing, which had been looſen'd with the beating of the Crown together with the Mallet. Thoſe two were immediately carried to *Whitehall,* and one of them proved to be *Blood,* apparell'd in the Habit of a Clergyman to cover all Suſpicion, a notorious Traitor and Incendiary, who had been out-law'd for the Rebellion in *Ireland* eight Years ago; the other was one *Perrot,* a Dyer in *Thames-ſtreet.* Within two Hours after a third was apprehended, as he was eſcaping on Horſeback, and he proved to be *Thomas Hunt,* mention'd in his Majeſty's Proclamation for the diſcovering of the Perſons who had lately committed that horrid Attempt upon his Grace the Duke of *Ormond,* but by whatever Name he went he was indeed Son of the ſaid *Blood,* who with great Impudence confeſs'd, that they two were with ſeven others in that Action. They were all three ſent cloſe Priſoners to the *Tower.*

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Knights of the Garter.

On *Sunday May* 28. being the Eve of the Celebration of St. *George*'s Feaſt, appointed to be kept this Year on the Anniverſary of his Majeſty's Birth and ever happy Reſtoration, the King as Sovereign of the Order of the Garter accompanied by the Duke of *York,* Prince *Rupert,* and ſeveral other Companions, all in their Habits proceeded in the Afternoon to the Chapel of St. *George* in *Windſor* with great Solemnity, where before the Divine Service began, the Earl of *Carliſle,* introduc'd between his Royal Highneſs and Prince *Rupert,* was Inſtalled as Proxy of the King of *Sweden*; and the Earl of *Winchelſea* between the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Buckingham* as Proxy for the Elector of *Saxony,* both which Princes had been inveſted with the full Habit of the Order in the Year 1669. and after them the Duke of *Albemarle,* introduc'd between the Earls of *Sandwich* and *Oxford,* was likewiſe inveſted and ſet in his Stall. The next Day the Feaſt was celebrated with extraordinary Splendor and Magnificence; and the Day following the Sovereign proceeding to the Chapel, after he had taken his Stall, the Companions before they aſcended to theirs, offer'd in Order the Atchievements of Arms, *viz.* the Banners, Swords and Creſts of ſeven deceaſed Knights, being *William* Earl of *Saliſbury, Thomas* Earl of *Berks, Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland, Thomas* Earl of *Southampton, George* Duke of *Albemarle, Mountague* Earl of *Lindſey,* and *Edward* Earl of *Mancheſter.*

Death of great Men.

This *Edward* Earl of *Mancheſter,* Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge,* died at *Whitehall* on *Friday May* 5. about twelve a Clock at Night, in the 69th Year of his Age, much to the Regret of his Majeſty and the Grief of the whole Court. His Majeſty was pleaſed to make choice of the Right Honourable *Henry* Earl of St. *Albans,* to ſucceed in the Office of Lord Chamberlain, and was pleaſed to deliver him the Staff on *May* 13. and immediately his Lordſhip enter'd upon the execution of that Honourable Charge; and the Dignity of Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* was ſoon after by Election conferr'd upon his Grace the Duke of *Buckingham.* This indeed was a Year of reigning Mortality among the Great Men: On *Tueſday May* 9. died at his Houſe in Town Sir *John Keyling* Knight, Lord Chief Juſtice of his Majeſty's Court of *King's* Bench, after a long weakneſs and decay of Strength, much regretted for his great Integrity and Worth: And his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer that important Place upon the Lord Chief Baron *Hales,* who after having taken the uſual Oaths before the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper, took his Seat on that

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Bench *Thurſday May* 18. leaving his Seat in the Exchequer to be filled with his Majeſty's choice of Sir *Edward Turner* Knight, Sollicitor General, who on *Tueſday May* 23. in obedience to his Majeſty's Writ, commanding him to take his Degree of Serjeant at Law, he appeared at the Chancery Bar, and according to Cuſtom took the uſual Oath before the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper, and then perform'd the due Ceremonies before the Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, after which he was called by the Lord Keeper to the Exchequer Bar; and being there ſworn Lord Chief Baron of that Court, he took his Place on the Bench; while his Majeſty was pleaſed to make choice of *Francis North* Eſq; Son to the Lord *North*, to ſucceed in the Truſt of Sollicitor General, who having receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood, was ſworn into the Place on *Tueſday May* 23. His Grace *William* Duke of *Somerſet* died *Dec.* 26. in the twentieth Year of his Age, after five Days Illneſs of the Small-Pox, to the great Affliction of that Noble Family, leaving his Uncle the Lord *John Seymour* Heir of his Honour and Eſtate. Sir *Thomas Ingram*, Chancellor of the County Palatine and Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, died ſoon after *Chriſtmas* at his Houſe in *Thiſtleworth*; and his Majeſty deliver'd the Seals of that Office on *Febr.* 14. to Sir *Robert Carr*, Knight and Baronet, as a gracious Mark of the Eſteem his Majeſty had for his Worth and Loyalty; and he was the ſame Day admitted of the Privy Council, and took his Place at the Board. On *Thurſday Feb.* 22. the Right Honourable *Thomas* Lord *Leigh* died at his Houſe at *Stoneleigh* in *Warwickſhire* in the 77th Year of his Age, leaving Heir to his Eſtate and Honour his Grandchild *Thomas*, Son to his eldeſt Son Sir *Thomas Leigh* deceaſed.

French Intrigues.

Ill Counſellors, Ladies and Relations, drew away the King to promote the Grandeur of *France* and the Advance of Popery; and to incite the Court to theſe fatal Meaſures, great Sums of Money were ſent over from the *French* King to buy in the *Engliſh* Miniſtry and their Maſter himſelf. The Plot of *France* was no leſs than to diſſolve the Triple Alliance, to make a new War between *England* and *Holland*, to procure Liberty and Relaxation of Laws to the *Roman* Catholicks, and (to prevent interruption in theſe Deſigns) to keep the Parliament from ſitting. And all theſe things were fatally accompliſh'd.

Ambaſſies abroad.

To break the Triple Alliance, *Henry Coventry* Eſq; was ſent Ambaſſador Extraordinary from his Majeſty to the King of *Sweden*, and embark'd at *Greenwich* in one of his Majeſty's Yatchs in the beginning of *September*, and did his Buſineſs ſo effectually, that at our firſt declaring War againſt the *Dutch*, the *Swediſh* King ſtood Neuter, and ſoon after join'd with us and the *French* King againſt them. And there ſeems to be truth in what a late Writer obſerves, *This Succeſs Mr.* Coventry *had, that for this Buſineſs, which put all Chriſtendom into a Flame, he was by the King made Principal Secretary of State, and it may be preſented with his fine Rangers place in* Enfield-Chaſe *too; and that perhaps with thrice more by the* French *King: Whereas Sir* William Temple, *who was the principal Inſtrument in the Peace at* Nimeguen, *loſt two thouſand two hundred Pounds by it, and his only Recompence was to be Secretary of State in Mr.* Coventry*'s Place, if Sir* William *would give him* 10000 l. *for it.*

Roger Coke Eſq;

Other Ambaſſies were order'd to expedite the great Deſign, or to cover over the Intentions of it, Sir *Robert Southwel* went Envoy Extraordinary to the Count *De Monterey*, Governor for his Catholick Majeſty of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and began his Journey to *Bruſſels October* 30. the Earl of *Sunderland* went Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Crown of *Spain*, ſetting out for *Dover* on *Nov.* 22. intending to paſs from thence to *Calais*, and ſo to proceed by Land, as if he had Inſtructions to receive upon the Road from the Court of *France*. And Sir *George Downing* was appointed his [a] Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the States General of the United Provinces, and embark'd at *Greenwich* for his Tranſportation about the beginning of *December*; but he did the Buſineſs there with ſo little Art, that within a Day after his Return on *Feb.* 7. he was privately examined by ſome of the Lords of the Council, and an Account thereof being given to his Majeſty, he was by his Majeſty's Warrant ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*, for not having obey'd the Orders ſent to him. For fear a Parliament ſhould inquire into the Intrigues that were now depending, his Majeſty was pleaſed to iſſue his Royal Proclamation on *Sept.* 22. for the farther proroguing of the Parliament from *April* 16. next enſuing, till *Octob.* 30. following, which ſhould be in the Year 1672.

Parl. prorogu'd.

Some good Subjects would have thought, that the King could never enter into a War with *Holland* without Advice of his Parliament, or at leaſt that he could never ſupport himſelf in any War without their Aid and Aſſiſtance. But to ſalve this Matter, a fatal Expedient was found out, that was ſaid to be the Suggeſtion of my Lord *Aſhley* to Sir *Thomas Clifford*, or at leaſt was the joint Project of theſe Miniſters who then govern'd all, *viz. Clifford*, *Aſhley*, *Buckingham*, *Arlington* and *Lauderdale*, the Initial Letters of whoſe Names made up their proper Title of CABAL. This Expedient was to ſhut up the Exchequer, wherein the Bankers who had furniſh'd the King with mighty Sums of Money at very extorſive Intereſt, had lodg'd between thirteen and fourteen hundred thouſand Pounds of other Subjects Money. To put ſome Colour on ſo unjuſt a Practice, his Majeſty being preſent in Council upon *Tueſday January* 2. was pleaſed to declare, "That "ſeeing all the Princes and States, his Neighbours, "were making great Preparations for War [b], both "by Sea and Land; his Majeſty, for the Safety of "his Government and People, look'd upon himſelf "as oblig'd to make ſuch Preparations as might be "proportionable for the Protection both of the one "and the other; and to that end had already given "Orders for the fitting and preparing a very conſiderable Fleet, to be ready againſt the Spring. "That by this inevitable Neceſſity, his Majeſty

Shutting up of the Exchequer.

[a] This Counſel was carried on ſo ſecretly, that no Man at Court had ſufficient Warning to call in his Money out of the Bankers Hands, till Sir *Tho. Clifford* propos'd the thing in Council *Jan.* 2. 167$\frac{1}{2}$. *&c. Life of Sir* Will. Temple, 8*vo.* p. 189. See a Letter of Lord *Arlington* to Lord *Sunderland* in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall Jan.* 8. 1672.——Sir *George Downing* hath begun his Negotiation in *Holland*, or rather his Complaints, which he gave in by a Memorial upon the States Ships denying in *Auguſt* laſt to ſtrike to his Majeſty's Flag, *&c.*——In my laſt to Sir *William Godolphin*, I gave him an Account of his Majeſty's having ſuſpended all Payments upon Aſſignations in the Exchequer for one whole Year; according to which the incloſed Declaration of his Majeſty in Council was finally reſolved upon, and ordered to be printed. Since which Reſolutions the Diſtempers have continued in the Town, and the angry Diſcourſes upon them; but his Majeſty having Yeſterday conven'd the Bankers before him at the Treaſury, and after many kind and confident Aſſurances given them that he would punctually ſatisfy his Debt to them, either out of what the Parliament ſhould give him in the next Seſſion, or out of his own Revenue; he told them likewiſe this ſhutting up of the Exchequer has been commonly aſcrib'd to the Lord *Clifford*; but I have heard wiſe Men obſerve that it was the prime Invention of my Lord *Shaftſbury*, who drinking over Night with his Brethren of the CABAL, and engaging in the Diſpute of what to do for Money, he ſeem'd to affect Drunkenneſs, and to mutter out, that there was one ſure way, *to receive All in, and to pay Nothing out.* Lord *Clifford* catch'd at thoſe Words, and got a farther Explication of them, and propoſed it to the King next Morning, who had the Sagacity to tell him, that he could not be the Author of that Expedient; it muſt come from my Lord *Shaftſbury*.

[b] See Letter of Lord *Arlington* to Sir *William Godolphin* in *Spain*, dated, *Windſor-Caſtle*, *July* 6. 1671. Sir *William Temple*'s three Years being upon the point to expire, his Majeſty hath by Letters to the States General notify'd his Revocation of him, as likewiſe his Intention to ſend another Perſon in his ſtead, which his Majeſty deſires to find out with a rougher Hand.

" conſidering the great Charges that muſt attend ſuch " Preparations, and after his ſerious Debates and " beſt Conſiderations, not finding any poſſibility to " defray ſuch unuſual Expences, by the uſual ways " and means of borrowing Monies, by reaſon his " Revenues were ſo anticipated and engaged, he " was neceſſitated (contrary to his own Inclinati-" ons) upon theſe Emergencies, and for the pub-" lick Safety at the preſent, to cauſe a ſtop to be " made of the Payment of any Monies, now being, " or to be brought into his Exchequer, for the " ſpace of one whole Year, ending the laſt Day of " *December* next, upon any Perſon or Perſons what-" ſoever, by vertue of any Warrant, Securities or " Orders, whether regiſter'd or not regiſter'd there-" in, and payable within that time. And after " ſome Promiſes of Repayment, and that no Per-" ſon ſhould be defrauded of any thing that was " juſtly due to him, his Majeſty was farther graci-" ouſly pleaſed to declare, that nothing could have " urg'd his Majeſty to an Act of this Nature but " ſuch a Conjuncture of Affairs, when all the neigh-" bouring Princes and States were making ſuch " threatning Preparations, that his Government " could not be ſafe, without appearing in the ſame " poſture.

The *French* K. draws the *Engl.* into a War with *Holland.*

We are told that the *French* King, having got the King of *England* into this Net, uſed him very ill, by openly declaring, that to break with the *Dutch*, was none of his own Quarrel, and that he only engaged in it out of reſpect to his Perſon; and therefore before any War was declar'd, the King of *England* muſt firſt break the Peace by ſome Attempt at Sea.[a]

Accordingly Sir *Robert Holmes* was order'd to lie off of *Portſmouth*, to meet the *Dutch Smyrna* and *Streights* Fleet, and find a Pretence to intercept them. An Account of this diſhonourable Action was thus given by Authority from *Whitehall*, " That " on *Wedneſday March* 13. five of his Majeſty's Fri-" gots cruizing by the Iſle of *Wight*, met with the " *Dutch* Fleet of *Smyrna* Men and others, of about " fifty Sail, convoy'd by ſix Men of War, and of " their Merchant-Men twenty at leaſt carried be-" tween twenty and forty Guns apiece, when our " Frigots came near them, we ſhot to make them " ſtrike and lower their Top-ſails, which the *Dutch* " refuſing to do, our Frigots ſhot thro' and thro' " them; and tho' they then lower'd their Top-" ſails, yet they refuſed to ſtrike, upon which the " Fight began; this happen'd about three of the " Clock that Afternoon, and continued until Night, " at which time three more of our Frigots came in. " *Thurſday*, the next Morning, the Fight begun a-" gain, and continued all that Day; in the Even-" ing were taken five of their richeſt Merchant-" Men, and Captain *John Holmes* in the *Glouceſter* " boarded their Rear-Admiral, and took her; but " ſhe was ſo ſhatter'd and torn, that ſhe ſunk with " in a few Hours in his poſſeſſion. This Squadron " was commanded by Sir *Robert Holmes* in the *Saint* " *Michael*, the Earl of *Oſſory* was Vice-Admiral in " the *Reſolution*, and Sir *Fretcheville Hollis*, Rear-" Admiral in the *Cambridge*, Captain *Legg* com-" manded the *Fairfax*, Captain *Elliot* the *York*, " Captain *Fowlis* the *Diamond*, and Captain *Watſon* " the *Succeſs*, who all behaved themſelves with " great Gallantry.

We are told that the *Dutch*, alarm'd at the Attempt [b] upon their *Smyrna* Fleet, and being in no condition to reſiſt both Kings, ſent Deputies to both, to know upon what Terms they would agree to Peace. Thoſe ſent to our King were denied Audience, and kept at *Hampton-Court* till it were known what the *French* King's Pleaſure was; but thoſe ſent to the *French* King had Anſwer, That what the King had was his own, and what he ſhould conquer ſhould be his without an Equivalent; and declared, the States might deal with *England* as they pleaſed, and come off as cheap as they could, becauſe by their Treaty they were not bound to procure them any Advantages.

A Declaration of War was reſolved upon; but it required ſome Art to repreſent ſufficient Reaſons for it. To furniſh the Government with ſome fair Pretenſions at leaſt, the Committee for the *Eaſt-India* Company was ſummon'd to ſhew Cauſe, whether the *Dutch* had not broke in upon their Trade, or committed any Violence abroad, for which publick Satisfaction ought to be demanded of them. They anſwer'd and gave it under their Hands, that ſince the Treaty at *Breda* the *Dutch* had ſufficiently obſerved the Articles of Trade; and they knew no Cauſe, on that Account, of breaking with them. However, the Miniſtry was reſolved to find Cauſes, or make them: And therefore on the 17th of *March* was publiſhed his Majeſty's Declaration of War againſt the States General of the *United Provinces*, containing the Motives and Reaſons inducing his Majeſty thereunto; of which, the firſt was, " The " pretended Inſults of the *Dutch* upon the *Engliſh* " in their Trade in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, and " particularly the detaining our *Engliſh* Planters in " *Surinam* after it was reſtored into their Hands. A ſecond was, " The making bold with the King's " Royal Perſon by abuſive Pictures and falſe Hiſto-" rical Medals and Pillars. A third was, Their " invading the Right of the Flag, and refuſing Sa-" tisfaction. It concluded with a Paragraph that was thought a Jeſt to all wiſe People; a Promiſe to maintain the Triple League, even by this expreſs Violation of it: The Words were, *And whereas we are engaged by a Treaty to ſupport the Peace made at* Aix la Chapelle, *we do finally declare, That notwithſtanding the Proſecution of this War, we will maintain the true Intent and Scope of the ſaid Treaty; and that in all the Alliances which we have or ſhall make in the Progreſs of this War, we have and will take care to preſerve the Ends thereof inviolable, unleſs provoked to the contrary.* To the Reaſons of this Declaration the *Dutch* anſwer'd, That as to Trade, they had

Declaration of War with *Holland.*

Anſwer of the *Dutch.*

[a] The firſt Attempt of breaking the Peace with *Holland*, by catching at ſome pretence of Quarrel, was in *Auguſt* 1671; when the *Dutch* Fleet floating in the Channel, were commanded to ſtrike Sail to a ſingle Yatcht that carried over Sir *William Temple*'s Lady; and upon their not doing it, fir'd at them. See the Life of Sir *William Temple*, 8*vo*. p. 187. and the Letter of the Earl of *Arlington* to Sir *William Godolphin*, dated, *Whitehall*, *Sept*. 7. 1671. Vol. II. p. 331.

[b] The Miniſtry did all they could to cover the King's Intentions of breaking with *Holland* in favour of *France*. The Lord *Arlington* to Sir *William Godolphin* in *Spain*, dated, *Euſton-Hall*, *Octob*. 9. 1671. We have here my Lord *Sunderland*, whoſe Preparations are making at *London* with all poſſible ſpeed for his Embaſſy into *Spain*, whither he goes under the Character of his Majeſty's Extraordinary Ambaſſador. I will not anticipate any thing upon the occaſion of his going, more than that he will carry Overtures, which we think will be grateful to that Court; and alſo his Majeſty's new Declaration of his firm Reſolution to maintain the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, according to his Engagement in the *Triple Alliance*, whatever Calumnies our Neighbours are pleaſed to throw up on us, as if his Majeſty had an Intention to depart from it. Beſides which, it is an uncomfortable Obſervation we make to ourſelves, that whilſt by our temporizing with *France* we have kept the Peace theſe three Years paſt, we are only accuſed of Intentions and Deſigns to break it, &c. Vol. II. p. 335.

See the Earl of *Sunderland* and Sir *William Godolphin*'s Paper deliver'd to the *Conde de Penaranda January* 26, 167$\frac{1}{2}$, declaring his Majeſty's Reſolution to make War againſt *Holland* with Aſſiſtance of the moſt Chriſtian King, deſiring her Catholick Majeſty to join in it, or atleaſt to remain in a perfect Neutrality.——With the wiſe Anſwer of the *Conde de Penaranda*, deliver'd *Feb*. 10, 167$\frac{1}{2}$, telling them roundly, that the moſt ſecure and eaſy Expedient of preſerving the Peace of *Europe* will be not breaking with the *Hollanders*,——but obſerving the triple League——her Majeſty not being able to hear without the greateſt Admiration, that the King of *England* ſhould begin a War againſt his own Ally, and unite himſelf for that effect with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who was the ſole Motive of eſtabliſhing the ſaid Triple Alliance, &c. See Letters from the *Spaniſh* Court, 1703. 8*vo*. p. 148.

made

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made ſo unjuſt Inroads upon any the *Engliſh* Factories or Plantations: And as to the *Engliſh* Planters in *Surinam*, they themſelves were not willing to forſake their Effects and Subſiſtence; and therefore ſtaid behind upon their own choice. As to the Pictures and Medals, they ſaid they knew of none, except one Medal, which might be liable to any ill conſtruction; but as ſoon as they knew of it, they cauſed the Stamp to be broken. As to the Flag, the States diſown'd the refuſal of it, and offer'd to make any reaſonable Satisfaction.

The *Dutch* make the Prince of *Orange* their Admiral and General.

The States of *Holland* ſeeing this terrible Storm falling on them, had recourſe to the young Prince of *Orange*, and ſeem'd to depend upon him, as born for their Defence and Protection; and therefore they preſented him, being now 22 Years of Age, with the Charge of their Armies, and Admiral of the *United Provinces*. The States did this the more willingly upon a Proſpect of ſoftning the *Engliſh* Court, *and talked of ſending an Extraordinary Ambaſſador thither to buy Good-will, ſaying, That the Prince's Promotion, and Satisfaction upon the Flag, would certainly appeaſe them; wherein, it ſeems, they were encouraged by their own Ambaſſador then at* London. The Prince having accepted of theſe Commands, went to the Army, that lay not far from *Nienkop*, where he kept his Poſt againſt the united Forces of the *French*, and conſtrained them to retire with Loſs and Diſhonour. But the Frontier Towns and Garriſons in *Holland* falling every Day into the Hands of the *French*, the People would not be ſatisfied without the advancement of the Prince of *Orange* to the Office of *Stadt Holder*, which had been oppoſed and reſolved againſt by the States and the Miniſtry.

And at laſt their *Stadt Holder*.

This Affection of the People appeared firſt in *Dort*, where the People roſe in Multitudes and Arms, and would not be pacified till the Magiſtrates had ſent for the Prince from the Army, and declared him *Stadt Holder*, with the ſame Power, Dignity, and Authority, which his Anceſtors had formerly enjoyed. This Example, by the Importunities of the People, was ſoon followed by all the Cities of *Holland*, and *Zealand*, and *Weſt-Frieſland*. And becauſe it was chiefly oppoſed by the Penſionary *De Wit*, and his Brother *Cornelius* Bailiff of *Putten*, they were torn in pieces by the Rabble at the *Hague*.

The Prin. refuſes the Bribes of the *French*.

When the Prince was thus advanced, the *French* made their Applications to him, with a Propoſal of making him Prince Soveraign of thoſe Provinces, under the Protection of *England* and *France*. But tho' the Temptation at that time was very inviting, he had the Honour to deſpiſe it, and anſwer, that *he would not betray the Truſt repoſed in him, nor ever ſell the Liberty of his Country which his Anceſtors had ſo long defended.* Yet the Game he play'd was then thought ſo deſperate, that one of his greateſt Confidents expoſtulated the matter with him, and ask'd him, *How he pretended to live after* Holland *was loſt? And whether he had thought ſo far?* He anſwer'd, *He was reſolved to live upon his Lands in* Germany, *and that he had rather ſpend his Life in Hunting there, than ſell his Country or his Liberty to* France *at any price.*

State of Religion. Eccleſiaſtical Preferments.

As to Church Affairs; on the death of Dr. *Skinner*, *Walter* Lord Biſhop of *Oxford* was on *June* 13. at St. *Mary Savoy*, in the Preſence of all the Biſhops in Town, with the uſual Solemnity, tranſlated to the See of *Worceſter*; and did Homage to his Majeſty in the uſual Forms on *June* 18. And on *June* 27. Dr. *Nathaniel Crew*, Son to the Lord *Crew* and Clerk of the Cloſet to his Majeſty, Biſhop elect of *Oxford*; and Dr. *Thomas Wood*, late Dean of *Litchfield*, Biſhop elect of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, receiv'd their Confirmation at St. *Mary's Savoy*; and on *Sunday July* 2. were ſolemnly conſecrated in the Chapel at *Lambeth* by his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Worceſter*, and *Rocheſter*; with a Sermon preach'd by Mr. *Tomkins* one of his Grace's Chaplains. On *Sunday Oct.* 1. Dr. *Henry Bridgman* Dean of *Cheſter*, was, in the Quire of that Cathedral Church, conſecrated Biſhop of *Sodor* and *Man*, by the Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*, as Subſtitute of his Grace the Archbiſhop of *York*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *Bangor*, St. *Aſaph*, and *Cloghar*, in the Preſence of many Perſons of great Quality, who were afterwards very nobly entertain'd by the new Biſhop at his own Houſe. On *February* 12. upon the Vacancy of the Biſhoprick of *Durham* upon the death of Dr. *John Coſin* Lord Bp. and Count Palatine, who departed this Life upon the 15th of *January* laſt, in the 77th Year of his Age, and left a moſt ample Teſtimony to the World of his great Piety and Charity; his Majeſty was pleaſed, in order to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in Civil Affairs within that County Palatine, to conſtitute Sir *Gilbert Gerard* Kt. and Baronet to be High Sheriff of the ſame, as likewiſe to appoint Sir *Francis Goodrick*, Temporal Chancellor of the ſaid County, to be Keeper of the Great Seal of the ſaid Biſhoprick and County Palatine; and then kept the See vacant, aſſigning over the great Revenues to no very honourable Purpoſe. *Apr.* 19. 1672. the Funeral of Biſhop *Coſins* proceeded in great State from the Houſe of Sir *Gilbert Gerard* in the *Pall-Mall* near St. *James's* through the *Strand* to the *Temple*, and thro' *Chancery-Lane* and *Grays-Inn Lane* out of Town, in order to an Interrment at *Biſhops Aukland* near *Durham*, which Palace he had, in his Life-time, with exemplary Piety and Munificence repaired, having added a fair and noble Chapel, and there choſe the Place of his Sepulture. On *Sunday Dec.* 17. the new Church called now *Chriſt-Church* near *Paris-Garden* in *Southwark*, built by Mr. *John Marſhal*, late Inhabitant there (who beſide other large charitable Bequeſts, had likewiſe plentifully endowed the ſame) and made Parochial by Act of Parliament, was conſecrated by the Right Reverend Father in God the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Dioceſan, with the uſual Solemnity; and an excellent and learned Sermon preach'd by Dr. *Littleton*.

Complaints of the Diſſenters.

The Diſſenters thus report their Sufferings in this Year. "The Dioceſe of *Salisbury* was moſt "fiercely driven on to Conformity by Dr. *Seth* "*Ward* their Biſhop: Many Hundreds did he proſe- "cute with great Induſtry; and among the reſt, "that learned, humble, holy Gentleman, Mr. *Tho-* "*mas Grove*, an ancient Parliament Man, of as "great Sincerity and Integrity as moſt in the Land: "he ſtood it out a while in a Law-Suit, but was "overthrown, and forc'd to forſake his Country, "with multitudes of others. During the Mayoralty "of Sir *Samuel Sterling*, many Jury-men in *London* "were Fin'd and Impriſon'd by the Judge for not "finding certain Quakers guilty of violating the "Act againſt Conventicles: They appeal'd and "ſought Remedy: The Judges remain'd about a "Year in ſuſpence, and then by the Lord Chief "Juſtice *Vaughan* deliver'd their Reſolution againſt "the Judge, for the Subjects Freedom from ſuch "ſort of Fines. He dilated upon it in a Speech of "two or three hours, which was received with great "Joy and Applauſe by the People, and the Judges "thereupon cried up as the Pillars of Law and Li- "berty.

Their Caſe repreſented.

The Diſſenters ſhould not have complain'd of Perſecution, without confeſſing the true Reaſons of it. The Laws had impoſed moderate Penalties upon them; the two Houſes were expreſs for the Execution of thoſe Laws; the Biſhops and Clergy might be ſincerely zealous in it; but the King and the Miniſtry were for ſtopping the legal Proceedings againſt them, and were in the Secret of Diſpenſing with the Laws Eccleſiaſtical and Civil for the ſake of indulging the Papiſts and the Nonconformiſts. This encourag'd the Diſſenters to defie the Laws,

1671. 23 Car. II. to which they would moſt of them have ſubmitted if they had found a ſteady and impartial Execution of them. And this again provok'd the honeſt Juſtices and Magiſtrates to bear the more hard upon them, when they ſaw them ſo bold in deſpiſing and evading the Juſtice of the Nation.

This Reaſon the Men of Separation have indeed themſelves confeſt, tho' not ſo fully as they ought to have done. Their Words are theſe: Even by their own Confeſſion. "The Parliament having made the Laws againſt Nonconformiſt's Preaching and private Religious Meetings ſo ſevere as hath been repreſented, the King altho' he conſented to thoſe Laws, became the Patron of their Liberty. Not by any legal Abatements, but by his Connivance as to the execution; the Magiſtrates, for the moſt part, doing what they perceived to be his Will. The Miniſters were encourag'd by Sir *John Barber* and others, to make their Addreſſes to the King, to profeſs their Loyalty, and acknowledge his Clemency: and they did ſo. The King told them, That tho' ſuch Acts were made, he was againſt Perſecution, and hop'd e're long to ſtand on his own Legs, and then they ſhould ſee how much he was againſt it. By this means they gain'd Peace and Quiet in their Meetings in the City: And in all Sir *Richard Ford*'s Mayoralty (though he was ſuppos'd one of their greateſt and moſt knowing Adverſaries) they remained undiſturbed.

Roger Coke Eſq; Another Author, who was enough tender of the Diſſenting Parties, does obſerve, "That the Vizard-Mask under which the Popiſh Party covered their Hypocriſy, was for the King, againſt the Judgment of the two Houſes, to diſpenſe with Penal Laws againſt Diſſenters from the Church of *England*, ſo to conjoin the Proteſtant Diſſenter's Intereſt with the Popiſh: And this not only appeared by Practice, but by Deſign in *Coleman*'s Letters to Fathers *Ferrier* and *la Chaiſe*, the *French* King's Confeſſors. And therefore, as before the firſt *Dutch* War the King iſſued out his Declaration of Indulgence for Diſpenſing with the Penal Laws in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, in the Interval of the ſitting of the Parliament; ſo did he before this ſecond War.——And before this Declaration of Indulgence in *England*, the King on *Febr.* 26. iſſued out his Proclamation in *Ireland* for granting general Licence to all Papiſts to live in Corporations, and exerciſe any Trade therein, and enjoy the ſame Privileges as other Subjects ought to do.

1671. 23 Car. II. There ſeems to be this farther Policy in the timing this Indulgence, [a] That the Church-Party in general were ſo Loyal in their Affections to the King, that they were not forward to ſuſpect the Intrigues of the Court, and therefore fell in with the Meaſures of aſſiſting the *French* and ruining the *Dutch*, with an implicit Faith it was the Wiſdom of the Miniſtry ſo to do. But the Diſſenters, in the ſeveral Parties of them, had no ſuch profound Veneration for the Government, but were rather jealous of the Adminiſtration of it; and therefore at this Juncture were the more naturally diſpoſed to murmur at the Politicks of the Court in eſpouſing the Cauſe of *France* againſt our Proteſtant Neighbours in *Holland*, and ſhew'd their Fears and Jealouſies very much (and indeed very juſtly) on this occaſion. So that it was the more neceſſary to ſtop the Mouths of theſe Men by an Indulgence, and divert them from the Proſpects of Popery and Arbitrary Power, which lay ſo open before them. And excepting this one political Reaſon of giving Content and Quiet, there was no other Cauſe of Indulging, but that of giving Liberty to Papiſts, and of gaining a new Precedent for an Arbitrary Diſpenſing Power, without which Popery could never prevail in theſe Kingdoms. The wiſer Diſſenters were themſelves ſenſible, that this Favour was not purely granted for their ſake; as they acknowledge in theſe Words: *The beginning of the* Dutch *War made the Court think it neceſſary to grant an Indulgence to the Diſſenters, that ſo there might be Peace at home while there was War abroad: and upon this occaſion they had Liberty given them, tho' much to the Diſſatisfaction of thoſe who had had a hand in framing all the ſevere Laws againſt them.*——This Indulgence was applauded by ſome among the Nonconformiſts, while others fear'd the Conſequences: for they well knew, that the Toleration was not chiefly for their ſakes, but for the Papiſts, and, that they ſhould hold it no longer than their Intereſt would allow it them: and withal, they feared it would continue the Diviſions, which might be much better heal'd by a Comprehenſion. However, they concluded on a cautious and moderate Thankſgiving for the King's Clemency and their own Liberty, and were introduc'd by my Lord *Arlington*. Mr. *Baxter* was not very forward to take the Advantage of this Indulgence: He was deſirous of Liberty in another way, and was fearful what this Method would iſſue in.——And they relate it as a very ob-

[a] The Earl of *Sunderland* in his Letter *March* 23, 1689. was of opinion, that this Liberty of Conſcience was only for the Foundation of Popery; that it was firſt offered at by the Lord *Clifford*, who by it had done the Work, even in this King's time, if it had not been for his Weakneſs, and the Weakneſs of his Miniſters.

The Author of the *Letter from a Perſon of Quality*, 1675, *4to*, ſeems to have been well acquainted with this Court Intrigue. Says he, the Lord *Clifford*, a Man of a daring and ambitious Spirit, took the opportunity of the War with *Holland* the King was then engaged in, to propoſe the *Delaration of Indulgence*, that the Diſſenters of all ſorts, as well Proteſtants as Papiſts, might be at reſt, and ſo vaſt a number of People not be made deſperate at home while the King was engaged with ſo potent an Enemy abroad. This was no ſooner propoſed, but that the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, a Man as daring, but more able (though of Principles and Intereſt diametrically oppoſite to the other) preſently cloſed with it; and perhaps the opportunity I have had by my Converſation with them both, may give you light into their Deſigns.—My Lord *Clifford* did in expreſs Terms tell me one day in private Diſcourſe, that the King, if he would be firm to himſelf, might ſettle what Religion he pleas'd, and carry the Government to what Height he would: For if Men were aſſured in the Liberty of their Conſciences, and undiſturb'd in their Properties, able and upright Judges made in *Weſtminſter-Hall* to judge the Cauſes of *Meum* and *Tuum*; and if on the other hand the Fort of *Tilbury* was finiſhed to bridle the City, the Fort of *Plymouth* to ſecure the Weſt, and Arms for twenty Thouſand Men in each of theſe, and in *Hull* for the Northern Parts, with ſome Addition (which might be eaſily and undiſcernedly made) to the Forces now on foot, there were none who would have either Will, Opportunity, or Power to reſiſt.——The Lord *Shaftſbury* (with whom I had more Freedom) I with great Aſſurance aſked what he meant by the Declaration; for it ſeem'd to me (as I then told him) that it aſſumed a Power to repeal and ſuſpend all our Laws, to deſtroy the Church, to overthrow the Proteſtant Religion, and to tolerate Popery. He replied, half angry, that he wonder'd at my Objection, there being not one of theſe in the Caſe: For the King aſſumed no Power of repealing Laws, or ſuſpending them, contrary to the Will of his Parliament or People.——As to the Church, he conceived the Declaration was extremely their Intereſt; for the narrow Bottom they had plac'd themſelves upon, and the Meaſures they had proceeded by, ſo contrary to the Properties and Liberties of the Nation, muſt needs in ſhort time prove fatal to them: Whereas this led them into another way to live peaceably with the diſſenting and differing Proteſtants both at home and abroad, and ſo by neceſſary and unavoidable Conſequences to become the Head of them all: For that Place is due to the Church of *England* being in Favour,——and thus the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* might become not only *alterius Orbis*, but *alterius Religionis Papa*; and all this Addition of Honour and Power, without the leaſt Loſs or Diminution of the Church. It not being intended, that one Living, Dignity, or Preferment, ſhould be given to any but thoſe that were ſtrictly conformable. As to the *Proteſtant Religion*, he told me plainly, it was for the preſerving of *that*, and that only, that he heartily join'd in the Declaration: For beſides that, he thought it his Duty to have a Care in his Place and Station of thoſe he was convinced were the People of God, and feared him, tho' of different Perſuaſions; he alſo knew nothing elſe but Liberty and Indulgence that could poſſibly (as our Caſe ſtood) ſecure the Proteſtant Religion in *England*.——[With much more very wiſe and true.]

ſervable

1671. 23 Car. II. ſervable thing, That no Man was more zealous in oppoſing this Declaration in the Houſe, than Alderman *Love*, a City Member and a noted Diſſenter; who declar'd, he had much rather ſtill go without their deſired Liberty, than have it in a way that would prove ſo detrimental to the Nation.—— But without farther Reflections, we preſent the Reader with a Copy of the ſaid Declaration.

His Majeſty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects March 15. 167½. Publiſhed by the Advice of his Privy Council.

The K.'s Declaration of Indulgence. "OUR Care and Endeavours for the Preſervation of the Rights and Intereſts of the Church, have been ſufficiently manifeſted to the World by the whole Courſe of our Government ſince our happy Reſtoration, and by the many and frequent ways of Coercion that we have uſed for reducing all erring or diſſenting Perſons, and for compoſing the unhappy Differences in Matters of Religion, which we found among our Subjects upon our Return; but it being evident, by the ſad Experience of twelve Years, that there is very little Fruit of all thoſe forcible Courſes, we think ourſelf obliged to make uſe of that Supreme Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognized to be ſo by ſeveral Statutes and Acts of Parliament: And therefore we do now accordingly iſſue this our Declaration, as well for the quieting the Minds of our good Subjects in theſe Points, for inviting Strangers in this Conjuncture to come and live under us, and for the better Encouragement of all to a chearful following of their Trade and Callings, from whence we hope, by the Bleſſing of God, to have many good and happy Advantages to our Government; as alſo for preventing, for the future, the Danger that might otherwiſe ariſe from private Meetings and ſeditious Conventicles.

"And, in the firſt place, we declare our expreſs Reſolution, Meaning, and Intention to be, That the Church of *England* be preſerved and remain entire in its Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Government, as now it ſtands eſtabliſhed by Law; and that this be taken to be, as it is, the Baſis, Rule, and Standard of the general and publick Worſhip of God, and that the orthodox conformable Clergy do receive and enjoy the Revenues belonging thereunto; and that no Perſon, tho' of a different Opinion and Perſuaſion, ſhall be exempt from paying his Tythes, or other Dues whatſoever. And farther we declare, That no Perſon ſhall be capable of holding any Benefice, Living, or Eccleſiaſtical Dignity or Preferment of any kind in this our Kingdom of *England*, who is not exactly conformable.

"We do, in the next place, declare our Will and Pleaſure to be, That the Execution of all and all manner of Penal Laws in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, againſt whatſoever ſort of Nonconformiſts or Recuſants, be immediately ſuſpended; and they are hereby ſuſpended. And all Judges, Judges of Aſſize, and Goal-Delivery, Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Officers whatſoever, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, are to take notice of it, and pay due Obedience thereunto.

"And that there may be no Pretence for any of our Subjects to continue their illegal Meetings and Conventicles, we do declare, That we ſhall from time to time allow a ſufficient number of Places, as they ſhall be deſired, in all Parts of this our Kingdom, for the Uſe of ſuch as do not conform to the Church of *England*, to meet and aſſemble in, in order to their publick Worſhip and Devotion; which Places ſhall be open and free to all Perſons.

1671. 23 Car. II. "But to prevent ſuch Diſorders and Inconveniences as may happen by this our Indulgence, if not duly regulated, and that they may be the better protected by the Civil Magiſtrate; our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, That none of our Subjects do preſume to meet in any place until ſuch place be allowed, and the Teacher of that Congregation be approved by us.

"And leſt any ſhould apprehend, that this Reſtriction ſhould make our ſaid Allowance and Approbation difficult to be obtained, we do farther declare, That this our Indulgence, as to the Allowance of the publick Places of Worſhip, and Approbation of the Preachers, ſhall extend to all ſorts of Nonconformiſts and Recuſants, except the Recuſants of the Roman Catholick Religion, to whom we ſhall in no wiſe allow publick Places of Worſhip, but only indulge them their Share in the common Exemption from the Execution of the Penal Laws, and the Exerciſe of their Worſhip in their private Houſes only.

"And if, after this our Clemency and Indulgence, any of our Subjects ſhall preſume to abuſe this Liberty, and ſhall preach ſeditiouſly, or to the Derogation of the Doctrine, Diſcipline, or Government of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, or ſhall meet in Places not allowed by us; we do hereby give them Warning, and declare, we will proceed againſt them with all imaginable Severity: And we will let them ſee we can be as ſevere to puniſh ſuch Offenders, when ſo juſtly provoked, as we are indulgent to truly tender Conſciences.

Given at our Court at Whitehall *this* 15th *Day of* March, *in the Four and twentieth Year of our Reign.*

1672. Second Dutch War. And now begins in earneſt the ſecond *Dutch* War. According to his Majeſty's Proclamation, *Wedneſday* the 27th of *March* was obſerved in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* as a ſolemn Faſt for the Bleſſing of God upon his Majeſty's Naval Forces: And it was indeed a Day of Sorrow and Humiliation to all honeſt and diſcerning Perſons. The next Day the War was proclaimed in a ſolemn manner by the Heralds, at four ſeveral Places, *Temple-Bar*, the End of *Chancery-Lane*, the End of *Woodſtreet* in *Cheapſide*, and the *Royal-Exchange*. The People were encouraged to Shouts and Acclamations, and the Lord Mayor invited the Heralds and the Guards to a plentiful Dinner, that the World might imagine this War to be undertaken at the Deſire and to the Satisfaction of the City. On the 7th of *April* the King of *France*, ſeeming to follow an Example that he had really given, publiſh'd his Declaration of War againſt the States General, containing, *That the Diſſatisfaction his Majeſty has in the Carriage of the States General of the United Provinces of the* Low-Countries *towards him for ſome Years paſt, being come to that point, that his Majeſty cannot longer, without Diminution of his own Glory, diſſemble the Indignation raiſed in him, by a Treatment ſo unſuitable to the great Obligations which his Majeſty and the Kings his Predeceſſors have ſo liberally heaped upon them; his Majeſty had reſolved to declare War againſt the ſaid States; forbidding therefore all his Subjects to hold any Correſpondence with them on pain of Death*, &c. (Declaration of the French King.)

Honours and Preferments. Under the general Diſſatisfaction of his Subjects, his Majeſty hop'd to make himſelf the more popular by taking into his Council theſe four Perſons of good Reputation among the People; *Henry* Marquis of *Worceſter*, Lord Preſident of the Council of *Wales*; *Arthur* Earl of *Eſſex*, whom his Majeſty declared he was ſending into *Ireland* as Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom; *Thomas* Viſcount *Falconberg*, Captain of his Majeſty's Band of Penſioners, and *George* Viſcount *Hallifax*; who being admitted on the 17th of *April*, took the uſual Oaths and their Places at the Board. But the Cabinet Council were diſtinguiſh'd with

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with more peculiar Favours; for on *April* 20. his Majeſty was pleaſed to create the Right Honourable *John* Earl of *Lauderdale*, principal Secretary of State of *Scotland*, Duke of *Lauderdale*, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*; *Henry* Lord *Arlington* his Majeſty's principal Secretary Earl of *Arlington* and Viſcount *Thetford*; *Anthony* Lord *Aſhly* Earl of *Shaftsbury* and Baron *Cooper* of *Paulet*; and Sir *Thomas Clifford* Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſhold Baron *Clifford* of *Chudleigh*. And the Duke of *Lauderdale* was made Knight of the Garter on *Thurſday April* 18. as likewiſe the Earl of *Arlington* in another Chapter of that Order held on *June* 15. And another able Miniſter was now raiſed up, Sir *Tho. Oſborne* Baronet, who was admitted of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council on *May* 3. And on *May* 29. *Henry* Marquis of *Worceſter*, the Earl of St. *Albans*, and the Earl of *Bedford*, were inſtall'd Knights of the Garter in a Chapter held at *Whitehall*. On *Sept.* 30. *Thomas* Earl of *Oſſory* was inveſted with the ſame Honour of the *George* and Garter.

The King diſpenſes with ſome Laws.

As his Majeſty began the War with a Diſpenſation of the Laws, relating to Religion, *by virtue* (as he claim'd) *of his ſupreme Power in matters Eccleſiaſtical*, ſo he now proceeded to diſpenſe with another Law in a matter purely Civil. For on *May* 10. his Majeſty was pleaſed in Council to order and declare, that the Act of Parliament made in the twelfth Year of his Majeſty's Reign, *For the Encouraging and Encreaſing of Shipping and Navigation*, be totally ſuſpended and diſpens'd with, as likewiſe another Act made in the 13th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, entitul'd, *An Act for the Encouragement of Trade*: His Majeſty declaring, that the Suſpenſion of thoſe Laws ſhall continue during his own Royal Will and Pleaſure; and that when his Majeſty ſhall think fit to determine this Diſpenſation, he will by Proclamation give ſix Months notice thereof. Tho' the diſpenſing in theſe Matters, under the Neceſſities of a War, was perhaps to the common Good, yet the doing of it by Royal Will and Pleaſure, without Advice and Conſent of Parliament, was a very ill Example, and might grow into other more pernicious Acts of Arbitrary Power.

Expedition of the *French* Fleet joined by the *Engliſh*.

The King of *France* ſent out a Squadron of his Ships under the Count *D'Eſtrees* Vice-Admiral of *France*, who arriving at St. *Hellens* on *May* 3. the King and his great Officers went immediately to *Portſmouth* to pay Complements to him, and the *Engliſh* [a] Fleet ſail'd from the *Downs* and join'd with them. The Duke of *York* as Admiral was Commander of the Red, Monſieur *D'Eſtrees* of the White, and the Lord *Sandwich* of the Blue. The *Dutch* were as early abroad, and were ſeen off of *Dover* ſtanding for *Calais* on *Thurſday May* 9. and chas'd the *Glouceſter* and other Frigots into the River as far as *Sheerneſs* on *May* 13. On *Sunday May* 19. the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleet got their firſt Sight of the *Dutch* about eight Leagues E. S. E. of the *Gunfleet*, and put themſelves in a readineſs for Engagement the next Morning; but being again ſeparated and hinder'd by hazy Weather, the *Engliſh* ſtood into *Sould-Bay*, and lay there at Anchor till *May* 28, when the *Dutch* fell in with them and ſurpriz'd them.

Fight at *Sould-Bay*.

The Day before there had been great Jollity and Feaſting in the *Engliſh* Fleet; in the midſt of which my Lord of *Sandwich* was obſerv'd to ſay, *That as the Wind ſtood the Fleet rode in danger of being ſurpriz'd by the* Dutch, *and therefore thought it adviſable to weigh Anchor and get out to Sea.* The Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral, ſlighted the Advice, and retorted upon the Earl, *that he ſpake this out of Fear*, which Reflection his Lordſhip is thought to have ſo far reſented, as the next Day out of Indignation to have ſacrific'd his Life, which he might have otherwiſe preſerv'd. The *Dutch* began the Engagement with the Blue Squadron, and the *Royal James*, commanded by the Earl of *Sandwich*, was the firſt Ship that fir'd, and after great Execution was at laſt burnt by a *Dutch* Fireſhip, and the Noble Earl periſh'd in her with many brave Gentlemen, Captain *Haddock* getting off with a Wound in his Thigh. The Duke was becalm'd, and could not draw into a Line of Battle, and yet receiv'd much Damage; the *French* had moſt Sea-room, and might have weather'd the *Dutch* and diſingaged the *Engliſh*, but they fir'd at a diſtance, and moſt of their Shot fell ſhort, yet their Vice-Admiral was kill'd. The Fight continued till nine at Night, when Sir *Joſeph Jordan* getting the Weather-gage of the *Dutch*, they ſtood away, and the Duke ſailing after them, got the appearance of a Victory. On our Side were kill'd the Noble Earl of *Sandwich*, Mr. *Digby* Capt. of the *Henry*, Sir *Fretcheville Holles* Capt. of the *Cambridge*, Sir *John Fox* Capt. of the *Prince*, Capt. *Pearce* of the St. *George*, Capt. *Waterworth* of the *Anne*, Capt. *Hannam* of the *Triumph*, Capt. *Yennes* of the *Alice* and *Francis* Fireſhip, Monſieur *De la Rabiniere* Rear-Admiral of the *French*; and of our Volunteers, the Lord *Maidſtone*, Mr. *Mountague*, Mr. *Richard Nicholls* and Mr. *Roger Vaughan*, both of his Royal Highneſſes Bed-Chamber, Mr. *Trevanian* his Gentleman-Uſher, Sir *Philip Cartwright*, Sir *Charles Harbord*, Capt. *Bromley*, Capt. *Bennet*, Mr. *Cotterel*, Capt. *Burgh*, Capt. *Barry*, Mr. *Napier*, Brother to a *Scotch* Lord of that Name, Mr. *Bowles*, and very many wounded. The Body of the Earl of *Sandwich* was diſcover'd floating on the Sea by one of his Majeſty's Katches, and was taken up and brought into *Harwich*, where it was receiv'd and embalm'd by the Governour Sir *Charles Littleton*, who ſending notice of it to *Whitehall*, his Majeſty declar'd, *That out of his Princely regard to the great Deſervings of the ſaid Earl and his unexampled Performances in this laſt Act of his Life, he reſolved to have his Body brought up to* London, *there at his Charge to receive the Rites of Funeral due to his great Quality and Merits.*

Policy of the *Fr.*

Loſs of the *Engliſh*.

French rapid Succeſs by Land.

While the *French* were content to have no Victory at Sea, they advanced their Conqueſt by Land in a very rapid manner. The *French* King in Perſon paſt the *Mayeſe*, and putting to flight the *Dutch* Troops there poſted to oppoſe him, he took *Orſoy*, *Rhinburgh* and *Doſſery*, all which ſurrender'd upon his firſt Approach before them. *Wezel* was deliver'd to the Prince of *Conde* upon the firſt opening the Trenches; and advancing, he took many other Towns, which put the States into ſuch a Terror, that they remov'd from the *Hague* to *Amſterdam* for their better Security, opening the Sluces, and put-

[a] As the *French* Fleet was to join the *Dutch* in the laſt War, ſo they were in this to join the *Engliſh*, but with equal Caution not to fight themſelves, but to ſee us beat one another; while our Reliance on their Help made us the more forward, not the more able to engage.——A Letter of Lord *Arlington* to Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne* in *Germany*, dated, *Whitehall*, *Apr.* 19, 1672. ſhews how ſanguine the Court was upon opening this Scene at Sea.——Some Day the next Week the King and Queen reſolve to give the Duke a Viſit before he goes to Sea; and when the *French* Fleet ſhall be joined with him, under the Bleſſing of God we ſhall think we have a fair Game.—By this Scheme you ſee the Mortification of *Holland* as probable by Land as by Sea. God ſend it quickly, that we may have a ſhort War, *&c. Miſcel. Aulica.* 8*vo.* p. 68.——Another of *May* 10, 1672.—I have attended his Majeſty firſt to *Sheerneſs*, and ſince to *Portſmouth*.——On *Tueſday* laſt, by his Majeſty's Command, I happen'd to be on board his *Royal Highneſs*, lying out at Sea beyond the *Iſle of Wight*, when the *French* Fleet joined with him, which was not only a very fine Sight, but a moſt welcome one, that Force having render'd us, we computed, much ſuperior to the *Dutch*, towards whom his Royal Highneſs purpoſed to ſail the next Morning. *Ib.* p. 69.

The Count *de Meriole* in his *Hiſtory of the War of Holland*, takes notice, that the King of *England* being then at *Portſmouth*, had the Goodneſs to go on board the Count *D'Eſtrees* his Ship, to ſhew the mutual Confidence of the two Nations in one another.

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ting the Country round under Water, to the Damage of eighteen Millions of Gilders: For by *June* 28. the *French* had advanc'd within four Leagues of *Rotterdam*, and about the ſame diſtance from *Amſterdam*, with a Royal Army of at leaſt 118000 Foot and 26000 Horſe, compoſed of the beſt Troops that had been ever ſeen together, Commanded by two of the greateſt Generals of the Age, the Prince of *Conde* and the Mareſchal *Turenne*, who being encourag'd by the King in Perſon, like an impetuous Torrent carry'd all before them.

The *Dutch* in a dreadful Conſternation.

Theſe rapid Victories put the *Dutch* into a dreadful Conſternation, and the States General as well as *De Wits* muſt have been ſacrificed to the Fury of the People, if they had not concluded on *July* 1. that the perpetual Edict, by which they obliged themſelves never to admit of a Stadt-Holder, ſhould ceaſe and be of none effect, and had conſented to reſtoring the Prince of *Orange* to that Hereditary Honour.

The *Engl.* in great diſcontent.

And the People of *England* were ſo much diſpoſed to Murmurs and Complaints upon the ſucceſsful Progreſs of the *French*, that his Majeſty was obliged to iſſue his Proclamation *for ſuppreſſing that unlawful and undutiful kind of Diſcourſe, by a moſt ſtrict and exemplary Puniſhment of all Perſons who ſhould be found ſpreaders of falſe News, or promoters of any malicious Slanders and Calumnies in any Coffee-Houſe or other publick or private Meeting.* And under this juncture of Affairs the King was neceſſitated to publiſh a Declaration even in Favour of the *Dutch*, *That notwithſtanding the War, if any of the* Low-Country *Subjects, either out of Affection to his Majeſty or his Government, or becauſe of the Oppreſſion they met with at home from their Governours, ſhould come into his Kingdoms, they ſhould be by his Majeſty protected in their Perſons and Eſtates, his Majeſty continuing in the ſame gracious Inclination towards all ſuch of the Subjects of the ſaid* Low-Countries *as ſhall deſire to deliver themſelves from the Calamity and Diſtreſs into which the ill Counſels of ſome prevailing Perſons in the Government of thoſe Countries had juſtly drawn them.*

The *Dutch* ſend over Deputies to *Engl.*

Under theſe frightful Apprehenſions the States-General ſent over their Deputies to the King of *England* to repreſent the common Dangers of *Europe*, and the Ruin of their own Country, and the neceſſity of [a] putting a ſtop to the violent Progreſs of the *French* Arms. On *Thurſday June* 20. his Majeſty ſent four of the Lords of his Privy Council, *viz.* the Duke of *Bucks*, the Earl of *Arlington*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the Lord *Clifford* to thoſe Deputies of the States-General of the United Provinces at *Hampton-Court*, to know what Propoſals they had to offer to his Majeſty. They reply'd they had no Power or Inſtructions to make any offer, but to hear what his Majeſty would demand. Upon which his Majeſty appointed the Duke of *Bucks*, the Earl of *Arlington*, and the Lord *Hallifax* to be his Ambaſſadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries, to treat jointly with ſuch as ſhould be appointed by the moſt Chriſtian King, with any Deputies or Commiſſioners from the ſaid States. Who for this purpoſe ſail'd from the *Buoy in the Nore* on *June* 23. and landing at *Maeſland-ſluce*, were received with great Joy and Satisfaction by the People, out of hopes they came to conclude a Peace, and were met near the *Hague* by a multitude of Men, Women and Children, who joined in their Acclamations all along as they paſſed, of *God bleſs the King of* England, *God bleſs the Prince of* Orange, *and the Devil take the States.* Theſe Ambaſſadors are ſaid to have ſent an Account of their Mediation to the King of *France*, who made a very imperious Anſwer, *That the King of* England *might treat as he pleaſed, but that what he himſelf had got by his Arms was his own, and that what he ſhould get he would not reſtore without an Equivalent.*

Imperious Humour of the *French.*

Upon which our Ambaſſadors are ſaid to have a great Indignation, and to have promiſed the States and the Prince of *Orange*, that they would engage to their utmoſt to bring the *French* King to be ſatisfied with *Maeſtricht*, and of keeping Garriſons upon the *Rhine*, belonging to the Electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Cologn*. And under this appearance of Amity the Duke of *Bucks* proceeded to wait on the *French* King at *Utrecht*, where they are ſaid to have changed their Minds, and within four Days after to have ſent Word to the Prince of *Orange*, that the States muſt give Satisfaction to both Kings jointly, and that neither would treat ſeparately.

And changeable diſpoſition of the *Engliſh* Miniſters.

So that on *July* 21. [b] the Plenipotentiaries return'd to *Whitehall* with this Account given to the Publick, *That all their Excellencies could effect for the preſent was, to compoſe a promiſſory Act between the two Kings, not to treat or conclude without Participation and Incluſion of each others Pretences.* The Intrigue of this Ambaſſy is beſt diſcover'd by theſe Queries made upon it by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*.

Queries of Mr. Secretary *Coventry*.

I. *Whether they were ſent to promote the* French *Conqueſts? If not, why, by making the Peace impoſſible, as far as in them lay, would they force the* Dutch *to ſubmit to the* French *Dominion?*

II. *Whether they did not know that the* French *Demands alone had been rejected by the States; and that the granting of them would make it impoſſible for the* Dutch *to give the King any Satisfaction?*

III. *Whether having received, from the Prince and States, all imaginable Aſſurances of their Deſigns to return to the King's Amity, and to purchaſe it at any Rate they could, they could faithfully neglect theſe, and enter into a new Engagement ſo prejudicial to* England?

IV. *How far thoſe who were join'd in Commiſſion did concur in their Judgment; and whether theſe Conſiderations, with many others, were not repreſented to them, and urged by ſome who deſired to ſerve the King faithfully?*

V. *Whether or no it was for that Reaſon they oppoſed ſo fiercely my Lord Viſcount* Hallifax*'s (who came a Day or two after them) appearing and acting jointly with them, tho' in the ſame Commiſſion with them, in as ample a manner as themſelves?*

VI. *Who were thoſe who (after my Lord* Hallifax *could be kept out no longer) went privately to the* French *Camp under Pretences, and had Negociations of their own on foot?*

VII. *Whether they had order to call the* French *King, King of* France, *and to name him before their Maſter, as well in the* French *Demands as of his Majeſty's, in all their Agreements which they ſent to the Prince of* Orange?

VIII. *Whether they had Inſtructions to ſtand in behalf of the* French, *upon the publick Exerciſe of the* Roman *Catholick Religion in the United Provinces;*

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[a] Theſe Deputies were at firſt receiv'd with Contempt. For the Earl of *Arlington* in one Letter of *June* 10, 1672. ſeem'd full of Joy for the *Accounts of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's great and happy Progreſs.* And in another of *June* 17th he ſeems angry that the States have ſent four Deputies to the King of *France*, and as many to the King our Maſter, two of which are coming hither, and met Monſieur *Boreel* as he was going out of the River, who coming hither without any Leave or Paſſport, are ſent to *Hampton-Court*, to ſtay there till his Majeſty ſhall think fit to allow them an Audience.—— *Earl of* Arlington*'s Letters.* Vol. II. p. 374.

[b] See a Letter of Lord *Clifford* to Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne*, then negotiating a Popiſh Match for the Duke of *York*, dated, *Whitehall, July* 17, 1672.——Our Plenipotentiaries return without making Peace. The Prince of *Orange* and the *Hollanders* think both our Demands and the King of *France*'s too high for their conſenting to them yet; ſo that the War goes vigorouſly on both by Sea and Land, though his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty be returning to *Paris*. The great Artifice of the *Hollanders* was to cauſe Jealouſies, and then to divide the two Kings, and they have uſed great Art in it; but have been ſo far from prevailing, that they have been the Cauſe of *uniting more and more* the Affections of them; and I do aſſure you there was never ſo much *Confidence* in one and the other of each others Proceedings, as at this preſent. *Miſcellan. Aulica*, p. 72.

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The Right Honourable Sir *John Trevor*, [c] one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, and of his Honourable Privy Council, died on *Tueſday May* 28. about ten of the Clock at Night, after ſix Days Diſtemper of a Feaver, in the forty ſeventh Year of his Age, and on *Friday* Night following was honourably interr'd at St. *Bartholomew's* in *Smithfield*. Into whoſe Place *Henry Coventry*, Eſq; late Ambaſſador at the Court of *Sweden*, was ſworn one of the principal Secretaries of State in *July* 3. and was at the ſame time, together with Sir *Robert Long* Knight and Baronet, admitted into the Privy Council. The Earl of *Eſſex* having been appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the room of the Lord *Berkeley*, began his Journey toward that Kingdom on *July* 22. with a very noble Equipage, and arriving at *Dublin* had on *Aug.* 5. the Sword of State deliver'd to him by the Lord *Berkeley*, who the next Day imbark'd for *England*. The great Change in Officers of State was thus reported by Authority. " *November* 17. " his Majeſty reflecting upon the Age and conti- " nual Indiſpoſition of Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord " Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, hath thought " fit to admit of his Reſignation thereof, with all " demonſtration on his Majeſty's part, of his kind- " neſs and eſteem of the ſaid Lord Keeper's Merit " toward him. And his Majeſty willing to gratify " the uninterrupted good Services of the Earl of " *Shaftsbury*, Chancellor of his Exchequer, and one " of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, was " pleaſed this Day to give unto him the keeping of " the ſaid Great Seal, with the Title of Lord Chan- " cellor of *England*. *Nov.* 20. his Majeſty was plea- " ſed to appoint Sir *John Duncumb* Knight, one of " the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, to " be Chancellor and under-Treaſurer of his Exche- " quer, upon the Reſignation of thoſe Offices by the " Earl of *Shaftsbury* Lord Chancellor of *England*. " *Nov.* 30. his Majeſty valuing the many eminent " Services of the Right Honourable *Thomas* Lord " *Clifford*, Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and " one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, " and more particularly the great Abilities and Ex- " perience in the Affairs of his Majeſty's Treaſury, " was pleaſed on *Thurſday* 28. inſtant to advance " him to the place of Lord High Treaſurer of *En-* " *gland*, remaining void ſince the Death of the late " Earl of *Southampton*, and accordingly his Lord- " ſhip having that Morning received the Staff, was " accompanied by the great Officers, and other " principal Perſonages of the Court, to *Weſtminſter-* " *Hall*; where, in the Court of *Chancery*, the uſual " Oaths were adminiſtred to him by the Lord High " Chancellor of *England*. The Place of Treaſurer " of the Houſhold was at the ſame time conferred " by his Majeſty on the Right Honourable the Lord " *Newport*, and that of Comptroller, formerly poſ- " ſeſſed by his Lordſhip, given to the Right Ho- " nourable the Lord *Maynard*, as a Mark of the " Eſteem his Majeſty is pleaſed to retain of his con- " ſtant Loyalty and Affection to his Majeſty and " the Crown. *Jan.* 6. his Majeſty was pleaſed to " create the Marquis of *Blanquefort*, younger Bro- " ther to the Duke *de Duras*, a Baron of *England*, " by the Title of Lord *Duras*, Baron of *Holdenby* in " the County of *Northampton*, to encourage his emi- " nent Virtue and Merit in his Service: And his " Royal Highneſs to render this Grace of his Ma- " jeſty the more complete, hath beſtowed the Ho- " nour of *Holdenby* upon him the Lord *Duras*, he ha- " ving been actually theſe ten Years paſt in his Roy- " al Highneſs's Service; in his firſt Entrance to " which, he was Naturaliz'd in this Kingdom, and " hath particularly ſignalized himſelf in the many " and memorable Occaſions at Sea, in which his " Royal Highneſs hath expos'd himſelf during this " preſent and the former War, in which he was e- " ver a near Attendant on his Royal Highneſs's " Perſon. *Jan.* 25. Upon the Death of his Grace " the Duke of *Richmond* (who died in his Embaſſy " at *Sweden*) one of the Knights of the moſt noble " Order of the Garter, his Majeſty was pleaſed to " ſummon a Chapter of the ſaid Order in the Red " Room (at *Whitehall*) where the Sovereign and " nine Companions being preſent, the Right Ho- " nourable the Earl of *Southampton* was unanimouſly " elected Companion of that moſt noble Order. " *Jan.* 29. The Corps of the Right Honourable the " Earl of *Derby* was interred at *Ormeſchurch* in *Lan-* " *caſhire*, the antient Burying-place of that Noble " Family, which was accompanied with very great " Numbers of Perſons of the beſt Quality in that " and the adjacent Counties, who voluntarily came " in to pay their laſt Reſpects to the Noble Lord " deceaſed: Both Gentry and Commonalty expreſ- " ſed a great ſenſe of the Loſs of ſo Loyal a Subject " to his Majeſty, ſo true a Son of the Church, and " ſo worthy a Patriot of his Country; but yet re- " ceived much Satisfaction in his Son the now Earl, " whoſe Parts, Temper, and Behaviour, have given " them great hopes that he will in nothing that is " good and honourable be inferior to any of his moſt " renowned Anceſtors. And his Majeſty and Royal " Highneſs have been pleaſed to take ſo much no- " tice of his own Qualifications, as well as the " Merits of his Family, that they have conferred " on him thoſe Places of Truſt which his Father " had.——*Friday Mar.* 7. the Right Honourable " *James* Earl of *Northampton* was admitted of his " Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council; and " after the uſual Oaths adminiſtred to him, took " his Place at the Board accordingly.

Honours and Preferments.

Duke of *Monmouth* ſent abroad.

The Duke of *Monmouth* was now ſent abroad to diſtinguiſh himſelf by Arms and ſome Experience in them. The K. of *England* by his Agreement with *Lewis* XIV. was to ſend ſix thouſand Men into his Service by Land. Theſe Forces being *Engliſh* and *Scots*, were Commanded by the Duke of *Monmouth*, who arrived in the *French* Camp near *Charleroy* at the latter end of *April*. A Detachment of twenty thouſand Men, and a Train of Artillery, under the Viſcount *de Turenne*, were ſent towards *Maeſtricht*; and the next Day the *French* King followed with the Body of the Army, accompanied by the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Monmouth*. The Count *de Lorge* inveſted the Place with three thouſand Horſe; but the King calling a great Council of War, at which the Duke of *Monmouth* aſſiſted, 'twas there reſolved, to turn the intended Siege of *Maeſtricht* into a Blockade. So twenty thouſand Men were left before it for that purpoſe, and the reſt of the Army march'd to the *Rhine*. The Duke was at the taking of *Orſoy*, *Rhineberg*, *Wezel*, *Emmerick*, *Doesburg*, *Zutphen*, and was in the *French* King's Camp near *Utrecht* when that

[c] Sir *John Trevor* Secretary of State, with Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Ormond*, had been remov'd from the Committee for foreign Affairs to make room for ſuch as would give themſelves entirely up to the Management of *France*. *Secret Hiſt. of* Europe, P. I. p. 104. And at p. 143. it is again affirm'd, that Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, for favouring the States Intereſt in Oppoſition to the *French*, was ſo far in diſgrace at Court, and upon occaſion of the Plenipotentiaries being ſent to the *French* Court, he drew up the following *Queries*, &c. that ſhew, that in the moſt deprav'd Times, there have always been *Engliſhmen* diſpos'd to the Publick Good, and the Cauſe of Liberty.

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City ſent her Keys to the Conqueror. On the 5th of *July*, the Duke, with the *Engliſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen Volunteers in the *French* Army, went to view the Town, and were honourably entertained by the Magiſtrates. The 11th of *July* the Army broke up, and march'd back to *Flanders*; and the Campaign being over, the King return'd to *Saint Germains*, and the Duke to *England*. On his arrival at *London*, he was received with univerſal Joy; for, tho' the People diſlik'd the War, yet they were pleaſed to hear how much the Duke was a Hero in it. On the 25th of *Auguſt* his Dutcheſs was deliver'd of a Son, Chriſtned *Charles*, who died in 1679. In *November* the Duke went again to *France*, on News that the Prince of *Orange* was ſet down before *Charleroy*; but the Prince leaving that Siege to attack *Bon*, *Flanders* was quiet the reſt of the Winter. The Duke landed at *Calais*, and went thence to *Dourlens*, where his Regiment quarter'd. In his way thither, the Duke of *Elbeuf*, Governour of *Montrevil*, receiv'd him in an extraordinary manner. At *Beville* the Militia were drawn up, and the Mayor complemented him at the Gates. Near *Dourlens* the Governour met him with his Coaches, attended with forty Horſe; waited upon him into the Town, entertain'd him ſplendidly for five Days, and received the *Word* from him every Night. Here the Duke took a Review of his Regiment, which he found in good Order, and well diſciplin'd. Thence he went to *Paris*, and ſo to St. *Germains*, where he was received by the King with particular Honours. He made no long ſtay at the *French* Court, but finding there was no likelihood of any ſudden Action, he return'd to *England*, and remain'd there till the opening of the Campaign.

Parliam. farther prorogu'd.

Sept. 17. his Majeſty in Council order'd a Proclamation to be ſet forth, That whereas he had lately prorogued the Parliament from the 16th Day of *Apr.* laſt unto the 30th of *October* next enſuing; for divers weighty Reaſons he did again Prorogue the ſaid [a] Parliament from the ſaid 30th of *October* until the 4th Day of *February* next enſuing. In the mean time his Majeſty was to raiſe Men, and provide Money, by his own Intereſt and Authority. On *Dec.* 4. he was pleaſed in Council to declare, *That he found it neceſſary, during the preſent War, to raiſe more Soldiers, and to form them into Regiments, and diſpoſe of them in ſeveral Quarters, until there ſhould be occaſion for their Service againſt the Enemy*; and therefore order'd a Proclamation, to forbid any *Rudeneſs or Miſdemeanor in their reſpective Quarters*. And that the Fund of his Exchequer might not be deficient for this occaſion, on *Dec.* 11. he order'd a Declaration to be publiſh'd for a farther ſtop to the payment of any former Debts, confeſſing that he had before *Declar'd the ſtop of Payments ſhould not continue beyond the laſt Day of this Inſtant* December. *But notwithſtanding his Majeſty hath not been wanting on his Part to comply with all honourable ways and means that might operate ſuch happy Effects, yet the continuance of thoſe inevitable Neceſſities which firſt inforced his Majeſty contrary to his own Inclinations to cauſe a ſtop to be made of Payment of Monies, compels him at this preſent to continue the ſame ſtop of payments of any Monies now being or to be brought into his Exchequer, until the firſt Day of* May *next enſuing*——*Doubting not but that all his loving Subjects have ſuch Truſt and Confidence in his Juſtice, that it will take away all apprehenſions of their being in the leaſt defrauded of any thing that is juſtly due to them.*

Declaration of the King's being yet unable to pay his Debts.

Meeting of Parl.

On *Tueſday Feb.* 4. the two Houſes of Parliament, according to his Majeſty's Prorogation, met at *Weſtminſter*; where his Majeſty having commanded the Houſe of Commons to attend him in the Lords Houſe, the Lord Chancellor did, by his Majeſty's Command, acquaint them, that by the late Advancement of Sir *Edward Turner* Kt. to the Place of Lord [b] Chief Baron of his Majeſty's Court of *Exchequer*, the Place of Speaker of that Houſe was now void; and that it therefore was his Majeſty's Pleaſure they ſhould forthwith return to their Houſe, and chooſe a Speaker, with Directions to preſent him the next Day at Three in the Afternoon to his Majeſty, for his Allowance and Approbation; which the Houſe of Commons accordingly did, having unanimouſly made Choice of Sir *Job Charlton* Kt. to ſupply that Place. On *Feb.* 5. his Majeſty was pleaſed to return to the Houſe of Lords, where the Commons attended and preſented their new Speaker, whom his Majeſty was pleaſed to accept and allow of. Then his Majeſty made a Speech to the two Houſes, acquainting them, *That he had entred into an expenſive War, and wanted Money to ſupport it, and to pay his Debts; which he left to their ſpecial care*; and telling them farther, *That he had granted an Indulgence, and was reſolved to ſtand to it* [c]. The Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury* was to make a farther Declaration of his Majeſty's Mind, which he did in a large Speech, wherein he was very bitter againſt the *Dutch*, repreſenting them as our Rivals, and ſworn Enemies in Honour and Trade, and applying to *Holland*, *Delenda eſt Carthago*; farther adding, *That the States of the* United Provinces *were in a mortal Oppoſition to us both by Intereſt and Inclination*; and magnified our Happineſs in a League with *France*, as *the greateſt Advantage that could happen to* England. It muſt be own'd, that this was a falſe and a ſcandalous Speech, and was ſoon condemn'd by the Speaker himſelf, who preſently found the fatal Influence of joining with *France*, and the wiſe neceſſity of eſpouſing the

The Commons chooſe Sir *Job Charlton* Speaker.

Speeches of the K. and Lord Chanc.

[a] That this Prorogation of the Parliament was purpoſely to ſerve the *French* and Popiſh Intereſt, and to prevent their adviſing a Peace with *Holland*, is made plain by the Letters of the Earl of *Arlington*, one to Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne*, dated, *Whitehall, Septemb.* 20, 1672.——The laſt Week his Majeſty reſolv'd in Council a farther Prorogation of the Parliament to the 4th of *Febr.* next, by which a great Meaſure of the *Hollanders* is broken, having fancied to themſelves that they ſhould prevail with many of the Members of it to make them clamorous upon his Majeſty for a ſeparate Treaty upon eaſy Terms, and with Excluſion of *France.*——Another to our Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall, Sept.* 26, 1672.—All our Letters from *Holland* do ſufficiently explain their Backwardneſs to come to a Treaty, beſides the Auxiliary Forces marching in *Germany* to their Aſſiſtance. Some diſcontented People have flatter'd them with an Opinion, that the Parliament, meeting the latter End of *October*, would do Wonders for them, and prevail with his Majeſty to give them an eaſy Peace, and ſeparate from *France*. To undeceive them therein, his Majeſty has reſolved the Proroguing of the Parliament till *February* next, in which Seaſon of the Year it muſt of neceſſity be determined whether we ſhall have War or Peace. *Lord* Arlington'*s Letters*, Vol. II. p. 389.

[b] The *Dutch* were again in hopes, that upon the Meeting of the Parliament the Senſe of the Nation would be for a ſeparate Peace between *England* and *Holland*, excluſive of *France*. The Earl of *Arlington*'s Letter to our Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall, Decemb.* 26. 1672.——Our freſheſt Letters from *Flanders* tell us, they flatter themſelves much in *Holland* upon a vain Imagination, that the Parliament, which is to meet on the 4th of *February*, will make preſſing Inſtances to the King to conclude a ſeparate Peace with them to the Excluſion of *France*, which is but a ſmall Hold for ſo great a Buſineſs as theirs, and ſuch a one as I perſuade myſelf will never appear publickly for their Satiſfaction. Lord *Arlington*'s Letters, Vol. II. p. 398——Again *January* 31, 1673.—The Coldneſs wherewith the States ſeem to entertain the Overtures of Peace, makes us fear it is a great way off; and what betwixt the Diviſions they have with their Allies, and the Expectation of great Troubles in our Parliament, which meets on *Tueſday* next, they remain as fierce and preſumptuous as if they were the Conquerors.——*ib. p.* 403.——Father *Orleans* complains, that the Reaſon why *Holland* was not perfectly ſubdued, was the ill Fortune that King *Charles* too ſoon ſtood in need of his Parliament's Aſſiſtance.

[c] The Earl of *Shaftsbury* had the Seals given to him for this purpoſe of breaking the Triple League, and entring into new Alliance with *France*, into which Meaſures Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, to his immortal Honour, would not enter, and therefore was oblig'd to reſign the Seals on the 17th of *November*, 1672. He had honeſtly declar'd, as ſoon as the *Triple League* was made, that he *would endeavour in his Station the inviolable Obſervation of it.*

defence

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defence of *Holland*, and took Refuge at laſt in that Country as the ſureſt Place of Protection for his Liberty and Life.

On *February* 7. the two Speeches of the King and Chancellor were read in the Houſe of Commons, and the Matter of them was taken into Conſideration. And that their Zeal for the King's Service might the better juſtiſie their freedom of debating on this Subject, upon a Motion for Supply, the Houſe forthwith reſolved into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of that Motion, and immediately upon a Report from the Committee, the Houſe reſolved *Nemine contradicente*, *That a Supply be given to his Majeſty of eighteen Months Aſſeſſment, according to the Proportion of the laſt Royal Aid, not exceeding Seventy thouſand Pounds* per Menſem.

Commons vote a Supply.

When the Commons reſum'd the Debate of the Speeches of the King and the Lord Chancellor, they ſeem'd to awake out of a profound Security into very ſenſible Jealouſies and Fears of Popery and Deſpotick Power. An Army encamped at *Black-Heath* under many Popiſh Officers, raiſed without Advice of Parliament, to ſend againſt Proteſtant Neighbours already too far ſwallowed up by the *French*: And the Diſpenſing Power exerciſed in a Declaration of Indulgence, for the ſake of Popiſh Recuſants as well as of Proteſtant Diſſenters: Theſe things, and the Dangers of an ill conſequence of them, alarm'd the Commons, tho' by Cuſtom and Obligations addicted to the Court. They firſt agreed upon an humble Addreſs to the King, wherein they preſent, that *conſidering his Declaration of Indulgence, they found themſelves bound in Duty to inform him, that Penal Statutes, in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, cannot be ſuſpended but by Act of Parliament.* To which the King made an Anſwer, to ſoften them and divert them from their Motion: But the Houſe not ſatisfied with it, renew'd their Addreſs by way of a Reply, and inſiſted on the Illegality of a Royal Diſpenſing Power, with ſo much Reſolution, that his Majeſty was forced to yield to them. Theſe Debates were ſo warm, and ſo unacceptable to the Court, that they are thought to have made the Speaker weary of his Chair before he was ſettled in it. His leaving the Place is thus reported by Authority in the beſt Colour it could bear: *Saturday Feb.* 15. Sir *Job Charlton*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, having been taken ill the Night before, ſo as not to be able to proceed in the Service of the Houſe that Day; the Houſe, notwithſtanding the great and preſſing Affairs now depending before them, thought fit to adjourn till *Tueſday*; at which time Mr. Speaker, finding his Indiſpoſition to continue ſtill upon him, did by Letter make his humble Suit to his Majeſty, that he might be eaſed of the Burden he was not able longer to ſuſtain: Whereupon his Majeſty ſignified to the Houſe, by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, his Permiſſion to them to chooſe a new Speaker (they having the ſame Morning received a Letter from the Speaker, to have Leave to retire into the Country) and immediately the Houſe did unanimouſly make Choice of *Edward Seymour* Eſquire, much to his Majeſty's Satisfaction, *for his known Loyalty and great Abilities to diſcharge that Place.* And accordingly the Houſe of Commons, having preſented him to his Majeſty in the Houſe of Lords for his Majeſty's Approbation, his Majeſty was pleaſed very graciouſly to accept and allow of the Choice.

And are apprehenſive of Popery and Arbitrary Power.

Declare againſt the King's Diſpenſing Power.

Speaker weary of his Chair

Edward Seymour Eſq; choſen Speaker.

Soon after both Houſes of Parliament did join in an humble Petition and Addreſs, *Repreſenting to his Majeſty their Fears and Apprehenſions of the Growth and Encreaſe of the Popiſh Religion in theſe his Majeſty's Dominions, together with the Cauſes thereof, and alſo ſuch Remedies as they conceive may be proper to prevent ſuch growing Miſchiefs.* Upon which his Majeſty iſſued out his Proclamation of the 13th of *March*, *Declaring that his Majeſty had ſeriouſly conſidered of the ſaid Petition, and with much Contentment and Satisfaction did accept and approve the great Care of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, for the Preſervation of the true Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom; wherein his Majeſty declares, as he hath always adhered againſt all Temptations whatſoever, ſo he will ſtill employ his utmoſt Care and Zeal in the Maintenance and Defence of it: And therefore ſtrictly charges and commands all Jeſuits and Romiſh Prieſts to depart the Kingdom, and the Laws to be put in due execution againſt all Popiſh Recuſants, or juſtly ſuſpected to be ſo.*

Addreſs againſt Popery.

But the Proclamation of this kind having been formerly things of courſe, the two Houſes were not ſatisfied, but on the next Day preſented to his Majeſty another Addreſs, *humbly repreſenting the beſt Means, in their Opinion, for the ſatisfying and compoſing the Minds of his Subjects.* And the King ſeeing them now in earneſt, began to recede from his Diſpenſation of Indulgence, and his declared Reſolution of keeping to it; and very graciouſly aſſured them, that *He freely and readily agreed to what they had propoſed, and would take care to ſee it performed accordingly.* And on the Morrow after this Aſſurance given, his Majeſty renew'd it in a more ſolemn manner by a gracious Speech to both Houſes, which was publiſhed on *March* 15. and was as follows.

Another Addreſs.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech.

"YEſterday you preſented me an Addreſs, as the "beſt means for the ſatisfying and compo-"ſing the Minds of my Subjects, to which I freely "and readily agreed, and ſhall take care to ſee it "performed accordingly.

"I hope on the other ſide, you Gentlemen of the "Houſe of Commons will do your part; for I muſt "put you in mind, it is near five Weeks ſince I de-"manded a Supply, and what you then voted una-"nimouſly, did both give Life to my Affairs at "home and diſhearten my Enemies abroad; but the "ſeeming delay it hath met withal ſince, hath made "them take new Courage, and they are now pre-"paring for this next Summer a greater Fleet (as "they ſay) than ever they had yet; ſo that if the "Supply be not very ſpeedily diſpatch'd it will be "altogether ineffectual, and the Safety, Honour "and Intereſt of *England* muſt of neceſſity be ex-"poſed. Pray lay this to Heart, and let not the "Fears and Jealouſies of ſome draw an inevitable "Ruin upon us all.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"If there be any Scruple yet remaining with you, "concerning the diſpenſing with Penal Laws, I "here faithfully promiſe you, that what hath been "done in that particular, ſhall not for the future be "drawn either into Conſequence or Example.

"And as I daily expect from you a Bill for my "Supply, ſo I aſſure you, I ſhall as willingly re-"ceive, and paſs any other you ſhall offer me, that "may tend to the giving you Satisfaction in all your "juſt Grievances.

This Speech ſo far ſweetned the Commons, that they proceeded in the Supply and diſpatch of the other Bills before them; and yet in the Money Bill they would not expreſſly own the *Dutch* War, nor ſeem to maintain it, but worded it only *to ſupply the King's extraordinary Occaſions.* And before they parted with the Bill they tack'd a Proviſo to it, *That no Papiſt ſhould be capable of holding any publick Employment.* It muſt be obſerv'd, that while the Commons ſhew'd ſo much reſentment at the King's Indulgence to Proteſtant Diſſenters, they excepted more againſt the way of doing it than againſt the thing it ſelf, if done in a legal manner: For on *Feb.* 14. the Commons Reſolv'd *Nemine Contradicente*, *That a Bill be brought in for the eaſe of his Majeſty's Subjects, who are Diſſenters in Matters of Religion from the Church of* England. And the Bill having paſſed

Proceedings of the Commons.

A Bill for the Eaſe of Proteſtant Diſſenters.

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paſſed that Houſe, was carried to the Lords and thrown out by them.

Diſpenſing Power eſtabliſhed by Law in Scotland.

In *Scotland* the Duke of *Lauderdale* Lord High Commiſſioner, got the King's diſpenſing Power to be eſtabliſhed by Law: For in this ſecond Parliament held by him at *Edinburgh* this Summer, he procured an Act, declaring *That by virtue of the King's Supremacy, the ordering the Government of the Church does properly belong to his Majeſty and Succeſſors, as an inherent Right of the Crown; and that he may enact and emit ſuch Conſtitutions, Acts and Orders concerning Church Adminiſtrations, Perſons, Meetings and Matters, as he in his Royal Wiſdom ſhall think fit,* &c. *any Law Act or Cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding.* And while Indulgence was a part of the Politicks of the *Engliſh* Court, he took away all hopes of it in *Scotland*, for with a ſtanding Army, living upon free Quarter, he made all ſorts of People depoſe upon Oath, *their knowledge of the Perſons of Diſſenters, not Popiſh meetings; in the Exerciſe of their Worſhip, upon Penalty of Fining, Impriſonment, Baniſhment and Tranſportation, and to be ſold for Slaves; Impriſoning all outed Miniſters, who ſhall preach out of their Families, till they give Security of* 5000 *Marks* Scot *not to do the ſame again; every hearer being a Tenant to pay* 25 l. Scot, *and* Cotter 12, Toties Quoties, *they ſhall offend; and that it ſhall be death for any to preach in Fields or Houſes, where any are without Doors, and* 500 *Marks Reward for any to ſecure ſuch dead or alive; and gave Orders that every Man for himſelf, and all under him, ſhould give Bond not to go to Field Meetings, and to inform againſt, purſue and deliver up all outed Miniſters to Judgment.*

Bravery of the Prince of *Orange.*

[a] The Prince of *Orange* being now Stadtholder of *Holland*, was in effect the only Protector of the Liberties of *Europe*, and the only oppoſer of the exceſſive Powers of *France*. It was a general Report that deſerves Credit, when the Duke of *Buckingham* with the Lords *Arlington* and *Hallifax* was ſent upon an Ambaſſy this Summer to the *French* King at *Utrecht*, his Grace had a long Diſcourſe with the Prince about the bad Poſture of the Affairs of his Country, and uſed many Arguments to him in vain for his accepting the Sovereignty of it under the Protection of *England* and *France*; he told him at laſt, *he wonder'd what he could propoſe to himſelf in ſuch a deſperate Caſe, ſince according to the Humour he perſiſted in, he muſt unavoidably ſee the final Ruin of it.* To which the Prince reply'd, *That what his Grace ſaid concerning their dangerous Condition was indeed true; but yet, that he had one way ſtill left not to ſee it compleated, which was to lie in the laſt Dike;* by which he meant the fighting of it out to the laſt.

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Under this intrepid Reſolution he attack'd *Woerden*, and beat off the Duke of *Luxembergh* from two ſeveral Attempts of relieving the Town, but having loſt Colonel *Zuleſtein*, who refuſing Quarter was ſlain, he was forc'd to riſe from that Siege, and to march for *Roſendale*, the place appointed for the general Rendezvous. A certain Colonel by the way had the Curioſity to ask him, *What great Deſign he had at that time againſt the* French? He put another Queſtion to him by way of Reply, *Whether he would diſcover his Deſigns to any Perſon in the World that ſhould be ſo impertinently inquiſitive to ask him?* And the Colonel anſwering him in the Negative: *Then*, ſaid the Prince, *my Tongue is alſo endow'd from Heaven with the ſame Grace.*

From *Roſendale* (with an Army of 24000 Horſe and Foot) he march'd directly toward the Country of *Liege*, and made the Count *de Duras* retire with his Army to *Waſſemburgh*, and decline a Battle which the Prince provok'd him to; after this the Prince by a ſtrong Detachment took in the ſtrong Caſtle of *Valkeren*, and then inveſted *Charleroy*, but finding a formal Siege impracticable, made himſelf Maſter of *Binch*, and retiring thro' *Brabant*, diſperſed his Army into Winter Quarters. And when *Luxemburgh* with an Army of 14000 Horſe and Foot march'd over the Ice to invade the Province of *Holland*, about the end of *December*, the Prince haſted to *Alfen*, and by his preſence upon a ſudden Thaw, made the *French* glad to retire with conſiderable loſs.

State of Religion.

As to the State of Religion, it has already appeared, that the dangers of Popery were viſible to all who had their Eyes open. And it did not a little [b] contribute to the common Fears and Jealouſie, that the Dutcheſs of *York*, who had been bred and had long lived a firm and zealous Member of the Church of *England*, was in the time of her Weakneſs and Sickneſs importun'd and over-power'd to declare herſelf a *Roman* Catholick; and ſhe had ſome time before betray'd her Inclinations, had left this Copy of a Paper written by her ſome few Months before her Death.

Dutcheſs of *York* dies a Papiſt.

"IT is ſo reaſonable to expect, that a Perſon al-
" ways bred up in the Church of *England*,
" and as well inſtructed in the Doctrine of it (as
" the beſt Divines and her Capacity could make her)
" ſhould be liable to many Cenſures for leaving that,
" and making herſelf a Member of the *Roman* Ca-
" tholick Church, to which I confeſs I was one of

[a] See the *Dutch* Remonſtrance concerning the Proceedings and Practiſes of *JOHN DE WIT*, Penſionary, and *RUWAERT VAN PUTTEN* his Brother, with others of that Faction. Drawn up by a Perſon of Eminency there, and printed at the *Hague*, and tranſlated out of *Dutch August* 30, 1672. *4to.*

[b] The wiſer part of the Nation ſeem'd to underſtand that this Year 1672 was very likely to have brought about the Return of Popery. The Duke of *York* within this Year withdrew from the Communion of the Church of *England*: He was this Year to have married the Dutcheſs of *Inſpruck* upon Terms of her Religion, in defiance to the Laws. So ſaid the Earl of *Arlington* in a Letter to our Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall, Octob.* 28, 1672. —— Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne* hath concluded the Articles of his Royal Highneſs's Marriage with the young Archdutcheſs upon Terms ſomewhat *incongruous* as to our Government here, but in Subſtance much to his Majeſty's and Royal Highneſs's Satisfaction. — The new Lord Treaſurer *Clifford* was a Papiſt, and Lord *Arlington* no better. King *Lewis* and King *Charles* were in the ſtricteſt Band of Amity againſt the *Dutch*. One of the *Engliſh* Lords, who was ſent over to cultivate this cloſe Friendſhip, tells us the Reſult of it; the Earl of *Arlington* in a Letter to our Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall, July* 25, 1672. —— His Majeſty ſent my Lord Duke of *Buckingham* and my ſelf as his Plenipotentiaries to the moſt Chriſtian King. —— Our whole Negotiation ended in framing an Act, to oblige both the Kings anew not to treat or conclude a Peace with the common Enemy, [the *Dutch*] without the Participation and Concurrence of each other. —— Again, *Aug.* 30, 1672. Our Kings will not part till both be pleaſed. —— The great uſe of the *Declaration of Indulgence* had been to ſkreen and protect the *Papiſts*; as the very Church-men perceiv'd. The judicious Writer of the Letter from a Perſon of Quality, *4to.* 1675. ſpeaks thus of the Indulgence. I could have wiſh'd the Declaration of Indulgence had had a longer Continuance, and better Reception, than it had; for the Biſhops took ſo great offence at it, that they gave the Alarum of Popery through the whole Nation, and by their Emiſſaries the Clergy raiſed ſuch a Cry, that thoſe good and ſober Men, who had long feared the Continuance and Increaſe of Popery, began to believe the Biſhops were in earneſt, had their Eyes opened, tho' late; and therefore joined in heartily with them. —— A later Writer tells us of a more expreſs Toleration of Popery, undertaken to be granted in this Seſſion *Febr.* $167\frac{2}{3}$, if the Jeſuits themſelves had not hinder'd it for want of allowing their Share in it. —— King *Charles* (ſays he) was inclin'd to Popery; and had he not been afraid of bringing the Parliament about his Ears, he was willing to conſent to any thing in favour of it. His Temper was not unknown to the Papiſts; a Deſign was ſeveral Years on foot to procure a Toleration for them. The King had a Privy Council fit for the Purpoſe; and he was not out of hopes to meet a Parliament as pliable, if Money could be commanded from a Neighbouring Prince, as the Jeſuit had promis'd him. But when theſe good Men underſtood, that it was to be a Clauſe inſerted in the *Act of Toleration*, that no Jeſuit ſhould be ſuffer'd to live in *England*, there was no Money to be had; the Lords, who were to bring it about, were deſired to let it drop. The King was fool'd, and the general Intereſt of Popery ſacrific'd to the private Intereſt of the Jeſuits. *Hiſt. of the Coll. of* Doway, 1713. *8vo.* p. 13.

" the

1672. 24 Car. II. "the greateſt Enemies it ever had; That I rather "choſe to ſatisfy my Friends by reading this Paper, "than to have the trouble to anſwer all the Queſtions that may daily be asked me. And firſt, I "do proteſt in the preſence of Almighty God, that "no Perſon, Man or Woman, directly nor indirectly, ever ſaid any thing to me ſince I came into "*England*, or uſed the leaſt endeavour to make me "change my Religion; It is a Bleſſing I wholly "owe to Almighty God, and I hope the hearing "of a Prayer I daily made him, ever ſince I was "in *France* and *Flanders*; where, ſeeing much of "the Devotion of the Catholicks, (tho' I had very "little myſelf) I made it my continual Requeſt to Almighty God, that if I were not, I might before I "died, be in the true Religion. I did not in the leaſt "doubt but that I was ſo, and never had any ſcruple "till *November* laſt, when reading a Book called "*The Hiſtory of the Reformation*, by Dr. *Heylin*, "which I had heard very much commended, and "have been told, if ever I had any doubt of my Religion that would ſettle me: Inſtead of which I found "it the deſcription of the horrideſt Sacrileges in the "World, and could find no reaſon why we left the "Church, but for three the moſt abominable ones "that were ever heard of among Chriſtians. Firſt, "*Henry* VIII. renounces the Pope's Authority, becauſe he would not give him leave to part with his "Wife, and marry another in her life-time. Secondly, *Edward* VI. was a Child, and govern'd by "his Uncle, who made his Eſtate out of Church "Lands; and then Queen *Elizabeth*, who being "no lawful Heireſs to the Crown, could have no "way to keep it but by renouncing a Church that "could never ſuffer ſo unlawful a thing to be done "by one of her Children. I confeſs, I cannot think "the Holy Ghoſt could ever be in ſuch Councils; "And it is very ſtrange, that if the Biſhops had no "deſign, but (as they ſay) the reſtoring us to the "Doctrine of the Primitive Church, they could never think upon it till *Henry* VIII. made the breach "upon ſo unlawful a Pretence. Theſe Scruples "being rais'd, I began to conſider of the difference "between the Catholicks and us, and examin'd "them as well as I could by Holy Scripture, which, "tho' I do not pretend to be able to underſtand, "yet there are ſome things I found ſo eaſy, that I "cannot but wonder I had been ſo long without "finding them out: *As the real Preſence in the* "*Bleſſed Sacrament*, *the Infallibility of the Church*, "*Confeſſion and Praying for the Dead.* After this I "ſpoke ſeverally to two of the Biſhops we have in "*England*, who both told me there were many "things in the *Romiſh* Church which (it were very much to be wiſh'd) we had kept; as Confeſſion, which was no doubt commanded by God: "That praying for the Dead was one of the ancient things in Chriſtianity: That for their parts, "they did it daily, tho' they would not own it. "And afterwards preſſing one of them very much "upon the other Points, he told me, *That if he* "*had been bred a Catholick he would not change his* "*Religion; but that being of another Church (wherein he was ſure were all things neceſſary to Salvation) he thought it very ill to give that ſcandal*, *as* "*to leave that Church wherein he received his Baptiſm.* All theſe Diſcourſes did but add more to "the deſire I had to be a Catholick, and gave me "the moſt terrible Agonies in the World within "myſelf; for all this, fearing to be raſh in a matter of that weight, I did all I could to ſatisfy my "ſelf, made it my daily Prayer to God, to ſettle me "in the right, and ſo went on *Chriſtmas-day* to receive in the King's Chapel: After which I was "more troubled than ever, and could never be at "quiet till I had told my Deſign to a Catholick, "who brought a Prieſt to me, and that was the "firſt I ever did converſe with upon my Word. "The more I ſpoke to him the more I was confirm'd in my Deſign: And as it is impoſſible for "me to doubt of the Words of our Bleſſed Saviour, "who ſays, *The Holy Sacrament is his Body and* "*Blood*, ſo I cannot believe that he who is the Author of all Truth, and has promiſed to be with "his Church to the end of the World, would permit them to give that Holy Myſtery to the Laity but in one kind, if it were not lawful ſo "to do.

Sheldon Abp of *Cant.* *Blanford* Biſhop of *Worceſter.*

"I am not able, or if I were, would I enter into "Diſputes with any Body: I only in ſhort, ſay this "for the changing of my Religion, which I take "God to witneſs I would never have done, if I had "thought it poſſible to ſave my Soul otherwiſe. I "think I need not ſay, it is any Intereſt in this "World leads me to it: It will be plain enough "to every Body, that I muſt loſe all the Friends "and Credit I have here by it; and have very "well weigh'd which I could beſt part with, my "ſhare in this World or the next: I thank God I "found no difficulty in the choice.

"My only Prayer is, *That the poor Catholicks of* "*this Nation may not ſuffer for my being of their Religion*; *that God would but give me Patience to bear* "*them, and then ſend me any Afflictions in this World*, "*ſo I may enjoy a bleſſed Eternity hereafter.*

St. *James's*, *Aug.* 20. 1670.

This Paper ſeems to be written with as much Partiality and Prejudice as a new Convert could be taught to have. To ſay *that the real Preſence in the Bleſſed Sacrament* (that is in her Senſe Tranſubſtantiation) *and Infallibility of the Church*, *were things ſo eaſy*, *that ſhe could not but wonder ſhe had been ſo long without finding them out*, does argue her to have been eaſily diſpoſed to any Faith. What ſhe ſays of the Biſhops was from a failure of Memory at leaſt, for they themſelves ſurviving did ſolemnly deny the Words. Her change of Religion muſt be imputed to the Zeal of his Royal Highneſs, who tho' he did not yet openly profeſs that Religion, yet he was unhappily perverted to it in the Court of *France*: Where, upon the Artifices of his Royal Mother and her Confeſſor Mr. *Mountague*, his Brother King *Charles* wrote this memorable Letter to him, of which, the Original, found among the Papers of Dr. *Berwick*, a Phyſician, is now in the Hands of a very faithful Perſon, who has atteſted this to be a very true Copy of it.

Cologne, *Nov.* 10. 1654.

Dear Brother,

"I Have receiv'd yours without a Date, in which "you mention that Mr. *Mountague* has endeavour'd to pervert you in your Religion. I do "not doubt but you remember very well the Commands I left with you at my going away concerning that Point, and am confident you will "obſerve them; yet the Letters that come from "*Paris* ſay, that it is the Queen's purpoſe to do all "ſhe can to change your Religion, which if you "hearken to her, or any body elſe in that matter, "you muſt never think to ſee *England* or me again; "and whatſoever Miſchief ſhall fall on me, or my "Affairs from this time, I muſt lay all upon you, "as being the only Cauſe of it; therefore conſider "well what it is not only to be the cauſe of ruining a Brother that loves you ſo well, but alſo of "your King and Country, do not let them perſuade "you either by force or fair Promiſes; for the firſt "they neither dare nor will uſe, and for the ſecond, "as ſoon as they have perverted you, they will "have their End, and will care no more for you. (Letter of K. *Charles* to his Brother *James* D. of *York.*)

"I am alſo inform'd, that there is a Purpoſe to "put you in the Jeſuits College, which I command "you upon the ſame Grounds never to conſent unto, and whenever any body ſhall go to diſpute "with you in Religion, do not anſwer them at all;

for

1672. 24 Car. II. " for though you have the Reaſon on your ſide, yet " they being prepar'd, will have the Advantage of " any body that is not upon the ſame Security that " they are. If you do not conſider what I ſay to " you, remember the laſt Words of your dead Fa- " ther, which were to be conſtant to your Religi- " on, and never to be ſhaken in it; which if you " do not obſerve, this ſhall be the laſt time you " will ever hear from

Dear Brother,

Your moſt affectionate Brother

Charles *R.*

The Readers of this Letter will hardly forbear to make this one Remark upon it[a], that *James* Duke of *York*, by his revolt to Popery, forfeited the Bleſſing of his Father; incurr'd the Curſe denounc'd by his Grandfather; rejected the moſt importunate Advices of his Brother, and went his own way to Misfortunes and Ruin. But whatever unhappy influence he had upon his Conſort, it was a ſingular Bleſſing of Providence, that the two Princeſſes his Daughters were not corrupted by any familiar Advice or Example; but were ſtrictly bred up in the Proteſtant Religion, and were both married to Proteſtant Princes, and became both the greateſt Inſtruments of ſecuring and adorning the Reformation. And this Juſtice muſt be done to the Father of the Dutcheſs, the Earl of *Clarendon*, to obſerve, that he very much lamented this Perverſion of his Daughter[b]; and wrote to the Duke and Dutcheſs two Expoſtulatory Letters on this occaſion, with hearty concern for the Sin and the Scandal of it.

Caſe of the Diſſenters as repreſented by themſelves. To return, the Nonconformiſts thus repreſent their own Opinion of the Parliament obliging the King to recal his Declaration of Indulgence. " In " *February* the Parliament met, and voted down " *the King's Declaration as illegal*; and the King " promis'd it ſhould not be brought into Precedent. " And thereupon they conſulted of a Bill for the " Eaſe of Proteſtant Diſſenters, and many Mem- " bers profeſſed their Reſolution to carry it on; " but when they had granted the Tax deſired, they " turn'd it off and left it undone; taking away from " the poor Diſſenters the ſhelter of the King's De- " claration, and ſo leaving them to the Storm of " the ſevere Laws that were in force againſt them, " which by ſome Country Juſtices were rigorouſly " put in Execution, tho' the moſt forbore. The Abridger of this Account has added this farther Obſervation. *On* Feb. 14. *the Commons reſolv'd* Nemine Contradicente *that a Bill be brought in for the Eaſe of his Majeſty's Subjects who are Diſſenters in matters of Religion from the Church of* England. 1672. 24 Car. II. *And a Bill paſſed the Houſe accordingly, but was ſtopp'd in the Houſe of Lords. But the Motion of the Lower Houſe in this Affair was therefore the more remarkable, becauſe it was the ſame Houſe of Commons who ten Years before ſo warmly voted the contrary. A good Argument they were now convinc'd of a greater danger of Popery than they could before be perſuaded to believe.* Whatever this Reflection is, the Truth was only thus: The Commons in this Parliament were by long Experience more and more ſenſible, that the Papiſts were for their own Pleaſure and Advantage, playing and ſtriking the Church-men and Diſſenters one againſt another. At one time the Patrons of Indulgence, to break the eſtabliſh'd Communion, and for their own ſakes to let in a univerſal Toleration; at another time the Puſhers on of Severity and Perſecution, to exaſperate the Nonconformiſts againſt the Laws and the Church, and make them fly toward Popery and a diſpenſing Power for Refuge and Protection. And therefore the Commons, upon a view of theſe double Deſigns, were obliged to take their different Meaſures, for the ſame good Ends of the Peace and Union of the Proteſtant Intereſt. When they ſaw Indulgence and Toleration ſet up by arbitrary Means for ill Purpoſes, they acted by the ſtricteſt Rules of Honour and Conſcience to preſs the Uniformity by Law eſtabliſh'd. And while they ſaw that a rigorous Proſecution of Diſſenters might ſerve the Hopes and Deſires of *Rome* as effectually as a Royal Indulgence, they would have provided againſt the one as well as againſt the other; and by granting a legal and limited Eaſe to them, would have ſettled a mutual Forbearance for the Foundation of a mutual Love; and at leaſt have ſo far reconcil'd the Members of the Church and the Diſſenters from it, that they ſhould have been alway ready to unite againſt the common Enemy of the Reformation.

A more true Account.

As to the Parliaments apprehending the Advancement of Popery, the ſame Author thus repreſents the Matter.

" The Parliament at length grew into great Jea- " louſies of the prevalence of Popery. An Army " (pretended to be deſign'd for Service againſt the " *Dutch*) lay encamp'd at *Black-Heath*, many of " the Commanders were Papiſts. It was the gene- " ral Apprehenſion that having no hopes to get " the Parliament to ſet up their Religion by Law, " it was their Intention to put down Parliaments " and reduce the Government to the *French* Model, " and Religion to their State by a ſtanding Army. " All that lov'd their Country had diſmal Expecta- " tions, the Parliament made an Act that no Man

[a] Father *Orleans* confeſſes the Duke of *York* came into *England* a Catholick, but many weighty Reaſons at firſt oblig'd him to conceal that Change from publick view.—— Yet inſenſibly growing heedleſs, and keeping a leſs Watch upon himſelf than he had done, he gave others the opportunity to obſerve him, and conclude that he was not of the Religion of his Country. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and two of his Brethren reprov'd him. He had the Patience to hear, and did not refuſe to confer with them; but their Arguments were ſo far from ſhaking or altering, that they rather confirm'd him in his Faith. *Hiſt. of the Revolut.* 1711. 8*vo.* p. 232.

[b] See the Copy of a Letter of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon* to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, upon the Report that the Dutcheſs is become a Roman Catholick; the Fear and Apprehenſion of it, and the many Reflections made from thence, to the Prejudice of his Royal Highneſs's Perſon, and even of the King's Majeſty's.——Another to the Dutcheſs, his Daughter, upon the Reproaches concerning her Defection in Religion, and the great Impreſſion made upon good Men in *England* upon it——*&c.* Both written in his Baniſhment, and both reprinted in the Life of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon.* 8*vo.* Edit. 2. 1712.

[c] The Lord *Clifford*, who liv'd and died a Papiſt, and was now the chief Miniſter, ſeem'd to make no great Scruple of owning the Deſign at this Juncture to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power. He told thus much in Converſation with an honeſt Man, that the King, if he would be firm to himſelf, might ſettle what Religion he pleas'd, and carry the Government to what Height he would: For if Men were aſſured of the Liberty of their Conſciences, and be undiſturbed in their Properties, able and upright Judges made in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to judge the Cauſes of *Meum* and *Tuum*; and if on the other hand the Fort of *Tilbury* was finiſh'd to bridle the City, the Fort of *Plymouth* to ſecure the Weſt, and Arms for 20000 in each of theſe, and in *Hull* for the Northern Parts, which might be eaſily and undiſcernably made to the Forces now on foot, there were none that would have either Will, Opportunity, or Power, to reſiſt. To this he added, he was ſo ſincere in the Maintenance of Property and Liberty of Conſcience, that if he had his Will, tho' he ſhould introduce a Biſhop of *Durham* of another Religion, yet he would not diſturb any of the Church beſide, but ſuffer them to die away. I think it has not been yet obſerv'd, that when the Lord *Clifford* ſpoke this, the Biſhoprick of *Durham* was actually void by the Death of Biſhop *Coſin*, and was kept void nigh three Years; tho' before it fell, it had been actually promiſed to Dr. *Seth Ward*, Biſhop of *Sarum*: So as the Scheme ſeem'd really to be according to the Profeſſion of Lord *Clifford*, namely, to introduce a Popiſh Biſhop of *Durham*, but when the Times would not bear it, ſtill they would not truſt Biſhop *Ward*, but Biſhop *Crew*, who was tranſlated from *Oxford* to *Durham*, *Octob.* 22. 1674. the mean Profits being given to ſuperſtitious or profane Uſes.

1670. 22 *Car.* II. " ſhould be in any Office of Truſt, who would not " take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance and " receive the Sacrament according to the Order of " the Church of *England*. Hereupon the Duke of " *York*, who was General of the Army, and the " Lord Treaſurer *Clifford*, laid down all their Places.

The Teſt Act. This Teſt Act was entitul'd, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants*, and it did require, [a] " That all Perſons bearing any Office " or Place of Truſt or Profit ſhould take the Oaths " of Supremacy and Allegiance in publick and open " Court, and ſhould alſo receive the Sacrament of " the Lord's Supper according to the uſage of the " Church of *England*, in ſome Pariſh-Church, upon " ſome Lord's-Day immediately after Divine Ser- " vice and Sermon, and deliver a Certificate of ha- " ving ſo received the Sacrament under the Hands " of the reſpective Miniſter and Churchwarden, pro- " ved by two credible Witneſſes upon Oath, and put " upon Record in Court, and that all Perſons ta- " king the ſaid Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance " ſhould likewiſe make and ſubſcribe this Declara- " tion following: *I A. B. do declare, that I do be- " lieve there is not any Tranſubſtantiation in the Sa- " crament of the Lord's-Supper, or in the Elements of " Bread and Wine, at, or after the Conſecration there- " of, by any Perſon whatſoever.* Which Act and Teſt therein preſcrib'd were a great Security to the Proteſtant Religion; and therefore the Repeal and Abrogation of them were the great Deſign and Labour of the next Popiſh Reign.

Letter of the Abp of *Cant.* to his Suffragans for Catechiſing and ſuppreſſing irregular Schools. Under theſe united Dangers of Popery and Fanaticiſm, it was the great Wiſdom of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops to prevail with the King to require and command, the more diligent uſe of publick Catechiſing in the Church, and to ſuppreſs all Schools ſet up by diſaffected People, not conforming to the uſe of the Church Catechiſm: As appears by this Circular Letter of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſent to every Suffragan by the Dean of the Province, the Ld Bp of *London*, in form and manner following:

My Lords,

" I Have receiv'd a Letter from his Grace the Lord " Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a Copy whereof " I am requir'd to tranſmit to your Lordſhip, by " which you will underſtand the Duty which his " Majeſty requires of your Lordſhip.

The Letter is as followeth.

" The King's moſt Excellent Majeſty being truly " ſenſible that the growing increaſe of the prevail- " ing Sects and Diſorders among us, proceed chief- " ly from the general neglect of inſtructing the " younger ſort of Perſons, or their erroneous Inſtru- " ctions in the Grounds and Principles of true Re- " ligion, is therefore pleaſed to command me, that " in his Name I require your Lordſhip, and by " you, the reſt of my Brethren, the Biſhops of this " Province, that by yourſelf and Officers, you will " at all ſeaſonable times re-inforce the execution of " ſuch Laws and Conſtitutions, as enable us to enjoin " the uſe and exerciſe of our Church Catechiſm; " and that by the moſt effectual Remedies that may " be, ſuch as without Licenſe either publickly or " privately teach School within your Lordſhip's or " their Juriſdiction be forthwith proceeded againſt, 1672. 24 *Car.* II.
" according to ſuch Rules as are preſcribed unto us " for their Reſtraint; and to the end that this Miſ- " chief may be prevented for the future, he more- " over ſtrictly chargeth us, that none be admitted to " that Office without ſuch Subſcription, Oaths and " Declaration as are exactly requiſite. But in the " mean time I deſire that your Lordſhip and they " will with the firſt conveniency let me know, how " we are already defective in theſe Particulars, that " I may be able to give ſuch Satisfaction as hereaf- " ter will be neceſſary. I bid your Lordſhip hear- " tily farewel.

Lambeth-Houſe, Feb. 6. $167\frac{2}{3}$. *Your Lordſhip's very affectionate Friend and Brother*,
Gilb. *Cant.*

" Your Lordſhip does hereby fully underſtand " his Majeſty's Pleaſure, which I am required to let " you know.

Your Ldp's very lov. Broth. and Serv.

London-Houſe, *Feb.* 8. $167\frac{2}{3}$. Humfr. London.

The Parliament were now ready to conclude their 1673.
Buſineſs and their Seſſion. On *Wedneſ. Mar.* 26. the Commons preſented an Addreſs to the King for the more effectual reſtraining and puniſhing of Popiſh Recuſants, and for the better Security of the Proteſtant Religion. And on *Mar.* 29. after Noon, his Majeſty was preſent in the Houſe of Lords, and the Commons attending, the Speaker preſented ſeveral Bills, to which his Majeſty was pleaſed to give his Royal Aſſent. The publick Acts were theſe that follow:

1. " An Act for raiſing the Sum of Twelve hun- " dred thirty eight thouſand ſeven hundred and fif- " ty Pounds, for Supply of his Majeſty's extraor- " dinary Occaſions. Acts paſſed.
2. " An Act for the King's Majeſty's moſt graci- " ous, general, and free Pardon.
3. " An Act for continuing a former Act concer- " ning Coinage.
4. " An Act for enabling his Majeſty to make Lea- " ſes of his Lands belonging to his Dutchy of *Corn- " wal.*
5. " An Act for preventing Dangers which may " happen from Popiſh Recuſants.
6. " An Act for reviving the Judicature for the " determination of Differences touching Houſes " burn'd down and demoliſhed by reaſon of the late " Fire which happen'd in *London*, and for rebuild- " ing the Navy-Office.
7. " An Act for taking off Aliens Duties upon " Commodities of the Growth and Manufactures of " this Nation.
8. " An Act for Encouraging the *Greenland* and " *Eaſtland* Trades, and for the better ſecuring the " Plantation Trades.
9. " An Act for Repeal of a Clauſe in a former " Act to prohibit Saleſmen from ſelling fat Cattel.
10. " [b] An Act to enable the County Palatine of " *Durham* to ſend Knights and Burgeſſes to ſerve " in Parliament.

After

[a] On *Feb.* 28. $167\frac{2}{3}$ the Houſe of Commons upon Debate of the Growth of Popery, and Suppreſſion thereof, reſolved, that an Addreſs be made to his Majeſty for the ſuppreſſing of the Growth of Popery; and that the ſame be drawn up upon the Subject Matter of the like Addreſs, paſſed *Octob.* 28, in the 18th Year of his Majeſty's Reign. And that a Bill be brought in for incapacitating all Perſons who ſhall refuſe to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Sacrament according to the Church of *England*, of all publick Employments Military and Civil. *Monday March* 3. $167\frac{2}{3}$. the Addreſs to the King for the ſuppreſſing of Popery agreed to, and ordered to be carried up to the Lords for their Concurrence.——*Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons*, MSS.

[b] The Proteſtant Intereſt run ſo high in this Parliament, that a Bill came up from the Commons to the Houſe of Lords in favour of the diſſenting Proteſtants, and had paſſed the Lords, but for want of Time. Beſides another excellent Act paſſed the Royal Aſſent, for the excluding all Papiſts from Office; in the oppoſition of which the Lord *Clifford* fell: And yet, to prevent his Ruin, this Seſſion had the ſpeedier End. Notwithſtanding the Biſhops attained their End fully, the Declaration being cancell'd, and the Great Seal being broken off from it.——Letter from a Perſon of Quality, 1675. 4*to.* p. 6.

It is plain the King and Miniſtry were fearful leſt the Commons ſhould interrupt the Friendſhip with *France*, and preſs a new

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Claim of *James Percy* to the Earldom of *Northumberland*.

After which the Parliament adjourned till the 20th of *October* next enſuing. On the Day before their riſing, the Lords, upon reading the Petitions of *James Percy*, ſetting forth his Claim to the Title of Earl of *Northumberland*, &c. and his refuſing to make appear any Probability towards the ſaid Claim, notwithſtanding he had a Months time given him before, and cauſed above forty Witneſſes to be ſworn at the Bar; and their Lordſhips having fully heard the elder Counteſs of *Northumberland*'s Counſel, who chargeth the ſaid *James Percy* to be an Impoſtor; it was Reſolved, that both the Petitions of the ſaid *James Percy* for his Claim, *&c.* ſhould be diſmiſſed the Houſe; and they were diſmiſſed accordingly. And by a ſucceeding Vote it was reſolved, that the Conſideration of what farther Proceedings ſhould be had againſt the ſaid *James Percy*, concerning the ſaid Impoſture, ſhould be taken up the next Morning. This *Percy* was a Trunkmaker who came out of *Ireland*, and brought Evidence with him of his being deſcended from the ancient noble Family of that Name. When rejected by the Lords, he carried on ſome Pretenſions at Common Law; but being an Impoſtor, or at leaſt a Beggar, he could have no ſucceſs. At the end of this Seſſion, the new Speaker, *Edward Seymour* Eſquire, was thought to have deſerved ſo well of the King and his Court, that on *Apr. 9.* he was ſworn and admitted one of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, and took his Place at the Board accordingly.

Redemption of Slaves.

At the beginning of *April*, thoſe Lords of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council who were appointed a Committee for the Redemption of Captives from *Algiers* and *Salley*, publiſhed a Liſt of all thoſe Perſons who had been Redeemed from Captivity by the Monies collected by virtue of his Majeſty's Letters Patents dated in *Auguſt* 1670. and gave notice, that the whole Collection paid into the Chamber of *London* amounted unto Twenty thouſand and five hundred Pounds; out of which Sum, Fifteen thouſand one hundred and ſeventy Pounds had been already iſſued out for the Redemption of Two hundred forty ſeven Perſons; and the remainder was impreſted and actually employing towards the carrying on the ſaid Redemption with all the Expedition that may be.

Affairs at Sea.

This Summer was full of Action at Sea: The *Dutch*, with their uſual Diligence, were firſt abroad[a], and intended ſome Advantage by their early Expedition. For on *April* 30. *O. S.* Admiral *de Ruyter* ſailed from the *Maeſe* with forty two Ships of War, to the Mouth of the *Thames*, in hopes, by ſinking ſome Veſſels, to block up the River, and hinder the *Canary*, *Bourdeaux*, and *Newcaſtle* Fleets getting in; but they had happen'd to go up the River two Days before, and had given up Fifteen hundred Men to the Navy Royal. *De Ruyter* hearing this, returned to *Schonevelt*, where he was joined by Admiral *Tromp* with the *Amſterdam* Squadron; in the Command whereof he ſucceeded the Baron *Van Ghent*, kill'd in the laſt Summer's Engagement. By *May* 12. the *Engliſh* Fleet was ready; and Prince *Rupert*, as Admiral, went on Board the *Royal-Charles* at *Dungeneſs*; and on *May* 16. the *French* Squadron, commanded by the Count *D'Eſtree*, came up and joined our Navy off of *Rye*. The King and the Duke went down to ſee the Fleet, and left them on *May* 19. ready to ſail with the firſt fair Wind: Before his coming away, his Majeſty made the Earl of *Oſſory* Rear-Admiral of the Blue Squadron. The firſt Engagement began near *Schonevelt* on *May* 28. Prince *Rupert* commanded our main Body, Sir *Edward Spragge* the Blue Squadron, and the Count *D'Eſtree* the *White*. The *French* were mingled with the *Engliſh*, to prevent their running away, as they were ſaid to have done in the Fight at *Solebay* the laſt Year. The *Engliſh* and *French* made about a hundred and ten Sail; the *Dutch* near a hundred. When *De Ruyter* ſaw the Confederates appear, he weigh'd Anchor to meet them. *Tromp* and Sir *Edward Spragge* began the Fight, which on every ſide was continued with great Fury till the dark Night divided them. The *Dutch* loſt Vice-Admiral *Schram*, and Rear-Admiral *Ulugh*; our Captain *Legg* took one *Dutch* Man of War, but Captain *Backer* who loſt it did bravely retake it: The *Deventer*, another *Dutch* Ship of ſixty Guns, was diſabled; and ſtriking on the Sand in her return home, all the Men were drown'd except thirty. Sea Fight. The *Dutch* affirm they loſt only this Ship, and that not by the Enemy; whereas the Confederates loſt twelve, ſunk or burnt, of which the moſt were *French*, the *Fripon*, the *Thunderer*, and ſeveral of their Fireſhips, which they knew not how to uſe. It is certain that both Sides were well beaten, and therefore both Sides claim'd the Victory. *De Ruyter*, in his Letter to the Prince of *Orange* of *June* 8. ſays, *We judge abſolutely, that thus far the Victory (God be praiſed) is on the ſide of this State and your Highneſs.* And Prince *Rupert* writes thus to the Lord *Arlington*, *I thought it beſt for us to ceaſe the purſuit, and drop Anchor where I now am.* On the *Engliſh* ſide were kill'd Capt. *Fowls*, Capt. *Werden*, and Capt. *Finch*; Colonel *Hamilton* had his Leg ſhot off: The Captains *Legg*, *Holmes*, *Wetwang*, and *Story*, ſignaliz'd themſelves in this Battel, which drove back the *Engliſh* to their Coaſts, and the *Dutch* to *Schonevelt*. The greateſt Argument of the Victory inclining to the *Dutch*, was their ſetting out early again, and ſailing to the *Engliſh* Coaſts, where they challenged and attacked the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleet. On *June* 4. *Tromp* and *Spragge* were the firſt again that engaged: The Fight laſted ſix hours without much loſs on either ſide; ſo that both again pretended to the Victory, and both indeed deſerved it. Another Sea Fight. *De Ruyter* wrote to the States thus; *The next Day we ſaw the Enemies were gone, and doubt not but they made to the* Thames; *we ſatisfied our ſelves with purſuing them half-way, and then return'd to our former Station.* And Prince *Rupert* thus to my Lord *Arlington*: *About Midnight the* Dutch *Fleet tacked——At two in the Morning we tacked alſo, and ſtood after them; at ſix ſeeing no likelihood of reaching them before they would get within their Sands, we thought it to no purpoſe to purſue them any farther: ſo we tacked again, and ſtood for our own Coaſt.* [b] *All we can ſay more of the Enemy is, That they went off in great diſorder, leaving us ignorant of what loſs they have ſuſtained.* By the latter end of *July* the *Engliſh* and *French* having repaired their Ships, return'd to

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new Alliance with *Holland*. The Earl of *Arlington* in one Letter, dated, *Whitehall, March* 12. 1673.——The *Hollanders* had the laſt Week one great String more to their Bow, *viz.* an appearance of a great Miſunderſtanding betwixt his Majeſty and the Houſe of Commons; but his Majeſty having moſt prudently removed that, I ſuppoſe they will for the future value it little, and conſequently I perſuade myſelf we ſhall quickly hear from them.——Another of *March* 27. 1673.——I take no Comfort in telling you the Perplexities and Delays we found ourſelves in, upon paſſing the Bill for his Majeſty's Supply, which God be thanked is now over, *&c.* *Letters of the Earl of* Arlington. Vol. II. p. 408.

[a] See Letters of Lord *Arlington*, dated, *Whitehall, Apr.* 9. 1673.——The *Hollanders* reſolve to make one Tryal more by Sea, having armed themſelves as powerfully as they did the laſt Year, and made their Fleet ready to come out, as moſt of our Intelligence aſſures us, within a few Days; and we hope we ſhall not be long after, applying all the Diligence that is poſſible to repair the Delay occaſioned by the Difficulties we found this Seſſion of Parliament.——Another of *Apr.* 14. 1673.——His Highneſs Prince *Rupert* puts himſelf upon the Fleet for good and all upon *Monday* next, in hopes to meet quickly the *French* Squadron at *Portſmouth*.——

[b] See another Letter of the Lord *Arlington* to our Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall, July* 3. 1673.—The *Dutch* Fleet finding ours ready to take the Sea again, have retired themſelves towards their own Coaſt, lying, as the Letters of this Day told us, three Leagues beyond the *Goodwin Sands*. Ours will go out in a few Days ſtronger than ever it was, and ſhew the People of the *Hague*, that we are not ſo beaten as their Prints and publick Thankſgivings would make the World believe, *&c.*

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the Coaſts of *Zeland*; and *De Ruyter* left his Port of *Schonevelt* to meet the Enemy. A third Engagement began on *Monday Aug.* 11. Count *D'Eſtree* led the Confederates White Squadron, Prince *Rupert* the main Line, and Sir *Edward Spragge* the Blue Squadron. The *French*, as was uſual for them to do in this War, fled, and ſtay'd out of the reach of the Cannon. *Tromp* and *Spragge* fought with their wonted Bravery: *Tromp* forc'd Sir *Edward Spragge* twice out of his Ship, and *Spragge* compell'd Admiral *Tromp* once to change his. *Bankert* of the *Zealand* Squadron met with very little Reſiſtance from *D'Eſtree* in the White; ſo he join'd with *De Ruyter*, who was engag'd with Prince *Rupert*, and very much diſtreſs'd him. Vice-Admiral *de Liefds* and *Sweers* were kill'd of the *Dutch*; and Sir *Edward Spragge* drown'd, a Cannon ſtriking his Boat and ſinking it, as he was going out of his ſecond Ship into the third. *De Ruyter* writes, *The Fight laſted till Night, and then the Enemy made away to their Coaſts, leaving us, God be thank'd, Maſters of the Place of Battle.*

A third Engagement.

The *Engliſh* had ſhipp'd 6000 Men, commanded by Mareſchal *de Schonbergh*, for a Deſcent upon the Coaſts of *Holland*; but their not being able to attempt any thing at Land, was an Argument that they were not ſuperiour at Sea.

Tabago taken from the *Dutch*.

The Iſland of *Tabago* was, at the beginning of this Year, taken from the *Dutch* by the *Engliſh*, under the Command of Sir *Tobias Bridges*, with a Booty of 400 Priſoners, and as many Negroes.

And *St. Helena* loſt and regained.

The *Dutch*, in repriſal, had ſeized upon our Iſle of St. *Helena*, which would have proved a great Obſtruction to our *Eaſt-India* Trade, had it not been ſoon after regained by Capt. *Mundy*, with a more fatal loſs to the *Dutch* of three very conſiderable *Eaſt-India* Ships; for which acceptable Service, the Capt. at his return in *Auguſt* was Knighted by his Majeſty.

Honours and Preferments.

As to Civil Offices and Honours, the Lord *Clifford*, being a profeſs'd Papiſt, finding himſelf diſabled by the Teſt, reſign'd into his Majeſty's Hands his Staff as Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, on *June* 19. which his Majeſty, by the Recommendation of the Duke of *Buckingham*, was pleaſed to deliver the ſame Day to Sir *Thomas Osborne* Knight and Baronet, and lately created Lord Viſcount *Osborne* of *Dunblaine* in *Scotland*. Soon after, on the death of Sir *Robert Long*, Knight and Baronet, Auditor of his Majeſty's Exchequer, that profitable Place was given to Sir *Robert Howard*, who left his Office of Secretary to the Lord High Treaſurer of *England* to *Charles Bertie* Eſquire, Brother to the Earl of *Lindſey*. But the greateſt Change at Court was by the diſgrace of the Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury*, who had lately ſet himſelf at the Head of the diſcontented Party, and earneſtly oppoſed all thoſe Meaſures which were thought to be tending to the growth of Popery, or to the exerciſe of Arbitrary Power. When Serjeant *Thurland* took his Oath before him, as one of the Barons of the Exchequer, he gave him this bold Advice: *Let me recommend to you ſo to manage the King's Juſtice and the Revenues, as the King may have moſt Profit, and the Subject leaſt Vexation. Raking for old Debts, the Number of Informations, Projects upon Concealments, I could not find (in the eleven Years Experience I had in this Court) ever to advantage the Crown; but ſuch Proceedings have, for the moſt part, deliver'd up the King's good Subjects into the hands of the worſt of Men, Clerks of the Court, Cuſtom-houſe Officers, and Exciſe-men.* For daring thus to limit the King's Revenue and his Power, and for taking other Liberties of ſpeaking freely againſt the Popiſh Intereſt at Court, he became very uneaſie to the Duke of *York*, who prevailed with his Brother to remove him. It was by this Procurement of his Royal Highneſs, that the King ſent for the Earl to *Whitehall* on *Sunday Nov.* 9. and demanded the Seals of him, which he reſign'd with great chearfulneſs, and putting on his Sword, he return'd home as unconcern'd as if he had brought the Mace back with him. The ſame Day he was viſited by Prince *Rupert*, and moſt of the Peers and Perſons of Quality about Town, who acknowledg'd that the Nation was oblig'd to him for the juſt Diſcharge of the Truſt that had been repoſed in him, and return'd him their Thanks. The Papiſts were ſo angry with him, that they began to proſecute him, not only into Diſgrace but into Ruin; for they examined the Court Rolls to meet with ſomething on which to ground an Accuſation in Law againſt him: And picking out ſome Pretenſions, they preſented a Paper to the King's Council, containing Matters for a Charge of Corruption and other Miſdemeanors; but, to their great Mortification, the Council reported, that nothing could be drawn out of that Paper for any legal Information. And indeed this Juſtice muſt be done to his Lordſhip's Memory, that he executed this great Office with ſingular Integrity and Honour.

The Great Seal was immediately given to Sir *Heneage Finch*, Knight and Baronet, his Majeſty's Attorney General, with the Title of Lord Keeper. He was Nephew to Sir *John Finch*, Lord Keeper in the Reign of K. *Charles* I. and had the Parts and Elocution of his Uncle.

Proceedings in Parliam.

As to Proceedings in Parliament, on *Monday Oct.* 20. the two Houſes met, according to their laſt Adjournment, and were Prorogu'd by Commiſſion to *Monday* the 27th inſtant. [a] The Commons ſeem'd very uneaſie in their Fears of Popery, and a Popiſh Faction at Court, and preſented to his Majeſty two bold Addreſſes againſt the Match which had been this Summer treated and concluded, by his Majeſty's conſent, between *James* Duke of *York* and *Mary* Princeſs of *Modena* [b]. But contrary to their Opinion and Importunity, the King told them it was too late to prevent it. And the Liberty they took of interpoſing in this Affair, was ſo unacceptable to the Court, that on *Tueſday Nov.* 4. his Majeſty was

Addreſs againſt the Match of the D. of *York*.

[a] See an Eſſay upon the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs, written to the Duke of *Ormond* in *October* 1673, upon his Grace's deſiring me to give him my Opinion what was to be done in that Conjuncture. By Sir *William Temple*. *Miſcellan.* 8*vo.* 1680. p. 147.

[b] This was the third Popiſh Foreign Lady courted by the Duke of *York* ſince he was a Widower; and the Deſign of every ſuch Overture had appear'd to be for ſtrengthning the Intereſts of Popery, and preparing to change the Conſtitution of Church and State. What leſs can be underſtood by the Letter of my Lord *Arlington* to our Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated, *Whitehall*, *Apr.* 21. 1673.—The Death of the Empreſs hath given our Court a particular Mortification, by the ſtrong Probabilities there are of his Royal Highneſs's loſing the Princeſs of *Inſpruck* thereby. I told you in my former, that Sir *Bernard Gaſcoign* had inſinuated to us a Likelihood of his Royal Highneſs's obtaining the Emperor's Siſter inſtead of her, and how the Overture was entertained here; which ſufficiently juſtifies your Prudence in anſwering Sir *Bernard* as you did. The Truth is, the Delays of the Court of *Vienna* uſed in that Negotiation, and their Affectation, and the Notion of giving the Duke a Wife, to *change his Majeſty's greater Meaſures in his Affairs*, hath extremely *rebated* us in ſetting on foot any Negotiation of that kind.

See the Inſtructions given by the King and by the Duke to *Henry* Earl of *Peterborough*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of *Modena*. *July* 30. 1673. and the whole Proceedings in that Negotiation, as put into the Appendix to the Life of King *James* II. 8*vo.*

A learned Writer has on this occaſion thus expreſſed himſelf, that the *French* King's Intereſt was cloſely intermingled, or rather knit with that of the Duke of *York*, appear'd in legible Characters. His Marriage with the Princeſs of *Modena* was the effect of that Friendſhip, and the Match was juſtly look'd upon by all *Europe* the Reſult of Jeſuitical Counſels, to bind up the preſumptive Heir of *England* to the *French* and Popiſh Intereſt, in which he never ſince fail'd them. The *French* King's propoſing and promoting this Marriage; his officiouſneſs in defraying the Charges of it, and the Princeſs's Journey to *England*; his paying the greateſt part, if not all of her Portion; his ſplendid Entertainment of her through *France* and in *Paris*, were Civilities beyond the ordinary State among Princes, and could only be interpreted the Product of ſome extraordinary Conjunction of Intereſts.

pleas'd

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pleaſ'd to prorogue the Parliament till the 7th of *January* next. In the mean time, to make ſome ſhew of ſatisfying the Commons of *England* in ſuppreſſing the Fears of Popery, his Majeſty was pleaſed on *Novemb.* 14. to call before him in Council the Lords Chief Juſtices, and the Lord Chief Baron, and to command them to conſider of the moſt effectual means of putting the Laws in execution for preventing the growth of Popery, and ſpeedily to Report the ſame to his Majeſty: And at the ſame time his Majeſty was pleaſed to order, "That no "Perſon who is a *Roman* Catholick, or is reputed "to be of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, do preſume, after the 18th Day of this inſtant *Novemb.* "to come into his Majeſty's Royal Preſence, or to "his Palace, or to the Place where his Court ſhall "be. And accordingly, the Lord Steward and "Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, "were ordered to cauſe this his Majeſty's Pleaſure "to be effectually put in execution. And on *Decemb.* 10. was pleaſed farther to declare in Council, "That no Popiſh Recuſant, or reputed ſo to be, "ſhould preſume to come into St. *James's Houſe*, or "into the *Park* adjoining.

The King labours to quiet the Fears of Popery.

On *Wedneſday Jan.* 7. the two Houſes in purſuance to their late Prorogation, met at *Weſtminſter*; whither his Majeſty, attended by many of the Peers, went by Water; and being come into the Houſe of Lords, and there ſeated in due Solemnity, the Houſe of Commons was called up, and his Majeſty made a ſhort Speech to the two Houſes: After which the new Lord Keeper made a "large deduction of the *Dutch* averſeneſs to Peace, "their uncivil Demeanour to the King's Plenipotentiaries at *Cologn*, and how indirectly they dealt "with the King in all the Overtures of Peace; and "therefore a neceſſary Supply [a], proportionable to "the Greatneſs of the King's Affairs, was not only "demanded, but care to be taken for Payment of "the Bankers Debt, otherwiſe Multitudes of the "King's loyal Subjects would be undone.

Parliam. meets.

But both Houſes began to ſhew their Diſcontent at the Continuance of a War with *Holland*, and at a Progreſs of the *French* Arms, and at the Prevalence of Popiſh Counſels. First therefore the Lords preſented an Addreſs, beſeeching his Majeſty, "That he would "be graciouſly pleaſed to iſſue out his Royal Proclamation, requiring all Papiſts and reputed Papiſts, within five Miles of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, or "*Southwark*, not being Houſholders, nor attending "any Peer of this Realm, as a menial Servant, to "repair to their reſpective Dwellings, or to depart "ten Miles from the Cities and Borough aforeſaid, "and not to return during this Seſſion of Parliament: And likewiſe, That his Majeſty would be "pleaſed to give Order to the Quarter-Seſſions, that "they give in a faithful Account of what Houſholders are within the Cities or Borough aforeſaid, "and five Miles thereof, who are of that Profeſſion; and that the Quarter-Seſſions do adjourn "themſelves from time to time for that purpoſe.

Diſcontent of the two Houſes.

Their Addreſs againſt Popery.

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And accordingly his Majeſty did by Proclamation, dated *Jan.* 14. declare, "That he had ſeriouſly conſider'd the Addreſs of his moſt dutiful and loyal "Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in "this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and did accept "it with much Contentment and Satisfaction: And "as he had always manifeſted his Zeal for the Preſervation of the true Religion eſtabliſhed in this "Kingdom, and to hinder the growth and increaſe "of the Popiſh Religion; ſo he was now ready, "upon this Occaſion, to prevent all Fears and "Dangers that might ariſe by the Concourſe of Perſons of that Profeſſion in or near his Cities of "*London* and *Weſtminſter*, &c.

The K.'s Anſwer.

The Commons on *Oct.* 31. had voted, That conſidering the preſent Condition of the Nation, they will not take into farther Conſideration any Aids or Charges upon the Subject, except it ſhall appear that the Obſtinacy of the *Dutch* ſhall render it neceſſary, nor before this Kingdom be effectually ſecured from Popery and Popiſh Counſels, and other Grievances be duly redreſſed. And they now joined with the Lords in another Addreſs to his Majeſty to expreſs themſelves *paſſionately ſenſible of the calamitous Condition of this Kingdom, not only by reaſon of the War wherein it is at preſent involved, but many other inteſtine Differences and Diviſions amongſt us, which are chiefly occaſioned by the undermining Contrivances of Popiſh Recuſants, whoſe Numbers and Inſolencies are greatly of late increaſed, and whoſe reſtleſs Practices threaten a Subverſion both of Church and State.*

Reſolutions of the Commons.

And indeed the Commons were now ſo weary of the War with *Holland*, and ſo apprehenſive of the Powers and Intrigues of *France*, and of the Delays in the Treaty now depending at *Cologn*, that they did in effect declare for a ſpeedy Peace, and encourage the States of *Holland* to a ſecret Correſpondence with them on that occaſion. And indeed it was this univerſal Inclination of the Parliament and People of *England* that induced the King to deſert the *French*, and to make the *United Provinces* once more his Friends and Allies. And therefore on *Jan.* 24. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and ſent for the Houſe of Commons, and communicated to both Houſes a Letter together with Propoſitions for Peace, which he had received from the States-General of the *United Provinces*, by the Hands of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador: [b] And on *Jan* 27. the Commons, upon peruſing the Propoſals made by the States-General of the *United Provinces*, which the King had laid before them, agreed, *That his Majeſty be humbly deſired to proceed in a Treaty with the ſaid States, in order to a ſpeedy Peace.*

They bring the K. into a Peace with *Holland*.

This Treaty was happily managed by Sir *William Temple*, and was concluded to the great Satisfaction of both Nations. It conſiſted of five Articles: By the firſt the States agreed to the Right of the Flag to be paid to all the King's Ships: The ſecond was for ſettling Trade in the *Eaſt-Indies*: [c] The third re-

Articles of it.

[a] Sir *William Temple* in his Eſſay upon the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs, written to the Duke of *Ormond* within this Year 1673. had ſhewn it to be the Intereſt and Honour of *England* to enter into Alliances with *Spain* and *Holland*, and not to depend on *French* Counſels or *French* Money; concluding thus: "Thus much is certain, that whatever Means "will reſtore or raiſe the Credit of his Majeſty's Government "at Home, will do it Abroad too. For a King of *England* at "the Head of his Parliament and People, and in their Hearts "and Intereſts, can never fail of making what Figure he pleaſes "in the World, nor of being ſafe and eaſy at Home; and "may deſpiſe all the Deſigns of factious Men, who can "only make themſelves conſidered by ſeeming to be in the "Intereſt of the Nation, when the Court ſeems to be out of "it. But in running on Counſels contrary to the general Humour and Spirit of the People, the King indeed may make "his Miniſters great Subjects, but they can never make him "a great Prince.

[b] The States General in their Letter to the King of *England*, dated, *Decemb.* 18. 1673. in anſwer to one from his Majeſty, make bold to charge his Miniſters with giving him ill Advice. Sir, whatever might be the Motion that hath induced your Majeſty to write us the Letter which the Trumpeter we had ſent to you deliver'd us from your Majeſty, bearing Date *Nov.* 27. we find ourſelves oblig'd to give your Majeſty Thanks for the Honour you have been pleaſed to do us; but withal, we cannot diſpenſe with ourſelves, without declaring to your Majeſty the Grief we conceive, by finding the ſame of an Importance ſo much to our Diſadvantage: and that the Miniſters, upon whom your Majeſty placeth moſt Confidence, have until this time exercis'd their Skill in bringing things to that Point as they have done, perſuading your Majeſty, that they could rake up together ſo many things, as they believ'd had been quite blotted out of your Majeſty's Memory, and which they in their Conſciences know to be far from the Truth. [With many other Reflections on his Miniſters and Counſellors very ſevere and juſt.]

[c] The Negotiations of this Peace were held in *London* between Sir *William Temple* and the Marquis *del Freno*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador. The whole Treaty was concluded at three Meetings. The two Points of greateſt Difficulty were that of the Flag, and the recalling of *Engliſh* Troops from the *French* Service, &c. *See Life of Sir* William Temple, *p.* 200.

lated

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lated to the Colony of *Surinam*: By the fourth, Both Sides were obliged to reſtore all Places taken from each other during this War: By the fifth, the States bound themſelves to pay our King Eight hundred thouſand Patacoons. Theſe Articles were ſign'd on *Monday Feb.* 9. at *Whitehall* by the Lords his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, and by the Marquiſs *Del Freſno* Extraordinary Ambaſſador of *Spain*, on the part of the States-General of the *United Provinces*, by vertue of the Power he had received from them. And on *Wedneſday* Morning *Feb.* 11. his Majeſty being come into the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons, was pleas'd to acquaint them, "That he had made an honourable and (as he hop'd) a laſting Peace with the States-General of the *United Provinces*; which was entertained with an univerſal Satisfaction in both Houſes. This great Work being happily accompliſhed, his Majeſty was pleaſed on *Febr.* 24. to prorogue the Parliament till the 10th of *November* next. And to make good the Royal Promiſe given to the two Houſes of ſuppreſſing Popery, his Majeſty gave Order in Council *March* 6. that the Lord Keeper do ſigniſie his Majeſty's Pleaſure to the Judges, that in their ſeveral Circuits they cauſe the Laws againſt Popiſh Recuſants to be put in execution; and that they accordingly give the ſaid Laws in charge for their ſpeedy Conviction.

King's Speech.

This Peace chiefly owing to the Pr. of Orange.

This Peace was chiefly owing to the victorious Progreſs of the Prince of *Orange*, who with an Army of 25000 Men had ſet down before *Narden*, and took it in ſight of the Duke of *Luxenburgh*'s Army, and ſo put a ſudden ſtop to the *French* Career and Conqueſts in thoſe Parts: For, leaving his Poſts there well guarded, he march'd to the reſt of his Army, took *Bonn*, and open'd a Paſſage for the *German* Forces to come over the *Rhine* into *Flanders*; upon which the *French* abandon'd all their Conqueſts upon *Holland* in leſs time than they had made them, and began to wiſh the War at an end, tho' they made ſhew to the contrary. The *Dutch* were overjoy'd at this great and unexpected Turn of Affairs, and did juſtly impute it chiefly to the great Wiſdom and Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*; and therefore a greater Honour was done to him than to any of his illuſtrious Anceſtors: For now the States General not only confirm'd the Charge of Stadt-Holder of the Provinces of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frieſland* in the Perſon of his Highneſs during Life, but ſettled it likewiſe upon the Heirs Male of his Body born in lawful Wedlock, by a ſolemn Decree made *Feb.* 22. And on the ſame Day the States of *Zealand* conferr'd the ſame Dignity upon the Prince, and made him alſo chief hereditary Nobleman of that Province.

State of Religion.

As to the State of Religion, The Fears and Jealouſies of Popery expreſſed by the Parliament, and the Aſſurances given by his Majeſty for quieting thoſe Fears, have been already delivered. As to the Diſſenters, they themſelves report their Hopes of Accommodation in this manner. They ſay, that in the laſt Seſſion this Year, the Earl of *Orrery* deſir'd Mr. *Baxter* to draw up Terms of Union between the Conformiſts and the Nonconformiſts, in order to their joint vigorous oppoſing Popery: And he told him, that Sir *Thomas Osborne* the new Lord Treaſurer, Biſhop *Morley* of *Wincheſter*, and ſeveral other great Men, were mightily for it; upon which he ſent him Propoſals for that purpoſe, the chief of which were theſe.

Propoſals of Accommodation.

"That no Covenant, Promiſe or Oath, ſhould be requir'd to Ordination, Inſtitution or Induction, but the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; the ſubſcribing to the Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church of *England*, as expreſſed in the 39 Articles, and a general Declaration againſt Rebellion and Sedition. That till the Nonconformiſts could be better provided for by Vacancies, they ſhould have Liberty to be Schoolmaſters, or Aſſiſtants to Incumbents, or to preach Lectures in their Churches, either ſuch Lectures as were already endow'd with Maintenance, or ſuch as the People ſhould be willing to maintain: And that in the mean time their Meeting Places that were convenient ſhould be continu'd in uſe as Chapels. That Liberty be allow'd for Neighbours joining together in praying to God and Praiſing him, and repeating Sermons, in their private Houſes without Moleſtation. That for the Liturgy, *&c.* none be oblig'd to read the Apocryphal Leſſons: That it be enough if an Incumbent once in a Quarter or half Year, read the greateſt part of the Service for that time; and that it be at other times done by his Curate or Aſſiſtant. That Lecturers be not oblig'd to read the Service, or at moſt that it be enough if once in half a Year, they read the greateſt part of what is appointed for that time. That Parents have liberty to dedicate their own Children to God in Baptiſm, without being oblig'd to find Godfathers and Godmothers. That the uſe of the Sign of the Croſs be left to the Miniſter's Inclination and Diſcretion. That Miniſters be not forc'd to baptize a Child whoſe Parents are deny'd the Communion of the Church, unleſs ſome ſerious Chriſtian undertake for its Education, according to the Chriſtian Covenant. That none be forc'd to receive the Sacrament, while unfit or averſe. That Miniſters be not forced to deliver the Sacrament to any unbaptiz'd Perſons, or to ſuch as won't own their Baptiſmal Covenant, and publickly profeſs their Adherence to it; or to ſuch as are guilty of ſcandalous Immoralities, till they have profeſſed Repentance. That Miniſters be not forced to publiſh an Excommunication or Abſolution againſt their Conſciences, upon the Decree of a Lay-Chancellor, *&c.* or harraſs'd by attending their Courts to bring Witneſſes againſt thoſe, to whom they have refuſed the Sacrament upon the aforeſaid Reaſons. That it be left to the diſcretion of Miniſters, whom they will abſolve in Sickneſs, and to whom they will give the Sacrament, and over whom they at their Interment will uſe theſe few Words, which import the Juſtification and Salvation of the deceaſed: And that the Sick and Dying have the liberty of chooſing what Miniſters they will to attend and aſſiſt them, without Reſtraint. That no Miniſters be forc'd to deny the Sacrament, to ſuch as think it unlawful to take it kneeling. That the uſe of the Surplice be left indifferent: And that People who live under an ignorant or ſcandalous Miniſter, have Liberty to join with thoſe with whom they can better profit, in any neighbouring Church of the ſame Dioceſe, paying the Incumbent his Dues. That no Ordain'd Miniſter be put upon renouncing their Ordination but upon proof of their fitneſs for the Miniſtry, receive by Word, or a written Inſtrument, a legal Authority to Exerciſe their Miniſtry in any Congregation in his Majeſty's Dominions, where they ſhall be lawfully called. That no Excommunicate Perſon as ſuch be impriſon'd or ruin'd. And that after all Chriſtian Lenity to be uſed to all conſcientious Diſſenters; and that the Tolerable be tolerated under Laws of Peace and Safety.

Upon the whole he added, "That if the Sacraments were but left free to be adminiſter'd and receiv'd by none but Volunteers: And Liberty granted to Miniſters to preach in thoſe Churches where the Common Prayer was read by others; and the Subſcriptions contain'd nothing that a Conſcientious Man might need to ſcruple; he thought it might take in all, even the Independents as well as Presbyterians. Mr. *Baxter* gave the Earl of *Orrery* theſe Propoſals, and he after ſome time return'd them with Biſhop *Morley*'s Strictures or Animadverſions, which fully diſco-

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“ ver'd that all his Profeſſions for Abatement and Concord were deceitful, and that he intended no ſuch thing, for he would not make the leaſt Abatement in any thing of Moment.

“ A little after, ſome great Men of the Houſe of Commons drew up a Bill for Accommodation, to take off Oaths, Subſcriptions and Declarations, except the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and Subſcriptions to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, according to the 13th of *Elizabeth*, but ſhewing it to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he cauſed them to forbear, and broke the Deſign. And in the mean time, that it might not ſeem to be for nothing that he oft pretended to be of ſo peaceable a Diſpoſition, he further'd an Act only to take off Aſſent and Conſent, and the Renunciation of the Covenant. But when other Biſhops were againſt even this ſhew of Abatement, he told them openly in the Houſe; that had it been but to abate them a Ceremony, he would not have ſpoken in it. But he knew that they were bound to the ſame things ſtill, by other Clauſes or Obligations if theſe were repeal'd.

1674. The King was thought to have been ſo much offended with the Proceedings of the Parliament in their laſt Seſſion, that it was generally believ'd he had no mind to meet them again, tho' they had been ſo long endear'd to him, by ſo many agreeable Acts and continual Supplies. Hence the popular Rumour was, that his Majeſty intended to diſſolve the Parliament: But the King apprehending that a Report of this Nature might irritate ſome of the leading Members, and be otherwiſe prejudicial to his Affairs, he publiſh'd a Proclamation given at *Whitehall May* 2. declaring,

The King declares againſt the Report of diſſolving the Parl.

“ That whereas of late many Perſons ill-affected to the Government have aſſumed to themſelves a Liberty in their ordinary Diſcourſes, to cenſure and defame the Proceedings of State, whereby they endeavour to create and nouriſh in the Minds of his Majeſty's good Subjects, an evil Opinion of things they underſtand not, and further to promote their ſeditious Ends, they do daily invent falſe News, and ſpread the ſame abroad amongſt the People, to the great Scandal of his Majeſty's Government: Whereof his Majeſty taking notice, and in particular of that very falſe report of an Intention to diſſolve this preſent Parliament, which hath not been under deliberation, his Majeſty ſeeing no cauſe to change his Reſolutions taken touching their meeting. And therefore his Majeſty would look upon the ſpreaders of that Report as Perſons ſeditiouſly inclin'd and ill-affected to his Service, and was reſolved to ſuppreſs that unlawful and undutiful kind of Diſcourſe by a moſt ſtrict and exemplary Puniſhment of all ſuch Offenders as ſhall hereafter be diſcover'd. But however, his Majeſty might think fit to continue this Name of a long Parliament, he did not ſeem inclinable to ſuffer them this Year to ſit and Remonſtrate againſt Popery, and therefore on *September* 22. his Majeſty was pleaſed to cauſe a Proclamation to be publiſh'd for the farther Proroguing the Parliament, from *Nov*. 10. next to the 13th of *April* enſuing. Yet in the mean time to ſeem to anſwer the Addreſſes of their laſt meeting, his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſhew a publick Care for ſuppreſſing Popery, and convicting *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, who were daily more numerous and more inſolent in the City and Country. Therefore on *June* 10. his Majeſty in Council at *Hampton-Court*, did order his Royal Proclamation to be publiſh'd to ſatisfie his People, that having been inform'd that many

And only prorogues it.

Proclamation againſt Popery.

“ Prieſts and Jeſuits, in contempt of former Orders, and Proclamations, did continue and harbour themſelves in the City of *London* and Suburbs thereof, and other Parts of the Kingdom, to the manifeſt Contempt of his Majeſty's Royal Authority and the Laws and Religion eſtabliſhed, and notwithſtanding his Majeſty's Commands to have the Laws againſt them given in Charge in all Counties, yet none of late had been apprehended or diſcover'd; his Majeſty thereupon, of his pious Care for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and for the Prevention of the Endeavours of ſuch Prieſts and Jeſuits who ſeduce his Subjects from the ſame, hath reſolv'd that ſo many of the ſaid Prieſts as can be found ſhall be ſpeedily tranſported. And that ſuch Diſcoveries might be the better encouraged, his Majeſty had given Order to the Lord High Treaſurer of *England* to cauſe ſpeedy Payment to be made of the Sum of five Pounds for every Prieſt or Jeſuit ſo diſcover'd.

There was certainly great Reaſon for the popular Jealouſies of Popery: For the Plot that had been more or leſs carried on for ſeveral Years to ſupport, if not reſtore the *Romiſh* Religion in *England*, began now to ſhew it ſelf in a more open manner, as appears by ſeveral Letters written by Mr. *Coleman*, the Duke of *York*'s [a] Secretary, to ſeveral Foreign Correſpondents [b]; the firſt that came to view was this, directed to the *French* King's Confeſſor, dated *June* 29. 1674.

Popiſh Plot.

“ I Am commanded to tell you, that his Royal Highneſs my Maſter is very ſenſible of the Friendſhip of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, which he will endeavour to cultivate very carefully, and to give him all poſſible Aſſurances of it, to take away all Jealouſies that his Enemies would raiſe to the contrary.

Coleman's Letters.

“ That his Royal Highneſs has done nothing in any manner whatſoever, nor in any place, againſt the Intereſt of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, but hath render'd him all the good Offices he hath been capable of.

“ That as for recalling the Parliament, and touching my Lord *A*...... his Highneſs is altogether of the Opinion of his Majeſty, that neither one nor other is uſeful, but quite contrary, very dangerous as well for *England* as *France*, and that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty is in great danger of loſing the Neutrality of *England* at the next Seſſion (if the Parliament meet) as he loſt its Alliance by the Peace of *Holland* at the laſt; becauſe the Lower-Houſe and their Friends (as the furious Proteſtants, and the Malecontents in the Houſe of Lords) have a Deſign to leſſen his Royal Highneſs, and root out the Catholick Religi-

[a] Dr. *Gilbert Burnet* in his Converſation with the Duke of *York* found him under the greater Temptation of continuing a Papiſt, on a Preſumption that he might depend on the Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance of the Church of *England*. When Biſhop of *Sarum*, he ſpoke it openly in the Houſe of Peers upon the Tryal of Dr. *Sacheverell*, on the Pretence of *Non-Reſiſtance*. I found the ill Effects that the carrying this Matter ſo far had on the Mind of that unfortunate Prince King *James*. For in the Year 1673, when he was pleaſed to admit me to much Freedom in Converſation with him; amongſt many other things, I told him it was impoſſible for him to reign in Quiet in this Nation, being of that Religion. He anſwer'd me quick: *Does not the Church of* England *maintain the Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance and Paſſive Obedience?* I begg'd him not to depend on *that*; for there was a Diſtinction in that Matter, that would be found out when Men *thought they needed it*.

[b] Mr. *Coleman* to Sir *William Throgmorton*, the Duke of *York*'s Agent at *Paris*, by Letter dated in *February* 1674. tells him: “ You know well, that when the Duke comes to be Maſter of our Affairs, the King of *France* will have Reaſon to promiſe himſelf all things he can deſire. For according to the Mind of the Duke, the Intereſt of the King of *England* and the King of *France*, and his own, are ſo cloſe bound up together, that it is impoſſible to ſeparate the one from the other, without Ruin to all three; but being join'd, they muſt, notwithſtanding all Oppoſition, become invincible.

“ on;

1673. 15 Car. II. “ on; and they think they cannot make uſe of any “ other fitter means to attain their End, than to raiſe “ the *Dutch*, and to perplex his moſt Chriſtian Ma-“ jeſty as much as lies in their Power.

“ That his Highneſs doubts not but it is abſo-“ lutely neceſſary for the Intereſt of his moſt Chri-“ ſtian Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs, to uſe all “ Endeavours to hinder the meeting of the Parli-“ ament, by perſuading his *Britannick* Majeſty, “ that his Greatneſs, his Honour and his Quiet, are “ no leſs concerned therein than theirs; ſo that if “ his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would write freely his “ Thoughts thereupon to his *Britannick* Majeſty, “ to forewarn him of the Danger he apprehends “ from thence, and would withal think fit to make “ him the ſame generous Offers of his Purſe, to “ perſuade him to diſſolve the preſent Parliament, “ as he hath done to his Highneſs for the Election “ of another, perhaps he would ſucceed therein by “ the Aſſiſtance we would give him here.

“ As for another Parliament, it would be eaſy “ enough to get ſuch an one as we wiſh for, the “ Conſtitutions of our Parliaments being of ſuch “ a nature, that as there is nothing to be hop'd for “ by the King from an old one, ſo there is nothing “ to be feared from a new one, becauſe ſuch an one “ at their firſt meeting muſt needs aſſiſt his Maje-“ ſty ſo far, as to enable him to acknowledge his “ Obligations both to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty “ and to all the World, *&c.*

And by this other Letter from Mr. *Coleman* to the *French* King's Confeſſor without Date, but noted by him to have been written by him in Anſwer to a Letter of *Sept.* 25. 1674.

“ HIS Royal Highneſs has received the Letter “ that you ſent him by Sir *William Throckmorton*, which he has anſwer'd to you himſelf; “ and beſides, he hath commanded me to teſtify “ to you the great Eſteem he hath for the Friend-“ ſhip of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and for yours, “ and to aſſure you that he will not fail to culti-“ vate it with all his Power; and that preferring “ the ſincere Faith of a Chriſtian, and the Word “ of a Man of Honour, before all Subtilties and “ even all the Advantages of the World, he gives “ you them both as a Pledge of the ardent Deſire “ he has to continue always a ſtrict Alliance with “ his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and to entertain alſo “ an intimate Correſpondence with you.

“ For the firſt Point of your Letter, his Royal “ Highneſs has commanded me to tell you, that he “ will govern himſelf according to your Advice, and “ treat of nothing concerning the Catholick Reli-“ gion with Monſieur *Rouvigny*, nor with any o-“ ther Perſon than yourſelf, but that he will com-“ municate to you all things he ſhall find neceſſary “ for the good of the Catholicks, and ſhall be very “ well pleaſed to receive Advices from you there-“ upon.

“ For the reſt, his Royal Highneſs does a little “ wonder that he hears nothing from Monſieur “ *Rouvigny* touching the ſecond Point of your Let-“ ter, ſince you have written ſo poſitively, that he “ had Order to confirm and procure Execution of “ what his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty propoſed to him “ the ſecond of *June* laſt by your Mediation, and “ you by that of Sir *William Throckmorton*'s. He “ (his Royal Highneſs) has omitted, till this time, “ to acquaint you with the ſmall Succeſs that he “ has had, as expecting daily that Monſieur *Rou-“ vigny* would impart to him the Commiſſion of “ which you made mention to him in your Letter; “ but having heard nothing yet of that Matter, and “ being obliged to go out of Town for fifteen Days “ or three Weeks, he thinks fit to ſend you back “ Sir *William Throckmorton*, to acquaint you with “ the Progreſs of this Buſineſs, and to pray you “ to inform yourſelf of what has been able to hin-“ der it. 1673. 15 Car. II.

“ His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty made a very gene-“ rous Offer to his Royal Highneſs of the Aſſiſtance “ of his Purſe, to enable him to defend them both “ from the Evils that threatned them, and by good “ luck his Royal Highneſs has labour'd with ſo “ much Diligence and Succeſs, that the Dangers “ which they apprehended are a little put off; but “ one thing more is neceſſary for the perfect ſe-“ curing their Affairs; and without making one “ ſtep more, all that he has already done will ſignify “ nothing. For that the aſſiſtance of his moſt Chri-“ ſtian Majeſty is no leſs neceſſary at preſent than “ heretofore, to ſubdue intirely thoſe, who be-“ ing exaſperated againſt his moſt Chriſtian Ma-“ jeſty, as much as againſt his Royal Highneſs, on-“ ly becauſe he is ſo unalterably addicted to the In-“ tereſt of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, will exerciſe “ their Malice and their Rage with more Brutality “ than ever, if they find occaſion for it hereafter.

“ If you can therefore, by your Credit, obtain “ from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the Accompliſh-“ ment of the offer of his Purſe for raiſing the Re-“ putation of his Royal Highneſs in the Opinion of “ his *Britannick* Majeſty, and for putting him in “ condition to reſiſt the ſharpeſt Batteries of the “ Adverſaries of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and “ Royal Highneſs; to wit, the poſſibility they pre-“ tend to get Money from the Parliament, and the “ impoſſibility of having any elſewhere, by which “ they often keep the Mind of his *Britannick* Ma-“ jeſty in ſuſpence, and wherein they place the “ Hope they have to conquer him at laſt.

“ There will nothing more remain to be feared “ by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, or his Royal High-“ neſs, but his Royal Highneſs will be able to diſ-“ ſolve the Parliament with eaſe; and afterwards, “ in recompence of the ſaid Aſſiſtance, will perform “ on his part all that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty “ ſhall aſk of him, and will proceed with Sincerity “ upon the Word of a Prince (that no Man can “ reproach him with the Violation of) for the In-“ tereſt of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

In a third Letter of Mr. *Coleman* to the Pope's Internuncio, dated *Septemb.* 4. 1674, he tells him, “ That the Duke's principal Deſign is, to uſe the “ Pope's Interpoſition, and by that means to eſta-“ bliſh himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, thro' “ the Aſſiſtance of *France* and *Spain*, and to turn “ all their Cares for the eaſe of the Pope's Friends, “ and particularly for the Catholicks of the Church “ againſt their great Enemies; and aſſures him he “ will find, that the Pope never had an Occaſion “ ſo favourable as at this hour, to enrich thoſe of “ his Family, and to augment the Number of his “ Friends; and if he lets it ſlip, he will never find “ the like: So that if ever they propoſe to make “ uſe of the Treaſure of the Church, it is now they “ ought to do it, for they can demand nothing that “ the Duke will not be capable to do for the Pope's “ Friends. And in another Letter of *Octob.* 23. 1674. Mr. *Coleman* to the Internuncio begins thus: “ You agree with me, that Money is the only “ means of bringing the King into the Duke's In-“ tereſt, and of diſingaging him from the Parlia-“ ment; and you muſt alſo agree with me, that “ nothing can more promote the Intereſt of the “ Catholick Party, which is the principal Object “ of the Duke's Care and Affection, and of the “ Hatred of the Parliament, and which muſt hope “ or fear, according as the one or the other of them “ increaſe in Power. [a] Theſe Letters alone, without any other concurring Evidence, are more than ſufficient

[a] A good Author writes thus: Had we the other Letters of *Coleman* and Father *la Chaiſe*, which that *Sacrifice of State* at his Examination ſtill declared were in *Whitehall*, it would have been eaſy to judge that Matters were ſtill carried on between

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ſufficient to prove,[a] that the *Roman* Catholicks in *England* were full of Hopes and Expectations under the Influence and Protection of the Duke of *York*, and under the Proſpect of his Succeſſion to the Crown; not to ſay, that they knew the King would fall into the ſame Meaſures ſo far as was conſiſtent with his preſent Peace and Quiet.

Honours and Preferments. As to the Offices and Honours conferr'd this Year; On *April* 23. in a Chapter of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, the Earl of *Mulgrave* was elected a Companion, [b] and was accordingly introduced and inveſted with the *George* and *Garter* amidſt the uſual Ceremonies, and was inſtall'd at *Windſor* on *May* 28. And on *May* 30. the Atchievements of Count *Marcin*, Knight of the Order, lately deceas'd, were offer'd up in the accuſtom'd manner. *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland* was, by his Majeſty's Favour, admitted into the Privy Council; and having taken the uſual Oaths, took his Place at the Board on *May* 27. And the Earl of *Peterborough* was ſworn into the ſame Honour of a Privy Councellor, at *Hampton-Court*, on *July* 10. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been a perſonal Favourite of the King, began now again to decline in the good Opinion of his Majeſty. He had by his own Intereſt made two Lord Treaſurers, but was not to be left able to make a third [c]. Being Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, his Majeſty, by his Letters to the Univerſity, declared that Place vacant; and on *July* 15. the Senate of the Univerſity, in a full Aſſembly, unanimouſly elected his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth* to ſucceed him, who was inſtalled at *Worceſter-Houſe* in *London Sept.* 3. the Vice-Chancellor Dr. *Spencer* making an eloquent Speech in *Engliſh*, and Dr. *Paman* the Univerſity Orator in *Latin*, upon that Occaſion; and when the Ceremony was over, the new Chancellor treated the whole Company, being near 300 Perſons, with extraordinary Magnificence. Sir *Leoline Jenkins* and Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* Knights, his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty at *Cologne*, arriv'd at *Whitehall May* 10. and were very graciouſly received by his Majeſty. And for a Reward of this Service, Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, having been one of the Clerks of the Privy Council, was now made Principal Secretary of State, and Privy Counſellor, having the Oaths adminiſtred unto him on *Sept.* 11. by the Advancement of the Earl of *Arlington*, who, upon the Reſignation of the Earl of St. *Albans*, receiv'd the Staff of Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, with this publick Reaſon given, *That it was in Recompence of his long and faithful Service, and particularly for his having performed the Office of Principal Secretary of State for the ſpace of twelve Years, to his Majeſty's great Satisfaction.* The Place of one of the Clerks in Council being ſo vacated by the Preferment of Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer it *Sept.* 16. upon *Philip Lloyd* Eſq; The Earl of *Strafford* was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council on *Dec.* 8. His Majeſty being nobly entertain'd at *Guild-hall* on *Octob.* 29. when Sir *Robert Viner* was ſworn Lord Mayor, did moſt graciouſly condeſcend to the acceptance of the Freedom of that City, in the *Chamberlain's Office*, from the Hands of Sir *Thomas Player*: Upon which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council unanimouſly agreed to teſtifie their deepeſt Senſe of ſo unparallell'd a Favour and Honour done to the City, beyond the Example of all his Progenitors. The King accepts a Freedom of the City. And accordingly the Lord Mayor, attended by his Brethren and the Commons, waited on his Majeſty *Dec.* 18. in the *Banquetting-Houſe*; where, on his Knees, he preſented the King with the Copy of the ſaid Freedom, curiouſly written on Vellum, and adorned with Gilding after the beſt manner, in a large ſquare Box of maſſy Gold: the Seal of the ſaid Freedom hanging at it, incloſed in another Box of Gold, ſet all over with large Diamonds to a conſiderable Value; which his Majeſty was pleaſed graciouſly to accept, with many Expreſſions of great Kindneſs to the City. At the beginning of *Hilary* Term, Sir *Francis North*, his Majeſty's Attorney General, being, in conſideration of his faithful Services, deſigned by his Majeſty to ſucceed Sir *John Vaughan*, late Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, appeared in the high Court of *Chancery*, and was ſworn Serjeant: After he had performed all the Formalities belonging to that Degree, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal came into the Court of *Common-Pleas*, and declar'd the King's Pleaſure to him in an eloquent Speech: Sir *Francis North* ſtanding in the middle of the Bar of the ſaid Court, made his Acknowledgements of the King's great Favour, and return'd his humble Thanks to his Majeſty, and was immediately conducted from thence between the two ancienteſt Serjeants into the ſaid Court, where the Lord Keeper delivered unto him his Patent of the ſaid

between the Duke of *York* and the *French* King in the ſame Strain. There are ſome that know what Choice was made of the Letters that were to be publiſh'd, and what were ſuppreſs'd or eclips'd by the Duke's Intereſt.

To this I can add, that I have often heard a ſubſtantial and very ſenſible Merchant, Mr. *Thomas Bull*, Father of Sir *John Bull* Knt. relate in the Preſence of Major-General *Tatton*, myſelf, and others, that once walking in the City of *London*, (I think near the *Poſt-Houſe*) he took up a large Packet that had been dropt in the Street; and carrying it home, he found it directed to Mr. *Coleman*; he gueſs'd that the Contents of the ſeveral Letters in it might be of Importance to the Government, and was conſidering what uſe to make of them. But then reflecting that Mr. *Coleman* was a great Man, and he might run himſelf into ſome needleſs Diſpleaſure, he went and delivered them to Mr. *Coleman* himſelf, who was extremely ſurpriz'd with Joy, and told him he was the moſt welcome Man in the World to him, and had done him the greateſt Service, and bid him come and ask any Favour of him. Mr. *Bull* needed no Favour, but ſeem'd afterwards to repent that he had not kept the Letters, or lodg'd them with a proper Magiſtrate, for the World to have known the Subject of them.

[a] See the honeſt Advice given by Sir *William Temple* to the King upon Audience in his Cloſet before he went for *Holland* in *July* 1674. He took occaſion to reflect upon the Conduct and Miniſtry of the late *Cabal*; how ill his Majeſty had been adviſ'd to break Meaſures and Treaties ſo ſolemnly taken and agreed; how ill he had been ſerv'd, and how ill ſucceeded by the violent Humour of the Nations breaking out againſt ſuch Proceedings, and by the Jealouſies of Arbitrary and Popiſh Counſels they had rais'd againſt the Crown.——He ſhew'd how difficult, if not impoſſible, it was to ſet up here the ſame Religion or Government that was in *France*: That the univerſal Bent of the Nation was againſt both; that many, who perhaps were indifferent enough in the matter of *Religion*, conſider'd it would not be chang'd here but by an Army, and that the ſame Force which made the King Maſter of their Religion, made him Maſter of their Liberties too, &c. *Memoirs of Sir* William Temple, P. II. p. 30, &c.

[b] See the Order of the Ceremonies uſed at the Celebration of St. *George's* Feaſt at *Windſor*, when the Sovereign of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter is preſent. Printed by his Majeſty's ſpecial Command. E. W. G[r]. *London*, for *Sam. Mearne*. 1674. *4to*.

[c] The Duke of *Buckingham* ſeems to have loſt the King's Favour, by turning ſhort in the laſt Parliament, and declaring for Alliance with the *Dutch*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, to ingratiate himſelf with the Commons, (whoſe ill Humour began to appear againſt thoſe they eſteem'd the chief Authors of our War) deſir'd Leave of that Houſe to be heard there in his own Defence. In his Speech, among many Endeavours to throw the Odium of the War from himſelf on the Earl of *Arlington*, he deſir'd that Lord might be ask'd, *Who was the Author of the Triple Alliance?* The Lord *Arlington* coming afterwards upon the like Deſire into the ſame Houſe of Commons, and anſwering ſome Parts of the Duke's Speech; when he came to that Particular, he told them he could eaſily anſwer that Queſtion of the Duke's, by telling them that the Author of that Alliance was Sir *William Temple*. *Life of Sir* William Temple, p. 106.——This Change of Mind in the Miniſters, if ſincere, muſt be owing to the Force of Truth; that when they had been the prime Counſellors for the exalting of *France* at the Expence of *Holland*, they now confeſs'd their Miſtake, and fell in with the Sons of the Nation in favour of *Holland* and the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Europe*.

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Office: And after he had taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Oath of Chief Juſtice of that Court, the Lord Keeper put on his ſquare Cap, and he took his Seat of Chief Juſtice, and afterwards entertained the Lord Keeper, and divers of the Nobility, and all the Judges and Serjeants, at Dinner at *Serjeants-Inn* in *Chancery-Lane*. On *Feb.* 10. his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, in conſideration of the eminent Loyalty and good Services of ——*Glaſcock* Eſq; to cauſe him to be ſworn one of the Maſters of Requeſt, in the Room of *Jervis Holles* Eſq; deceaſed [a].

Affairs abroad.

Abroad the great Action was the Battle of *Seneff*, between the *French* under the Command of the Prince of *Conde*, and the Confederates led by the Prince of *Orange*.——The Confederate Army being on their march toward *Binch*, the *French* fell upon their Rear, which ſoon came to a furious Engagement. Sir *William Temple*, in his *Memoirs*, has thus deſcribed it: "As the Numbers on both "ſides were not much different when the Fight "began, ſo were thoſe eſteemed that fell in this "Battle, and to amount to about ſix or ſeven "thouſand on each ſide; but of the *French* many "more Officers and Gentlemen than were uſual in "proportion to the common Soldiers. When the "Night parted the Armies, the *French* retired back "to their former Quarters; and next Morning the "Confederates marched to that which they deſigned when they broke up the Day before. The "Allies claimed the Victory, becauſe they were laſt "upon the Field; and the *French*, upon the greater "Number of Priſoners and Standards they carried "away; but whoever had the Honour, they both "felt the Loſs. There was a Letter intercepted from the Prince of *Conde* to the *French* King; wherein he gave an Account, that *upon a general Review of his Army, he found himſelf but in a ſorry condition, as having loſt the Flower of his Infantry, and the beſt part of his Horſe, and therefore did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to hazard a ſecond Engagement.*

Character of the Pr. of *Orange*.

And as this generous Prince was very ingenious in the Acknowledgement of his Loſs, he was no leſs juſt to his great Adverſary the Prince of *Orange*, by giving him the Character, that "He had "acted like an old Captain in all, but only venturing himſelf too much like a young Man. But more full yet was that of General *Zouch*'s Letter to the States; wherein, amongſt others, he uſed theſe Expreſſions: "I have endeavoured to diſcharge my Duty in attending his Highneſs the "Prince of *Orange* during the bloody and famous "Battle between the Confederate Army and that "of the moſt Chriſtian King, the happy iſſue of "which has proved ſo much to the Glory of the "Prince of *Orange*, who ſhewed upon that Occaſion the Prudence of an aged Captain, the Courage of a *Cæſar*, and the undaunted Bravery of a "*Marius*. All which, my Lords, I ſpeak without "Flattery, which is contrary to my Nature.

Agitations for Peace.

While the Peace betwen *England* and *Holland* was in Agitation, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador Sir *William Temple* acquainted the Prince of *Orange* with the King's perſonal Kindneſs and Eſteem for him, and with his Majeſty's Reſolution to obſerve and cultivate a Friendſhip with the States, and his Deſires to ſee a general Peace reſtor'd to *Chriſtendom*, wherein his Majeſty intended to act wholly in concert with his Highneſs, whoſe Opinion, as to the Thing and Conditions moſt neceſſary, Sir *William* deſired to underſtand as ſoon and as fully as he could. The Prince anſwer'd the Ambaſſador with the Expreſſions of Duty and Kindneſs to his Majeſty, and deſires a new Union between the two Nations, which he thought alone could make his Majeſty happy at home and abroad: But as to a Peace, his Highneſs ſeem'd averſe to it, unleſs it could be made with good Advantage to the *Spaniard*, a firm Security to the *States*, and upon the laſting Balance of *Europe*. The Ambaſſador enter'd upon one thing more with him, which was upon occaſion of the many diſcontented Perſons in *England*, at the Courſe of the laſt Miniſtry and War, who were ſuſpected to have trinkled at leaſt with *Holland*, about the raiſing of Seditions, and perhaps Inſurrections in *England*, if the War had continued; and to that end told his Highneſs what the King ſuſpected of ſome of his Subjects, without naming any, and how much Service it would be to his Majeſty to know them more certainly, and how kind it would be to diſcover them: But the Prince was ſtanch, and ſaid, *He was ſure the King would not preſs him upon a thing ſo much againſt all Honour, as to betray* [b] *Men that profeſſed to be his Friends.*

Sir *William* having tranſmitted an Account to *England* of all this, had no Orders nor Returns upon it: But about the beginning of *Decemb.* the Earl of *Arlington* was ſent over into *Holland* with ſome Inſtructions to adjuſt all Matters with his Highneſs. His Lordſhip being arrived at the *Hague*, told Sir *William Temple*, that *he was come over to ſet ſome Things right between the King and the Prince that he doubted were amiſs, and to ſettle a perfect Kindneſs and Confidence between them for the future.* The Prince did not ſeem inclinable to the Overtures made by the Lord *Arlington*, and only ſaid, that *the Fortune of the Parties might change in another Campaign, which none but his Majeſty could prevent by inducing* France *to comply with ſuch Terms as he thought juſt and ſafe for the reſt of* Chriſtendom. And we are told, "That the Prince ſhew'd himſelf diſſatiſ"fied at the Arrogance and Inſolence wherewith "*Arlington* had enter'd upon all his Expoſtulations "with him; and that not only in the Subject of his "Diſcourſe, as if he pretended to deal with a Child "that he could by his Wit make to believe what "he pleaſed; but in the manner of it, as if he had "taken himſelf for the Prince of *Orange*, and him "for Lord *Arlington*; That all he ſaid was ſo Arti"ficial, and he gave ſuch falſe Colours to things, "every Body knew that he, who was a plain Man, "could not bear it; and was never ſo weary of any "Converſation in his Life: And, in ſhort, he did "not ſeem well ſatisfied with the King's Intentions "upon that Errand, tho' he ſaid he was ſure his "Majeſty never intended he ſhould act in the man"ner he had, if he remember'd he was his Nephew, "tho' nothing elſe.

State of Religion.

As to the nearer Concerns of Religion, the King, who had Apprehenſion and Judgment (when applied) equal to the greateſt of his Predeceſſors, did clearly perceive it to be the Senſe of his Council, and the Voice of his People, that he ſhould ſupport the Eſtabliſh'd Church, with a ſtrict Hand upon the Papiſts, and with a moderate reſtraint of the Diſſenters, chiefly becauſe their Diviſion gave Ad-

[a] On the 7th of *Decemb.* 1674. the Earl of *Clarendon*, who in the Courſe of his undeſerved Exile had ſojourned in ſeveral Parts of *France*, died near the City of *Roan* in *Normandy*; from whence his Body was convey'd into *England*, and buried on the North-ſide of the *Capella Regum* in *Weſtminſter-Abby*.

[b] It was believ'd, among many others, that the Lord *Shaftſbury* was one that had of late play'd this Game; who having been as deep as any Man in the Councils of the *Cabal*, and gone ſo far in the publick Applauſe of them, as in a Speech in Parliament to have applied the *Delenda Carthago* to our Intereſt in the Deſtruction of *Holland*; yet when he ſaw the Parliament and Nation ſullen upon it, and that the King could not purſue it with ſo much ill Humour in both, he turn'd ſhort upon the Court and the reſt of the Cabal, fell in with the popular Humour in the City as well as Parliament, decried the preſent Deſigns and Conduct, tho' with the Loſs of his Chancellor's Place, and was believ'd to manage a Practice in *Holland* for ſome Inſurrection here. *Temple*'s Memoirs. P. II. p. 71.

vantage

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vantage to the other Enemy. On this Principle of Wiſdom his Majeſty commanded his own Inclination, and during the long receſs of Parliament, to quiet the Minds of his Subjects, he publiſhed this *Declaration for enforcing a late Order made in Council.*

Charles R.

“THE Adminiſtration of Juſtice, according to the ſettled and known Laws of our Kingdom, we take to be the moſt reaſonable and proper Method for attaining and preſerving the Peace and Safety both of Church and State. As therefore we find it neceſſary, that the Laws ſhould be put in execution with more Care and Diligence than of late they have been, ſo alſo we think it expedient, that the Orders we have already given for that purpoſe, ſhould be made publick in ſuch a manner that all Men may find themſelves oblig'd to take notice of the ſame, and to give a due Obedience thereunto. For which Reaſon we have thought fit to declare, and do hereby publiſh and declare our Royal Will and Pleaſure, that our Order made in Council on *Wedneſday* the third Day of this inſtant *February*, and ſince printed and publiſhed, be exactly obſerved by all and every Perſon and Perſons to whom it ſhall or may appertain: And more particularly we require and Command, that the Convictions of Popiſh Recuſants be every where encourag'd, quicken'd and made effectual; and that all Convictions as ſoon as they ſhall be perfected, be forthwith certified into the Exchequer, and that ſpeedy Proceſs do iſſue upon all ſuch Convictions as are or ſhall be certified; and that care be taken, that no Perſons of Quality who ſhall be ſuſpected to be Popiſh Recuſants, be omitted to be preſented; and that no delay be uſed, nor any practice ſuffered, which may hinder or obſtruct the compleating of ſuch Convictions as are now preparing. And we do ſtrictly Charge and Command, that no *Maſs* be ſaid in any part of this Kingdom, the Chapels of our deareſt Conſort the Queen, and the Chapels of Foreign Miniſters only excepted. And to prevent all extraordinary Reſort to thoſe Chapels, by ſuch who are not menial Servants to the Queen, or to Foreign Miniſters, we declare that every ſuch Offender ſhall incur the Forfeiture of one hundred Marks, provided by the Statute made in the twenty third Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, whereof one Third part ſhall be given to the Informer for his farther Reward and Encouragement. And we require all Officers and Miniſters of Juſtice, to cauſe diligent Search to be made in all other places where they ſhall hear or ſuſpect that Maſs is ſaid, and to cauſe all Offenders in this kind to be apprehended and proceeded with according to Law. And we forewarn all our Subjects, that they preſume not to ſend any Perſon to be Educated abroad in any Popiſh College or Seminary; and we command all Parents or Guardians of any Perſon or Perſons, now remaining in any ſuch College or Seminary, that they cauſe the ſame Perſon or Perſons ſpeedily to return home, as they will anſwer the contrary at their peril. “ Moreover, we require all Perſons born within any of our Dominions, and out of Priſon, who have taken Orders by any Authority derived from the Church or See of *Rome* (except Mr. *John Huddleſton*) to depart the Kingdom before the twenty fifth Day of *March* next, according to the Tenor of our late Proclamation; and alſo to depart the Court within the fourteen Days appointed by our late Order in Council. And we forbid all Papiſts, or reputed Papiſts, to come into our Palace at *Whitehall* or St. *James's*, or into any other place where our Court ſhall be, contrary to our late Prohibition upon pain of Impriſonment in the *Tower*, if he be a Peer of the Realm, or in ſome other Priſon, if he be of leſſer quality. And laſtly, we appoint, that care be taken for the ſuppreſſion of Conventicles, hereby declaring, that all our Licences were long ſince recalled, and that no Conventicle hath any Authority, Allowance or Encouragement from us. And our Pleaſure is, that theſe our Commands be publiſhed and proclaimed in the uſual manner.

Given at our Court at Whitehall *this twelfth Day of* February, *in the twenty ſeventh Year of our Reign.*

This Declaration referr'd to an Order in Council made on the third of *February*, wherein the King upon adviſing with ſeveral of his Biſhops, agreed upon ſix Orders and Reſolutions then [a] taken for the more effectual Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants and the Suppreſſion of Conventicles; of which laſt was this. *And his Majeſty doth farther Order and Appoint, that effectual Care be taken for the ſuppreſſion of Conventicles: And whereas divers pretend Licences from his Majeſty, and would ſupport themſelves by that pretence, his Majeſty declares, that all his Licences were long ſince recalled; and that no Conventicle hath any Authority, Allowance or Encouragement from his Majeſty.* The Nonconformiſts on this occaſion thus partially expreſſed themſelves. “ His Majeſty called the Biſhops up to *London* to give him Advice what was to be done for the ſecuring of Religion, *&c.* and they after divers Conſultations with the Miniſters of State, adviſed him to recal his Licences, and put the Laws againſt the Nonconformiſts in execution. And this was done by a Declaration and Proclamation, declaring the Licences long ſince void, and requiring the execution of the Laws againſt Papiſts and Conventicles. No ſooner was the Proclamation publiſh'd, but ſpecial Informers were ſet on work to promote the execution. A little before the Licences were recalled, Mr. *Baxter* openly declar'd in his Pulpit, that it was not in oppoſition to the publick Churches that he kept up a Meeting, but to help the People in their Neceſſity, who were many more than the Pariſh Churches could hold. Hereupon it was confidently reported that he was conforming. —— Another Seſſion of Parliament approaching, Biſhop *Morley* and Biſhop *Ward* were in appearance very ſenſible of the Danger of Popery, and therefore very forward for Abatements and taking in the Nonconformiſts, and mov'd it to many. At length Dr. *Tillotſon* and Dr. *Stillingfleet* deſired a meeting with Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Pool* and Mr. *Baxter*, in order to conſider of an Accommodation, and ſaid they had the Encouragement of ſeveral Lords both Spiritual and Temporal. Mr. *Baxter* at firſt met the two Doctors alone: And they conſider'd and canvaſs'd various Draughts; and at length fix'd on one in which they agreed. This being communicated to the Nonconformiſts was agreeable; but when they communicated it to the Biſhops, there was an end of the Treaty, a great many things could

Caſe of the Diſſenters as repreſented by themſelves.

[a] *Wedneſday Feb.* 3. Orders and Reſolutions taken by the King in Council. —— 1. That the Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants be encouraged, quickened, and made effectual. —— 2. That no Perſon do preſume to ſay Maſs, or repair to any Popiſh Chapel. —— 3. That all Perſons in Orders from the Church of *Rome* depart the Realm: —— 4. That none preſume to ſend any Perſon to be educated in any Popiſh College or Seminary. —— 5. That no Papiſt preſume to come into any of his Majeſty's Palaces. —— 6. That effectual Care be taken for the Suppreſſion of Conventicles.

1674. 26 Car. II.

" not be obtain'd; upon which Dr. *Tillotſon* wrote " Mr. *Baxter* word[a], *That as Circumſtances ſtood,* " *ſuch an Act could not paſs in either Houſe without* " *the Concurrence of a conſiderable part of the Biſhops,* " *and his Majeſty's Countenance, which at the preſent* " *he ſaw little Reaſon to expect.* The Terms agreed " on were much of the ſame nature with thoſe " abovemention'd, as propoſed to my Lord *Orrery,* " with very little Variation.

Eccleſiaſtical Preferments.

His Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to tranſlate Dr. *Nathaniel Crew* Biſhop of *Oxford*, and Clerk of the Cloſet, to the See of *Durham*, which had been too long kept vacant, and the Revenues of it had been too ill employ'd: And his Majeſty made choice of the Honourable Dr. *Henry Compton*, Brother to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Northampton*, to ſucceed in the Biſhoprick of *Oxford*. He was conſecrated on *Sunday Dec.* 6. in the Chapel of *Lambeth*, by his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Cant.* aſſiſted [b] by ſeveral other Biſhops, in the Preſence of many of the chiefeſt Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality, who were afterwards entertain'd at a noble Dinner.

1675.

Parliament meet.

On *Tueſday April* 13. the two Houſes of Parliament, purſuant to his Majeſty's late Prorogation, met at *Weſtminſter*. His Majeſty being come into the Houſe of Lords, and with the uſual Solemnity ſeated in his Throne, and attired in his Royal Robes with the Crown upon his Head, was pleaſed to ſend for the Houſe of Commons up, who accordingly attended his Majeſty at the Bar of the Lords Houſe, his Majeſty made a very gracious Speech to the two Houſes on the Subject of their Meeting. And the Lord Keeper having farther moſt eloquently and fully declar'd his Majeſty's Mind on that Occaſion, the Commons went back to their Houſe, and reſolv'd, that the humble and hearty Thanks of the Houſe ſhould be return'd to his Majeſty for his gracious Promiſes and Aſſurances expreſs'd in his Speech, *&c.* The Lords having likewiſe reſolv'd, that the humble Thanks of their Houſe ſhould be return'd to his Majeſty for his gracious Speech. And this Day accordingly his Majeſty receiv'd the Thanks of the two Houſes, of the Lords by a ſelect Committee of their Houſe, and of the Commons in the Banqueting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, where they this Afternoon attended his Majeſty in a Body.

Their Proceedings.

At the opening of this Seſſion, my Lord Keeper told the Houſes, *No Influence of the Stars, no Configurations of the Heavens are to be fear'd, ſo long as theſe two Houſes ſtand in good Diſpoſition to each other, and both in an happy Conjunction with their Lord and Sovereign; but they ought not* Quieta movere, *nor* res parvas magnis motibus agere. But ſeveral unhappy Occaſions offer'd of Difference, and a general Diſcontent: For firſt an Addreſs was preſented to the King againſt his great Miniſter the Duke of *Lauderdale*, who is charged to have declar'd his Inclinations to arbitrary Councils to the [c] Terror of his Majeſty's good Subjects; and therefore they deſired his Majeſty would be pleaſed to remove the ſaid Duke from all his Employments, and from his Majeſty's Preſence and Counſels for ever, as a Perſon obnoxious and dangerous to the Government. But the King excuſed it by ſending them notice, that the Words of which the Duke was accuſed in the Addreſs, if ſpoken at all, were ſpoken before the laſt Act of general Pardon.

1675. 27 Car. II.

Occaſions of Diſcontent.

The Houſe of Commons had been thought ſullen in their two laſt Seſſions, and had proceeded contrary to the Humour and Deſign of the Court; and therefore to purge them, or refine them, a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, entituled, *An Act to prevent the Danger that may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government:* Wherein was to be impoſed an Oath or Teſt of Abhorrence by all who enjoy'd any Beneficial Offices Eccleſiaſtical, Civil or Military, and by all Privy Counſellors, Juſtices of Peace and Members of Parliament. It was at firſt propoſed to be in the ſame Form with that requir'd from the diſſenting Clergy, by the *Oxford five Miles Act.* And my Lord Keeper was pleaſed to ſay, *That it was a moderate Security to the Church and Crown, which no honeſt Man could refuſe; and whoever did, would give great Suſpicion of dangerous and Antimonarchical Principles.* It was carried on vehemently by the Court Party, and as vehemently oppoſed by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*[d], and thoſe Peers who were reputed to be more in the Intereſt of their Country, who look'd upon it as a Project to divide the Proteſtants, and to ſtrengthen the Popiſh Party. It was debated in Paragraphs for ſeventeen Days together, and ſhewn by the Country Lords to be in the ſeveral Parts of it either vain and ſuperfluous, or inconſiſtent with itſelf, or oppoſite to the preſent Conſtitution of this Kingdom. *The Hiſtory of the Diſſenters* makes bold to give this Account of it.

A Bill for a Teſt of Abhorrence.

" When the Parliament met, there was great heat " in the Houſe of Lords, upon the bringing in an " Act to impoſe ſuch an Oath on Lords, Commons " and Magiſtrates, as was impoſed by the *Oxford* " Act upon Miniſters. The Sum of it was, that " *none commiſſion'd by the King may be by Arms re-* " *ſiſted, and that they would never endeavour any* " *alteration of the Government of Church or State.* " The great Speakers for it were the Lord Treaſu- " rer and the Lord Keeper, with Biſhop *Morley* and " Biſhop *Ward.* The great Speakers againſt it " were the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Holles*, the

Diſſenters Account of it.

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[a] Dr. *Tillotſon* ſays in the ſame Letter. — I do moſt heartily deſire an Accommodation, and ſhall always endeavour it. See Mr. *Baxter*'s Life. P. III. p. 157.

See the peaceable Deſign, being a modeſt Account of the Nonconformiſts Meetings with ſome of their Reaſons for Nonconformity, and the way of Accommodation in the Matter of Religion; humbly propoſed to publick Conſideration by ſome Miniſters of *London* againſt the Sitting of Parliament in the Year 1675. With a ſeaſonable Diſcourſe againſt Comprehenſion of the Papiſts and Diſſenters, as the Diſſenters have propos'd. *London*, 1676. 8*vo*.

[b] A Sermon was preach'd and printed by *William Jane*, B. D. 4*to*. 1675.

[c] *Apr.* 27. 1675. Mr. Speaker reported that he had Yeſterday attended his Majeſty, with the whole Houſe, with the Addreſs againſt the Duke of *Lauderdale*; to which his Majeſty had anſwer'd, that it was of long and great Importance; ſo that now he could not give them an immediate Anſwer, but he would conſider of it, and anſwer in a little time. MS.

[d] The Proceedings upon this Bill, and the Proteſtations againſt it, ſeem faithfully delivered in the *Letter from a Perſon of Quality.* 4*to*. 1675.

The Proteſtation.

We whoſe Names are underwritten, being Peers of this Realm, do according to our Rights and the ancient Uſage of Parliaments, declare, that the Queſtion having been put, *Whether the Bill*, entitled, *An Act to prevent the Danger which may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government, doth ſo far intrench upon the Privileges of this Houſe, that it ought therefore to be caſt out.* It being reſolved in the Negative, we do humbly conceive, that any Bill which impoſeth an Oath upon the Peers with a Penalty as this doth; that upon the Refuſal of that Oath they ſhall be made incapable of Sitting and Voting in this Houſe, as it is a thing unprecedented in former Times; ſo is it in our humble Opinion the higheſt Invaſion of the Liberties and Privileges of the Peerage that poſſibly may be, and moſt deſtructive of the Freedom which they ought to enjoy as Members of Parliament, becauſe the Privileges of Sitting and Voting in Parliament is an Honour they have by Birth, and a Right ſo inherent in them, as that Nothing can take away, but what by the Law of the Land muſt withal take away their Lives, and corrupt their Blood.

Buckingham	*Berks*
Bridgwater	*Mohun*
Wincheſter	*Stanford*
Saliſbury	*Hallifax*
Bedford	*De la Mere*
Dorſet	*Evre*
Ayleſbury	*Shaftſbury*
Briſtol	*Clarendon*
Denbigh	*Grey*
Pagitt	*Say* and *Seal*
Holles	*Wharton.*
Peter	

" Lord

" Lord *Hallifax*, the Duke of *Buckingham* and the " Earl of *Saliſbury*; who jointly with the Marquis " of *Wincheſter*, and the Earls of *Briſtol*, *Barkſhire* " and *Aylesbury*, enter'd their Proteſtations againſt " it. They pleaded that this Oath would be de- " ſtructive to the Privileges of their Houſe, which " was to vote freely, and not to be pre-oblig'd by " an Oath to the Prelates. After a great many " Debates, tho' the Teſt was carried by a Majority, " yet it was ſo alter'd as made it incapable of ſerv- " ing the Purpoſes of thoſe who at firſt were moſt " zealous for it; it was not to their Guſt, for they " reduc'd it to theſe Words of a Declaration and " an Oath.

I A. B. *do declare, that it is not lawful on any Pretence whatſoever to take Arms againſt the King, and I do abhor the Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him according to Law, in time of Rebellion and War, in acting in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion. I A. B. do ſwear that I will not endeavour an Alteration of the Proteſtant Religion now eſtabliſhed by Law in the Church of* England, *nor will I endeavour any Alteration in the Government of Kingdom in Church or State, as it is by Law eſtabliſh'd.*

Another occaſion of Difference between the two Houſes.

And when it was committed, the Lords got in this Proviſo, *That it ſhould be no hindrance to their free Speaking and Voting in the Parliament.*

It ſeems probable that theſe Debates would have proceeded to greater Heats and Animoſities, if they had not been interrupted by another Difference ariſing between the two Houſes, in a caſe of Judicature and Privileges, occaſion'd by Dr. *Sherley*'s bringing an Appeal in the Houſe of Lords, from a Decree in *Chancery*, againſt Sir *John Fagg*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons; the Diſpute was carried to ſuch a height, that Serjeant *Pemberton*, Serjeant *Peck*, Sir *John Churchill*, and Mr. *Porter*, being concern'd as Council in this Cauſe, were taken up in *Weſtminſter-Hall* by the Speaker's Warrant, and committed to the *Tower* for Breach of Privilege. The Managements in this Affair growing ſtill more vehement, his Majeſty ſeem'd to be glad of this Occaſion for proroguing the Parliament; and therefore on *Wedneſday*, *June* 9. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and being attir'd in his Royal Robes with the Crown upon his Head, and ſeated in his Throne attended with the uſual Solemnity, was pleaſed to ſend for the Houſe of Commons up, who accordingly attended his Majeſty at the Bar of the Lords Houſe, his Majeſty was pleaſed to paſs ſeveral private Bills, and to make a moſt gracious Speech to the two Houſes on the Subject of their Prorogation; which done, the Lord Keeper by his Majeſty's Command prorogued the Parliament till *October* 13. next.

Parliament prorogued.

In the Interval of this Receſs, the Debates of the abhorring Oath were made publick; which ſo offended the Court, that an Order was given for the burning of them. And the King ſeem'd to be much diſpleas'd at thoſe who were called the Country-Party, becauſe their Judgment and Intention was to bring his Majeſty into a nearer Alliance with the States of *Holland*, and into an open War with *France*: Upon which his Majeſty is ſaid to have told Sir *William Temple* (newly commanded out of *Holland*) [a] That *ſome warm Leaders in both Houſes had a mind to engage him in a War againſt* France; *which they ſhould not do, becauſe he was ſure they would make uſe of it to the Ruin of his Miniſters.*

The King averſe to a War with *France*.

On *October* 13. the two Houſes of Parliament met again: His Majeſty being come into the Houſe of Lords, was pleaſed to ſend for the Houſe of Commons, and to make this gracious Speech to the two Houſes on the Subject of their Meeting.

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Meet you now with a more than uſual Concern for the Event of this Seſſion; and I " know it is but what may reaſonably be expected " from that Care I owe to the Preſervation of the " Government. The Cauſes of the laſt Prorogation, as I for my part do not deſire to remember, " ſo I hope no Man elſe will, unleſs it be to learn " from thence how to avoid the like Occaſions for " the future. And I pray conſider how fatal the " Conſequences may be, and how little Benefit is " like to redound to the People by it. However, " if any thing of that kind ſhall ariſe, I deſire you " would defer thoſe Debates till you have brought " ſuch publick Bills to Perfection as may conduce " to the Good and Safety of the Kingdom: And " particularly, I recommend to you whatever may " tend to the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, " as it is now eſtabiſhed in the Church of *England*.

" I muſt likewiſe deſire your Aſſiſtance in ſome " Supplies, as well to take off the Anticipations " which are upon my Revenue, as for the building " of Ships: And tho' the War has been the great " Cauſe of theſe Anticipations, yet I find, by a late " Account I have taken of my Expences, that I " have not been altogether ſo good an Husband as " I might have been, and as I reſolve to be for the " future; altho' at the ſame time I have had the " Satisfaction to find, that I have been far from " ſuch an Extravagancy in my own Expence, as " ſome would have the World believe. I am not " ignorant that there are many who would prevent " the Kindneſs of my Parliament to me at this time; " but I as well know, that your Affections have " never failed me: And you may remember, it is " now above three Years ſince I have asked you " any thing for my own Uſe. The reſt I refer to " my Lord Keeper.

Then the Lord Keeper made a Speech; which, for the Importance of it, deſerves to be here given at large.

Lord Keeper's Speech.

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons,

" THE Cauſes of this preſent Aſſembly, and " the Reaſons which have mov'd his Majeſty to command your Attendance upon him at " this time, are of the higheſt Importance. The " King reſolves to enter into Terms of ſtricteſt Cor-

[a] The King had not only an Averſneſs to a War with *France*, but was in the moſt familiar Friendſhip with the *French* King, and inſtructed him in ſetting out a good Fleet, and ſent over Materials and Workmen for it. See what Dr. *Wellwood* writes:——As in all other things that might aggrandize *France* and level *England*, ſo in this Art of building Ships, K. *Charles* was willing to aſſiſt his intimate Ally *Lewis* XIV. to the utmoſt of his Power. In order thereto, he not only faithfully communicated to the *French* King from time to time all his own Obſervations and Experiments, but likewiſe thoſe of the moſt ſkillful Perſons about him in the Art. Nay ſuch was this King's Zeal for *France*, and his Care to acquaint the *French* with Sea Affairs, that I have lately ſeen the Doubles of ſeveral Letters from King *Charles* to the *French* King about Employments and new Diſcoveries in building Ships of War, and at the Foot of ſome of the *Doubles* of conſiderable Length, written by King *Charles* himſelf to this Purpoſe. The *Original with my own Hand ſent him ſuch a day*: ſtrange, that a Prince ſo much in love with Eaſe, and who writes ſo ill a Hand, could be brought to write near a Sheet of Paper at a time, merely to teach an inveterate Enemy of the *Engliſh* Nation a Way to contend with him the *Dominion of the Seas*, the brighteſt Jewel of his Crown. But this is not all—— there is yet to be ſeen a *Double* of a Letter from him to the *French* King, full of Inſtructions about this ſame Subject, dated at a time he was actually concurring with the other Princes of *Europe* to oblige the *French* to a general Peace at *Nimeguen* (*i. e.* in this Year or the next.)

1675. 27*Car.* II. “ reſpondence and Endearment with his Parliament; to take your Counſel in his moſt weighty Affairs; to impart all his Cares to you; to acquaint you with all his Wants and Neceſſities; “ to offer you all that can yet be wanting to make “ you enjoy your ſelves; to eſtabliſh a right underſtanding between himſelf and his three Eſtates, “ and between the Eſtates themſelves; to redreſs “ all your juſt Complaints, and to put all his Subjects at eaſe as far as in him lies, and can conſiſt with the Honour and the Safety of the Government.

“ And having made all theſe Advances towards “ you, he doubts not but you will behave yourſelves like thoſe that deſerve to be called the “ King's Friends, and that you will put him at eaſe “ too.

“ There is no Cauſe why any Fears of Religion “ or Liberty ſhould divert you.

“ For, his Majeſty hath ſo often recommended “ to you the Conſiderations of Religion, ſo very “ often deſir'd you to aſſiſt him in his Care and Protection of it, that the Defender of the Faith is “ become the Advocate for it too, and hath left all “ thoſe without Excuſe who ſtill remain under any “ kind of Doubts or Fears.

“ Again, the Care of your Civil Rights and Liberties hath been ſo much your Majeſty's, that “ the more you reflect upon theſe Concerns, the “ more you will find your ſelves obliged to acknowledge his Majeſty's Tenderneſs of you and Indulgence to you.

“ Search your own Annals, the Annals of thoſe “ Times you account moſt happy, you will ſcarce “ find one Year without an Example of ſomething “ more ſevere, and more extraordinary than a whole “ Reign hath yet produced.

“ Peruſe the Hiſtories of Foreign Nations, and “ you ſhall find, Statues and Altars to have been “ erected to the Memories of thoſe Princes whoſe “ beſt Virtues never arriv'd to half that Moderation which we live to ſee and to enjoy.

“ No King did ever meet a Parliament with juſter “ Cauſe of Confidence in their Affections.

“ And therefore his Majeſty will not ſuffer himſelf to doubt, but relies firmly upon it, that “ you will never forſake him when he is under any “ kind of Difficulties. He doth aſſure himſelf that “ you will now think fit to provide for his Honour “ and your own Safety, by helping him to pay ſome “ part of his Debts, and to make his Navy as great “ and as conſiderable as it ought to be.

“ For, the greatneſs of a King is the greatneſs “ and Safety of his People. The Springs and Rivers “ which pay Tribute to the Ocean, do not leſſen “ but preſerve themſelves by that Contribution.

“ It is impoſſible that thoſe Affections which “ Piety and Allegiance firſt planted, which Perſecution could not abate, which the gracious Influences of his Majeſty's happy Government have “ hitherto encreaſed, ſhould now appear to wither “ and decay.

“ But then the beſt Indication of the Heart “ is the Hand. And becauſe it is of infinite Moment to the King's Affairs that there ſhould be “ a chearful Concurrence to his Supply; therefore “ let Hand and Heart both join together in the Oblation, for that will make it a Sacrifice wellpleaſing indeed.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The Happineſs of this preſent Age, and the “ Fate and Fortune of the next too, is very much “ in your Hands at this time: All that you would “ deſire to ſettle and improve, all that you would “ wiſh to ſecure and tranſmit to your Poſterities, “ may now be accompliſhed.

“ Would you raiſe the due Eſtimation and Reverence of the Church of *England* to its juſt height? Would you provide for the Safety and “ Eſtabliſhment of it? 1675. 27*Car.* II.

“ Do there want any Laws to ſecure the Peace “ and Quiet of the State?

“ Would you at once enrich and adorn this Kingdom, by providing for the Extent and Improvement of Trade, by introducing new and uſeful “ Manufactures, and by encouraging thoſe we have “ already?

“ Would you prevent all Frauds and Perjuries, “ all Delays and Abuſes in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice?

“ Would you preſerve a famous City from being “ depopulated by the Suburbs? Would you reſtrain “ the Exceſs of thoſe new Buildings which begin to “ ſwarm with Inhabitants unknown?

“ All your Petitions of this kind will be grateful “ to the King, and you may with eaſe effect all “ this and much more which your great Wiſdoms “ will ſuggeſt to you. A little Time will ſerve many excellent Laws, and to give you the Honour “ of being the Repairers of all our Breaches, ſo as “ that Time be wholly employ'd upon the Publick, and not taken up by ſuch Conſiderations as “ are leſs meritorious.

“ If therefore there be any without doors that “ labour to diſunite your Counſels, or to render “ them ineffectual; if they can hope that the Occaſions for this may ariſe from ſome Differences “ within yourſelves, or hope by thoſe Differences “ to diſguiſe their own Diſaffections to your good “ Proceedings. 'Tis in your Power to defeat thoſe “ Hopes, to pull off this Diſguiſe, and to ſecure a “ happy Concluſion of this Meeting, by ſtudying “ to preſerve a good Correſpondence, and by a “ careful avoiding of all ſuch Queſtions as are apt “ to engender Strife.

“ And if ever there were a time, when the Gravity and the Counſel, the Wiſdom and the good “ Temper of a Parliament were neceſſary to ſupport “ that Government which only can ſupport theſe “ Aſſemblies; certainly this is the Hour.

“ You ſee with what Zeal the King hath recommended to you a good Agreement between “ yourſelves, and that he doth it with all the Care “ and Compaſſion, all the Earneſtneſs and Importunity fit for ſo great a Prince to expreſs, who “ would be very ſorry that any ſuch Misfortune as “ your Diſagreement ſhould either deprive him of “ your Advice and Aſſiſtance, or his People of thoſe “ good Laws which he is ready to grant you.

“ There is no other way our Enemies can think “ of, by which 'tis poſſible for this Seſſions to miſcarry; for Fears and Jealouſies cannot enter here, “ Calumnies and Slanders will find no place amongſt “ wiſe and good Men.

“ They that uſe theſe Arts abroad will quickly “ be diſcredited, when the World ſhall ſee the generous Effects of your Confidence. Men will “ deſpair of attempting any Diſturbance in the “ State, when they ſee every Step that tends that “ way ſerves only to give you freſh Occaſions to “ teſtify your Loyalty and your Zeal.

“ You have all the Reaſon in the World to make “ Men ſee this; for you have the ſame Monarchy “ to aſſert, the ſame Church to defend, the ſame “ Intereſts of Nobility and Gentry to maintain, the “ ſame excellent King to contend for, and the “ ſame Enemies to contend againſt.

And now, my Lords and Gentlemen,

“ Since the whole Seſſion of Parliament is, in “ the Judgment and Conſtruction of our Law, but “ as one Day, let us all endeavour that the Morning of it, the firſt Entrance upon it, may be with “ ſuch fair and ſuch auſpicious Circumſtances, as “ may give the whole Kingdom an Aſſurance of “ a bright and chearful Day.

“ Let

" Let no ill Humours gather into Clouds to darken or obſcure it; for this Day is a critical Day, and more depends upon that Judgment of our Affairs which will be made by it, than can eaſily be imagin'd.

" It imports us therefore to take care, that no part of this time be loſt. Let every precious Minute of this Day be ſpent in receiving ſuch Acts of Grace and Goodneſs as are ready to flow from the King, and in making ſuch Retributions for them as may become the grateful Hearts of the beſt of Subjects to the beſt of Kings.

" So ſhall this Day become a Day of Diſappointment and Diſcomfort to our Enemies; but to us and all good Men a glorious Day, a Day of Triumph and Deliverance; a memorable and a joyful Day to this preſent and to all future Generations.

Proceedings of the Commons.

The Commons in this Seſſion, had many good Bills before them for the Security of Property and of Religion, *viz. The* Habeas Corpus *Bill. A Bill againſt ſending Men Priſoners beyond Sea. Againſt raiſing Money without Conſent in Parliament. Againſt Papiſts ſitting in either Houſe. For more ſpeedy Convicting of Papiſts.* And for *Recalling his Majeſty's Subjects out of the* French *Service.* But before they could come to any Reſolutions, the late Controverſie was reaſſumed concerning the Lords Juriſdiction in Appeals from Chancery: On which occaſion the Commons voted, that *whoſoever ſhall ſollicit or proſecute any appeal againſt any Commoner of* England *from any Court of Equity before the Houſe of Lords, ſhall be deemed and taken a Betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the Commons of* England, *and ſhall be proceeded againſt accordingly*[a]. And in their other Debates, the Majority ſeem'd to be much diſpoſed to a War with *France*, and a nearer Union with *Spain* and *Holland*: Upon which the King took this Occaſion to prorogue them to another time. And therefore on *Monday Nov.* 22. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords; and being with the uſual Solemnity ſeated on his Throne, he was pleaſed to ſend for the Houſe of Commons, who attending at the Bar, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to give his Royal Aſſent to three Acts: *viz.*

Bills paſs'd and Parl. prorogu'd.

1. *An Act for the better and more eaſy rebuilding the Town of* Northampton. 2. *An Act for the better enabling* Mary *Counteſs Dowager of* Warwick *to perform the laſt Will and Teſtament of her deceaſed Husband* Charles *late Earl of* Warwick. 3. *An Act for veſting Lands of* Alexander Davies *Gent. deceaſed in Truſtees for the Payment of his Debts.*

The King willing to be Neuter.

It muſt be obſerved, that tho' his Majeſty was not willing to engage in a War with *France*, yet he thought it juſt and honourable to ſatisfy the *Dutch*, that he would be at leaſt a Neuter, and not aſſiſt the *French* King againſt them. And therefore he did by Proclamation, dated *May* 19. ſtrictly command the immediate Return of all his Majeſty's Subjects who had gone into the Service of the *French* King as Soldiers ſince the late Treaty of Peace with the States General of the *United Provinces*, and prohibiting all other his Subjects whatſoever, for the time to come, from going beyond the Seas to ſerve as Soldiers under the ſaid *French* King, or in his Wars.

Prince of *Newburgh* viſits the *Engliſh* Court.

At the beginning of this Year his Highneſs the Prince of *Newburgh* was pleaſed to pay a Viſit to *England*; and coming over in one of his Majeſty's Yachts, appointed to tranſport him from *Calais*, he arriv'd at *Greenwich* on *Thurſday May* 13. and immediately came to Town *incognito*, with a Train of about fifty Perſons, among which were ſeveral Perſons of Quality; on the 15th he was introduced at Court to ſalute their Majeſties, and afterward their Royal Highneſſes, by whom he was received with very particular Demonſtrations of Kindneſs and Eſteem, for the ſake of the Duke his Father. On *Tueſday June* 1. his Highneſs came to *Oxford*, and being there received in a very reſpectful manner, was created Doctor of Laws, and was very much pleaſed with the Civilities and the Curioſities of that Place.

Honours and Preferments.

The Collation of Offices and Honours in this Year was not very conſiderable. On *March* 31. his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, in conſideration of the good and faithful Services of *Thomas Povey* Eſq; to cauſe him to be ſworn one of the Maſters of Requeſts, in the room of Sir *Thomas Beverley* deceaſed. On *June* 23. his Majeſty was pleaſed, in conſideration of the eminent Loyalty and Sufferings of *Giles Strangwayes* Eſq; to cauſe him to be ſworn of his moſt Honourable Privy Council, and accordingly he took his Place at the Board. On *October* 15. his Grace the Duke of *Albemarle* was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council. On *December* 19. his Majeſty, as a particular Mark of his Grace and Favour to the Right Honourable *Heneage* Lord *Finch*, Baron of *Daventry*, was pleaſed to change his Title of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* into that of Lord High Chancellor of *England*. On *Jan.* 19. his Majeſty conſidering the very good Services of *Richard Bulſtrode*, Eſq; as his Agent with the Governour of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, has been pleaſed to appoint him his Reſident in that Court; and as a farther Mark of his Favour, this Day to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon him. On *Jan.* 22. his Majeſty was pleaſed to cauſe the Right Reverend Father in God *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London* to be ſworn one of the Lords of his Privy Council, and accordingly his Lordſhip took his Place at the Board.

Actions at Sea.

There was a good Action perform'd this Winter by Sir *John Narborough*, Admiral of his Majeſty's Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, who being ſent chiefly to ſcour thoſe Seas from publick Pirates, burnt in the Port of *Tripoly* four Men of War belonging to the *Corſairs*, as he himſelf gave this Account in a Letter dated *Jan.* 20. near *Maltha*, and is as follows.

" Theſe are to let you know, that on the 14th inſtant, in the Night, I burnt four of the *Tripoline* Ships of War of conſiderable Force, *viz. The white crown'd Eagle* with 50 Guns, the *Looking-Glaſs* with 36, the *Sancta Claria* with 24, and the *French Petach* with 20, as they lay under the Caſtle and Walls of *Tripoly*, being all that were in Port. It was done by a Surprize by our Boats, commanded in chief by my Lieutenant *Cloudſley Shovel*; he took the Enemies Guard Boat, and in it one *Turk* and one *Moor*, the reſt having been kill'd. I bleſs God I did not loſe one Man in the Action; I am now off of *Maltha*, and am ſtanding over again for *Tripoly*, and doubt not, but by the help of God to deſtroy more of thoſe *Corſairs*. I have with me the *Henrietta*, *Portſmouth*, and two Fireſhips, which I met with

[a] See 1. the Earl of *Shaftſbury*'s Speech in the Houſe of Lords upon the Debate of appointing a Day for the hearing Dr. *Shirley*'s Cauſe the 20th of *Octob.* 1675, anſwering the Queries propoſed by the Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*, and charging upon the Biſhops the new Doctrine of *Monarchy being of Divine Right*. Printed at *Amſterdam* 1675, 4*to*.

2. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s Speech in the Houſe of Lords upon a Motion for Leave to bring in a Bill for Indulgence to Proteſtant Diſſenters: Together with the Proteſtation and Reaſons of ſeveral Lords for the Diſſolution of this Parliament. *Enter'd in the Lords Journal the Day the Parliament was prorogu'd, *Nov.* 22. 1675. *ib.*

3. Two ſeaſonable Diſcourſes concerning this preſent Parliament, beginning with the Debate and Arguments for diſſolving the preſent Parliament, and the calling frequent and new Parliaments, as they were deliver'd in the Houſe of Lords *Novemb.* 20. 1675. *Oxford*, printed in the Year 1675. 4*to*.

4. A Letter from a Parliament-man to his Friend concerning the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons this laſt Seſſions, begun the 13th of *Octob.* 1675. Printed in the Year 1675. 4*to*.

1675. 27 Car. II. " here. This I write in haſte, but by the next " will give you an Account at large. The Succeſs of this Action was, that on the 5th of *March* following Sir *John Narborough* concluded a Peace with the Government of *Tripoly*, in 23 Articles, much to the Honour of his Majeſty, and to the Advantage of our Kingdom in Trade and Navigation.

Prince of *Orange* not eaſily brought into a general Peace.

The Prince of *Orange* was made ſenſible that the great Deſign of my Lord *Arlington*'s Negotiation with him was firſt to draw him into ſuch Meaſures of Peace as *France* then ſo much deſir'd, and ſecondly into the Diſcovery of Perſons in *England*, who had made Advances to the Prince or States of raiſing Commotions there during the War. Thirdly, into ſecret Meaſures with King *Charles* of aſſiſting him againſt any Rebels at home or Enemies abroad. And laſtly, into the Hopes or Deſigns of a Match with the Duke of *York*'s eldeſt Daughter. But it is ſaid the Prince would not at all enter upon the firſt, was obſtinate in the ſecond, and treated the third Point with a wonder of thinking, *That the King of* England *could be ſo ill belov'd, or ſo imprudent, as to need ſuch Aſſiſtance.* And upon mention made of the laſt by the Earl of *Oſſory*, he took no farther hold of it than by ſaying, *his Fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wife.*

However, by the Advice of the Penſionary and Count *Waldeck*, he drew up this Scheme of a general Peace, *That a Match ſhould be made between the King of* Spain *and the Duke of* Orleans's *eldeſt Daughter; that* France *ſhould give her in Dowry the late conquer'd Places in* Flanders. *That King* Charles *the ſecond ſhould make this Match, and upon theſe Terms. That he ſhould have* 200000 l. *for his good Offices in it. By this means a Peace would be made with Safety to* Spain *and* Holland, *by ſecuring again the Frontiers of* Flanders *with Honour to* France, *who parted with the Conquer'd Towns only as a Dowry to a Daughter of* France, *without any Blemiſh to the Prince's Honour, Faith to his Alliances, and with Honour and Profit to the King of* England.

Conference between the Prince and *Engliſh* Miniſters.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador wrote two Letters to the King upon this Subject, but had no hopes given him that a Peace could be effected on ſuch Terms; but a little before the meeting of the Parliament in *April*, the King in a Letter to Sir *William Temple* at the *Hague*, took notice of ſome Advices given him, that the Prince intended to go over for *England* againſt the approaching Seſſions, and commanded him to hinder it, as if the King believ'd that the Prince had form'd a popular Deſign by ſuch a Journey. The Ambaſſador inform'd the Prince of it, yet pretended not to have had it from his Majeſty, but only that ſuch a thing had been whiſper'd to him. The Prince anſwer'd, *The Lord* Arlington *had indeed talk'd of a Journey after the Peace ſhould be concluded; in the mean time he hop'd the King would not ſuſpect him guilty of any diſreſpectful Thought; he was his Majeſty's Servant, and if he could do him no Service, he would at leaſt do him no Hurt: But if the King would be otherwiſe poſſeſs'd, he could not help it; he had deſired the Ambaſſador to aſſure him there had been no ground for ſuch a Report.* And yet about the ſame time the Prince receiv'd a Letter from my Lord *Arlington*, of which his Highneſs complain'd in a great Heat to Sir *William Temple*, and ſaid, *It was impertinent, and that he therein mention'd the foreſaid imaginary Reſolution of his going over for* England *as a thing certain, and intended by him for raiſing Heats in the Parliament and Commotions in the Kingdom, and added it was like to prove but ill Friendſhip between him and the King, if it was to be made with Blows.* And the Earl putting him in mind, that there were ſome old Wounds among them that would ſtill bleed if there were not care taken of them: The Prince ſaid, *he knew well enough what was meant by that Expreſſion*, for *Arlington* had told Monſieur *Read* in *England*, when he went over upon the firſt Motions of the laſt Peace, that the King could make the Prince to be ſerved in the ſame manner as *De Wit* was, if he would ſet himſelf about it: Hereupon he fell into great Rage againſt *Arlington*, calling this *Proceeding malicious and inſolent*, and ſaid, *he would write to him what he deſerved, but never have any thing more to do with any of the King's Miniſters, he would write to the King himſelf*, and deſired the Ambaſſador to convey his Letters ſo that they might come to no other Hand.

Campaign abroad.

The *French* this Summer began their Campaign with the Siege of *Limburgh*, with one part of their Army, while the *French* King with the reſt lay incamped in a Poſt moſt convenient to oppoſe any Attempt of relieving it. The Prince of *Orange* was upon his march for that purpoſe; but the Place after a ſhort and weak Reſiſtance was taken before he could approach it. After this ſurrendry of *Limburgh* the *French* King encamp'd near *Tillemont*, and ravag'd all the Country near *Louvain*, *Bruſſels* and *Malines*, and he had a mighty deſire to make himſelf Maſter of the firſt of theſe Places; but the Prince and the Duke of *Villa-Hermoſa* watch'd him all along ſo narrowly that he durſt not undertake it, ſo that about the end of *July* growing weary of a dull Campaign, the King left the Command of the Army to the Prince of *Conde* and return'd to *Verſailles*. The *French* having now receiv'd a ſevere Blow by the death of the great Mareſchal *Turenne* upon the *Rhine*, the Prince of *Conde* was ſent thither to Command the Army, and the Duke of *Luxemburgh* took his Poſt in *Flanders*, but with Orders not to hazard a Battel, but only to obſerve the Prince of *Orange*'s Motions, and to cover any Town that was like to be endanger'd, which he performed ſo well, that no farther Action paſſed this Summer beſides the Prince's taking and raſing *Binch*, and that his Highneſs had this farther Advantage of the Duke, that he hinder'd him from ravaging the Territories of *Treves*, and diſturbing the Confederates in the Siege of that Place, which was at laſt ſurrender'd to them. The Prince at this time being put in mind of the Apprehenſions the King and States might have of the greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, if their Succeſs continued, he ſaid, *There was no need of that till they ſhould go beyond the Peace of the* Pyrenees, *when ever that ſhould happen, he ſhould be as much a* French-*Man as he was now a* Spaniard, *but not before.* Then he cloſed the Diſcourſe in deſiring, that *whatever Plan his Majeſty thought fit to propoſe for a Peace, he would do it at the Congreſs at* Nimeguen, *the place appointed for the Treaty, for the number and variety of Pretenſions and Intereſts were grown ſo great, by all the Parties then engaged in the War, that it could not be in any other place; that he believed they would be reaſonable, and in caſe* France *would be ſo too the Peace might be made; if not, perhaps another Campaign might bring them to Reaſon.*

Treaty at *Nimeguen*.

Upon this juncture his Majeſty ſent over the Lord *John Berkley* his Ambaſſador extraordinary to *Paris*, who arriving there *December* 6. after an Audience of the *French* King, was to begin his Journey for *Nimeguen*, the place appointed for the general Treaty, whither Sir *William Temple*, Ambaſſador at the *Hague* was to repair, together with Sir *Leoline Jenkins* Judge of his Majeſty's High Court of Admiralty, who took leave of his Majeſty in order to his departure *December* 13.

Popular Diſcontents.

The People of *England* were ſo impatient for a Peace, and ſo jealous of the growth of Popery and the *French* Power, that they took the liberty of reflecting on the King and his Miniſtry to ſuch a high Degree, that it was thought fit to put down all Coffee-Houſes by Proclamation, order'd in Council *December* 29. " Becauſe in ſuch Houſes, and by " occaſion of the meeting of diſaffected Perſons in " them, divers falſe, malicious and ſcandalous Re- " ports were deviſed and ſpread abroad, to the De- " famation of his Majeſty's Government, and to the

" diſturbance

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"diſturbance of the Quiet and Peace of the Realm. And on *Jan.* 7. another Proclamation was publiſh'd for diſcovering and puniſhing "Malicious and Diſ-"affected Perſons who did daily deviſe and publiſh "as well by writing as printing ſundry falſe, infa-"mous and ſcandalous Libels, endeavouring there-"by not only to traduce and reproach the Eccleſi-"aſtical and Temporal Government of this King-"dom, and the publick Miniſters of the ſame, but "alſo to ſtir up and diſpoſe the Minds of his Maje-"ſty's Subjects to Sedition and Rebellion. But upon Petition of the Merchants and Retailers of Coffee and Tea, a permiſſion was granted to keep open their Coffee-Houſes to *June* 24. next, provided that every Keeper of ſuch Houſe ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavour to prevent and hinder all ſcandalous Papers, Books or Libels, concerning the Government or the publick Miniſters thereof, from being brought into his Houſe, or to be there read, peruſ'd, or divulged; and to prevent and hinder all and every Perſon or Perſons from declaring, uttering, and divulging in his ſaid Houſe all manner of falſe or ſcandalous Reports of the Government, or any the Miniſters thereof.

1675. State of Religion.

As to Religion it is very manifeſt, that the Papiſts had a mighty Influence on publick Affairs, and were afraid of nothing but an *Engliſh* Parliament, and flatter'd themſelves that they had gained over Members enough to carry on the Intereſt and Deſigns of the Duke of *York* and that Party [a]. Mr. *Coleman* in a Letter to the Internuncio dated at *Windſor Aug.* 30. 1675. does applaud the "clear "and evident Mark of the Pope's Affection towards "the Catholicks of *England*, and then ſaith, "That "the Duke hath almoſt ſurmounted all the Diffi-"culties which have oppoſed his Eſtabliſhment. "The Face of his Affairs are well changed, for we "now paſſionately wiſh to ſee the coming on of the "Parliament which we ſo much feared before: "And while it was held doubtful whether it ought "to meet or no, we employ'd all our Power to "bring it on; which point we have gained but "within theſe few Days. And for my part, I no "ways doubt but that we ſhall receive as much "good by it as we apprehended ill, provided that "the Duke fail not in the execution of the good "Reſolutions which he hath taken. And by many other Papers and Letters dated this Year, it does abundantly appear that a vigorous Deſign was carried on to *extirpate the Northern Hereſie.* And even during the ſecond Seſſion of Parliament, the Papiſts in *London* were ſo inſolent that they ſet upon Monſieur *Luzancy*, a late Convert from Popery, and offer'd extream Indignity and Violence to him, with ſo great Scandal that on *Nov.* 10. his Majeſty in Council order'd a Proclamation to be publiſhed, for the Diſcovery and Apprehenſion of a *French* Jeſuit, ſtyling himſelf Monſieur St. *Germain*, and his Accomplices, in the late Violence offer'd to Monſieur *Luzancy* alias *Chaſtelet*, declaring, "That whereas it "had appeared to his Majeſty upon Oath, that the "ſaid Monſieur *Luzancy* being lately converted from "the Romiſh to the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſh'd "in the Church of *England*; and having in a late "Sermon by him preach'd and publiſh'd expreſſed "the Cauſes and Reaſons of his Converſion, the "ſaid Monſieur St. *Germain*, with other Perſons "unknown, did in a moſt preſumptuous and inſo-"lent manner repair to the Lodging of the ſaid "Monſieur *Luzancy*, and did there by Threats and "Terrors of Aſſaſſinating the ſaid Monſieur *Luzan-*"*cy*, or of carrying him away by Force into Parts "beyond the Seas, induce and compel the ſaid "Monſieur *Luzancy* to tranſcribe and ſign a pre-"tended Retraction of what he had ſo preached "and publiſhed; his Majeſty being highly ſenſible "of this tranſcendent boldneſs, and to prevent the "like inſolent Attempts, and all other Violences "that may be offer'd to the ſaid Monſieur *Luzancy*, "upon account of his Converſion to the Proteſtant "Religion, and to encourage him to perſevere in "the ſame, hath taken him in a more eſpecial man-"ner into his Royal Protection, *&c.* But the Au-"thor of this Inſolence, Father St. *Germain* eſcap'd, "and took a proper Refuge in *France*, where he "wrote a Letter from *Paris*, dated *December* 11. "1675. to Mr. *Coleman*, and tells him *a Friend had* "*given the King's Confeſſor to underſtand, that the* "*King of* France *ought not to do any thing with the King* "*of* England *but by the Duke of* York, *and he had pro-*"*miſed and engaged upon his Life to the King's Confeſſor* "*to make all ſucceed in caſe that way be made uſe of.* And in another Letter directed to *Coleman* in *January*, it is ſaid, "Monſieur [b] St. *Germain* has obſerv'd "to the Confeſſor of the King of *France*, how "great the Power of the Duke of *York* is, by the "diſgrace of the two Perſons concerning which "Mr. *Coleman* had writ to Monſieur St. *Germain*, "and that the vigorous Counſels which were all "abſolutely neceſſary, whereby to ſucceed in the "Traffick of the Catholicks, came from the Duke "of *York*, by the inſpiration of Mr. *Coleman*, who "alſo alone was the moſt truly link'd to the Wel-"fare of the Commerce of the King of *England*, "the Duke of *York* and the Catholicks.

Coleman's Letter.

Inſolence of the Papiſts.

Under theſe juſt Apprehenſions of Popery, raiſed

[a] See 1. An Account of the Cardinal's Cap ſent to Father *Philip Howard*, then at *Antwerp*; of his Journey toward *Rome*, his Entry, and the Expectation of the *Engliſh* Catholicks upon it; his taking Mr. *Leyburn*, Preſident of *Doway*, to be his Secretary, *&c.* *Wood Athen. Oxon.* 1. *Col.* 238. *Hiſt. of the Engl. Coll. at* Doway, 1713. 8*vo.*

2. Several Letters written by Father *Sheldon*, directed to Mr. *Coleman*, to promote the Cauſe of the Catholicks in *England*, dated *May* 22. *June* 1. *June* 8, *&c.* 1675.

3. A Letter from the Pope's Internuncio to Mr. *Coleman*, ſhewing the *Affection which his Holineſs doth bear unto the Concerns of England*, dated *June* 3. 1675. Subſcribed *Albany*. *Collect. of Letters, publiſh'd by Order of the Houſe of Commons*, 1681. Fol.

4. A Reply to a Perſon of Honour's pretended Anſwer to the Vindication of the Proteſtant Religion in the Point of Obedience to Sovereigns, and to the Book of Papal Tyranny. By *Peter du Moulin*, D. D. *London*, 1675. 4*to.*

5. The Burnt Child dreads the Fire. Or an Examination of the Merits of the Papiſts, relating to *England*; in Juſtification of the late Act of Parliament for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants. By *William Denton*, M. D. *London*, 1675. 4*to.*

6. Two Recantation Sermons, preached at the *French* Church in the *Savoy* by two converted Romaniſts, Monſieur *de la Motte*, late Preacher of the Order of the *Carmelites*, and Monſieur *de Luzancy*, late Preacher in *France*, Licentiate in Divinity. *London*, 1675. 4*to.*

[b] See 1. A Letter from Mr. *Coleman* to Father *le Chaiſe*, dated *Sept.* 29. 1675. 2. Another from Mr. *Coleman* to the ſame Jeſuite, upon the ſame Subject of ſoliciting the Intereſts of Popery in *England*. 3. A Letter from Father *le Chaiſe*, acknowledging the Receipt of Mr. *Coleman*'s long Letter. 4. A Letter from the Pope's Internuncio to Mr. *Coleman*, rejoicing for the good Condition in which the Affairs of the Duke and the Catholicks in *England* are at preſent, dated, *Rome Octob.* 19, 1675. 5. Several Letters written by Cardinal *Norfolk*, i. e. *Howard* to Mr. *Coleman*, to propagate the Catholick Cauſe and the Intereſts of the Duke of *York* in *England*, from *Jan.* 4. to *March* 14. 167$\frac{5}{6}$; and eſpecially one Letter of the Cardinal, dated *March* 1. 1676. delivering the Judgment of that Court about the State of Affairs in *England*, that the *Diviſion of Catholicks will be the eaſieſt way for Proteſtants to deſtroy them*; which Dr. *Lloyd* underſtood right to be meant in the Reverſe of making Diviſions among Proteſtants for the Catholicks to deſtroy them with greater Eaſe. *Pref. to a Sermon* before the Lords, 1680. 4*to.* and eſpecially a Letter of the Duke of *York* to Father *la Chaiſe*, which was known to be genuine, beginning, The ſecond of *June* laſt paſt his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty offered me moſt generouſly his Friendſhip, and the uſe of his Purſe, to aſſiſt againſt the Deſigns of my Enemies and his, and proteſted unto me that his Intereſt and mine were ſo clearly link'd together, that thoſe that oppoſed the one, ſhould be look'd upon as Enemies to the other; and told me, moreover, his Opinion of my Lord *Arlington* and the Parliament, which is, that he is of Opinion, that neither the one nor the *other is in his Intereſt or mine:* And thereupon he deſires me to make ſuch Propoſitions as I ſhould think fit in this Conjuncture, *&c.*

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by the Countenance and Protection of the Duke of *York*, it was the greater Comfort and Joy to obſerve that his Royal Highneſs could have no Influence upon the young Princeſſes his Daughters. The Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Anne* were ſtrictly bred up in the Principles of the Church of *England*, and were on *Jan.* 23. ſolemnly confirmed in his Majeſty's Chapel at *Whitehall* by the Biſhop, who was Dean of the ſaid Chapel.

Eccleſiaſtical Preferments.

The Biſhoprick of *Worceſter* being void by the death of the late Reverend Father in God Dr. *Blandford*, and his Majeſty having been pleaſed to confer the ſame on the Reverend Dr. *James Fleetwood* Provoſt of *King's College* in *Cambridge*, on *Sunday* the 29th of *Auguſt* his Lordſhip Elect was conſecrated in St. *Peter's* Church in *Broad-Street*, *London*, by the Right Reverend Father in God *John* Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, his Grace of *Canterbury*'s Commiſſioner for that purpoſe, being aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *Ely*, *Chicheſter* and *Lincoln*. And after the performance of the Solemnity, their Lordſhips, with many of the Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality, were entertain'd at a very noble Dinner at *Draper's-Hall*. His Majeſty was pleaſed upon the death of Dr. *Henchman* to tranſlate the Right Reverend Father in God Dr. *Compton* late Biſhop of *Oxford*, and Dean of his Majeſty's Chapel to the See of *London*, and to promote the Reverend Dr. *Fell* Dean of *Chriſt-Church* to the Biſhoprick of *Oxon*; who having been accordingly elected Biſhop of that See, was on *Feb.* 6. Conſecrated by the Right Reverend Father in God the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, his Grace of *Canterbury*'s Commiſſioner for that purpoſe, in his Lordſhip's Chapel at *Chelſey*, being aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, *Ely*, *Chicheſter* and *Worceſter*; and after the performance of the Solemnity, their Lordſhips, with many of the Nobility and other Perſons of Quality, were entertained at a noble Dinner.

Caſe of the Diſſenters.

The Diſſenters had now ſome Advantage of improving in popular Reputation, by being generally averſe to the Meaſures conducing to Popery and the Grandeur of *France*, and by falling in with thoſe Patriots in both Houſes who ſeem'd moſt zealous in the Love and Service of their Country. And yet their own Hiſtory has little to boaſt of but the Proſecution of ſome of their Teachers, and a Story of Judgments upon ſome of the Informers: To which they add, that *about this time* (meaning Summer 1675.) *twelve or thirteen of the Biſhops dining with that eminent Citizen Sir* Nathaniel Hern, *then Sheriff of* London, *and diſcourſing with him about putting the Laws againſt the Diſſenters in execution; he told them, that they could not Trade with their Neighbours one Day, and ſend them to Goal the next. In the next Seſſion of Parliament the Duke of* Buckingham *made a notable Speech againſt Perſecution, and deſir'd the conſent of the Lords that he might bring in a Bill for the Eaſe of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, in matters of Religion; but while he was preparing it, the Parliament was prorogu'd.*

1676. The King labours to be Neuter between *France* and *Holland*.

The King having unwillingly made a Peace with *Holland*, and being in a Neutrality with other Princes, had nothing to do but to keep the Peace at home, and to ſecure a free Trade abroad. But the *Dutch* ſuſpected, that he ſecretly gave aſſiſtance to the *French*; and the *French* Court pretended that ſome *Engliſh* Ships were retained in the Service of *Holland*. Hence upon *Complaints made to his Majeſty by the Miniſters of ſeveral Princes now in Amity with his Majeſty, that divers of his Subjects had lately taken Commiſſions from ſome Princes and States now in Amity with his Majeſty to ſerve at Sea againſt others, who are likewiſe his Majeſties Allies; his Majeſty for the Preſervation and Continuance of Friendſhip and Amity between him and his reſpective Allies*, did by Royal Proclamation given at *Whitehall* 17 *May, Strictly prohibit and forbid all his Subjects whatſoever to take any Commiſſion at Sea from any Foreign Prince or State, againſt any other Foreign Prince or State now in Amity with his Majeſty, or to ſerve as Mariners or Seamen in any Ship or Veſſel which ſhall be employed againſt any Prince or State now in Amity with his Majeſty during the War.* And upon farther Complaints from Abroad, that Acts of Hoſtility at Sea were ſuffered to be committed under the Protection of *Engliſh* Coaſts and Ports; his Majeſty was pleaſed to cauſe another Royal Proclamation to be publiſh'd *June* 2. by which his Majeſty declared, *That finding the Security of Navigation and Commerce to and from his Majeſty's Ports (in this time of War) hath been very much diſturbed, and that even the Reverence due to his Ports hath been violated, his Will and Pleaſure is, that theſe following Rules and Ordinances be obſerved.*

I. *That within his Majeſty's Ports, Havens and Crooks, and the Precincts thereof, no Hoſtilities ſhall be committed by any of the Parties whatſoever, but that all Ships during their being in the ſaid Ports,* &c. *ſhall be under his Majeſty's ſpecial Protection; that the Ships and Goods of all Aggreſſors or Offenders herein ſhall be* ipſo facto *Confiſcate, notwithſtanding any Commiſſion of War they may have.*

II. *That all his Majeſty's Officers and Subjects do as far as in them lies, prohibit the roving of Men of War ſo near his Majeſty's Ports or Coaſts, as may give apprehenſion to the Merchant-Men that their Paſſage is unſafe, or may hinder the Commerce of his Subjects. That all his Majeſty's Officers do ſuccour and reſcue all Merchant-Men and others, as ſhall be attack'd upon his Majeſty's Coaſts, and to apprehend and ſeize the Offenders, in order to bring them to condign Puniſhment.*——With five other Rules and Orders to inforce the like general Intention of Neutrality and equal Protection.

Inſolence of the *Fr.* Privateers.

In the mean time while his Majeſty did ſo generouſly protect the *French* Shipping, our own Veſſels could not be protected from the Injuſtice and Inſolence of the *French* Privateers, who ſwarmed in the Chanel, and pick'd up many of our Merchant-Men, and (as if in open War) made Prizes of them. And upon Complaint of this Grievance in the *French* Court, the Method of Redreſs was a greater Oppreſſion only: For Sir *Ellis Leighton* Secretary to the Lord *Berkley*, Ambaſſador in the Court of *France*, being *appointed to ſollicit in that Court the Reſtitution of* Engliſh *Ships and their Ladings, taken by* French *Privateers, did behave himſelf corruptly in that Negotiation, by* [a] *bare-fac'd contracting for, and receiving Bribes in the Proſecution of the Merchants Affairs, and ſometimes making corrupt Agreements with the* French *Privateers to deſiſt from and relinquiſh all farther Sollicitation of the Intereſts of his Majeſty's Subjects, and to the great detriment and loſs of the Merchants concerned*; as was made appear to his Majeſty in Council; *for which Offence he was committed to the Cuſtody of one of the Meſſengers of his Majeſty's Chamber, in order to be carried Priſoner to the* Tower *of* London, *that he might be proſecuted and brought to condign Puniſhment, but being conſcious of*

[a] There was a general Suſpicion that there was ſtill a private League between King *Charles* and the *French* King; and the true End of it was to ſettle Popery in *England*. This ſecret Alliance was known in the Court of *Rome*, where the Writer of a Preface to the Life of Cardinal *Barberini*, printed at *Venice* in 1677, boaſteth thus.——We have no reaſon to doubt but Almighty God is on his way to rebuild his Church in thoſe very Places where that Monſter Hereſy is rampant. What may we not hope for from the Zeal of the preſent Catholick Princes of Chriſtendom, and particularly from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, whoſe great Soul is beſt capable to venture upon that *Hydra*? The ſtrict Friendſhip between him and his Britannick Majeſty, with that King's mild Inclinations and Conduct towards his Catholick Subjects, join'd to his Brother the Duke of *York*'s fervent Zeal to Religion, gives us the pleaſant Proſpect of better Days, even in that once bleſſed Iſland.

his

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Petition of the Committee for Trade.

Under theſe Indignities and Loſſes, the Lords of the Committee of Trade, by repeated Petitions from the Merchants and Seamen, found themſelves obliged to preſent unto his Majeſty in Council at *Whitehall Aug.* 4. a Report touching the Injuries which his Subjects did ſuſtain by the *French* Capers; with a Liſt of ſuch *Engliſh* Ships as had been ſeiz'd by the *French* Privateers ſince *December* 1673. to the number of fifty three; concluding thus, *Wherefore conſidering that the Root of all this Diſorder ariſes from the Violence and Rapine of the* French *Capers, who ought to be looked on as Diſturbers of the publick Quiet, and Enemies to the good Friendſhip between the two Crowns; we are humbly of Opinion, that your Majeſty has juſt occaſion, from the Injuries paſt, and thoſe which are now depending, and which do every Day increaſe, to make a very ſerious Repreſentation of all unto his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; and not only preſs for ſome better Method of repairing the Grievances mentioned, but earneſtly to inſiſt on the calling in of all Privateers: Or elſe your Majeſty muſt do Right, and give Defence to your Subjects, from all the Inſolencies which they ſo frequently meet.* Signed *Finch* C. *Angleſey, Bath, Bridgwater, Craven, H. Coventry, J. Ernle, G. Cartret, Robert Southwell.*

To which this Anſwer in Council was given.

K.'s Anſwer.

"HIS Majeſty taking into his ſerious Conſi-"deration the daily Complaints of his Sub-"jects, and having a great Senſe and Reſentment "of their ill uſage, hath thought fit to approve "the ſaid Report, and is therefore graciouſly plea-"ſed to order, as it is hereby ordered accordingly; "That the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary *Co-"ventry* do immediately tranſmit to his Majeſty's "Ambaſſador at *Paris* a Copy thereof, that ſo the "evil and the unhappy ſtate of theſe things may be "made known in that Court, and the Remedies "preſſed for in his Majeſty's Name which are pro-"poſed by the ſaid Report. And Maſter Secreta-"ry is alſo to attend the *French* Ambaſſador here "with the ſame Repreſentation, and to expoſtulate "upon all theſe Hardſhips, and the little Remedy "given to his Majeſty's Subjects, either on the "Merits of their Cauſes, or the Recommendations "of them by his Majeſty; that ſo his Excellency "being made ſenſible of his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure "herein, and the reaſonable Diſcontent of his Sub-"jects, there may be by his Care ſuch lively Im-"preſſions hereof fixed with the King his Maſter, "and the Miniſters of *France*, as may redreſs the "Evils that are complained of, and obtain the juſt "Remedies which are propoſed.

The People long for a fitting Parliament.

Yet no other Satisfaction could be obtained than by doing Juſtice to ourſelves by a Repriſal on ſeveral of their Privateers; and this only Method did by no means repair the Loſſes of private Men; it ſeem'd only a ſort of Vindication of the publick Honour. Theſe Inſolencies of the *French* had however this good effect, that they made the People of *England* more and more impatient for a fitting Parliament, as hoping and believing that this inſufferable Grievance would be then effectually redreſs'd by a Reparation of their Damages, or at leaſt by an open War. And the long interval of Seſſions began ſo much to open the Eyes and the Mouths of the City and Country, that on *Decemb.* 23. 1676. his Majeſty thought fit to quiet his loving Subjects by the Proſpect of a fitting Parliament, and by Proclamation to declare, that *having been pleaſed to continue this preſent Parliament by Prorogation until the 15th Day of* February *now next coming, he had a full Purpoſe and Reſolution that the Parliament ſhould be then holden; and he was deſirous, for divers weighty Conſiderations, to have then a full Aſſembly of the Members of both Houſes.*

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The Meeting of it.

Accordingly, on *Thurſday Feb.* 15. 167$\frac{6}{7}$. the two Houſes of Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*; and his Majeſty being ſolemnly ſeated in his Throne, ſent for the Houſe of Commons; who attended his Majeſty at the Bar of the Lords Houſe: His Majeſty made a moſt gracious Speech to the two Houſes on the Subject of their Meeting; which done, the Lord Chancellor farther moſt eloquently declar'd his Majeſty's Mind to them on this Occaſion.

Proceedings of the two Houſes.

Upon which the Commons returned to their own Houſe, and enter'd upon the Debate of ſeveral Matters. The general Diſpoſition of the Houſe was to a War with *France*, or to ſtricter Alliances at leaſt for preventing the Progreſs of the *French* Conqueſts made in *Flanders* and on the *Rhine*. And therefore ſoon after their Meeting they addreſs'd the King, ſetting forth, "That his People were much diſ-"quieted with the manifeſt Danger ariſing to theſe "Kingdoms, by the Growth and Power of the "*French* King, by his Acquiſitions in the *Spaniſh* "*Netherlands*, in the Preſervation whereof, they "humbly conceive, the Intereſt of his Majeſty and "the Safety of his People are highly concern'd, and "therefore beſeech the King to take it into his "Care, and ſtrengthen himſelf with ſtricter Allian-"ces. To which the King anſwer'd, "That he "was of the ſame Opinion with both Houſes, and "that he will uſe all means for the Preſervation of "*Flanders*, that can conſiſt with the Peace and "Safety of the Kingdom.

Addreſs againſt the *French*.

A Queſtion in Parl. about their legal Being.

But that which moſt interrupted the Proceedings in both Houſes, was an important Queſtion, *Whether they were any longer a legal Body?* and, *Whether their long Prorogation were not, in its true effect, a Diſſolution of them?* [a] This Conteſt was higheſt in the Houſe of Lords, where the Duke of *Buckingham* ſtood up firſt, and argu'd with great appearance of Reaſon, and with greater Wit, That according to the Law and Conſtitution of Parliaments, an unprecedented Prorogation was null, and conſequently the Parliament was in truth Diſſolved; offering to maintain it to the Face of all the Judges, and deſiring (as is uſual in ſuch caſes) that they might give their Opinion in it: But this Motion reliſh'd ſo ill with the Lords that were in the Miniſtry, that one of them moved that the Duke, for that Speech, might be called to the Bar. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* oppoſed this Motion, as improper and extravagant; and did with Courage and ſharpneſs of Application, ſecond and enforce the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Argument; and the Earl of *Saliſbury* and the Ld. *Wharton* fell in boldly on the ſame ſide: But the majority were ſo warm upon them, that they were all ſent Priſoners to the *Tower* for Contempt of the Authority and Being of the preſent Parliament, and were to remain there during his Majeſty's and the Houſe's Pleaſure.

Lords ſent to the *Tower*.

The ſame Matter was debated in the Houſe of Commons, and there too the majority [a] reſolved not to be diſſolved; yet they committed none of their Members for arguing the contrary. It was indeed no wonder that both Houſes ſhould agree in their own Preſervation and Continuance; for the great Lords in the Miniſtry could not bear to think of parting with a Parliament which they had been at a prodigious Expence to keep in a giving Humour; and they had indeed managed them ſo well, that they had given the King more Money than ever had been granted in a Parliamentary way

[a] See an Account of the Proceedings in this Seſſion of Parliament, *Feb.* 15, 167$\frac{6}{7}$. with the two Bills of Religion that paſs'd the Upper Houſe. 1. An Act for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, by educating the Children of the Royal Family, and providing for the Continuance of a Proteſtant Clergy. 2. An Act for the more effectual Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants. In *Growth of Popery.* 4to. p. 70.

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to all the Kings of *England* from *William* the *Norman* to the Union of the two Kingdoms: And the major part of the Commons had as good reaſon to deſire to keep their Places in the Houſe, which by Offices or Penſions were ſo beneficial to them, and which indeed had coſt them a dear Purchaſe; for upon the death of any of the old Members, few or none had been choſen to ſucceed them without a prodigious Expence; which muſt have been as great a Folly in them as it was a Shame to the Nation, if they had not known how by their Votes and Engagements to reimburſe themſelves. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Saliſbury* and the Lord *Wharton*, Petition'd the King, and were diſcharg'd; but the Lord *Shaftsbury* was kept thirteen Months in Priſon; and for not complying with a formal Recantation of his Speech, all his Petitions were rejected; when finding it in vain to apply longer to his Majeſty, he had recourſe to the King's Bench, whither he was brought by a *Habeas Corpus* on the 27th of *January* next enſuing, where Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Wallop*, and Mr. *Smith*, his Council, argued that the Court ought to relieve him; and the Earl ſpoke himſelf with great Reaſon and Eloquence for the Liberty of the Subject and his own Diſcharge; yet the Judges deny'd him Redreſs, one of them declaring before the Cauſe was heard, *That the Court could not help him*; and being abſent when it came to a Hearing, deputed Judge *Jones* to ſpeak for him, that the Bench might be unanimous. So the Earl was remanded to Priſon, and ſtaid there till another Seſſion of Parliament, when his Application to an inferior Court was voted a Breach of Privilege by the Lords, for which the Earl was to anſwer his Contempt at the Bar of the Houſe. On the 22d of *February* he was accordingly brought to the Bar, where he offer'd to acknowledge his aſſerting the Diſſolution of the Parliament to be an unadviſed Action, and to beg their Lordſhip's Pardon for his Offence in bringing his *Habeas Corpus*. The Lord Treaſurer produced a Paper which one *Blaney* had deliver'd him, pretending to give Information of ſome Words ſpoken by the Lord *Shaftsbury* in the Court of King's Bench; yet *Blaney* being call'd into the Houſe, could not affirm that what was written in that Paper was really ſpoken by the Earl: Upon which the Lord Treaſurer drop'd the Matter, and the Houſe proceeded to a Reſolution, That the Lord *Shaftsbury* ſhould make his Submiſſion and Acknowledgement in a Form preſcribed by that Houſe. And accordingly a Declaration was prepared much to the ſame effect with what the Earl himſelf had before offer'd. The Lord Chancellor read the Words to him, and the Lord *Shaftsbury* kneeling repeated them at the Bar, and then withdrew. So the Houſe order'd the Lords with white Staffs to acquaint his Majeſty, that they had receiv'd Satisfaction from the Earl of *Shaftsbury* in the matter of the *Habeas Corpus*, and the other Contempt, and prayed him to diſcharge the Earl from his Confinement; which was done.

Earl of *Shaftsbury* kept Priſoner in the *Tower*.

Submits, and is diſcharg'd.

Honours and Preferments.

In Places and Honours there was no conſiderable alteration. On *April* 26. the Lord Biſhop of *Durham* was ſworn one of the Lord's of his Majeſty's Privy Council. The Honour of Knighthood was conferr'd (as had been of late uſual) on the two Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, Sir *John Peak* and Sir *Thomas Stamp*. And on *October* 28 their Majeſties accompanied by their Royal Highneſſes, and the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Anne*, and attended by many of the principal Nobility and other Perſons of Quality, were pleaſed to accept of an humble Invitation from the City, and to Honour the new Lord Mayor, Sir *Thomas Davis*, with their Preſence, firſt at the Show in *Cheapſide*, and afterwards in the *Guild-Hall* at Dinner, where the Entertainment was great and magnificent in all kinds, very much to the Satisfaction of their Majeſties and the whole Court. On *February* 21. Sir *Thomas Doleman*, Knight, was ſworn one of the Clerks of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council in the room of Sir *Edward Walker*.

Progreſs of the Treaty at *Nimeguen*.

The Treaty of *Nimeguen* went on very ſlowly; Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, the two *Engliſh* Mediators, arrived at the Place in *July*, but they found there only two of the Parties concern'd, *viz.* the *French* and *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries. The former of which were exceeding eager to ſet the Negotiation on foot, and betray'd their Deſign of procuring a ſeparate Peace if poſſible with *Holland*; for which they had made their Application both to the Prince of *Orange* and to Penſionary *Fagel*, tho' with little hopes of Succeſs[a]. The other Allies took as many occaſions as they could of delaying the Diſpatch of their Miniſters to the Congreſs, that they might ſee the Effect of this Campaign, that they might then be the better able to take their Meaſures for the Conditions of a general Peace. Hence, about the end of *September*, the *French* Ambaſſadors gave the Mediators notice that their Maſter having made ſo many Advances towards a Peace, but having been ſo ill ſeconded by the Proceedings of the Confederates, and obſerving their ſlowneſs in coming to the Treaty, he was reſolved to recal his Ambaſſadors, unleſs the Allies ſhould ſend their reſpective Miniſters to the place of Treaty within the ſpace of one Month; tho', after all, the Count *Kinkski*, the ſecond Perſon in the Imperial Embaſſy, whether through real Indiſpoſition, or under pretence thereof is uncertain, ſtaid at *Cologne* till the New-Year began, and neither of his Collegues came in many Months after, without one of which, to wit, the Biſhop of *Gurck*, the firſt in Commiſſion, Count *Kinkski*, had no Power to agree on any thing farther than Preliminaries.

Campaign abroad.

In the mean time the Campaign began with ſufficient Glory to the *French*, for before the middle of *April* the Mareſchal *Crequi* inveſted the Town of *Conde* with 16000 Men. This haſten'd the Prince of *Orange*'s March from *Roſendale* to join the *Spaniſh* General, the Duke *De Villa-Hermoſa*, which he did at *Cambron* on *April* 26. but the *French* King, and his Brother the Duke of *Orleans*, with a Reinforcement of 10000 Men, came before *Conde*, and order'd the Town to be ſo furiouſly batter'd and ſtorm'd on every Side, that the Garriſon was forc'd to ſurrender at Diſcretion, tho' the Prince of *Orange* was march'd as far as *Granville*, in order to relieve them. After this the *French* ſat down before *Bouchain*, a ſmall ſtrong Town between *Cambray* and *Valenciennes*, and keeping the Communication between thoſe two Places, which in a ſhort time was likewiſe ſurrender'd to them; and then the *French* King, who had made a ſhew of commanding his Army in Perſon, in the beginning of *June* return'd to *Paris*, leaving the Command of his Army in the *Netherlands* to the famous Mareſchal *Schomberg*.

Siege of *Maeſtricht*.

The Prince of *Orange* having inveſted *Maeſtricht*, reſolved about the End of *July* to lay a formal Siege to it, it being the only Town of the *Dutch* Provinces remaining in the *French* Hands, and fortified by them with all the Advantages of Art and Expence, having a Gariſon of 8000 choſen Men under a daring Commander Monſieur *Calvo*: This Siege was carried on with great Bravery, and many deſperate Aſſaults. About the middle of *Auguſt*, as the Prince of *Orange* expoſing himſelf upon all occaſions, receiv'd a Muſket ſhot in his Arm, at

[a] Dr. *Cary*, a Commoner, was brought to the Bar of the Lords, and queſtion'd concerning a written Book, which he had carried to be printed, treating of the Illegality of the laſt Prorogation; and becauſe he ſatiſfied them not in ſome Interrogatories, they fin'd him one thouſand Pounds, and committed him to the *Tower*.

which,

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which, perceiving that thoſe who were about him were daunted, he immediately pull'd off his Hat with that Arm that was hurt, and waved it about his Head [a], to ſhew the Wound was but in the Fleſh, and the Bone ſafe; at which they all revived, and the Prince went on without Interruption in all the Paces of the Siege; but there were two principal Reaſons why the Prince could not maſter the Place; for firſt, the River was grown ſo ſhallow, that he was forc'd to ſtay ſome Days for his heavy Artillery from *Ruremond* for want of Water; then the Forces which he expected from the Biſhop of *Munſter* and Princes of *Lunenburgh*, never came to his Aſſiſtance; to which if we add, that a cruel Sickneſs fell into his Army, which weaken'd it more than all the Aſſaults they had made upon the Town; it's no wonder it could not be carried, for this not only gave Monſieur *Schomberg* an opportunity to beſiege and take *Aire*, but Encouragement to march even thro' the Heart of the *Spaniſh* Low-Countries, to the Relief of *Maeſtricht*: Upon whoſe Approach it was agreed in a Council of War, that the Siege ſhould be raiſed, with which the Campaign ended in the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Provinces.

The Prince of *Orange* againſt a ſeparate Peace.

The Campaign being over, all Parties began to turn their Thoughts towards the Motions of the Treaty of Peace, and the Prince of *Orange* not at all ſatisfied with the dilatory Conduct of the Emperor and *German* Princes, and the King of *Spain*, was by Penſionary *Fagel* adviſed of the Neceſſity of making a ſeparate Peace, if no other could be obtain'd. Sir *William Temple* had ſeveral Conferences with the Prince upon this Subject, and told him one Day, that Penſionary *Fagel*, in a Diſcourſe with him, was of opinion that nothing elſe could be done but to make a ſeparate Peace, and that he knew not a Man in *Holland* who was not of his Mind. [b] The Prince here interrupting him, ſaid, “Yes, I am ſure “I know one, and that is my ſelf, and I'll hinder “it as long as I can; but if any thing ſhould hap-“pen to me, I know it would be done in two “Days. Then the Ambaſſador ask'd him, whether he was of the Penſionary's Mind as to what he thought likely to happen the next Campaign? He ſaid, “The Appearances were ill, but that “Campaigns did not always end as they began, “that Accidents might happen which no Man “could foreſee, and that if they came to one fair “Battle, none could anſwer for the Event; that “the King of *England* might make the Peace, if “he pleaſed, before it began; but if we were ſo “indifferent as to let that Seaſon paſs, for his part, “he was obliged to go on and take his Fortune: “That he had that very Morning ſeen a poor old “Man tugging alone in a little Boat with his Oars “againſt the Eddy of a Stream upon a Canal, that “when with the laſt Efforts he was juſt got up to “the Place intended, the Force of the Eddy car-“ried him quite back again, and thus three or four “times while the Prince ſaw him; and concluded “that this old Man's Buſineſs and his were too like “one another, and that we ought however to do “juſt as the old Man did, without knowing what “would ſucceed, any more than what did in the “poor Man's Caſe.

State of Religion.

As to the Affairs of Religion, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by direction from the Court, took care to be inform'd of the Strength and Number of Friends and Enemies of the Church of *England*, by ordering an Inquiry to be made in every Dioceſs of the Number of Church Communicants, Popiſh Recuſants and Proteſtant Diſſenters in every Pariſh. And Returns were generally made from every Dioceſe, by Account taken about the time of the *Eaſter* Viſitation.

Dangers of Popery.

The Dangers of Popery were indeed more viſible and more ſcandalous every Day; and tho' the Intermiſſions of a Sitting Parliament [c] gave Impunity and Connivance to the Prieſts and Jeſuits, yet Complaints were publickly made to the King and Council, who particularly in *October* were “inform-“ed of the bold and open repair made to ſeveral “Places, and eſpecially to her Majeſty's Chapel at “*Somerſet-Houſe*, and the Houſes of Foreign Am-“baſſadors, Agents, and other publick Miniſters, “for the hearing of Maſs, and other Worſhip and “Service of the *Romiſh* Church, and that the ſaid “Ambaſſadors, Agents and Miniſters, do permit “and ſuffer both daily Maſſes to be ſaid and other “Worſhip and Service to be performed in their “Houſes in a publick manner, by *Engliſh*, *Scottiſh* “and *Iriſh* Prieſts, and alſo Sermons in *Engliſh*, to “be preached in their ſaid Houſes and Chapels, “which the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom “do expreſly forbid the King's Subjects to frequent “or do.

Complaints in Council.

Hence in Council held *October* 3. an Order was publiſhed, declaring, “That his Majeſty had “taken the ſaid Complaint into ſerious Conſidera-“tion; and being ſenſible thereof as a Matter high-“ly tending to the Violation of the Laws of the “Realm, and the Scandal of Religion and Govern-“ment, and Breach of good Order, and in his “Princely Wiſdom weighing the dangerous Con-“ſequence thereof, was reſolv'd to take ſtrict Or-“der for the ſtopping this Evil before it ſpread “any farther; his Majeſty therefore, by the Ad-“vice of his Council, forbids any of his ſaid Sub-“jects hereafter to offend in the like kind at their “utmoſt Perils, and likewiſe orders that his princi-“pal Secretaries of State ſhould repair to the Fo-“reign Miniſters, to make known unto them his “Majeſty's Pleaſure, and to expect their Compli-“ance that they would not permit Maſſes or other “Service to be ſaid by any of the ſaid Prieſts, or “Sermons to be preached in *Engliſh* in their Houſes “or Chapels, things never heard of or attempted “by any precedent Ambaſſadors or Agents here. “His Majeſty thinking fit that notice ſhould be “firſt given to the ſaid publick Miniſters (the ra-“ther to teſtify his Reſpects unto them) before the “ſtricter Courſe his Majeſty hath reſolv'd be taken “with his own Subjects, by a vigorous Proſecution

[a] This call'd to mind the Character that the Prince of *Condé*, the *French* General, had given of the young Prince of *Orange*, General of the Confederate Army, after the Battle of *Seneffe*; that *he had done like an old Captain in all, but only in venturing himſelf too much like a young Man.*

[b] See the noble Letter of *Denzil* Lord *Holles*, who had been Ambaſſador in *France* to Monſieur *Van Benninghen*, who had been the *Dutch* Ambaſſador in *England*, written within this Year 1676. upon the Argument of Love to our Country, and Hatred of a common Enemy; ſhewing, that an implacable Malice to the Proteſtant Intereſt hath had a principal Hand in the Effects *Europe* is now groaning under; that the Danger is equal to *England* and *Holland* from *France* the common Enemy; that the only hope is, the Parliament and People of *England* have ſtill a true Affection to the States of *Holland*, and will unite to maintain the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Europe*, &c. Printed in *4to.* and re-publiſh'd in the Memoirs of the Family of *Holles*; the Writer whereof well obſerves, that this Letter ought to be ſet in Golden Characters, and preſerved to all Poſterity.

[c] See the ſeveral Letters of Monſ. S. *Germain* to Mr. *Coleman* for proſecuting the Cauſe and Intereſts, and growing Hopes of the Catholicks in *England*, dated *April* 3. 1676. *Aug.* 5. *Aug.* 16. *&c.* *Collection of Letters*, publiſh'd by Order. Vol. ii. p. 111, *&c.*

The Papiſts began to engage their Prieſts in publick *Conferences* with our Divines in and about the Court. See a *Conference* about Religion, held in *London April* 3. 1676. between *Edward Stillingfleet*, D. D. and *Gilbert Burnet*, with ſome Gentlemen of the Church of *Rome*, in a Letter to my Lady T. dated, *London*, *April* 15. 1676. 8*vo.*

They were as ſpiteful againſt Dr. *Andrew Sall*, a Convert from Popery in this Year, as they had been in the laſt againſt Meſſieurs *Luzancy* and *de la Motte*. See *True Catholick* and Apoſtolick Faith maintain'd in the Church of *England* by *Andrew Sall*, Doctor in Divinity, being a Reply to ſeveral Books, under the Names of *J. E.* *N. N.* and *J. S.* againſt his Declaration for the Church of *England*, and againſt his Motives for his Separation from the *Roman* Church. Licenc'd at *Oxon*, *June* 23. 1676. *4to.*

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" and Infliction of Penalties and Puniſhments for " the preventing and repreſſing the like hereafter.

Eccleſiaſtical Preferments.

His Majeſty was pleaſed to tranſlate Dr. *Anthony Sparrow*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, to the See of *Norwich*, and to make choice of the Reverend Dr. *Thomas Lamplugh*, Dean of *Rocheſter*, to ſucceed in the Biſhoprick of *Exeter*, who on *Sunday November* 12. was ſolemnly conſecrated in the Chapel of *Lambeth* by the Right Reverend *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*, his Grace's Commiſſioner for that purpoſe, aſſiſted by ſeveral other Biſhops, in the Preſence of many of the chiefeſt of the Nobility and other Perſons of Quality, who were afterwards entertained at a noble Dinner.

Caſe of the Diſſenters by their own Report.

The Diſſenters by favour of the Court had Indulgence and Kindneſs ſhewn to them, after ſome little Offers at a legal Proſecution of them; as their own Hiſtory thus relates. " Mr. *Baxter* having " been kept a whole Year from preaching in his " new Chapel, in *Apr. 1676.* began in another in " St. *Martin*'s Pariſh; a little before the King im- " *portunately commanded and urg'd the Judges and* " *London Juſtices to put the Laws againſt the Non-* " *conformiſts in Execution, and Sir Joſeph Sheldon* " *the Lord Mayor, the* Archbiſhop's near Kinſ- " man, accordingly did ſo for ſome time, and many " Miniſters were clapt up in Goals; Mr. *Baxter* " was forcibly kept out of his new Meeting-Houſe " in *Swallow-Street*, by a Guard of Conſtables and " Officers, for many Lord's-Days together. But " Mr. *Wadſworth* dying, he preach'd to his Flock " in *Southwark* many Months in Peace, no Juſtice " being willing to diſturb them; and when Dr. " *Lloyd* ſucceeded Dr. *Lamplugh* in St. *Martin*'s " Pariſh, he offer'd him his Chapel in *Oxenden-* " *Street* for publick Worſhip, and he accepted it. This latter part of the Relation, as to the Offer of a Chapel, is known to be very falſe.

1677.

Parliament inclin'd to a War with *France*.

The Parliament were now ſitting; and to encourage the King to a ſeaſonable Breach with *France*, they gave him an effectual Aid for the ſpeedy building of thirty Ships of War, and had before them many other Bills for the Honour and Safety of the Nation*. His Majeſty ſeem'd to be afraid of their ſitting too long, and making too bold with the great depending Affair of Peace and War, which his Majeſty at this Juncture above all other had Reaſon to reſerve to his own Will and Pleaſure. And therefore on *Monday April* 16. his Majeſty came ſuddenly in the Evening into the Houſe of Lords; and being ſeated in his Throne with uſual Solemnity, he ſent for the Houſe of Commons, and gave his Royal Aſſent to ſeveral Bills preſented to him. The publick Acts were as follow:

Acts paſſed.

1\. " An Act for raiſing the Sum of five hundred " eighty four thouſand nine hundred ſeventy eight " Pounds two Shillings and two Pence Half-penny, " for the ſpeedy building thirty Ships of War.

2\. " An Act for an Additional Exciſe upon Beer, " Ale, and other Liquors for three Years.

3\. " An Act for the better Obſervation of the " Lord's-Day, commonly called *Sunday*.

4\. " An Act for prevention of Frauds and Per- " juries.

5\. " An Act for taking of Affidavits in the " Country, and to be made uſe of in the Courts " of *King's-Bench*, *Common-Pleas* and *Exchequer*.

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6\. " An Act for confirming and perpetuating " Augmentations made by Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to " ſmall Vicarages and Curacies.

7\. " An Act for taking away the Writ *De Hæretico Comburendo*.

8\. " An Act for Naturalizing of Children of his " Majeſty's *Engliſh* Subjects born in Foreign Coun- " tries during the late Troubles.

9\. " An Act for erecting a Judicature to deter- " mine Differences touching Houſes burnt and de- " moliſhed by the late dreadful Fire in *Southwark*.

10\. " An Act for the better Repairing and Main- " taining the Peer of *Great Yarmouth*.

After which, the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, acquainted the two Houſes, that his Majeſty gave them leave to adjourn till the 21st of *May* next: And accordingly the two Houſes adjourned till that time.

The Commons Addreſs for a War with *France*.

When they met again, the Commons were ſo alarm'd at the Progreſs of the *French* Arms in *Flanders*, that they preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty on the 23d of *May*, humbly deſiring, that *he would be pleaſed to enter into an Offenſive and Defenſive League with the States-General of the* United Provinces, *and make ſuch other Alliances with other Confederates, as his Majeſty ſhould think fit, againſt the Growth and Power of the* French King, *for the Preſervation of the* Spaniſh Netherlands. Upon Delivery of this Addreſs, the King grew very angry, and ſignified his Pleaſure to the Commons, that they ſhould attend him on *Monday* Morning in the *Banquetting-Houſe* at *Whitehall*, where his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſhew his Reſentment in this following Speech:

Gentlemen,

The K. expreſſes his Anger.

" COuld I have been ſilent, I would rather have " choſen to be ſo, than to call to mind " things ſo unfit for you to meddle with as are " contained in ſome parts of your laſt Addreſs, " wherein you have intrenched upon ſo undoubted " a Right of the Crown, that I am confident it " will appear in no Age (when the Sword was not " drawn) that the Prerogative of making Peace " and War hath been ſo dangerouſly invaded.

" You do not content your ſelves with deſiring " me to enter into ſuch Leagues as may be for the " Safety of the Kingdom, but you tell me what " ſort of Leagues they muſt be, and with whom, " and (as your Addreſs is worded) it is more liable " to be underſtood to be by your Leave than at " your Requeſt, that I ſhould make ſuch other " Alliances as I pleaſe with other of the Confede- " rates.

" Should I ſuffer this fundamental Power of " making Peace and War to be ſo far invaded (tho' " but once) as to have the Manner and Circum- " ſtances of Leagues preſcribed to me by Parlia- " ment; it's plain that no Prince or State would " any longer believe that the Sovereignty of *Eng-* " *land* reſts in the Crown; nor could I think my " ſelf to ſignify any more to Foreign Princes than " the empty Sound of a King: Wherefore you

* See a Bill engroſſed, and ready for his Majeſty's Royal Aſſent, to grant full Liberties and Immunities to all ſuch Proteſtant Foreigners as ſhall reſide here and conform themſelves to the Church of *England*: *Factum for the Proteſtants of the* French *Church in the* Savoy. *Fol.*

See 1. Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King on *Monday March* 26. 1677. renewing their Apprehenſions of Danger from the Growth of Popery and of Power in the *French* King. 2. His Majeſty's Anſwer to the late Addreſs of the Commons, deliver'd to them *April* 11. 1677. 3. Debates upon his Majeſty's Anſwer. 4. The humble Repreſentation of the Commons, on his Majeſty's Meſſage of *April* 13. 5. The King's Meſſage to the Commons *April* 16. and the Commons Anſwer to it, in *Marvell's* Growth of Popery. *4to.* p. 108. who tells us, that after the Receſs, *April* 16. there landed immediately the Duke of *Crequay*, the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, Monſieur *Barillon*, and a Train of three or four hundred Perſons of all Qualities: So that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of *France*, with ſo many of their Commons, meeting the King at *New-Market*, it look'd like another Parliament, p. 120. And that toward the End of the Seſſion, *Saturday May* 26. upon carrying up the *Bill for* recalling his Majeſty's Subjects out of the *French* King's Service, Mr. *Powle* was to put the Lords in mind of a *Bill for the better ſuppreſſing the Growth of Popery*;—and the Members generally ſaid they would proceed on nothing but *French* and *Popery*. Ib. p. 147.

" may

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"may reſt aſſured, that no Condition ſhall make "me depart from, or leſſen ſo eſſential a part of "the Monarchy: And I am willing to believe ſo "well of this Houſe of Commons, that I am con- "fident theſe ill Conſequences are not intended by "you.

"Theſe are, in ſhort, the Reaſons why I can "by no means approve of your Addreſs: And yet "tho' you have declined to grant me that Supply "which is ſo neceſſary to the Ends of it, I do a- "gain declare to you, That as I have done all that "lay in my Power ſince your laſt Meeting, ſo I "will ſtill apply myſelf, by all the means I can, to "let the World ſee my Care both for the Security "and Satiſfaction of my People, altho' it may not "be with thoſe Advantages to them which by your "Aſſiſtances I might have procured." And his Ma- jeſty was farther pleaſed to declare his Pleaſure to them, that the Houſe ſhould be adjourned till the 16th of *July* next; telling them, he would give them Notice by his Proclamation when his Majeſty intended they ſhould ſit again; which his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay ſhould not be till the Winter, unleſs there were ſome extraordinary Occaſion of calling them ſooner. A late Hiſtorian has thus expreſs'd himſelf on this Occaſion, "The King, to "ſhew his farther [a] Indignation to the Commons, "and to take *French* Counſels for Reparation of "their dangerous Invaſion of his Prerogative, ſig- "nified to the Commons that they ſhould adjourn "till the 16th of *July* following; which was ſo "abſolutely obeyed by the Speaker, then Mr. but "now Sir *E. S.* that without the Conſent of the "Houſe, or ſo much as putting the Queſtion, he "adjourned them to the 16th of *July*, tho' Sir *John* "*Finch* was impeached, for the ſame thing, of "High Treaſon in Parliament in 1640. So that "if the Parliament were not diſſolved by the laſt "Prorogation, another Queſtion may now ariſe "whether it was not ſo by their Separation, with- "out either Prorogation or Adjournment.

The legal Being of the Parl. queſtion'd without Doors.

Among the Proceedings in this Seſſion, it ſhould be farther obſerved, that a Queſtion was made without Doors (as had been formerly within) whether the Parliament were not truly and legally diſſolved. But to reſtrain and terrify People from any ſuch Freedom of Diſcourſe, an Order was made in the Houſe of Lords [b], *That the Serjeant at Arms attending that Houſe ſhould take into his Cuſtody* Aaron Smith, *and bring him to the Bar of the ſaid Houſe, there to anſwer for ſpeaking certain dangerous and ſeditious Words againſt the Being of this preſent Parliament.* And Mr. *Smith* prudently abſconding, they preſented their humble Deſires to his Majeſty, That *he would by his Royal Proclamation ſtrictly charge and command, that the utmoſt and moſt effectual Endeavours ſhould be uſed for apprehending the Perſon of the ſaid* Aaron Smith, *and bring him before the ſaid Houſe of Peers (if the Parliament ſhould be ſitting at the time of his Apprehenſion) or in caſe the Parliament ſhould not be then ſitting, before one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, to the intent the ſaid* Aaron Smith *might be ſecured, in order to his appearance before the ſaid Houſe of Peers, to anſwer for his ſaid Offence.* To which his Majeſty comply'd by a Proclamation given at *Whitehall* on *June* 1.

The K. commands the Houſes to adjourn.

On *Monday July* 16. the two Houſes of Parliament, purſuant to their laſt Adjournment, met at *Weſtminſter*, and, according to his Majeſty's Pleaſure ſignify'd to them, did immediately adjourn again till the 3d of *December* next. This Pleaſure of his Majeſty was ſignify'd in the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*; and in great Submiſſion to it, Mr. *Speaker* is ſaid again to have pronounced the Adjournment by his own Authority. On *Octob.* 26. the King publiſh'd a Proclamation, *That he had by Advice of his Privy Council, upon weighty Conſiderations, reſolved upon a farther Adjournment of his two Houſes of Parliament; and therefore declares his Royal Intention, that his Houſe of Peers may adjourn themſelves, and alſo his Houſe of Commons may adjourn themſelves, on the third Day of* December *(being the Day prefixed for their Aſſembling) until the fourth Day of* April *next enſuing.* But however, at the time of Meeting, on *Monday December* the third, the two Houſes [c] *received a Meſſage from his Majeſty, that his Majeſty having given notice by his Proclamation, that he intended the Houſes ſhould be adjourned till the fourth of* April; *had now, for weighty Conſiderations, thought fit to meet both Houſes ſooner: And therefore his Pleaſure was, That they ſhould be adjourned to the fifteenth of* January *next.* And accordingly the two Houſes were ſo adjourn'd, Mr. *Secretary Coventry* delivering the Meſſage in the Houſe of Commons, and the Speaker again executing of it, in a profound Deference to his Majeſty's Pleaſure. Upon which, the forementioned Hiſtorian has left this Remark: "Thus did the Speaker make a threefold Invaſion "upon the Privilege of the Houſe, for the Houſe's "once preſuming to invade his Majeſty's Preroga- "tive of making War and Peace. After this laſt Receſs of the two Houſes, his Majeſty by Proclamation dated *Dec.* 7. declared himſelf *deſirous, in reſpect of ſeveral important Matters intended to be debated and conſidered, to have on the ſaid fifteenth Day of* January *a full Aſſembly of the Members of both Houſes of Parliament; and therefore, with the Advice of his Privy Council, thinks fit to require and command the Lords and Commons to give their Attendance at* Weſtminſter *on the ſaid Day, in a ready Conformity to his Royal Will and Pleaſure.*

Happy Match of the Prince of Orange with the Lady Mary.

In the mean time came on the happy Match between *William* Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary* eldeſt Daughter of *James* Duke of *York*. The firſt

[a] Mr. *Briſbane*, our Agent in *Paris*, wrote word to the Lord Treaſurer, dated, *Paris, June* 25, 1673.——They think here the King almoſt at War with the Parliament, and I am ſure would not have them concur in any thing they think, or ſay at leaſt, that the Perſonal Friendſhip between our Princes is ſuch, that our Maſter has no where elſe ſo good a Security for the Support of his Prerogative.—— The Addreſs and Adjournment have been very gladly received here. I am ſure they wiſh that all Breaches of that kind may be much wider than I hope they will ever ſee them, if there be a grain of common Senſe left among us. *Danby's Letter.*

[b] See private Debates in the Houſe of Commons in the Year 1677, in relation to a War with *France*, and an Alliance with *Holland*. Alſo learned Arguments by ſeveral worthy Members thereupon. Together with Speeches by King *Charles* II. to the Lords and Commons, with a Diſcourſe, ſhewing the abſolute Neceſſity of a War with *France* on this critical Juncture, in order to procure a laſting Peace at Home. *London*, 1702. *8vo.*

[c] Sir *William Temple* gives this Judgment of the Seſſion this Year: "The Lord *Shafiſbury* impatient at his Fall from ſo "great a Share of the Miniſtry, and hoping to retrieve a "Game he was forc'd to give over, had run deſperately in- "to the popular Humour, both in Parliament and City, of "cenſuring the Court, exclaiming againſt our Partiality to "*France*; but moſt of all againſt the Conduct of the preſent "Miniſtry. And Lord *Arlington* was ſo enrag'd at the Growth "of my Lord Treaſurer's Credit upon the Fall of his own, that "he fell in with the common Humour of the Parliament, in "fomenting thoſe Jealouſies and Practices in the Houſe of "Commons, which center'd in a Meaſure agreed among the "moſt conſiderable of them, *not to conſent to give the King* "*any Money whilſt the preſent Lord Treaſurer continued.* "Upon theſe Occaſions or Diſpoſitions they grew very high "in purſuing the Lord *Lauderdale*, the only Remainder of "the *Cabal* that had now any Credit left at Court; and they "preſſed the King very earneſtly to recall all the *Engliſh* "Troops in the *French* Service, tho' there was a greater "Number in the *Dutch*. But beſides, they fell into ſo great "Diſſenſions between the two Houſes, rais'd upon puncti- "lious Diſputes and Deductions of their ſeveral Privileges, "in oppoſition to one another, that about the End of *June* "the King prorogu'd them. *Temple's Memoirs*, II. p. 108.

1677. 29 Car. II. Motion of this Deſign was made by the Prince to Sir *William Temple* at the beginning of the Spring 1676; when being ready to take the Field, he told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador that he had a mind to have ſome Diſcourſe with him in private, [a] and appointed him a Time to meet in his Garden at *Hounſlair-dike*, where the Prince told Sir *William*, “ That he might “ eaſily believe, being the only Son left of his Fa- “ mily, he was often preſſed by his Friends to think “ of Marrying, and had Perſons propoſed to him as “ their ſeveral Humours led them; that for his own “ part, he knew it was a thing to be done at one “ time or another, but that he hitherto excuſed “ the thoughts of it, otherwiſe than in general, till “ the War was ended; that beſides his own Friends, “ the Deputies of the States began to preſs him “ more earneſtly every Day, and the more as they “ ſaw the War like to continue; and perhaps they “ had more Reaſon to do it than any others: That “ he had at laſt promiſed them he would more ſe- “ riouſly and particularly think of it, and ſo he had, “ and reſolved he would Marry; but that the Choice “ of a Perſon he thought more difficult: That he “ found himſelf inclined to no Propoſals that had “ been made him from *France* or *Germany*, nor “ indeed to any thing that had been mentioned up- “ on that Occaſion by any of his Friends, but that “ of *England*: That before he concluded to make “ any Paces that way, he was reſolved to have the “ Ambaſſador's Opinion upon two Points; but yet “ would not aſk it, unleſs he promiſed to anſwer “ him as a Friend, or at leaſt an indifferent Perſon, “ and not as the King's Ambaſſador. When he told him he ſhould be obey'd, he proceeded, and ſaid, “ That he would confeſs to him, that during “ the late War, neither the States, nor himſelf in “ particular, were without Application made to “ them from ſeveral Perſons, and conſiderable ones “ too in *England*, who would fain have engaged them “ to Head the Diſcontents that were raiſed by the “ Conduct of the Court in that whole War, which “ he knew was begun and carried on quite contrary “ to the Humour of the Nation, and might per- “ haps have proved very dangerous to the Crown “ if it had not ended as it did: That all thoſe Per- “ ſons who pretended to be much his Friends were “ extremely againſt any thought of his Marrying in “ *England*; and their Reaſons were, That he would “ loſe by that, all the Eſteem and Intereſt he had “ there, and be believed to have run wholly into “ the Diſpoſitions and Deſigns of the Court, which “ were generally thought ſo different from thoſe “ of the Nation, eſpecially upon the Point of Reli- “ gion: That his Friends there did not believe “ the Government could be long without ſome great “ Diſturbance, unleſs they changed their Meaſures, “ which was not eſteem'd very likely to be done. “ In the next Place he muſt be ſatisfied with the “ Perſon and Diſpoſition of the young Lady; for “ though the World might perhaps imagine, that “ a Prince need not be concern'd in thoſe Particu- “ lars, yet ſo far as he knew himſelf, he muſt de- “ clare, That no Circumſtances of Fortune or Inte- “ reſt would engage him, without an agreeable Per- “ ſon of good Humour and Diſpoſition: That he “ might perhaps be a Man not very eaſy for a Wife “ to live with; he was ſure he could not be eaſy “ to ſuch Wives as were generally in the Courts of “ the preſent Age: That if he ſhould meet with “ One that would give him Trouble at home, it “ was what he ſhould not be able to bear, for he “ was likely to have enough abroad: He muſt have “ a Wife eaſy and agreeable, which he thought “ chiefly depended upon a natural Diſpoſition and “ good Education. And therefore if the Ambaſſa- “ dor knew any thing in particular of the Lady “ *Mary*, in thoſe Points, he deſir'd to tell him “ freely. 1677. 29 Car. II.

The Ambaſſador anſwer'd his Highneſs, *That he was very glad to find he was reſolv'd to marry, as being what he owed his Family and his Friends; that he was much more pleaſed that his Inclinations led him to endeavour a Match in* England, *which would be much for his Intereſt and Honour: But as to the Character of the Lady* Mary, *he could ſay little to it, only he had often heard his Wife and Siſter ſpeak with all the Advantage imaginable, of what they could diſcern in a Princeſs ſo young, and more from what they had been told by the Governeſs, with whom they had a particular Friendſhip.* The Reſult of this Diſcourſe was, that the Prince wrote both to the King and the Duke to beg their Favour to him in it, and their Leave that he might go over into *England* at the end of the Campaign. The Prince was long diverted from this Inclination by his Fatigues in the Camp, and by the perplexity of the Affairs of *Europe*, and eſpecially by the ſuſpence of the Treaty at *Nimeguen*. The *French* were early in the Field Campaign abroad. this Year, and took *Valenciennes*, and *Cambray*, and St. *Omer*. The Prince of *Orange*, about the end of *July*, made an Attempt upon *Charleroy*; but fail'd in his intended Surprize of that Place: And now at laſt perceiving that there could be no ſtop put to the Fury of the *French* Arms, but by calling in the Aſſiſtance of *England*, he re-aſſum'd his Thoughts of Marriage, and ſent over Monſieur *Bentinck* (now Earl of *Portland*) into *England* to ſollicit that Affair, and to make way for the Prince's Journey thither. And ſo good Encouragement was given for his kind Reception, that on *Tueſday* the ninth Day of *October*, about Ten in the Morning, his Highneſs arrived at *Harwich*, accompany'd by a great many Perſons The Pr. *of Orange* comes into *England*. of the chiefeſt Quality in *Holland*. Here his Majeſty's Coaches met him, and carry'd him immediately to *New-market*, where he arriv'd at about Seven in the Evening, and was receiv'd by his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs with all the Marks of Affection and Eſteem. They invited His Reception. him often into Diſcourſes of Buſineſs, which they wonder'd to ſee him avoid, and induſtriouſly divert: So that the King commanded *Temple* to find the Reaſon of it; upon which the Prince frankly told him, *He was reſolv'd to ſee the young Princeſs before he enter'd upon any other Affair of Peace or War.* The King laughed at this piece of Nicety, but ſaid he would humour the Prince in it, and ſaid he would go ſome Days ſooner than he intended from *New-market*. And accordingly on *October* the 13th the King and whole Court return'd to *Whitehall*. The Prince, upon ſight of the Lady, was ſo well pleas'd with her Perſon and Temper, that he immediately made his Application to the King and Duke for their Conſent; by whom he was well received, and they allowed of it, but with this Condition, That the Terms of the Peace abroad might be firſt adjuſted between them. The Prince excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, *He muſt end this firſt Buſineſs before he began the other*. The King and the Duke were both poſitive in their Opinion, and the Prince as firm in his Reſolution, ſaying at laſt, that *his Allies, who are like to have hard Terms of Peace as things then ſtood, would be apt to believe that he had made this Match at their Coſt; and that for his part, he never could ſell his Honour for a Wife.* The Lord Treaſurer, and thoſe in the ſecret Miniſtry, did verily believe that the whole Buſineſs would break off upon this Punctilio: And Sir *William Temple* happening to go

[a] See *Memoirs* of Sir *William Temple*. P. II. Chap. II. p. 150.

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to his Highneſs after Supper, found him in the worſt Humour he had ever ſeen him, complaining, that *he repented he had ever come into* England, *and reſolved he would ſtay but two Days longer, and then would be gone, if the King perſiſted in his Reſolution of treating about the Peace before the Marriage was conſummate: But that before he went, the King muſt chooſe how they ſhould live together from thenceforward: He was ſure it muſt be either as the greateſt Friends, or as the greateſt Enemies*; deſiring Sir *William* to let his Majeſty know ſo much the next Morning, and give him an Account of what he ſhould ſay upon it. In purſuance of this, Sir *William Temple*, early in the Morning, acquainted the King with all that the Prince had ſaid the Night before, and the ill Conſequences of a Breach between them, conſidering the ill Humour of many of his Subjects upon our late Meaſures with *France*, and the Invitations made the Prince by ſeveral of them during the late War. The King gave great Attendance to what was ſaid, and anſwer'd, *Well, I never was yet deceived in judging of a Man's Honeſty by his Looks* (of which he gave ſome Examples;) *and if I am not miſtaken in the Prince's Face, he is the honeſteſt Man in the World, and I will truſt him, and he ſhall have his Wife*; *and you ſhall go immediately and tell my Brother ſo, and that it's a thing I am reſolved on.* Sir *William* having accordingly acquainted the Duke with it, he ſeemed at firſt a little ſurprized; but when the other had done, he ſaid, *The King ſhall be obey'd*; *and I ſhould be glad all his Subjects learn'd of me to obey him: I do tell him my Opinion freely upon any thing*; *but when that is done, and I know his Pleaſure upon it, I obey him.* From the Duke he went to the Prince, and told him the whole Tranſaction; which, at firſt, his Highneſs would hardly believe; but then embraced him, and ſaid, *He had made him a very happy Man, and that very unexpectedly.*

The King declares the intended Marriage

On *October* the 24th, in the Morning, his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare to the Lords of his Privy Council (who he had cauſed to meet extraordinarily for that purpoſe) that he had concluded a Marriage between her Highneſs the Lady *Mary* and his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*. Upon which their Lordſhips, about Three in the Afternoon, went in a Body to make their Complements firſt to the Lady, and afterwards to the Prince. The News of which being ſpread in the Town, was followed at Night with Bonfires, Ringing of Bells, and all other Demonſtrations of Joy. On *Sunday November* the 4th, being the Birth-day of the Prince, the Marriage was privately celebrated at *St. James*'s about Eleven at Night, by the Biſhop of *London*, in the Preſence of his Majeſty, (who gave the Bride) their Royal Highneſſes, and ſome of the chiefeſt Nobility.

Within a few Days after this auſpicious Wedding, the King, the Duke and the Prince, with none others admitted but the Lord Treaſurer and Sir *William Temple*, fell into Debates upon the Terms of a Peace, and after much diſputing did agree upon this Scheme, that all ſhould be reſtored by *France* to the Empire and Emperor, that had been taken in the War, the Dutchy of *Lorrain* to that Duke, and all on both ſides between *France* and *Holland*; and to *Spain* the Towns of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, *St. Giſlain* and *Binch*; that the Prince ſhould endeavour to procure the Conſent of *Spain*, and the King that of *France*; for which End he ſhould ſend ſome Perſon over immediately with the Propoſal, who ſhould be inſtructed to enter into no Reaſonings upon it, but demand a poſitive Anſwer in two Days, and after that Term immediately return. My Lord *Duras* [b], a Creature of the Duke's, was at laſt the Perſon pitch'd upon and ſent over: But he, after the delivery of his Meſſage, was prevailed with to ſtay longer than his time; and after all, came away without any poſitive Anſwer, and ſo the Buſineſs was left to be drawn out into many Meſſages from *England*, and prevaricating Returns from *France*, which at laſt dwindled into nothing. The Prince, after his Return to *Holland* [c], preſs'd the King by Letters not to recede from his late Engagements to him, of entering into the War with all the Confederates, in caſe of no direct and immediate Anſwer from *France*, upon the Terms of a Peace propoſed to that Court. But his Majeſty rather contented himſelf to ſend Mr. *Thynne* over into *Holland* with a Draught of an Alliance to be made with the *Dutch*, in order to force *France* and *Spain* into a Compliance with the Propoſitions agreed on; and to conſign the ſame into the Hands of Mr. *Hyde*, then at the *Hague*, which was done, and the Treaty ſign'd on the ſixteenth of *January*, tho' not without great Difficulties and much Diſſatisfaction on the part of the Prince of *Orange*, who was brought into it by the private Conſent of the *Spaniſh* Miniſter there, in behalf of his Maſter, ſo that the War could not break out but upon *France*, in caſe of their refuſal.

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A Scheme for General Peace.

Meeting of the Parliam.

Under theſe new Meaſures the King was diſpoſed to meet his Parliament ſooner than he had before declared his Intention of doing. On *January* 15. the two Houſes met at *Weſtminſter*, purſuant to their laſt Adjournment, and received this Meſſage from his Majeſty, *That his Majeſty had Matters of very great Importance to communicate to both Houſes, in order to the Satisfaction of their late Addreſſes for the Preſervation of* Flanders. *But it ſo happening, that Matters are not yet ſo ripe as within a few Days they will be*; *therefore his Majeſty's Pleaſure was, that they ſhould be immediately adjourn'd till* Monday *the*

[a] In Eccleſiaſtical Matters there had been a notable Caſe depending in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, whether a ſolemn Contract with one Perſon ſhould diſſolve a ſubſequent Marriage with another Perſon. The Caſe was ſtated thus: *John* Lord *Decies*, of the Age of eight Years, was married by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to *Katharine Fitz-Gerald* with the Conſent of her then Guardian, having compleated 12 Years and a half of her Age. She about 21 Months after the ſaid Marriage diſagreed to the ſame, and on *Eaſter Eve* laſt took to her pretended Huſband *Edward Villiers* Eſq; the ſaid Lord *Decies* being yet alive, notwithſtanding the Inhibitions of the Court of Arches. *Quære*, whether ſhe could avoid the firſt Marriage with the ſaid Lord *Decies*, or make Reclamation thereof? Sentence was given to this Effect; That the Promiſe or Contract between the Lady *Fitz-Gerald* and the Lord *Decies* being but a Contract *de Futuro*, and diſſolv'd by abſolute Contract of Marriage *de Præſenti*, conſummated with *Edward Villiers* Eſq;, the Rule of *Factum Valet* muſt hold good in this Caſe, and Priority of Promiſe muſt inevitably give place to Poſteriority of Contract, notwithſtanding the Statute 1 *Eliz.* ſtands unrepeal'd. See *Sponſa nondum Uxor*, or the Marriage between the Lady *Katharine Fitz-Gerald* and *Edward Villiers* Eſq;, aſſerted by *Robert Thompſon*, L. L. D. *Apr.* 21. 1677. Being an Anſwer to a Treatiſe publiſhed under the Name of *Dudley Loftus*, Dr. of Laws, and Judge of the Prerogative Court in *Ireland*. *London*, for *B. Tooke*, 1677. 4to.

[b] Lord *Duras* was on this occaſion made Earl of *Feverſham*. His Repulſe in *France* was good News in *Spain*. See a Letter of Sir *William Godolphin* to Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, dated, *Madrid*, *Jan.* 12. 167$\frac{7}{8}$. The rejecting in *France* of the Project for a Peace carried by the Earl of *Feverſham*, and our Maſter's retracting his Reſolution touching the Adjournment of the Parliament from *April* 4. to the 15th Inſtant, hath ſpread exceeding Conſolation among theſe People, &c.

[c] When the Prince and Princeſs embark'd for *Holland*, where Affairs preſſed his Return beyond the Hopes of my Lord *Duras* from *France*, the King aſſured the Prince he would never part from the leaſt Point of the Scheme ſent over, and would enter into the War againſt *France*, if they refus'd it. However, he went not away without a great Mortification, to ſee the Parliament prorogued to next Spring, which the *French* Ambaſſador had gain'd of the King to make up ſome good Mein with *France* after the Prince's Marriage, and before the Diſpatch of the Terms of a Peace to that Court. *Temple*'s Memoirs II. p. 302.

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twenty eighth of this Inſtant January. On that Day his Majeſty came into the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons, made this moſt gracious Speech to them on the occaſion of their Meeting.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech.

"WHEN we parted laſt I told you, that "before we met again I would do that "which ſhould be to your Satisfaction; I have "accordingly made ſuch Alliances with *Holland* "as are for the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and which "cannot fail of that End, unleſs prevented either "by the want of due Aſſiſtances to ſupport thoſe "Alliances, or by the ſmall regard the *Spaniards* "themſelves muſt have to their own Preſerva-"tion.

"The firſt of theſe I cannot ſuſpect, by reaſon "of your repeated Engagements to maintain them, "and I know you are ſo wiſe as to conſider, "that a War, which muſt be the neceſſary Conſe-"quence of them, ought neither to be proſecuted "by halves, nor to want ſuch Aſſurances of Per-"ſeverance as may give me Encouragement to pur-"ſue it; beſides, it will not be leſs neceſſary, to "let our Enemies have ſuch a Proſpect of our Re-"ſolutions, as may let them ſee certainly that we "ſhall not be weary of our Arms, till Chriſten-"dom be reſtored to ſuch a Peace as ſhall not be "in the Power of any Prince alone to diſturb.

"I do acknowledge to you, that I have uſed all "the means poſſible, by a Mediation, to have pro-"cured an honourable and ſafe Peace for Chriſten-"dom; knowing how preferable ſuch a Peace "would have been to any War, and eſpecially to "this Kingdom, which muſt neceſſarily own the "vaſt Benefits it has received by Peace, whilſt its "Neighbours only have yet ſmarted by the War. "But finding it no longer to be hop'd for by fair "Means, it ſhall not be my Fault if that be not "obtain'd by Force, which cannot be had any "other ways.

"For this Reaſon I have recalled my Troops "from *France*, and have conſider'd, that altho' "the *Dutch* ſhall do their Parts, we cannot have "leſs on ours than ninety Sail of Capital Ships con-"ſtantly maintained, nor leſs than thirty or forty "thouſand Land-men (with their Dependencies) "to be employ'd upon our Fleets and elſewhere. "And becauſe there ſhall be no fear of miſ-em-"ploying what you ſhall give to theſe Uſes, I am "contented that ſuch Money be appropriated to "thoſe Ends as ſtrictly as you can deſire. I have "given Teſtimony enough of my Care in that "kind by the Progreſs I have made in building the "new Ships, wherein, for the making them more "uſeful, I have directed ſuch larger Dimenſions as "will coſt me above one hundred thouſand Pounds "more than the Act allows. I have gone as far as "I could in repairing the old Fleet, and buying of "neceſſary Stores for the Navy and Ordnance; and "in this and other Proviſions, for better ſecuring "both my Foreign Plantations and the Iſlands nearer "home, I have expended a great deal more than "the two hundred thouſand Pounds you enabled "me to borrow upon the Exciſe, altho' I have not "found ſuch a Credit as I expected upon that Se-"curity. I have born the Charge both of a Re-"bellion in *Virginia*, and a new War with *Algiers*: "I ſtand engaged to the Prince of *Orange* for my "Nieces Portion, and I ſhall not be able to main-"tain my conſtant neceſſary Eſtabliſhments, unleſs "the new Impoſts upon Wines, *&c.* be continued "to me, which would otherwiſe turn only to their "Profit to whom we leaſt intend it.

"I hope theſe things will need little Recom-"mendation to you, when you conſider your Pro-"miſes in ſome, and the neceſſity of the reſt; and "to let you ſee that I have not only employ'd my "Time and Treaſure for your Safety, but done all "I could to remove all ſorts of Jealouſies; I have "marry'd my Niece to the Prince of *Orange*, by "which I hope I have given full Aſſurances that "I ſhall never ſuffer his Intereſt to be ruin'd, if I "can be aſſiſted, as I ought to be, to preſerve them.

"Having done all this, I expect from you a plen-"tiful Supply ſuitable to ſuch great Occaſions, "whereon depends not only the Honour, but (for "ought I know) the Being of an *Engliſh* Nation, "which will not be ſaved by finding Faults after-"wards, but may be prevented by avoiding the "chief Fault of doing weakly and by halves, what "can only be hop'd from a vigorous and thorough "Proſecution of what we undertake.

"Theſe Conſiderations are of the greateſt Im-"portance that ever concern'd this Kingdom, and "therefore I would have you enter immediately "upon them, without ſuffering any other Buſineſs "whatſoever to divert you from bringing them to "good Reſolutions.

Proceeding of the two Houſes.

The Commons returned to their own Houſe, and on *January* 31. addreſs'd the King with Thanks for marrying his Niece to the Prince of *Orange*, and beſought him to make no Treaty of Peace with *France*, whereby the *French* King ſhould be left in Poſſeſſion of any greater Power or Dominion than was left him by the *Pyrenean* Treaty [a]. This again mightily offended the King, who look'd upon it as too bold an Invaſion of his Prerogative: But however, the Commons would give no Money without an expreſs Condition of applying it to a Maintenance of a War with *France*; and being exceedingly more alarmed by the Succeſs of the *French* in taking of *Ghent* and beſieging *Ypres*, they fell into a Reſolution of Addreſſing the King, that *he would forthwith enter into an actual War with* France. Upon which this Meſſage from his Majeſty was read in the Houſe by one of the Secretaries of State.

Addreſs for War with *France*.

Charles R.

The King offended.

"HIS Majeſty having been acquainted with "the Votes of the fourteenth Inſtant, is "very much ſurpriz'd both with the Matter and "Manner of them. But if his Majeſty had Ex-"ception to neither, yet his Majeſty having ask'd

[a] The Parliament meets in *January* by Anticipation of that Seſſion which ſeem'd to import ſomething of great Conſequence. The King acquaints them with the League he had made in *Holland*, and aſks them Money upon it for putting himſelf in a Poſture to carry on the War, if the Peace failed; which the Parliament gave him upon the Hopes of the War, and not of the Peace. The Conſtitution of this Parliament, that had ſat ſeventeen Years, was grown into two known Factions, which were called that of *Court* and *Countrey*: The *Court Party* were grown numerous by a Practice introduced by my Lord *Clifford* of downright *buying off* one Man after another, as they could make the Bargain. The Countrey Party was ſomething greater yet in Number, and kept in more Credit upon the Corruption of others, and their own Pretence of Steadineſs to the true Intereſt of the Nation, eſpecially in the Points of *France* and Popery: When theſe came in Queſtion, the Court Party voted with thoſe of the Countrey, who then carried all before them: But whenever the Court ſeem'd to fall in with the true Intereſts of the Nation, eſpecially in thoſe two Points, then many of the Country Party meaning fairly, fell in with the Court, and carried the Votes, as they now did upon the King's Pretence, to grow bold with *France*, and to reſolve upon the War, if the Peace were refuſed. *Temple's Memoirs*, II. p. 309.

[b] Before the Parliament proceeded to addreſs the King upon his Speech, they debated of the 30th of *January* the Anniverſary Faſt, and then voted ſeventy thouſand Pounds for a ſolemn Burial of his late Majeſty King *Charles* I. and to erect a Monument for the ſaid Prince of Glorious Memory; the ſaid Sum to be raiſed by a two Months Tax, to begin at the Expiration of the preſent Tax for Building Ships. The firſt Motion in the Houſe of Commons by the Lord *O Brian*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Thomond*, and whoſe Son had lately married my Lord Treaſurer's Daughter, ſeem'd very ſurprizing.

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" the Advice of both Houſes, doth not think fit to " give any Anſwer to any thing of that Nature, till " he hath the concurrent Advice of both Houſes.

However, his Majeſty, to ſecure the Money Bill, came into the Houſe of Lords on *Wedneſday March* 20. and being ſeated on his Throne, with the Commons attending, he was pleaſed to give his Royal Aſſent to the two Acts following, as alſo to ſeveral private Acts.

Acts paſſed.

1. " An Act for raiſing Money by a Poll and o-" therwiſe, to enable his Majeſty to enter into an " actual War againſt the *French* King, and for pro-" hibiting ſeveral *French* Commodities.

" An Act for continuance of two former Acts, " for preventing of Theft and Rapine upon the " Northern Borders of *England*.

Honours and Preferments.

As to the Honours and Preferments of this Year, his Grace *Henry* Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and the Right Honourable *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, were inſtall'd Knights of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter at *Windſor*, on *Thurſday April* 19. in the room of *William* Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and *George* Earl of *Briſtol*. At the beginning of *Auguſt* the Duke of *Ormond* was again conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and began his Journey towards that Kingdom on *Aug*. 4. being attended with an Equipage agreeable to the Dignity of that Employment, and accompanied out of Town by moſt of the principal Nobility and Perſons of Quality, in a numerous Train of Coaches; and landing in *Ireland* on *Auguſt* 23. his Grace was the next Day conducted to the Council Chamber, where he was ſworn into that great Office, and received the Sword from the Earl of *Eſſex*, who ſoon after departed for *England*. On *October* 29. the King being invited to *Guild-Hall* upon the Solemnity of a new Lord Mayor, conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon Mr. *Edward Waldoe*, at whoſe Houſe his Majeſty was placed in a Belcony, under a Canopy of State, and afterwards upon *William Royſtern* and *Thomas Beckford*, the preſent Sheriffs. On *November* 23. his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the ſame Honour of Knighthood upon *Robert Hackett* Eſq; Inhabitant of the *Barbadoes*, being preſented to his Majeſty in his Bed-Chamber by his Royal Highneſs. On *January* 10. his Majeſty was pleaſed, in conſideration of the good and acceptable Services perform'd unto him and his Royal Father of bleſſed Memory by *George Wharton* Eſq; and of his Sufferings in the late Times of Uſurpation, to confer on him the Dignity of a Baronet of this Kingdom.

Birth and Death of the Duke of *Cambridge*.

Within five Days after the Marriage of the Prince of *Orange*, his future proſpect ſeem'd to be interrupted by the Delivery of the Dutcheſs of *York*, who on *Wedneſday November* 7. was brought to Bed of a Son, intituled Duke of *Cambridge*, who on *Thurſday* Afternoon [a] was Chriſten'd by the Biſhop of *Durham*, by the Name of *Charles*, his Majeſty and the Prince of *Orange* being Godfathers, and the Lady *Iſabel*, repreſented by the Lady *Frances Villars* her Governeſs, being Godmother; but on *December* 12. this young Prince died at *St. James's*, to the unſpeakable Grief of their Royal Highneſſes.

State of Religion.

As to the State of Religion, the Prophaneneſs of the Times was in ſome meaſure reform'd, by a wholſom and ſeaſonable Law *for the better obſervation and keeping holy the Lord's-Day, commonly call'd Sunday*; whereby it was Enacted, " That all the " Laws already in force, concerning the obſer-" vation of the *Lord's-Day*, and repairing to the " Church thereon, ſhould be carefully put in exe-" cution. And it was farther Enacted, " That no " Drover, Horſe-courſer, Waggoner, Butcher, " Higgler, their or either of their Servants, ſhall " Travel or come into their Inn or Lodging upon " the *Lord's-Day*, upon pain of forfeiting twenty " Shillings for every Offence: And that no Perſon " ſhall Uſe, Employ or Travel upon the *Lord's-*" *Day* with any Boat, Wherry, Lighter, or Barge, " except it be upon Extraordinary Occaſion, to be " allowed by ſome Juſtice of the Peace, under the " Penalty of Five Shillings for every Offence. It was likewiſe provided, " That if any Perſon Tra-" velling upon the *Lord's-Day* ſhall be then Robb'd, " no Hundred, or the Inhabitants thereof, ſhall be " charged with, or anſwerable for any Robbery ſo " committed; but the Perſon or Perſons ſo robbed, " ſhall be barred from bringing any Action for the " ſaid Robbery. And laſtly, That no Perſon, up-" upon the *Lord's-Day* ſhall ſerve or execute any " Writ, Proceſs, Warrant, Order, Judgment, or " Decree, (except in Caſes of Treaſon, Felony, or " breach of Peace) but that the Service of every " ſuch Writ, *&c.* ſhall be void to all Intents and " Purpoſes whatſoever; and the Perſon ſo ſerving " or executing of the ſame, ſhall be as liable to the " Suit of the Party grieved, and to anſwer Dama-" ges, as if he had done the ſame without any " Writ, *&c.*

Profaneneſs of the Times reform'd, by an *Act for the better Obſervation of the Lord's-Day.*

An Act for Relief of the poorer Clergy.

There was a good Benefit intended to the poorer Clergy, by an Act *for confirming and perpetuating Augmentations made by Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to ſmall Vicarages and Curacies, referring to his Majeſty's Letters, bearing Date the firſt Day of* June, *in the twelfth Year of his Majeſty's Reign, requiring Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, to take care for the Improvement of poor Vicarages and Curacies, where the Indowment thereof was found too ſmall to afford a competent Maintenance to thoſe who ſerve the Cure, upon their renewing of Leaſes of Rectories, or Tythes Impropriate, by making Reſervations beyond the antient Rent, to the intent the ſame might become payable to the ſame Vicars or Curates in Augmentation of their Endowments. But in regard that ſuch Reſervations were not made to the Vicars or Curates; or if they were, no convenient Remedy could be had by ſuch Vicars or Curates for the recovery thereof, and they were not at the time thereof capable of taking any Intereſt to their own uſe, whereby the ſaid Proviſions will depend upon the good pleaſure of the Succeſſors, and may in time be diſappointed,* Therefore it was Enacted, *That all Augmentations made ſince the firſt Day of* June, *or hereafter to be made for the Uſe or Benefit of any Vicar or Curate, by any Eccleſiaſtical Corporation or Perſon, by way of Reſervation out of any Rectory Impropriate, or Portion of Tythes, ſhall continue during the Eſtate upon which they are reſerved, and afterwards for ever. And that the ſaid Vicars and Curates ſhall have Remedy for the ſame either by Diſtreſs or Action of Debt, provided the Augmentation do not exceed one moiety of the clear Yearly Value of the Rectory Impropriate. And to the end the ſaid Vicars and Curates might the better make appear the Certainty of the ſaid Augmentations, it was Provided, That every Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Dean and Chapter, ſhould cauſe every Leaſe or Grant whereon any ſuch Augmentation was made, to be fairly entred in a Book of Parchment, to be kept by their reſpective Regiſter for that purpoſe, and a true Copy of the ſaid Entry examin'd and atteſted, ſhould*

[a] See a Letter of Sir *William Godolphin*, Ambaſſador in *Spain*, to Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, from *Madrid, Decemb.* 15. 1677.——I have celebrated with unſpeakable Joy the good News of my Lady *Mary*'s Marriage with the Prince of *Orange*, and the happy Birth of a young Prince to his Royal Highneſs, and to all our Hopes. Of this latter, many here have given me the *Enora Buena*; but I find them more perplexed than pleaſed at the Marriage, as too ſure a Bond of Union between the Royal Intereſts in *England*, and thoſe of the Prince in *Holland*, *&c.*

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be taken for a Record and Evidence at Law. And if any Queſtion ſhould ariſe, there ſhould be ſuch favourable Conſtructions and ſuch farther Remedy, as in Caſe of Charitable Uſes. And any future Leaſe, without expreſs continuance of the ſaid Augmentation, ſhall be utterly void.

An Act for taking away the Writ *de Hæretico Comburendo.*

Under the Apprehenſions of Popery, it was thought to be ſome wiſdom of Prevention, to make an Act for taking away the Writ *de Hæretico Comburendo*, whereby it was Enacted, *That the Writ commonly called* Breve de Hæretico Comburendo, *with all Proceſs and Proceedings thereupon, in order to the executing ſuch Writ, or following or depending thereupon, and all Puniſhment by Death, in purſuance of any Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, be from henceforth utterly taken away and aboliſhed.*

Marvel's Account of the Growth of Popery.

The Dangers of Popery, and the Advances of the Popiſh Intereſt at Court, were freely repreſented by Mr. *Andrew Marvel*, in a Tract Intituled, [a] *An Account of the growth of Popery*, &c. This Book was ſo offenſive to the Miniſtry, that at the end of this Year his Majeſty cauſed an Order to be publiſh'd, in theſe Words, *Whereas there have been lately printed and publiſh'd ſeveral ſeditious and ſcandalous Libels againſt the Proceedings of both Houſes of Parliament, and other his Majeſty's Courts of Juſtice, to the diſhonour of his Majeſty's Government, and the hazard of the publick Peace: Theſe are to give Notice, That what Perſon ſoever ſhall diſcover unto one of the Secretaries of State, the Printer, Publiſher, Author, or Hander to the Preſs of any of the ſaid Libels, ſo that full Evidence may be made thereof to a Jury, without mentioning the Informer, eſpecially one Libel intituled,* An Account of the growth of Popery, *&c.* [b] *And another call'd* A Seaſonable Argument to all the Grand-Juries, *&c. the Diſcoverer ſhall be rewarded as follows: He ſhall have have fifty Pounds for ſuch Diſcovery, as aforeſaid, of the Printer, or the Publiſher of it from the Preſs; and for the Hander of it to the Preſs, One Hundred Pounds*, &c.

Eccleſiaſtical Preferments.

Dr. *William Lucy*, Lord Biſhop of St. *David*'s, died on the 4th of *October*, and was buried in the Collegiate-Church of *Brecknock*, with a black Marble Monument, and a *Latin* Inſcription in Golden Letters; to whom ſucceeded Dr. *William Thomas*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, had for ſome Years retir'd from the Court, and from a Concern in all State Affairs, and lived for the moſt part in a Retirement at *Croydon*, where he died on *Friday*, *November* 9th, and his Body was privately interr'd in the Parochial-Church, near to the Tomb of Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, according to his own ſpecial Direction. Soon after, a ſtately Monument was erected over his Grave, by his Nephew and Heir Sir *Joſeph Sheldon*, late Lord-Mayor of *London*, with a large and elegant Inſcription on it. The King was under ſome difficulty to find a proper Succeſſor; but at laſt, by the Recommendation of his Brother the Duke of *York*, he reſolved upon Dr. *William Sancroft*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, as a Perſon of great Prudence and Moderation, and gave his *Conge d'Eſlire* and *Letter Miſſive* for him, on *January* the 7th, who was accordingly Conſecrated in the *Abbey-Church* of St. *Peter* at *Weſtminſter*, on *Sunday January* the 27th; at which Ceremony were preſent, and afterward were very nobly Entertained, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Privy-Seal, Duke of *Monmouth*, and many other of the principal Nobility.

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Convocation without Buſineſs.

The Convocation met occaſionally with this and every other Seſſion of Parliament: But ſince the reviſal of the Liturgy, and the Settlement of the Church by the *Act of Uniformity*, they had enter'd upon no manner of Buſineſs; nor had they thought it proper to attempt any thing by their own Authority, or to deſire any Royal Commiſſion for it; only thoſe Members who were near the Town, did, in purſuance of the Archbiſhop's Prorogation, aſſemble from time to time, upon *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, to ſay their Prayers, and then to entertain themſelves by ſome private Conferences with one another. However, to keep up the Dignity, and at leaſt the Being of a Convocation, whenever any Prolocutor died, or was promoted, the Lower Houſe, by the Archbiſhop's direction, choſe a Succeſſor: So now, Dr. *Sancroft*, Prolocutor, being confirmed in the See of *Canterbury* on *January* the 24th, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, who ſucceeded him in the Deanery of St. *Paul*'s, was likewiſe choſen Prolocutor, and confirmed on the 14th of *March*.

Care for Re-building the Church of S. *Paul*, *London*.

The Rebuilding of the Cathedral of St. *Paul* in *London* went on but very ſlowly; and therefore, to excite and encourage Benefactors, *A brief Account of all Receipts and Expences in the Work of St.* Paul's *Church*, was in *September* printed and publiſhed, *for the Satisfaction of ſuch Perſons as have contributed to the ſame, or ſhall hereafter promote ſo honourable a Building.*

Profaneneſs puniſh'd.

On *January* the 3d, the Earl of *Pembroke* was committed by his Majeſty's Command, to the *Tower* for Blaſphemy, abuſe of the Celebration of the Sacrament of the *Lord's-Supper*, and other his Miſdemeanors (altogether unfit to be named) towards the Lord *North*'s Chaplain, and others: But on the 30th of *January* he was releaſed from his Impriſonment, upon the Hearing of his Caſe in the Houſe of Lords, who upon the ſame declared and adjudged, That the ſingle Teſtimony (altho' upon Oath) of a Commoner, was not ſufficient Evidence againſt a Peer denying the Fact upon his Honour. His Lordſhip ſoon after fell under the Accuſation of Murder, for which he ſome time abſconded; but on *Tueſday April* the 2d, 1678. he ſurrender'd himſelf, at *Turnham-Green*, to Sir *Edward Carteret* Genteman-Uſher of the Black-Rod, who the ſame Evening convey'd him to the *Tower* of *London*, in order to his being brought to a Tryal before the Houſe of Peers, and on *Thurſday* following he was brought thither by Sir *John Robinſon* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and after Eight Hours ſpent in the Formalities of the Tryal, his Lordſhip was by the Votes of the major-part of the Peers there preſent declared *Not guilty of Murther*, but *guilty of Manſlaughter*; and had the benefit of his Peerage allowed him for the ſame by the Lord High Chancellor (who was High-Steward *pro hac Vice*) purſuant to the Privilege granted to the Nobility in this behalf for their firſt Offence, made in the firſt Year of the Reign of King *Edward* VI.

1678.

Approaches to a War with *France*.

The King began this Year, 1678, with ſome Teſtimony of his being willing to gratifie his Parliament, and his People by putting a ſtop to the Victories and Violences of the *French* King, and therefore he cauſed his Proclamation to be publiſh'd, *for recalling and prohibiting Seamen who were his Natural-born Subjects, from ſerving of Foreign Princes*; it being made appear, that the *French* Ships were in great part Mann'd by *Engliſh* Mariners. And

[a] An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in *England*, more particularly from the long Prorogation of *November* 1675. ending the *Feb.* 15. 1676. till the laſt Meeting of the Parliament the 16th of *July* 1677. *Amſterdam*, printed in the Year 1677. *4to.*

See a Liſt of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and Deans, appointed for the Church of *England* by a Bull of the Pope, bearing Date in *Novemb.* or *Decemb.* 1677. *Oates Narrative.* p. 50.

[b] At the ſame time a full Liberty was given to thoſe Books, which were written to divide the Proteſtants in *England*, and to break the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Europe*; of which kind were the *Countermine*, or a ſhort, but true Diſcovery of the dangerous Principles and ſecret Practices of the Diſſenting Party, eſpecially the Preſbyterians; ſhewing, that Religion is pretended, but Rebellion is intended; and in order thereto, the Foundation of Monarchy in the State, and Epiſcopacy in the Church, are undermined. By one who does paſſionately wiſh the Proſperity of the Church, his King and Country. [*i. e.* Dr. *John Nalſon.*] *Imprimatur April* 16. 1677. *London.* 8*vo.*

on

1678. 30 Car. II. on *March* 30th, as upon the Proſpect of a ſudden War, his Majeſty iſſued his Proclamation for a General Faſt to be obſerved on *Wedneſday April* the 10th, within *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and on *Wedneſday April* the 24th, throughout the reſt of the Kingdom, *for the Imploring a Bleſſing from Almighty God upon his Majeſty, and all his Dominions, and for the averting of thoſe Judgments, which our manifold Sins and Provocations have moſt juſtly deſerved.*

The Parliament more encliń'd than the King to ſuch a War. The Parliament were much more forward than the King to enter into a neceſſary War with *France*, for the Preſervation of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and for reſtoring the Ballance of *Europe*, and and ſhew'd their Zeal for it, in ſome Votes and Reſolutions that made the King uneaſie; and therefore on *Monday May* the 13th his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and after giving his Royal Aſſent to ſeveral private Acts, he was pleaſed to Command the [a] Lord Chancellor to prorogue the Parliament till *Thurſday* the 23d of this Month, and accordingly the Parliament was prorogued to that time; and then meeting again at *Weſtminſter*, his Majeſty came in his Robes, and the Commons attending, his Majeſty made a Gracious Speech to the two Houſes on the Subject of their meeting; which done, the Lord Chancellor more fully declared his Majeſty's Mind to them on this Occaſion. They met on *Monday May* 27th; the Commons being impatient of all farther delay in declaring War againſt *France*, came to this Reſolution, *That the Army lately raiſed, and now in being, was a great Charge and Burden to the Nation: That if his Majeſty thought fit to enter into a War againſt the* French *King, this Houſe is always ready to aſſiſt him in it, but if otherwiſe, they will proceed to the Conſideration of providing for the ſpeedy disbanding of the Army.* (Reſolutions of the Commons for a War.) Theſe Proceedings made the King more and more uneaſie; and at laſt, on *Monday July* 15th, his Majeſty brought this Seſſion to an end, after the giving his Royal Aſſent to the Publick Acts following, as well as to Twelve Private.

Acts paſſed.

1. "An Act for granting a Supply to his Majeſty, of ſix hundred nineteen thouſand three hundred eighty eight Pounds, eleven Shillings and nine Pence, for Disbanding the Army, and other Uſes therein mentioned.

2. "An Act for granting an additional Duty to his Majeſty, upon Wines, for three Years.

3. "An Act to enable Creditors to recover their Debt of the Executors and Adminiſtrators of Executors, in their own wrong.

4. "An Act for Burying in Woollen.

5. "An Act for Admeaſurement of Keels and Boats carrying Coals.

6. "An Act for reviving a former Act, entituled, *An Act for avoiding unneceſſary Suits and Delays*; and for continuance of one other Act, entituled, *An Act for the better ſettling of Inteſtates Eſtates.*

7. "An Act for the farther Relief and Diſcharge of poor diſtreſſed Priſoners for Debt.

8. "An Act for Repealing certain Words in a Clauſe in a former Act, entituled, *An Act for Enlarging and repairing of common High-ways.*

9. "An Act for Preſervation of Fiſhing, in the River of *Severne*.

After which, the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, acquainted the Two Houſes, *That his Majeſty had thought fit, in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs, to prorogue them to the firſt of* Auguſt *next, and ſo to keep them in Call by ſhort Prorogations, his Majeſty not knowing how ſoon he might have need of their farther Service and Aſſiſtance: But that his Majeſty's Intention was, they ſhould not meet till towards Winter, unleſs there were Occaſion for their Aſſembling ſooner, of which he would give them timely Notice by his Proclamation, and accordingly the Parliament was prorogued till the firſt Day of* Auguſt *next.* (Parliament prorogu'd.)

On *Thurſday* the 1ſt of *Auguſt* the Two Houſes met at *Weſtminſter*, and were, by Commiſſion, farther Prorogued till the 29th Inſtant, with a Declaration, "That it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, they ſhould at that time not only meet, but ſhould continue to ſit, for the Diſpatch of divers weighty Affairs. And accordingly a Proclamation was publiſh'd, to require the Attendance of the reſpective Members in a full Aſſembly, on the ſaid 29th of *Auguſt*. But for all this Aſſurance, his Majeſty publiſhed another Proclamation, declaring, *That having now taken into Conſideration, That the State of Affairs Abroad was much changed ſince his laſt Proclamation, he had now therefore thought fit, with the Advice of his Privy-Council, to ſignify his Royal Pleaſure, That the Two Houſes of Parliament ſhall upon the ſaid* 29th *of* Auguſt, *be farther prorogued to the firſt Day of* October *next; And that they ſhall then continue to ſit for the Diſpatch of divers weighty Matters, which ſhall be then propoſed and debated.* (Further Prorogation.)

Treaty of *Nimeguen*. In the mean time the Treaty of *Nimeguen* was managed with great Artifice by the *French*, and with too much Remiſſneſs and Negligence by moſt of the Confederates. The King of *France* about the beginning of *April* made a publick Declaration of the Terms upon which alone he was reſolved to make a General Peace: But it being diſhonourable and unſafe for the ſeveral Confederates to accept of them; and the *Dutch* finding the Councils of *England* to be uncertain, and being weary of a War that loſt their Trade, and drain'd their Treaſure, they re-aſſum'd their Inclinations to a Separate Peace. (*Dutch* inclin'd to a ſeparate Peace.) Under this Diſpoſition the King ſent over Sir *William Temple* once more to *Holland*, who conſulting

[a] Sir *William Temple* well underſtood the Diſpoſition of the Court and of our Affairs at this Meeting, and he thus repreſents them. "I adviś'd and ſaid, if his Majeſty reſolved to go that way, he muſt firſt take his Meaſures with the Parliament for the War, and then ſend them word in *Holland* he was ready to declare it, in caſe they would purſue it.—This the King was unwilling to do, but poſted Mr. *Godolphin* again into *Holland* about the beginning of *April* to know their final Reſolutions, and prorogued the Parliament for fourteen Days.——My Lord Treaſurer upon the twentieth came to me, and aſſured me of the King's Reſolution being at length fixed to go into the War, and deſired me to prepare what the King was to ſay to the Parliament upon this Occaſion, which I did. When I carried it to my Lord Treaſurer, I met there Letters from Mr. *Hyde* and *Godolphin*, that *Holland* abſolutely deſir'd the Peace even upon the Terms propoſed by *France*, and had reſolv'd to ſend Monſieur *Van Lewen* over hither to diſpoſe the King to be contented with them. He arriv'd, and the King ſent me immediately to know his Errand: He was the Chief of the Town of *Leyden*, and had join'd with *Amſterdam*, *Harlem*, *Delf*, and ſome others in promoting the Peace, even upon the *French* Conditions; but being a Man of great Honour and Worth, and having done it upon the Suſpicion that *England* was ſtill at bottom *in* with *France*, and that all the reſt was but Grimace, the Prince had procured him to be ſent over on purpoſe to ſatisfy himſelf (and thereby his Complices for the Peace) that the King's Intentions were determin'd to enter into the War, which his Highneſs thought the only Means to prevent the Peace.——He profeſſed to me in private, that if the King would immediately declare the War, he believed the States would ſtill go on with it, in purſuit of their Alliance and the Terms therein contained. I made this Report to the King, who ſeem'd poſitive to declare the War, in caſe the Parliament adviś'd him, and promiś'd to ſupport it; when an unluckly peeviſh Vote, mov'd by Sir *T*—*C*——, in ſpight to my Lord Treaſurer, paſſed the Houſe of Commons, that *no Money ſhould be given till Satisfaction was received in Matters of Religion.* This left all ſo looſe and ſo lame, that the King was in a Rage, reproach'd me with my popular Notions, and aſk'd me when, or how, I thought he could truſt the Houſe of Commons to carry him through the War, if he ſhould engage in it. *Memoirs* II. p. 319. From the Beginning of *May* the ill Humour of the Houſe of Commons began to break out by ſeveral Diſcourſes and Votes againſt the Miniſtry and their Conduct, which increaſed the ill Opinion his Majeſty had conceived of their Intentions in preſſing him to enter upon a War.——But *May* the 11th the Houſe of Commons paſſed another Negative upon the Debate of Money, which ſo offended the King, that he prorogued them for ten Days. *Ib.* p. 321.

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with the Prince of *Orange*, and the Chief Burgo-Maſters concluded a Treaty in ſix Days, whereby *France* was obliged within fourteen Days after the Date of it, to declare, That they would evacuate the *Spaniſh* Towns, or in Caſe of their Refuſal, *Holland* was engag'd to go on with the War, and *England* immediately to declare againſt *France*, in Conjunction with *Holland* and the reſt of the Confederates.

Siege of *Mons.*

In the mean time the City of *Mons*, one of the beſt Frontiers remaining to *Flanders*, was ſtrongly blocked up by the *French* Army under Command of the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who was ſo confident of the good Poſture he was in, that he ſent Word to the Mareſchal *D'Eſtrades*, one of the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*, *He was ſo poſted, That if he had but* 10000, *and the Prince of* Orange 40000, *yet he was ſure he could not be forced, much leſs while he took his Army to be much ſtronger than That of the Prince.* But however the Prince reſolved to break through all Diſadvantages whatever, and on *Sunday Auguſt* 17. decamped from *Soignes*, marched towards *Roches*, and from thence reſolv'd to advance to the Enemy, whoſe Right Wing was poſted at the Abby of St. *Dennis*, and the Left at *Mamoy St. Pierre*, with ſuch Advantage of Situation, that they thought themſelves inacceſſible; for beſides the Woods there was only a Precipice led to them, and that by narrow Paths. About 12 the Cannon began to play upon St. *Dennis*, and ſoon after the Confederate Dragoons behav'd themſelves ſo gallantly that they drove the *French* from their faſtneſs, and made themſelves Maſters of the Cloyſter; while Adjutant General *Collier* advanc'd towards the Abby, and paſſing his Battalions in a Defile thro' the narrow Paſſages, and ſliding down the Precipices with an invincible Reſolution, and after a vigorous Reſiſtance, made the *French* retire within their Lines. The Duke of *Monmouth* arrived in the Confederate Camp about Noon, and din'd with the Prince in the open Field; they were both preſent at the deſperate Attack upon the Abby after Dinner, animating the Soldiers very much by their Preſence and Example. From hence they both wheel'd off to *Chaſteau*, which was attack'd by the *Spaniards* in the Right Wing under the Duke *De Villa Hermoſa*, aſſiſted by ſome *Engliſh* or *Scotch* Regiments, commanded by the brave Earl of *Oſſory*, who indeed did Wonders. Here the Prince of *Orange* advanced ſo far that he was in great Danger of being loſt, had not Monſieur *Overkirk* come in ſeaſonably to his Relief, and killed a *French* Captain that was juſt ready to let a Piſtol fly at him. At laſt, by favour of the Night, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* made his retreat without any Noiſe, withdrew towards *Mons*, and cover'd himſelf with a Wood on one ſide, and a River on the other, leaving to the Prince, as a Teſtimony of Victory, the Field where the Battle was fought, the greateſt part of the wounded, ſeveral Tents and ſome Baggage, with a great quantity of Powder and other Warlike Ammunition; one of the *French* Officers was heard to ſay after the Battle, *That he eſteem'd this the only Heroick Action that had been done in the whole Courſe or Progreſs of the War.* Next Morning the Prince received Advice from the States of the Separate Peace between them and the *French* ſigned at *Nimeguen*. The News whereof he immediately ſent to the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who with a great Complement deſir'd an Interview with him, which being agreed to, they met in the Field at the Head of their Chief Officers, where all things paſs'd with great Civility and gallantry on both Sides, the *French* crowding about a young Prince that had made ſo much noiſe in the World, and but the Day before had given Conduct and Vigour to ſuch a deſperate Action.

Bravery of the Prince. of Orange to raiſe the Siege.

Great Danger of the Prince of *Orange*.

News of the Peace.

Reflections on the Perſonal Bravery of the Prince.

Yet many Reflections were made upon it by the Prince's Friends as well as Enemies; ſome ſaying, that he knew the Peace was ſigned before the Fight began; (but if this was really ſo, it ſignify'd nothing, ſince he was not obliged to take Notice of it till he had Advice from the States) and that it was too great a venture both to himſelf and the States, and too great a Sacrifice to his own Honour, ſince it could be to no other Advantage: Others laid the blame upon the Marquis of *Grana*, who, they ſay, had intercepted and concealed the States Packet to the Prince, which came into the Camp the Day before the Battle was fought, but after it was reſolved on; and that he had hopes by ſuch a Breach of the Peace even after it was ſigned, that the Progreſs of it would be defeated; whether this were real Fact or no, could never be made appear, but ſo much was true, that the Prince could not have ended the War with greater Glory nor with greater Spight, to ſee ſuch a mighty Occaſion wreſted out of his Hand, by the ſudden and unexpected ſigning of the Peace, which he had aſſured himſelf the States would not have conſented to without the *Spaniards*; yet upon the certain News of it, he drew back his Army, returned to the *Hague*, and left the States to purſue their own Paces in order to the finiſhing of the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, wherein the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* imployed themſelves with great Zeal and Diligence, and no longer like Parties and Confederates, but as Mediators, while the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiary who continued ſtill there in that Figure, declined the Function, as being a Matter wherein he found the Court of *England* would not take any Part, nor allow themſelves to have had any in the Peace between *France* and *Holland*.

Purſuance of the Treaty at *Nimeguen*.

Engliſh Court now inclin'd to a War.

And it ſeem'd indeed a Myſtery in the Politicks of the *Engliſh* Court, that having been hitherto averſe to a War with *France*, they were now as angry at the Proſpect of a Peace. They did this either to fall in with the general Inclination of the Parliament and People of *England*, who were forward to Quarrel with the *French*: Or elſe they did it in hopes that the Proſecution of ſuch a grateful War, would cover the Duke of *York* and his Friends from the Conſequence of the *Popiſh* Plot, that began now to be diſcover'd. But whatever the Reaſon was, 'tis certain that about the middle of *Auguſt* Mr. *Hyde* was ſuddenly diſpatch'd over from *England* to the Surprize even of all in *Holland*, and more eſpecially of our Ambaſſador there, who had not the leaſt Intimation of it. He preſented the States with a Memorial to this Effect, "That his Majeſty having underſtood that a ſeparate Treaty of Peace "had been concluded and ſigned between the moſt "Chriſtian King's Ambaſſadors and thoſe of the "States. He was extreamly ſurprized at that manner of Procedure, there being no Security given "for the evacuating the * Towns in *Flanders*, nor "for providing a ſufficient Barrier on this ſide of "the Empire, and therefore he had ſent over this "Ambaſſador in his Name and on his Part, to aſſure them, That if the Lords, the States, will

Memorial to the States of *Holland*.

* The King of *England* was both ſurpriz'd and angry at this Proceeding of *France*, and next Morning ſent for me (ſaith Sir *William Temple*) to the Foreign Committee, and there declar'd his Reſolution of ſending me immediately into *Holland* with Commiſſion to ſign a Treaty with the States, by which they ſhould be obliged to carry on the War, and his Majeſty to enter into it, in caſe *France* ſhould not conſent within a certain Time limited to evacuate the Towns. The Duke fell into this Counſel with great Warmth, and ſaid at the Committee, that it was plain by this Pace, that *France* was not ſincere in the Buſineſs of the Peace; that they aim'd at the univerſal Monarchy, and that none but his Majeſty could hinder them from it in the Poſture that Chriſtendom ſtood. All the Lords of the Committee agreed with ſo general a Concurrence, that it was hard to imagine this ſhould not prove a ſteady Reſolution, how little ſoever we had been given to any ſuch. *Memoirs* II. p. 329.

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" refuſe to ratify it which was ſigned by their " Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*; his Majeſty, three Days " after ſuch a Declaration ſhall be notified to him, " will declare actual War againſt *France*, and carry " it on in all Points according to the Articles and " Obligations of his late Treaty with the States.

Prince of *Orange* ſurpriz'd at the change of Meaſures in the *Engliſh* Court.

When the Prince of *Orange* was made acquainted with this Procedure of *England*, by Mr. *Hyde*, who went on Purpoſe to *Hounſlerdyke* to do it, he was no ſooner withdrawn, but the Prince lift up his Hands two or three Times, and ſaid to Sir *William Temple*, then preſent, *Was ever any thing ſo hot and ſo cold as this Court of yours? Will the King that is ſo often at Sea ever learn the Word that I ſhall never forget, ſince my laſt Paſſage, when in a great Storm, the Captain was crying out to the Man at the Helm all Night*, Steddy, Steddy, Steddy? *If this Diſpatch had come Twenty Days ago, it would have changed the face of all things in* Chriſtendom, *and the War might have been carried on till* France *had yielded to the Treaty of the* Pyrenees, *and left the World in quiet for the reſt of their Lives; but it is my Opinion as it comes now, it will have no effect at all, at leaſt it's my Opinion, tho' I would not ſay ſo to Mr.* Hyde: And indeed the Event proved anſwerable to the Prince's Judgment. For the *French* at *Nimeguen* managed their Affairs with ſo much Art and Application, That another Separate Peace with the *Spaniards* was firſt concluded and ratified, and before the end of *January*, another Peace with the Emperor, and Princes of the Empire, to the excluſion of none but the brave Duke of *Lorrain*. And all this without the Intervention of Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Leoline Jenkins* the *Engliſh* Mediators, becauſe the Imperial Plenipotentiaries would not allow them the Precedency of ſigning.

Other ſeparate Peaces.

Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot.

We come now to a great *Criſis* in Politicks, the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh* Plot, firſt made by *Titus Oats*, who had been educated and admitted into Orders in the Church of *England* and employed upon a Cure in *Kent*, but aftewards (ſeemingly at leaſt) was reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, and going over to St. *Omers*, was enter'd into the *Engliſh* [a] College there; and being thence ſent into *Spain*, he ingratiated himſelf with the Jeſuits and Prieſts in thoſe Parts, and ſo by Degrees came to the Knowledge of what he now inform'd the King and Council, *A Plot carried on by the Jeſuits and other Roman Catholicks againſt his Majeſty's Life, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom.* It ſeem'd to make no great Impreſſion on the King; But the Privy Council ſat twice a Day, from *Saturday* the 28th of *September* for a Week and more, and ſeveral Perſons were examin'd and committed by them, *viz.* Sir *George Wakeman*, Mr. *Coleman*, Mr. *Langhorne*, *Thomas Whitehead*, *John Gavan*, *Anthony Turner*, *William Ireland*, *William Marſhal*, *William Rumſey*, *James Corker*, *Thomas Pickering*, of which Number the laſt eight were Jeſuits and Prieſts, with divers others. Mr. *Oats* for a Confirmation of his Teſtimony, referr'd himſelf to Letters and Papers, which he ſaid were in the Cuſtody of Mr. *Coleman*, then Secretary to the Dutcheſs of *York*, who before his Houſe was ſearch'd had time enough to convey away all the Papers of the two laſt Years, with his Book of Entries of them. However thoſe Letters which were found, and afterwards publiſhed, did enough convince the World of the dangerous and deſperate Intrigues of the *Popiſh* Party. An ingenious Writer has left this Remark upon it, " That there was at that time a *Popiſh Plot*, and " that there always had been one ſince the *Reformation*, to ſupport, if not reſtore the *Romiſh Religion* in *England*; ſcarce any body calls in queſtion. How far the near Proſpect of a *Popiſh Succeſſor* ripen'd the Hopes, and gave new Vigour " to the Deſigns of that *Party*, and what Methods " they were then upon, to bring thoſe Deſigns about, *Coleman*'s *Letters* alone, without any other " concurring Evidence, are more than ſufficient to " put the Matter out of doubt. But what *Superſtructures* might have been afterwards built upon an " unqueſtionable Foundation, and how far ſome of " the *Witneſſes* of that *Plot* might come to darken " Truth by ſubſequent Additions of their own muſt " be deferr'd till the *Great Account*, to be made " before a *Higher Tribunal*: And till then, a great " Part of the *Popiſh* Plot, as it was then ſworn " to, will in all human Probability lie *among the darkeſt Scenes of our* Engliſh *Hiſtory*.

Narrative of *Titus Oats*.

Perſons Examin'd.

Coleman's Letters the greateſt Evidence.

Welwood's Memoirs.

Death of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*.

But the moſt unhappy Demonſtration of the Truth of this Conſpiracy, was given by the death of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, a Juſtice of Peace for *Middleſex*, before whom the Depoſitions of Mr. *Oats* had been taken, and who had appear'd very zealous for the Diſcovery and Proſecution of the Plot. For which Reaſon he was extreamly hated by the Papiſts, and ſo much threatned with their Revenge upon him, that he himſelf was apprehenſive of his own Danger, as Mr. *Mulys* gave this Information to the Houſe of Commons, *About five or ſix Days before Sir* Edmund-Bury Godfrey *was miſſing from his Houſe, I met him in St.* James's Park, *and in Diſcourſe, told him that I underſtood he examined Mr.* Oats *about a Plot that was much diſcours'd of, and deſired to have ſuch an Account from him as might be fit to be communicated: Whereupon he gave me ſome ſhort Relation, agreeing for the moſt part with what was the common Diſcourſe of the Town.— But I muſt not talk much (ſaid he) for I lie under ill Circumſtances: Some great Men blame me for not having done my Duty, and I am threatned by others, and very great ones too, for having done too much. He then preſſed to leave me, and without ſaying much more we parted.* And farther Mr. *Robinſon* gave this Account to the Houſe of Commons, " That he met Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey* at the Seſſions at *Weſtminſter* " on *Tueſday* and *Wedneſday* before he was miſſing; " and that he asked him whether he had any hand " in taking the Informations touching the Plot; " and that he made him Anſwer, That he had taken them, though very unwillingly; and deſiring " of him that he might ſee them, he told him he " could not, for that he had left them with my " Lord Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*: And that Dining " with him on *Wedneſday*, and diſcourſing concerning the Plot, and the Examinations touching " the ſame, Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey* ſaid theſe " Words: *I have taken them, and I know not what* " *will be the Conſequence of them; but I believe I* " *ſhall be the firſt Martyr.* According to theſe Preſages, he was found miſſing from his Houſe on *October* the 14th, and ſome Days after his Dead Body was found in the Fields caſt into a Ditch, and as

Suſpicions and Teſtimonies of this Murder.

[a] The Letter to a Member in the Houſe of Commons in Defence of the Earl of *Danby*, written in the Year 1679. (ſuppos'd to be written by the Earl himſelf) tells us; About the middle of *Auguſt* 1678. and the very Morning that the King went to *Windſor* that Year with the whole Court, his Majeſty left a Pacquet with a Perſon of Quality, which was ſealed up, and commanded him to carry it to the Earl of *Danby*, and to tell him that one Mr. *Kirkby* would bring a Gentleman to ſpeak with him about it. The Earl opening the ſaid Pacquet, and finding therein two or three Sheets of Paper, containing ſeveral Heads of Informations of Danger againſt his Majeſty, gave order immediately to the Porter at his Gate, that if one *Kirkby* did come to ſpeak with the Earl, he ſhould immediately be brought to him. Accordingly the ſaid *Kirkby* did come thither that Day, or the Day following, and did bring with him one Dr. *Tongue*, who told the Earl that he had delivered ſome *Papers* to the King of great Concernment, *&c.*

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it appear'd by concurring Evidence, walking by *Somerſet-Houſe* he had been thruſt in at the [a] Water-Gate, thence hurried to a private Chamber, there barbarouſly Aſſaſſinated, and his Body afterwards expoſed in ſuch manner as that the World might imagine he had killed himſelf. The diſcovery of this Murder was firſt made by *William Bedloe*, and afterwards confirm'd by the Confeſſion of Mr. *Miles Prance*, and the Execution of the Actors in it, *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*, who yet at their Death deny'd it.

Meeting of the Parliament.

The Parliament met on *October* the 21ſt. when his Majeſty could not forbear mentioning this Matter, which had rais'd ſuch an univerſal Amazement and Abhorrence in the Nation, and therefore his Majeſty thus deliver'd himſelf to the two Houſes.

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Have thought the Time very long ſince we " parted laſt, and would not have deferred " your meeting by ſo many Prorogations if I could " well have met you ſooner.

" The Part which I have had this Summer in " the Preſervation of our Neighbours, and the well-" ſecuring what was left of *Flanders*, is ſufficient-" ly known, and acknowledged by all that are a-" broad.

" And though for this Cauſe I have been obli-" ged to keep up my Troops, without which our " Neighbours had abſolutely deſpaired, yet both " the Honour and the Intereſt of the Nation have " been ſo far improved by it, that I am confident " no Man here would repine at it, or think the " Money raiſed for their diſbanding to have been ill " employed in their Continuance; and I do aſſure " you, I am ſo much more out of Purſe for that " Service, that I expect you ſhould ſupply it. " How far it may be neceſſary (conſidering the " preſent State of *Chriſtendom*) to reduce the Land " and Sea-Forces, or to what degree, is worthy of " all our Serious Conſiderations.

" I now intend to acquaint you (as I ſhall al-" ways do with any thing that concerns me) That " I have been informed of a Deſign againſt my " Perſon by the Jeſuites, of which I ſhall forbear " any Opinion, [b] leſt I may ſeem to ſay too much " or too little; but I will leave the Matter to the " Law, and in the mean time will take as much " Care as I can to prevent all manner of Practices " by that ſort of Men, and of others too, who have " been tampering in a high Degree by Foreigners, " and contriving how to introduce Popery amongſt " us.

" I ſhall conclude with recommending to you my " other Concerns.

" I have been under great Diſappointments by " the defect of the Poll-Bill.

" My Revenue is under great Anticipations, and " at beſt, was never equal to the conſtant and ne-" ceſſary Expence of the Government whereof I " intend to have the whole State laid before you, " and require you to look into it, and conſider of " it with that Duty and Affection which I am ſure " I ſhall ever find from you.

" The reſt I leave to the Lord-Chancellor.

Addreſs on occaſion of the Popiſh Plot.

The firſt Buſineſs of the two Houſes was to agree in an Addreſs to his Majeſty, " That Information had been given of an horrible Deſign againſt " his Sacred Life, and being very ſenſible of the " fatal Conſequence of ſuch an Attempt, and of the " Dangers of the Subverſion of the Proteſtant Re-" ligion and Government of this Realm, they hum-" bly beſeech his Majeſty, That a ſolemn Day of " Faſting and Humiliation may be appointed to im-" plore the Mercy and Protection of Almighty God " to his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and in him to all his " Loyal Subjects, and to pray that God will bring to " light more and more all ſecret Machinations a-" gainſt his Majeſty and the whole Kingdom. Which was accordingly done by Proclamation, dated 25th of *October*, requiring that *Wedneſday* the 13th of *November* ſhould be kept for a General Faſt. Soon after, both Houſes again agreed in another Addreſs, " That having taken into their ſerious " Conſideration the bloody and traiterous Deſigns of " Popiſh Recuſants againſt his Majeſty's ſacred Per-" ſon and Government, and the Proteſtant Religi-" on, they do for prevention thereof moſt humbly " beſeech his Majeſty to iſſue forth his Royal Pro-" clamation, commanding all Perſons being Popiſh " Recuſants, or ſo reputed, to depart from the Ci-" ties of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and all other " Places within ten Miles of the ſame, on or before " the 7th Day of *November* next enſuing, under " pain of his Majeſty's higheſt Diſpleaſure, and of " the ſevereſt Execution of the Laws againſt them. To which his Majeſty comply'd, and gave out a Proclamation to that effect, dated *October* 30.

Another Addreſs on the ſame occaſion.

And becauſe this Plot was by ſome Perſons artificially ſuppreſt, and even by ſome others inſolently ridicul'd. Therefore on *Thurſday October* 31ſt. The Commons *Reſolved Nemine Contradicente*, " That " upon the Evidence that has already appeared to " this Houſe, this Houſe is of Opinion, that there " is and hath been a damnable and helliſh Plot, con-" trived and carried on by Popiſh Recuſants, for " aſſaſſinating and murthering the King, for ſub-" verting the Government, and rooting out and " deſtroying the Proteſtant Religion.

Reſolution of the Commons declaring the Truth of a Popiſh Plot.

Ordered, " That this Vote be communicated to " the Lords at a Conference, and that the Lords be " deſired to join with this Houſe in providing Re-" medies for Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon " and Government, and the Proteſtant Religion": And in a Conference between the two Houſes on this Subject, *November* the 1ſt. this Report was made, " The Lords have conſidered the Vote of " the Houſe of Commons communicated to them " at the Conference, and have moſt readily and " unanimouſly concurred with them in it *Nemi-" ne Contradicente*; and their Lordſhips are very " glad to ſee that Zeal which the Commons have " ſhewed upon this Occaſion, and do fully concur " with them, That the moſt ſpeedy and ſerious " Conſiderations of both Houſes are neceſſary for " prevention of the imminent Dangers; in order " whereunto, their Lordſhips have reſolved to ſit " *de Die in Diem*, Forenoon and Afternoon, and " deſire that the Houſe of Commons would do ſo, " *&c.*

Concurrence of the Lords.

One great Danger was the Number of Papiſts, and even of new Converts to Popery, retained in his Majeſty's Guards, and therefore to take away this Apprehenſion of the Parliament, on *November* the 2d. his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare in Council, " That " whoſoever ſhall make diſcovery of any Officer or " Soldier of his Majeſty's Horſe or Foot-Guards, " who, having formerly taken the Oaths of Allegi-" ance and Supremacy, and the Teſt, enjoined by

The King willing to remove their Fears.

[a] See the ſtout and prudent Sermon of Dr. *William Lloyd*, (who died near 40 Years after Biſhop of *Worceſter*) preached at the Funeral of Sir *Edmunbury Godfrey* on *Thurſday* the laſt of *October* 1678. *4to.*——The Funeral was very ſolemn as for a Confeſſor or Martyr, a mournful Pomp proceeding from *Bridewell* to St. *Martin*'s in the Fields, 72 *London* Miniſters marching two and two before the Body, and above one thouſand Perſons in the ſame Order following after.

[b] The King was afraid to intimate any more of his Diſbelief of the Popiſh Plot, and the Lord Chancellor was to be as much on the Reſerve; for he only ſaid, tho' his Majeſty doth in no ſort prejudge the Perſons accuſed, yet the ſtrict Enquiry into this Matter hath been a means to diſcover ſo many other unwarrantable Practices of theirs, that his Majeſty hath Reaſon to look to them.

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"a late Act of Parliament, *For preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants*, hath "ſince been perverted to the *Romiſh* Religion, or "hear Maſs; ſuch Diſcoverer, upon Information "thereof given to his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord General of his Majeſty's Forces, ſhall "have a Reward of twenty Pounds for every Officer or Soldier ſo diſcovered as aforeſaid. And to "the End his Majeſty's Pleaſure herein may be fully "known, his Majeſty doth Command that this "Order be forthwith Printed and Publiſhed.

Bill againſt Popiſh Peers.

A ſecond Danger was from the Intereſt of Popiſh Members of Parliament, but eſpecially in the Houſe of Peers, and therefore the Commons prepared a Bill, which with ſome Difficulty was agreed to by the Lords, and with ſome Reluctancy paſſed by his Majeſty into an Act, *For the more effectual preſerving the King's Perſon and Government, by diſabling Papiſts from ſitting in either Houſe of Parliament.*

Bill of Excluſion.

But that which moſt threatned the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, was the Proſpect of a Popiſh Succeſſor, and therefore the leading Members in both Houſes began to form the Deſign of a *Bill of Excluſion*, as the only Means to extinguiſh the Hopes and Expectation of the Popiſh Faction. The Commons began gently on this Occaſion, and on *November* the 4th let a Debate ariſe in their Houſe, for an *Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, That his Royal Highneſs may withdraw himſelf from his Majeſty's Perſon and Councils.* But then they adjourned this Debate till *Friday November* the 8th, and then again adjourned it over till *Tueſday* following.

Which offends the King.

The King underſtood their meaning, and being extremely Tender of his Brother, on *Saturday November* 9th he came to the Houſe of Lords, and made this Gracious Speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The K.'s Speech in favour of the Duke.

"I Am ſo very ſenſible of the great and extraor"dinary Care you have already taken, and "ſtill continue to ſhew for the Safety and Preſer"vation of my Perſon, in theſe Times of Danger, "that I could not ſatisfy my ſelf, without coming "hither on purpoſe, to give you All my moſt hearty Thanks for it.

"Nor do I think it enough to give you my "Thanks only, but I hold my ſelf obliged to let "you ſee withal, that I do as much ſtudy your "Preſervation too, as I can poſſibly; and that I am "as ready to join with you in all the Ways and "Means that may eſtabliſh a firm Security of the "Proteſtant Religion, as your own Hearts can "wiſh.

"And this not only during my Time, (of which, "I am ſure, you have no fear) but in future Ages, "even to the end of the World.

"And therefore I am come to aſſure you, That "whatſoever reaſonable Bills you ſhall preſent to be "paſſed into Laws, to make you ſafe in the Reign "of any Succeſſor, (ſo as they tend not to Impeach "the Right of Succeſſion, nor the Deſcent of the "Crown in the true Line, and ſo as they reſtrain "not my Power, nor the juſt Rights of any Pro"teſtant Succeſſor) ſhall find from me a ready Con"currence.

"And I deſire you withal, to think of ſome more "effectual means for the Conviction of Popiſh Re"cuſants, and to expedite your Counſels as faſt as "you can, that the World may ſee our Unanimi"ty, and that I may have the opportunity of ſhew"ing you how ready I am to do any thing that "may give Comfort and Satisfaction to ſuch dutiful "and loyal Subjects.

The Houſe of Commons went after Dinner to the Banquetting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, and by their Speaker return'd his Majeſty their humble and hearty Thanks, for his moſt Gracious Speech this Day made to both Houſes of Parliament. To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to give this Anſwer.

Gentlemen, It ſhall always be my ſtudy to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, and to advance and ſupport the Intereſt of my People.

The Commons diſſatisfied.

But ſtill the Commons were hearty and zealous in the proſecution of the Plot, and would not be diverted by any fine Words; and therefore, on *November* the 12th, they *Reſolved*, "That there being "an Accuſation of High-Treaſon againſt Sir *William* "*Godolphin*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador in *Spain*, "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Ma"jeſty, to deſire his Majeſty to call home Sir *Wil*"*liam Godolphin* to anſwer the Accuſation.

Make ſeveral Addreſſes.

To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to Anſwer, *That he had already order'd his Letters of Revocation; and that he had a Perſon in his Eye, who he deſigned ſhould ſucceed him in that Service.* And on the ſame Day the Commons preſented another Addreſs to his Majeſty, deſiring, "That a ſpecial Commiſſion may "be iſſued forth, for tendring the Oaths of Alle"giance and Supremacy to all the Servants of his "Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs, and to all other "Perſons (except her Majeſty's *Portugal* Servants) "reſiding within his Majeſty's Houſes of *Whitehall*, "St. *James's*, and *Somerſet-Houſe*, and all other his "Majeſty's Houſes; and that there may likewiſe "Special Commiſſions be iſſued forth, for tendring "the ſaid Oaths to all Perſons reſiding within the "two Serjeants-Inns, all the Inns of Court, and "Inns of *Chancery*.

King's Anſwer.

To which his Majeſty return'd an Anſwer in Writing, *That as to all his Majeſty's own Servants, all the Servants of his Royal Highneſs, all other Perſons reſiding in* Whitehall, *St.* James's, Somerſet-Houſe, *or in any other of his Majeſty's Palaces or Houſes, except the Menial Servants of the Queen and Dutcheſs; as alſo all Perſons within either of the Serjeants-Inns, or any of the Inns of Court, or Chancery, his Majeſty willingly grants it: But as to the Queen's Menial Servants, who are ſo very inconſiderable in their Number, and within the Articles of Marriage, his Majeſty does not think it fit. And his Majeſty cannot but take notice, That in a late Addreſs from the Houſe of Peers, the Menial Servants of the Queen and Dutcheſs are excepted; and his Majeſty hopes this Houſe will proceed with the ſame Moderation as to that particular. Given at the Court at* Whitehall, *the 14th Day of* November, 1678.

Commons inſiſt on their Deſires.

But the Commons in another Addreſs, did humbly adviſe his Majeſty, and did renew their Deſires, That the Perſons excepted in his Majeſty's Meſſage, may be comprehended in the ſame Commiſſion: For which they do in all Duty lay before his Majeſty the Reaſons following: "1. For the Quieting the "Minds of your Majeſty's good Proteſtant Subjects, "who have a more than ordinary Care and Solici"tude for the Safety of your Majeſty's Perſon, by "reaſon of the notorious Conſpiracy of the Popiſh "Party at this time, even againſt the Life of your "Sacred Majeſty. 2. By your Majeſty's Procla"mation, ſet forth upon the Addreſs of both Houſes, "for baniſhing Popiſh Recuſants ten Miles from "*London*, there is no ſuch Reſtriction. 3. The "Diſcouragement it would be to this Kingdom, "to ſee ſo great a neglect; and the Occaſions that "Papiſts would take to ſay from thence, That all "our Fears are groundleſs. 4. It is too great a "Countenance to the dangerous Factions, which "are already come to that height, that it renders "all manner of Diſcouragement on that ſide neceſ"ſary. 5. It is againſt the Laws and Statutes of "the Realm; which, as they are preſerved and "maintain'd by your Majeſty's Authority, ſo we "aſſure our ſelves, you will not ſuffer them to be "thus violated in your own Family and Royal Pre"ſence, and upon the Account of Popiſh Recu"ſants.

On *Novemb.* 18th, the Houſe being informed that there were ſeveral Commiſſions granted to Popiſh Recuſants,

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Recuſants, and Warrants alſo that they ſhould be Muſtered, notwithſtanding they have not taken the Oaths, [a] and ſubſcribed the Declaration, according to the Act of Parliament, and that they were ſigned by Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*; they immediately ſent him to the *Tower*. This much offended the King, who next Day ſent for the Houſe of Commons to attend him in the Banquetting-Houſe, and told them, *Tho' they committed his Servant, without acquainting him; yet he intends to deal more freely with them, and acquaint them with his Intention to releaſe his Secretary.* Upon which immediately, the ſame Day, the Commons drew up an Addreſs to his Majeſty, to preſent to him theſe Reaſons of their Proceedings in the Commitment of Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* as a Member of their Houſe: " 1. That divers Commiſſions " were granted to Popiſh Officers, and Counter- " ſigned by the ſaid Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, and de- " livered out in *October* laſt, ſince the meeting of " this Houſe, and the Diſcovery of the preſent Po- " piſh Conſpiracy. 2. Diverſe Warrants have alſo " been produced before us, of Diſpenſations con- " trary to Law, for Popiſh Officers to continue in " their Commands, and to be paſſed in Muſter, not- " withſtanding they have not taken the Oaths of " Allegiance and Supremacy, and received the " bleſſed Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, accor- " ding to the late Act of Parliament in that behalf: " All which ſaid Warrants were likewiſe Counter- " ſigned by the ſaid Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*. Which " being complained of to us, and confeſſed by the " ſaid Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*; we your Majeſty's " moſt dutiful Subjects having the immediate Con- " ſideration before us, of the imminent Danger of " your Majeſty's Perſon, the Safety whereof is a- " bove all things moſt dear, and likewiſe the Dan- " gers from Popiſh Plots ſo nearly threatning the " Peace and Safety of your Majeſty's Government, " and the Proteſtant Religion, were humbly of O- " pinion, we could not diſcharge our Duty to your " Majeſty and the whole Kingdom, without the " committing the ſaid Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, and " therefore moſt humbly deſire that he may not be " diſcharged by your Majeſty.

Secretary *Williamſon* ſent to the *Tower*.

This offends the King.

Commons give their Reaſons.

" *And* we do further moſt humbly deſire your " Majeſty, to recall all Commiſſions granted to all " Papiſts within the Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*, or any other your Majeſty's Dominions and " Territories.

To this his Majeſty return'd Anſwer in Writing, deliver'd to the Houſe by Mr. Secretary *Coventry, Nov.* 23[d].

Charles Rex.

King's Anſwer.

His Majeſty having received an Addreſs the 19*th Inſtant from this Houſe, is pleaſed to return this Anſwer:*

That he releaſed Mr. Secretary Williamſon *before your Addreſs came, as he told you in the Banquetting-Houſe he would do.*

As to the Reaſons of granting thoſe Commiſſions, his Majeſty acquainted you at large with them, in his Speech, when you laſt attended him.

But in Anſwer to your preſent Addreſs, his Majeſty promiſes to recal all his Commiſſions whatſoever, given to Papiſts, or reputed Papiſts, either in England *or* Ireland, *immediately; and for his remoter Dominions, they ſhall likewiſe be recalled with all the expedition the Safety of thoſe Places will permit.*

The King betray'd himſelf to be very weary of theſe Proceedings, and was in haſte to get a Bill for Money, and ſo to diſmiſs the too buſie Houſes: And therefore on *Monday Novemb.* 25th, his Majeſty was pleaſed to make this Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech.

I Told you in the beginning of this Seſſion, how much I had been obliged to keep up my Forces in Flanders: *That without it, our Neighbours had abſolutely deſpaired; and by this means, whatever has been ſaved of* Flanders *is acknowledged to be wholly due to my Interpoſition: And I ſhewed you withal, that I had been forced to employ that Money which had been raiſed for Disbanding thoſe Troops, in the Continuance of them together; and not only ſo, but that I had been much more out of Purſe for that Service; a Service by which the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation hath been ſo far improv'd, that as I am confident no Man would repine at it, ſo I did not doubt but you would all be willing to ſupply it.*

I have now undergone the Expence ſo long, that I find it abſolutely impoſſible to ſupport the Charge any longer, and did therefore think of putting an end to that Charge, by recalling my Troops with all poſſible ſpeed, who are already expoſed to the utmoſt extremity of Want and Miſery, being without any proſpect of farther Pay or Subſiſtance.

But whilſt I was about to do this, I have been importun'd by the Spaniſh *Miniſters to continue them a little longer; until the Ratifications of the Peace be exchanged; without which all that hath been hitherto ſaved in* Flanders, *will inevitably fall into the hands of their Enemies.*

And now, between their Importunity to keep up thoſe Troops; and my own inability to pay them any longer, I find my ſelf in great Difficulties what to reſolve. If you do not think that the publick Safety may require the Continuance, I do wiſh as heartily as any Man, that, for the publick Eaſe, they may be ſpeedily Disbanded, and paid off.

I have thought fit thus to lay the Matter before you; and having acquitted my ſelf to all the World, by asking your Advice and Aſſiſtance; I deſire it may be ſpeedy, and without any manner of delay.

The Houſe of Commons had before them a Bill *for raiſing the Militia*; which, with Amendments, was Ingroſſed immediately after the King's Speech: Which paſſing the Lords was rejected by the King, for this Reaſon, ſent in a Meſſage to the Commons by Mr. Secretary *Coventry Decemb.* 4.

The King rejects the Bill for the *Militia.*

Charles Rex.

A Meſſage to the Commons.

His Majeſty to prevent all Miſunderſtandings that may ariſe, from his not paſſing the late Bill of the Militia, *is pleaſed to declare, That he will readily Aſſent to any Bill of that kind, which ſhall be tendred to him, for the publick Security of the Kingdom by the* Militia, *ſo as the whole Power of calling, continuing, or not continuing of them together during the Time limited, be left to his Majeſty, to do therein as he ſhall find moſt expedient for the publick Safety.*

The Commons apprehended another Danger from the *Engliſh* Army in *Flanders*, which, upon the late Juncture of a Separate Peace, had nothing to do, but to be ready to be employed in ſome ill Service; and therefore on *Wedneſday Nov.* 27. it was *Reſolved, Nemine Contradicente,* " That it is neceſſary, " for the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, and pre- " ſerving the Peace of the Government, that all " the Forces which have been raiſed ſince the 29th " of *Septemb.* 1677. and all others that ſince that " time have been brought over from beyond Seas " from Foreign Service, be forthwith Disbanded: " And *Reſolved it to be the humble Opinion and De-*

Commons inſiſt on Disbanding the Army.

[a] Now began the diſpenſing Power in favour of the Papiſts to be put into Places, with a *Non-obſtante* to the Oaths and Teſt Act. King *Charles* had the wiſe Goodneſs to recede from this diſpenſing Power; but King *James* reſum'd it, and in defiance of a like Addreſs in Parliament ſtood and fell by it.

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" *fire of this Houſe, That the Forces which are now* " *in* Flanders *may be immediately called over, in or-* " *der to their Disbanding.* And they preſented an Addreſs for this Purpoſe to his Majeſty, and made an Entry of his Majeſty's Anſwer, as a refuſal to comply with their Deſire. But his Majeſty ſoon after was pleaſed to declare, *That he never gave any Order for ſuch Anſwer; but that his Intention was only in relation to the Forces that were in* Flanders, *and the Circumſtances as to thoſe Forces were altered ſince that time; and that his Majeſty had already given Orders for calling them over, in order to their Disbanding.* And ſo his Majeſty fell eaſily into this Deſign, becauſe it depended on a Bill for granting a Supply to his Majeſty, by a Land Tax, for Disbanding the ſaid Forces.

The King complies.

Intrigues of *France*.

The Intrigues of the Miniſtry with the Court of *France*, was another Danger which raiſed the Jealouſie of the Commons: This appeared more eſpecially by a Meſſage from the King on *December* 19, delivered to the Houſe of Commons, *That his Majeſty having received Information, That his late Ambaſſador in* France, *Mr.* Mountague, *a Member of that Houſe* [a] *had held ſeveral private Conferences with the Pope's Nuncio there, without any Directions or Inſtructions from his Majeſty, his Majeſty to the End that he might know the Truth of that Matter, had given Orders for the ſeizing Mr.* Mountague's *Papers.* Upon which Mr. *Mountague* in his own Defence acquainted the Houſe, " That he had in his " Cuſtody ſeveral Papers which he conceived might " tend very much to the Safety of his Majeſty's " Perſon and the Preſervation of the Kingdom. And accordingly a Box of Writings was ſent for and opened in the Houſe, and two Letters were produced and read in the Houſe, ſubſcribed *Danby*, in the firſt of which, dated *London*, 17 *January* 1677. were theſe Expreſſions. My Lord, *Yeſterday Monſieur* Rouigny *came to me with Monſieur* Barillon *(having given me his Father's Letters the Day before) and diſcourſed much upon the Confidence his King hath of the firmneſs of ours to him, of the good Opinion his Maſter hath of me, and of his King's Reſolution to condeſcend to any thing that is not infamous to him, for the Satisfaction of our King, how certainly our King may depend upon all ſorts of Aſſiſtances and Supplies from his Maſter, in caſe the Friendſhip be preſerved.——The main of their Drift was to engage me to prevail with the King to prevail with the Prince of* Orange.——*The King muſt come to ſome Declaration of his Mind to the Parliament when it meets: That which makes the Hopes of Peace yet leſs probable is, that the Duke grows every Day leſs inclin'd to it, and has created a greater Indifferency in the King than I could have imagined; which being added to the* French *King's Reſolution not to part with* Tournay, *do, I confeſs, make me deſpair of any Accommodation: Nevertheleſs, I am aſſured, that one principal Cauſe of the Adjournment for thirteen Days, has been to ſee if any Expedient for the Peace could have been found in that Time, and the Effect of the Adjournment hath hitherto been, that no body will now believe other than that the Peace is already concluded betwixt Us and* France.

Complained of by the King.

Diſcovered by Mr. *Mountague*.

Letters of the Lord *Danby*.

In another Letter, ſubſcribed *Danby*, and dated, *London, March* 25, 1678. is among other Things what follows: *In caſe the Conditions of the Peace ſhall be accepted, the King expects to have ſix Millions of Livres Yearly for Three Years from the Time that this Agreement ſhall be ſigned betwixt his Majeſty and the King of* France, *becauſe it will be two or three Years before he can hope to find his Parliament in an Humour to give him Supplies after the having made any Peace with* France, *and the Ambaſſador here has agreed to that Sum, but not for ſo long a Time; if you find the Peace will not be accepted, you are not to mention the Money at all; and all poſſible Care muſt be taken to have this whole Negotiation as private as is poſſible, for fear of giving Offence at home, where for the moſt part we hear it ten Days after any thing that is communicated to the* French *Miniſters:* Upon reading theſe Letters, it was immediately reſolved, That there was ſufficient Matter of Impeachment againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, and Articles of Impeachment were drawn up, and agreed to on *December* 21. " *Firſt*, " That he hath traiterouſly incroached to himſelf " Regal Power, by Treating in Matters of Peace " and War with Foreign Princes and Ambaſſadors, " and giving Inſtructions to his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors abroad, without communicating the ſame to " the Secretaries of State, and the reſt of his Majeſty's Council, *&c. Secondly*, That he hath traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the ancient and " well eſtabliſhed Form of Government, and inſtead thereof, to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Way of Government. And the better " to effect this his Purpoſe, he did deſign the raiſing " of an Army under Pretence of a War againſt the " *French* King, and then to continue the ſame, as " a Standing Army within this Kingdom, *&c.* " *Thirdly*, That he traiterouſly intending to alienate the Hearts and Affections of his Majeſty's " good Subjects from his Royal Perſon and Government, and to hinder the Meeting of Parliaments, " and to deprive his Majeſty of their ſafe and wholſome Counſels, *&c. Fourthly*, That he is Popiſhly affected, and hath traiterouſly concealed, " after he had Notice of the late horrid Plot or " Conſpiracy contrived by the Papiſts againſt his " Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and hath ſuppreſt the Evidence, and reproachfully diſcountenanc'd the King's Witneſſes in the diſcovery of it " in Favour of Popery, *&c. Fifthly*, That he hath " waſted the King's Treaſure by iſſuing out of his " Majeſty's Exchequer, and ſeveral Branches of his " Revenue, divers great Sums of Money for unneceſſary Penſions and ſecret Services, to the Value " of 231602*l.* within two Years, *&c. Sixthly*, " That he hath by indirect Means procured from " his Majeſty for himſelf divers conſiderable Gifts " and Grants of Inheritance of the ancient Revenue " of the Crown even contrary to Acts of Parliaments. Theſe Articles were carried up to the Lords, with a Deſire, That *the ſaid* Thomas *Earl of* Danby, *might be Sequeſtred from Parliament, and forthwith committed to ſafe Cuſtody.* There had

Commons impeach the Earl of *Danby*.

[a] See a Letter of the Lord Treaſurer *Danby* to Sir *William Temple*, dated, *London, Nov.* 19. 1678.——The ill Practices of Mr. *Mountague* to debauch them [the Members] ſince his coming to the Houſe. I have heard more of his ill Practices of other kinds, and ſome of them particularly againſt yourſelf, which I am hunting as well as I can to find out: And I hear that Mr. *Olivecrans* can tell us ſome things if he pleaſes of Mr. *Mountagu* that would both ſpoil his Plots and his Seat in Parliament, and which you would do well to inform yourſelf of, if you meet with a fit Occaſion.——In another of *Novemb.* 22. 1678. I ſhew'd yours of the 5th Inſtant immediately to his Majeſty, who is thereby made very deſirous of getting all the Information he can poſſibly of what is yet but darkly hinted by Mr. *Olivecrans.* You ſay he read to you a Liſt of ſeveral Perſons deſign'd for great Offices, *&c.* But 'tis not plain whether that was a Liſt he had lately from *England*, or ſome other Liſt he knows of, *&c.* As to what concerns Mr. *Mountagu*, I perceive his Majeſty knows nothing of his Conferences with the Pope's Nuncio. And for what Mr. *Olivecrans* ſuppoſes might have been the Occaſion of thoſe Conferences, *viz.* A Treaty of Marriage betwixt the King of *Spain* and the Duke of *Orleans*'s Daughter; his Majeſty ſays he never entred into ſuch Treaty, nor ever gave Mr. *Mountagu* any Inſtructions about it——Letters of the Earl of *Danby*, 8vo. 1700. p. 264. the *Gentleman's Narrative concerning Mr.* Mountagu, publiſh'd by the Earl of *Danby* himſelf, now Duke of *Leeds*, in 1710. mentions the Heats that were in the Houſe about ſeizing Mr. *Mountagu*'s Papers at his Houſe. My Lady *Harvy* firſt told me her Brother was very much afraid of being ſent to the Tower. I told her I thought not, the Parliament ſitting. She replied, My Lord *Danby* would cauſe a Diſſolution, or Prorogation, and he would then be ſnapp'd. *Ib.* p. 117.

 been

1678. 30 Car. II. been before an Impeachment carried up of Treaſon and other high Crimes and Miſdemeanors againſt *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardor*; *William* Earl of *Powis*, *John* Lord *Bellaſis*; *William* Lord *Petres*, and *William* Viſcount *Stafford*, who had been all committed to the *Tower*.

Popiſh Lords impeach'd, and committed to the *Tower*.

The King offended, prorogues the Parliament.

The King was ſo much diſturb'd with theſe Proceedings, that on *Monday December* 30. he came to the Houſe of Lords, and declared in a Speech, *That it was with great unwillingneſs that he was come to tell them that he intended to prorogue them, That all of them were Witneſſes, he had not been well uſed, the Particulars of which he would acquaint them at a more ſeaſonable Time, in the mean time he would immediately enter upon the disbanding of the Army, and do what he could for the Kingdom, and Safety of Religion, and that he would proſecute the diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, to find out the Inſtruments of it, and take all the Care that is in his Power to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion as it is now Eſtabliſhed.* And accordingly his Majeſty was pleaſed to prorogue the Parliament till the 4th of *February* next.

The Papiſts encourag'd.

This Prorogation ſo Incouraged the Papiſts, that they flock'd to *London* and *Weſtminſter* in great Numbers, and began to talk with ſo great Inſolence, that the King, by the Advice of his Council, was forced to publiſh a Proclamation, dated *January* 3d. declaring, *That whereas ſeveral Popiſh Recuſants, and Perſons reputed to be ſuch, had, ſince the late Prorogation of the Parliament, taken the boldneſs to reſort to the ſaid Cities, his Majeſty was moſt highly offended with their Preſumption, and did Order, That a diligent and ſpeedy ſearch and inquiry ſhould be made after them, and they ſhould be proceeded againſt with the utmoſt Severity.* And on *January* 11. his Majeſty publiſhed another Proclamation, *Commanding the immediate return of all his Majeſty's Subjects who were in any Foreign Seminaries, and forbidding Relief to be ſent to them, according to a Statute made* 27. Eliz.

Check'd by a Proclamation.

The Parliament diſſolved.

But his Majeſty having no hopes of Eaſe and Satisfaction from the preſent Parliament, was now at laſt inclined to diſſolve them, and therefore by Proclamation dated 24 *January*, his Majeſty declared, "That he had taken into his ſerious Conſideration "the many Inconveniences ariſing by the over-long "continuance of one and the ſame Parliament, "wherefore he publiſhes and declares his Royal "Will and Pleaſure to diſſolve this preſent Parlia- "ment.——But to the Intent his Majeſty's Loyal "Subjects may perceive the Confidence his Maje- "ſty hath in their good Affections, and how wil- "ling and deſirous his Majeſty is to meet his Peo- "ple, and have their Advice, by their Repreſenta- "tives in Parliament, he will cauſe Writs in due "Form of Law to be iſſued for the calling of a "new Parliament, which ſhall begin and be holden "at *Weſtminſter*, on *Thurſday* the ſixth Day of "*March* next; when his Majeſty doth expect ſuch "Laws will be Enacted, and ſuch Order taken, by "the Conſent and Advice of his Parliament, as will "tend to the ſecuring the true Proteſtant Religion, "and the peaceable and happy Government of this "his Kingdom.

End of this *Long Parliament*, and Reflexions on it.

Thus ended, with Honour to themſelves, the *Long Parliament*; which being firſt called, and begun on the 8th of *May*, 1661. had been continued by ſeveral Prorogations and Adjournments for ſeventeen Years, eight Months, and ſeventeen Days. Many Reflections were made on the prime Reaſon of their Diſſolution: Some reſolv'd it into the King's Anger at the Commitment of, and Impeachment of his firſt Miniſter, the Lord Treaſurer: But Sir *William Temple* is poſitive, "That the Treaſurer "was before fallen into the King's Diſpleaſure, for "bringing the Popiſh Plot into Parliament, againſt "the King's abſolute Command." Others think it was rather done upon account of protecting the Popiſh Lords in the *Tower*, and diverting, if poſſible, the Noiſe of the Popiſh Plot: For it is certain the King did all along frown upon the Evidence, tho' *Thomas Killigrew* is ſaid to have told him, *Your Majeſty knows more of the Plot than any body elſe; and your Diſcovery of it would quickly ſatisfy your People.* But undoubtedly, the greateſt Reaſon of all, was to cover the Duke of *York* from the Reſentment of the Commons[a], and the general Indignation of the People: And therefore, to prevent any Queſtion of him in the next Seſſion, his Majeſty thought fit to ſend him out of the Way, that his Abſence, if poſſible, might drop the Diſputes about him: So on *Feb.* 28. he ſent him this Letter.

King's Letter to his Brother to withdraw.

I Have already given you my Reſolves at large, why I think it fit that you abſent your ſelf for ſome time beyond the Seas: As I am truly ſorry for the Occaſion, ſo may you be ſure I ſhall never deſire it longer than it ſhall be abſolutely neceſſary for your Good, and my Service. In the mean time I think it proper to give it you under my Hand, That I expect this Compliance from you, and deſire it may be as ſoon as conveniently you can. You may eaſily perceive with what Trouble I write this to you; there being Nothing I am more ſenſible of, than the conſtant Kindneſs you have ever had for me. I hope you are as Juſt to me, to be aſſur'd, That no Abſence, nor any thing elſe, can ever change me from being truly and kindly,

Yours, C. R.

Duke goes away to *Flanders*.

In purſuance to this Command, the Duke, with his Dutcheſs and Family, left St. *James*'s, took Shipping, and for a while retired to the *Hague*, and from thence to *Bruſſels*.

Honours and Preferments.

As to Honours and Preferments conferred this Year: On *July* 17. the Right Honourable *George* Lord *Berkeley*, of *Berkeley-Caſtle*, was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council: On *Oct.* 18. the Earl of *Ailesbury* was admitted to the ſame Board; as was *James* Earl of *Saliſbury* on *Jan.* 3. and the Earl of *Clarendon* on *Jan.* 8. The Right Honourable *James* Earl of *Arran*, Son to his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton*, was on *Jan.* 14. ſworn one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber in Ordinary; which Mark of his ſpecial Favour his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to confer upon him, in conſideration of the great and loyal Services of that ancient and noble Family. Mr. Secretary *Williamſon* having fell into an high Diſpleaſure of the Houſe of Commons, not only for the reaſon of his Commitment, but, as they thought, of his irregular Diſcharge, thought fit to reſign his Place; and on *Feb.* 9. his Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute the Right Honourable *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland* one of his principal Secretaries of State, in the room of Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, who did then reſign the Seals into his Majeſty's Hands; and reſolving to retire and enjoy the Country, he did on the 14th of *January* marry the Relict of the Lord *O Bryan*, (who deceaſed on the firſt of *December* 1678.) Siſter and Co-heir of *Charles* late Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, who died at *Elſeneur* in *Denmark* on the 2d of *December*, 1672. being then his Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary to that Crown. Sir *William Temple* was call'd over from *Holland* by his Majeſty, in order to take upon him this Office; who acquainted the Prince of *Orange* and the *States* with

[a] To oblige the Duke, and prevent his fear of being diſinherited as a Papiſt, the King made a Declaration in Writing, and had it printed by his ſpecial Command, ſolemnly denying the falſe and malicious Report of his having been married to the Mother of the Duke of *Monmouth*, dated, *Whitehall*, *Jan.* 6. 167$\frac{7}{8}$. And again another Declaration made and entred in Council, *Whitehall*, *March* 3. 167$\frac{8}{9}$, that he never gave or made any Contract of Marriage.

his

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his Journey, and the Deſign of it; who made him Complements upon that Occaſion, and would have had him believe, that the Secretaryſhip was to make Amends for the Loſs of his Ambaſſage. But Sir *William* told the Prince, "That though he muſt "go, yet if he found the Scene to be what it ap-"pear'd at that Diſtance, he would not charge "himſelf with that Employment, upon any Terms "that could be offer'd." Whether Sir *William* did refuſe it, or whether it was never in earneſt offer'd to him [a], this is certain, that it was diſpos'd of before Sir *William*'s Return to *England*: And it was not long a Secret, that the Earl of *Sunderland* paid Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* ſix thouſand Pounds, and five hundred Guineas, in conſideration of his Surrender of the ſaid Place. The Earl of *Danby* lying in the *Tower* under a like Diſpleaſure of the Commons, his Majeſty thought fit to diſmiſs him from the Office of Lord High Treaſurer of *England*; and the Lord *Latimer*, his Son, having deliver'd the White Staff into his Majeſty's Hands, his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint the Right Honourable the Earl of *Eſſex*, *Laurence Hyde* Eſq; Sir *John Ernle*, Sir *Edward Deering*, and *Sidney Godolphin* Eſq; to be Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury.

Executions of Popiſh Plotters.

In Proſecution of the Popiſh Plot, Mr. *William Staley* being convicted of treaſonable Words againſt his Majeſty's Life, was Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd at *Tyburn* on the 26th of *November*. *Edward Coleman* Eſq; found guilty of High Treaſon, in conſpiring the Death of the King, and ſubverting his Government, and extirpating of the True Proteſtant Religion, was executed upon the like Sentence on the 3d of *December*, having depended on a Promiſe of Pardon with ſo much Aſſurance, that ſome of his laſt Words were ſaid to be [b], *There is no Faith in Man*. On the 24th of *January*, *William Ireland*, a Jeſuit, and *John Grove*, having been on the 14th of *December* convicted at the *Old-Bailey* of having conſpired the Deſtruction of the King's Royal Perſon, the Subverſion of his Government, and the Extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion, were accordingly executed at *Tyburn*; but their Heads and Quarters were deliver'd to their Friends to be buried through his Majeſty's extraordinary Grace and Mercy. *Green*, *Hill*, and *Berry*, who were indicted at the *King's-Bench-Bar* on the 10th of *February* for the Murther of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, and upon a full Evidence found guilty, were ſoon after executed: But Mr. *Samuel Atkins* being likewiſe indicted as an Acceſſory to the ſaid Murther, was, after a full Hearing of the Evidence againſt him, acquitted, and thereupon diſcharged. And at the latter-end of *January*, *Roger* Earl of *Caſtlemain*, Mr. *Daniel Arthur* of *London*, Merchant, and Eſq; *Sheldon*, were, upon their *Habeas Corpus*, brought reſpectively into the Court of *King's-Bench*, and diſcharg'd of their Impriſonment, giving ſufficient Bail for their Appearance when thereunto required.

A ſtrange Darkneſs.

It ſeems fit to be remember'd as an extraordinary Event, that on *Sunday Jan.* 12. 167 8/9. for above a Quarter of an Hour, between ten and eleven in the Morning, was ſo great and ſudden a Darkneſs in and about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, that People within the Churches could not ſee to read in their Bibles, and were not able in the Streets to diſtinguiſh one Perſon from another. It was, for the time, a deeper Blackneſs than that of an Eclipſe, (which did not now happen) and was thought to equal, if not exceed the great Solar Eclipſe, which in the late Times left the Name of *Black-Monday*.

The Year concluded in great Strife and Diviſion, about electing Members for the New Parliament; thoſe Gentlemen were generally moſt popular, who were moſt averſe to Popery, and leaſt inclined to the Court: The City of *London* ſet an Example, by chuſing for their Repreſentatives Sir *Robert Clayton*, Kt. and Alderman; Sir *Thomas Player*, Kt. and Chamberlain of the City; *William Love*, Eſq; late Alderman; and *Thomas Pilkinton*, Eſq; a *Turkey* Merchant.

State of Religion.

The State of Religion, in reference to the Deſigns and horrid Attempts of *Popery*, has been already repreſented. It may be further obſerv'd, That upon meeting of the Parliament *Octob.* 21. when *a Day of Faſting and Humiliation* was appointed, and a Form of Prayer was drawing up for that Occaſion, the Commons addreſs'd the King with a Deſire, "That there might be a particular *Prayer* "or *Prayers* compoſed for the Cities of *London* and "*Weſtminſter*, relating to the Plot and Conſpiracy "contriv'd and carry'd on by the Papiſts againſt "his Majeſty's Perſon and Government." To which his Majeſty anſwer'd, *That it ſhould be ſo done*. But on the 10th of *Nov.* they reſolve to repreſent unto his Majeſty, "That thoſe his Majeſty's Commands "have not as yet been obey'd, there being no men-"tion in the *Prayers* to be uſed on *Wedneſday* next "of the *Papiſts*, who are the Contrivers of this "damnable and helliſh Plot: And therefore they "humbly deſire his Majeſty to give effectual Or-"ders that his Commands may be obey'd." On *Tueſday Nov.* 12. the Day before the *Faſt*, Mr. Secretary *Williamſon* acquainted the Houſe, "That "he had attended his Majeſty with their ſecond "Addreſs, touching a particular *Prayer* to be uſed "on *Wedneſday* next; and that his Majeſty was "pleaſed to give Orders that the *Prayers* ſhould be "alter'd.

Commons deſire a particular *Prayer* relating to the Popiſh Plot.

Bill to exclude Papiſts from either Houſe of Parliament.

The Commons were ſo zealous in their *Bill for the more effectual Preſerving the King's Perſon and Government, by diſabling* Papiſts *to ſit in either Houſe of Parliament*, that they voted it to be *a Bill upon which the Safety of the King and Kingdom, and the Proteſtant Religion, do entirely depend*. And when the Bill was likely to ſtick in the Houſe of Lords, they ſent up this Meſſage to them; "The Com-"mons in Parliament aſſembled reflecting on the "imminent Dangers wherein the Kingdom is in-"volved, by the reſtleſs Conſpiracies of Popiſh Re-"cuſants againſt his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Re-"ligion and Government eſtabliſh'd; do find them-"ſelves neceſſitated to remind your Lordſhips, for "a ſpeedy Proceeding on the Bill before you, en-"titul'd, *An Act for the more effectual Preſerving* "*the King's Perſon and Government, by diſabling* "Papiſts *from ſitting in either Houſe of Parliament*; "without which, they think themſelves unable to "prepare any effectual Remedies to prevent the "Evils that hang over us.

After the Riſing of the Parliament, there ſeemed to be a Diſpoſition in the Court to relax the many Orders that had been lately given for putting all the Laws in Execution againſt the Roman Catholicks; and it ſeems to have been upon this View, that the Juſtices of the Peace for *Middleſex* preſented to his Majeſty, in Council, theſe ſix Quæries:

[a] Sir *William Temple* underſtands that he was not to ſucceed in the place of Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, as here intimated, but in the other Secretary's Office about the ſame time with my Lord *Sunderland*, who was brought into Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*'s Place. *Memoirs* II. p. 3[illegible].
Upon his coming over, he ſays, we knew very well in *Holland* that both Houſes of Parliament believed the Plot; that the Clergy, the City, the Countrey in general did ſo too, or at leaſt purſu'd it, as if they all believ'd it. We knew the King and ſome of the Court believ'd nothing of it, and yet thought not fit to own that Opinion. And the Prince told me, *He had reaſon to be confident that the King was in his Heart a Roman Catholick, tho' he durſt not profeſs it.*

[b] There was only ſome little Reſpect paid him after he was dead. His Quarters were allow'd to be buried, and his Eſtate given to his Wife and Children.

1. "Whether

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Quæries of the Juſtices of Peace, in relation to putting the Laws in Execution againſt the Papiſts.

1. " Whether Foreigners (Popiſh Recuſants) " that are and have long been here ſettled Houſe-" keepers, and are Tradeſmen, *viz.* Chirurgeons, " Taylors, Perriwig-makers, or Ordinary Shop-" keepers following Employments for their own " Advantage, but not otherwiſe Merchants, but " are certified to be Merchant-Strangers, ſhall be " excuſed from taking the Oaths, or finding Sure-" ties, or either of them?

2. " Whether ſuch Foreigners, being certified " by Ambaſſadors, or other Foreign Miniſters, " to be their Servants at this time, ſhall be ex-" cuſed?

3. " Whether Foreigners (Popiſh Recuſants) " ſettled here Houſe-keepers, but neither are Trades-" men, Travellers, or Foreign Miniſters Servants, " ſhall be excuſed?

4. " Whether Native Subjects of our Sovereign " Lord, that are menial Servants of Foreign Mi-" niſters, ſhall be excuſed?

5. " Whether Married Women, being Popiſh " Recuſants, but their Husbands Proteſtants, ſhall " be excuſed?

6. " Whether Popiſh Recuſants that have taken " the Oaths, found Sureties, have appeared, and " are convict, ſhall find new Sureties, or be con-" tinued over?

And his Majeſty had from the Judges, to whom the ſame were referred, received Anſwer in Writing in the Words following:

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

Anſwer of the Judges.

" WE have met and conſider'd of the Queſti-" ons propoſed to us, and do hereby " humbly return our Opinions.

" To the Firſt, We are of Opinion,

1. " That Foreigners (being Popiſh Recuſants) " and exerciſing Ordinary Trades (but not Mer-" chants) are not excuſed from taking the Oaths, " or finding Securities.

2. " To the Second; That Foreigners, though " certified by Ambaſſadors to be their Servants, " except they are their Menial Servants, are not " excuſed.

3. " To the Third; That Foreigners, though " ſettled Houſe-keepers, being no Travellers, or " Foreign Miniſters Servants, are not excuſed.

4. " To the Fourth; That the King's Native " Subjects are not excuſed from taking the Oaths " by being Menial Servants to Foreign Maſters.

5. " To the Fifth; We find no Law that ex-" cuſes a Feme-Covert, being a Papiſt, from taking " the Oaths, though her Husband be a Proteſtant.

6. " To the Sixth; That a Popiſh Recuſant ha-" ving taken the Oaths, is not bound to find new " Sureties, unleſs upon a new Tender of the Oaths " he ſhall refuſe to take them.

" All which, with great Humility, we ſub-" mit to your Majeſty's Judgment.

William Scroggs,	*Robert Atkyns,*
Francis North,	*V. Bertie,*
W. Mountague,	*Fr. Bramſton,*
W. Wylde,	*Tho. Jones,*
Tim. Littleton,	*W. Dolben.*
Hugh Wyndham.	

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" His Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to approve the " ſaid Report and Opinion of his Judges, and did " this Day (*Jan.* 31.) order, as it is hereby order-" ed accordingly, That the Juſtices of the Peace in " their reſpective Precincts, do, in Execution of " their Duties touching the Particulars there men-" tioned, take Notice of the ſame, and conform " themſelves thereunto. And this Order is to be " ſent to the *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of each County, that " he may give Information of the ſame.

The Juſtices being too Remiſs, are complain'd of in Council.

There ſeem'd to be a like Remiſſneſs in ſome Parts of the Country, as well as nearer Court; for Complaint was made to the King in Council, That ſeveral Juſtices of the Peace, of ſeveral Counties, Cities, and Liberties within this Kingdom, notwithſtanding the many Proclamations which his Majeſty had been pleaſed lately to publiſh for the better Security of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government [a], and of the True Proteſtant Religion, did refuſe or neglect to put the ſame in Execution. Whereupon his Majeſty, on *Jan.* 31. was pleaſed in Council to order, " That all his Majeſty's Ju-" ſtices of the Peace ſhould with all Care and Di-" ligence purſue the ſaid Commands in Execution " of the Laws; and upon due Complaint made of " their Neglect or Refuſal, ſhould be put out of " Commiſſion, as Perſons diſaffected to his Maje-" ſty's Government, and the True Proteſtant Re-" ligion, and in their Places other Perſons ſhould be " put, who were likely to act with more Vigour " and good Affection." And at the beginning of this ſame Month, his Majeſty, by Advice of his Privy-Council, iſſued out his Royal Proclamation, dated *Jan.* 8. commanding the immediate Return of all his Majeſty's Subjects who are in any Foreign Seminaries, and forbidding Relief to be ſent to them.

The King forc'd to quicken 'em.

The Diſſenters Behaviour upon the Popiſh Plot.

The *Diſſenters* knew how to make ſome Advantage of the *Popiſh Plot*, and generally falling into the Wiſhes and Endeavours of a zealous Proſecution of it, became thereby the more popular; and thoſe Members in each Houſe who were thought to be in their Intereſt, had now an Opportunity of being eſteem'd the greater Patriots, and the better Friends of the Proteſtant Religion; while many of thoſe who were more profeſſedly for the Eſtabliſhed *Church of England* were drawn into the Meaſures of the Court, and into the Perſonal Intereſt of the Duke of *York*, and thereby fell under the Character of being Popiſhly affected, and the Promoters of Arbitrary Power. The Diſſolution of the *Long Parliament* was a ſpiteful Satisfaction to many of the Old *Nonconformiſts*, becauſe of their Suffering by ſome Laws that had been made by them. And upon the Choice of a New Parliament, this ſame Party were very induſtrious to recommend thoſe Gentlemen who had been moſt their Friends and Abettors, making the World at this Juncture believe, that they were the chief Aſſertors of *Engliſh* Liberty and the Reformed Religion. Their own Hiſtory be-

Abridgment of Mr. *Baxter*'s Life.

[a] See 1. *The Romiſh Prieſt turn'd Proteſtant*, with the Reaſons of his Converſion; wherein the true Church is expoſed to the view of Chriſtians, and derived out of the Holy Scriptures, ſound Reaſon, and the ancient Fathers; humbly preſented to both Houſes of Parliament by *James Salgado*, a *Spaniard*, formerly a Prieſt of the Order of *Dominicans*, *Decemb.* 26. 1678. *Lond.* 1679. 4*to.*——2. *The Memoirs of Mr. James Wadeſworth*, a Jeſuit that recanted; with the Reaſons why he turn'd Proteſtant, diſcovering a dreadful Proſpect of Impiety in the blaſphemous Doctrines of the Jeſuits, *&c. London*, 4*to.* 1679.——3. *An exact Diſcovery of the Myſtery of Iniquity* as it is now in Practice among the Jeſuits, and other their Emiſſaries; with a particular Account of their Antichriſtian and Deviliſh Policy. Compoſed in the *Italian* Tongue by one of the *Romiſh* Religion, and now newly publiſh'd by *Titus Oates*, D. D. Licens'd *Febr.* 4. 167$\frac{8}{9}$. *London*, 1679. 4*to.*——4. *The Cabinet of the Jeſuits Secrets opened*, in which there are many things relating to the Church and Clergy of *England*; from a *French* Copy, printed at *Colen* 1678. Made *Engliſh* by a Perſon of Quality. Licens'd *Febr.* 14. 167$\frac{8}{9}$. 4*to.*——5. A ſhort Narrative of the Diſcovery of a College of Jeſuits at a Place called the *Come*, in the County of *Hereford*, as ſent up to the Lords in Parliament at the End of the laſt Seſſions by the Right Reverend Father in God *Herbert* Lord Biſhop of *Hereford*, according to an Order ſent unto him by the ſaid Lords; to which is added a true Relation of the Knavery of Father *Lewis*, the pretended Biſhop of *Landaſſe*, now a Priſoner in *Monmouth* Goal. Licens'd *Febr.* 2[illegible]. 167$\frac{8}{9}$. 4*to.*

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trays this Truth: "At length, on the 14th of *January*, 1678. this Parliament, which ſo long "comply'd with the Court in all their Deſires, "which, to gratify the Clergy, caſt ſo many worthy Miniſters out of the Church by the Act of "Uniformity, and afterwards laid ſuch heavy Burdens on the Poor *Nonconformiſts*, which improv'd "by Sitting, and grew more and more concern'd "for the Publick Welfare, as they were awakened "by a Senſe of the common Danger, was ſuddenly "diſſolved. This Diſſolution occaſion'd a general "Ferment in all Parts of the Country; it was generally eſteemed the common Concern in the "next Election to chuſe firm Proteſtants, who "ſhould heartily apply themſelves to make Proviſion for the common Security.

On *March* 9. Dr. *Joſeph Henſhaw*, Biſhop of *Peterborough* (who ſucceeded Dr. *Benjamin Laney*, tranſlated to *Lincoln* in 1663) died ſuddenly, at his return Home from the Evening Service at the Abbey-Church in *Weſtminſter*; whoſe Succeſſor in that See was Dr. *William Lloyd*, tranſlated thither from *Llandaff*.

There is little more of Eccleſiaſtical Matter in this Year, excepting the excellent Directions from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to his reſpective Suffragans, concerning *Letters Teſtimonial* to be granted unto Candidates for Holy Orders in theſe Letters dated from *Lambeth*, *Aug.* 23. 1678.

Salutem in Chriſto.

My Lord,

Directions of the Archbp. of *Canterbury* for giving Teſtimonials for Holy Orders.

"Whereas the eaſy and promiſcuous granting "of *Letters Teſtimonial*, (which is in itſelf a ſacred Thing, and, in the firſt Intention, "of great and very weighty Importance) is, by "the Lapſe of Time, and the Corruption which "by inſenſible Degrees is crept into the beſt Inſtitutions, come to be both in the Univerſities, and "elſewhere in the Dioceſes, a matter of mere Formality, a piece of common Civility, ſcarce deny'd to any that aſk it, and many times, upon the "Credit of the firſt Subſcriber, atteſted by the "reſt, who have otherwiſe no Knowledge of the "Perſon ſo adorn'd; or elſe, where more Conſcience is made of bearing Falſe-witneſs, even for a "Neighbour, is done ſo perfunctorily, and in ſo "low and dilate Terms, as ought to ſignify nothing "at all to the great End which 'tis deſigned to ſerve, "and yet is ſometimes with a like Eaſineſs and Remiſſneſs received and proceeded upon, whereby "great Miſchiefs in the Church and Scandals daily "enſue; Perſons altogether undeſerving, or at leaſt "not duly qualified, being too often, upon the "Credit of ſuch Papers, admitted into Holy Orders; and in Conſequence thereupon, thruſting "themſelves into Employments of high Truſt and "Dignity and Advantage in the Church, and by "their numerous Intruſions preventing and excluding others of greater Modeſty and Merit: concerning all which, your Lordſhip cannot but "remember how many and how great Complaints "we met with both from our Brethren the Biſhops "and others, during the late Seſſion of Parliament, "and what Expedients for Remedy thereof were "then under Debate and Conſideration amongſt us. "Now, as the reſult of thoſe Counſels, and for the "effectual redreſſing of thoſe Inconveniences, and "preventing the like for the future, tho' it would "be abundantly ſufficient, to call all Perſons concerned on both Sides to the ſerious peruſal of, "and exact Compliance with thoſe excellent Conſtitutions and Canons Eccleſiaſtical made in the "Year 1603. which have moſt wiſely and fully "provided to obviate all thoſe Evils, yet (becauſe "in the modern Practice they ſeem not duly to be "attended to) it is thought fit and neceſſary again "to limit and regulate the Grant, the Matter and "the Form of *Teſtimonials*, as followeth, *viz.*

1. "That no *Letters Teſtimonial* be granted only "upon the Credit of others, or out of a Judgment "of Charity, *which believes all things*, *and hopes all things*, but from immediate and perſonal Knowledge, and that own'd and expreſſed in the Letters themſelves.

2. "That (as to the *Form* of theſe Letters) every ſuch *Teſtimonial* have the Date both as to "Time and Place expreſſly mentioned in the Body "of it, before it be ſubſcribed by any, and paſs alſo (as the Canon requires) under Hand and Seal; "Thoſe, namely, from the Univerſities, under the "common Seal of their reſpective Colleges, atteſted by the Subſcription of the Maſter, Head, or "Principal Perſon there; And thoſe from other "Places, under the Hands and Seals of three Prieſts "at the leaſt, of known Integrity, Gravity and Prudence, who are of the Vicinage where the Perſon teſtified of reſides, or have otherwiſe known "his Life and Behaviour by the ſpace of three "Years next before the Date of the ſaid *Letters*.

3. "And as to the *Matter* of them, That they "particularly expreſs the preſent Condition of the "Perſon in whoſe behalf the Teſtimony is given; "his Standing and Degree in the Univerſity, his "Place of preſent Abode, and Courſe of Life; his "End and Deſign for which he would make uſe of "the ſaid *Teſtimonial*, whether for obtaining the "Order of Deacon or Prieſt, or the Employment "of a Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or School-Maſter, "and that the Subſcribers know him to be worthy "and in regard of Learning, Prudence, and holy "Life, duly qualified for the ſame reſpectively: "And if he deſire holy Orders, his Age too, if the "Subſcribers know it, or elſe that they admoniſh "him to bring it otherwiſe credibly and ſufficiently "Atteſted.

Laſtly, "If ſuch *Teſtimonial* be to be made uſe of "in another Dioceſe than that where it is given, that "it be by no means received, without the Letters "Dimiſſory of the Biſhop, or other Ordinary of "the Place, atteſting in Writing the Ability, Honeſty, and good Converſation of the Perſon commended, in the Place from whence he came.

"*My Lord*, This is (I think) the Summ of what "was diſcourſed and reſolved between us, when "we were laſt together: I therefore deſire you, "with all convenient ſpeed, to cauſe Copies hereof "to be tranſcribed, and tranſmitted to the ſeveral "Biſhops of this Province, and Vice-Chancellors of "the Univerſities reſpectively, and to be by them "communicated (as ſoon as may well be) to as many as are herein concerned, that they may not be "diſappointed, by coming furniſhed with ſuch *Teſtimonials* only, as will not (nor ought to) be received to ſuch great Purpoſes, for which they are "ſo often made uſe of. Commending your Lordſhip and your great Affairs to the Bleſſing of God "Almighty, I remain, *My Lord*,

Your Lordſhip's Aſſured Loving Brother,

W. CANT.

Mr. *Robert Foulkes*, Miniſter of *Stanton Lacy* in in the County of *Salop*, having been Convicted and Sentenced at the Seſſions in the *Old-Bailey*, *Lond.* on the 16th of *January*, for the Murther of a Baſtard Child [a] begotten by him, was on *Jan.* 31. ex-

[a] See the Confeſſion, Prayers, Letters, and laſt Words of *Robert Foulkes*, late Miniſter of *Stanton Lacy*, *Com. Salop*, executed on *January* 31. 1678. written with his own Hand, and ſent by him at his Death to Dr. *Lloyd*, Dean of *Bangor*. *London*, 1679. 4to.

ecuted

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ecuted at *Tyburn*, leaving behind him a very ſerious Declaration of Repentance, which was ſhortly after publiſh'd; and by the Strains of Devotion in it, did, in great meaſure, wipe away the Scandal he had given to holy Orders.

1679.

Meeting of the New Parliament.

The K.'s Speech.

On *Thurſday March* 6. the new Parliament met; At which time the King acquainted them what had "been done in Proſecution of the Plot; as, the "Excluſion of the Popiſh Lords from their Seats "in Parliament, and the Execution of ſeveral Perſons, as well for the horrid Conſpiracy againſt his "own Royal Perſon and Government, as for the "Murther of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*: And that "he had commanded his Brother to depart the "Kingdom, becauſe he would nor leave malicious "Men room to ſay, That he had not removed all "Cauſes which could be pretended to influence him "towards Popiſh Counſels: That as he had not "been ſlack in putting the preſent Laws in Execution againſt Papiſts, ſo he was ready to join in "making ſuch further Laws as might be neceſſary "for ſecuring the Kingdom againſt Popery. He "then demanded a Supply, and concluded with his "earneſt Deſires to have this a healing Parliament, "aſſuring them, he would defend the Proteſtant "Religion with his Life, and expects to be defended by them from the Calumny as well as Danger of theſe worſt of Men, who endeavour to "render both him and his Government odious to "the People." The Chancellor enlarged on all the Heads; and in reference to the Plot, reminded the two Houſes, "not to Over-doe their Buſineſs, and "by being too far tranſported with the Fears of "Popery, neglect the Opportunity of making "ſober and laſting Proviſions againſt it; which "(ſays he) are the only Hopes of Papiſts, thus to "ſee our Zeal out-run our Diſcretion, and that we "our ſelves[a] ſhould become the unhappy Occaſion "of making our own Councils abortive.

The Lord Chancellor proceeds.

Edw. Seymour Eſq; choſen *Speaker*.

The Commons returning to their Houſe, at the Motion of Colonel *Birch*, choſe for their Speaker *Edward Seymour* Eſq; Knight of the Shire for the County of *Devon*, Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Navy, one of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Speaker of the former Parliament. But the King taking this to be an ill Preſage, that this Parliament would begin where the laſt did end, would not approve their Choice, commanding the Houſe to return, and to proceed to the Election of a new Speaker, and to preſent him at Eleven a Clock on *Saturday March* 8. At which time the Houſe being in ſome Surprize, at the rejecting their Speaker Elect, made an humble Application to his Majeſty, "That he would be pleaſed to grant them ſome "further Time to take that Matter into their Con- "ſideration." To which his Majeſty ſent this Anſwer in Writing; *Gentlemen, I have conſider'd of your Meſſage, and do conſent to a further Time, which I appoint to be on* Tueſday *next, unleſs you ſhall find ſome Expedient in the mean time; for as I would not have my Prerogative intrench'd upon, ſo I would not do any thing againſt the Privileges of this Houſe.*

Rejected by the King.

Commons offended, make ſeveral Addreſſes.

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And the King gives them ſeveral Anſwers.

On *Tueſday March* 11. the Commons delivered an humble Repreſentation to his Majeſty, "To deſire "him to reſt ſatisfied with their Proceedings, and "not to deprive them of ſo neceſſary a Member as "their *Speaker* elected and preſented according to "Cuſtom," *&c.* To which his Majeſty gave this ſhort Anſwer; *Gentlemen, All this is but loſs of Time, and therefore I deſire you to go back again, and do as I have directed you.* The Commons not yet ſatisfied, reſolved upon another Addreſs, preſented on *Wedneſday March* 12. "humbly to deſire his Majeſty "to take the Repreſentation Yeſterday made to "him into further Conſideration." To this Addreſs his Majeſty gave this quick and ſharp Return; *Gentlemen, I will ſend you an Anſwer to-Morrow.* On that Morrow, being *Thurſday March* 13. his Majeſty was pleaſed to prorogue the Parliament till *Saturday* following, to convince them that he would have a new *Speaker*. On that Day, *March* 15. his Majeſty came into the Houſe of Lords in his Royal Robes, and the Houſe of Commons attending, his Majeſty was pleaſed to put both Houſes in mind of what he had ſaid to them at the Opening of the Parliament: And then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, directed the Commons to return to their Houſe, and to proceed to the Choice of a *Speaker*; which they accordingly did, and, by the Recommendation of the Lord *Ruſſell*, did immediately elect *William Gregory*, Serjeant at Law; who, the next Morning, was preſented by the Commons to his Majeſty, and approved by him.

The Parliament Prorogued.

Serj. *Gregory* choſen *Speaker*.

The Houſe reſolved to purſue the Methods taken in the former Parliament, and therefore *Reſolved*, on *Wedneſday March* 19. "That a Committee be appointed to inſpect the Journals of the laſt Seſſion "of the laſt Parliament, and to prepare and draw "up a State of the Matters then depending and "undetermin'd, and the Progreſs that was made "therein." And on *March* 20. they *Reſolved*, "That a Committee of Secrecy be appointed to "take Informations, and prepare Evidence, and "draw up Articles againſt the Lords that are impeached, and that are now in the *Tower*; and to "take ſuch further Informations as ſhall be given, "relating to the Plot and Conſpiracy againſt his "Majeſty, and the Government, and the Murder "of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*:" And immediately after *Reſolved*, "That a Meſſage be ſent to the "Lords, to put them in mind of the Impeachment "of High Treaſon exhibited againſt *Thomas* Earl

The Commons begin where the former Parliament ended.

[a] Sir *William Temple* judg'd well of this Juncture in his *Memoirs.* P. II. p. 389. A new Parliament was called; and to make way for a calmer Seſſion, the Reſolution had been taken at Court for the Duke's going over into *Holland*. The Elections of the enſuing Parliament were ſo eagerly purſu'd, that all were in a manner engag'd before I came over; and by the Diſpoſitions that appear'd in both Electors and Elected, it was eaſy to preſage in what Temper the Houſes were like to meet. My Lord *Shaftſbury*, my Lord *Eſſex*, and my Lord *Hallifax*, had ſtruck up with the Duke of *Monmouth*, reſolving to make uſe of his Credit with the King, and to ſupport it by theirs in the Parliament.—— Sir *William Coventry* had the moſt Credit of any Man in the Houſe of Commons, and I think the moſt deſervedly, not only for his great Abilities, but for having been turn'd out of the Council and Treaſury, to make way for my Lord *Clifford's* Greatneſs, and the Deſigns of the *Cabal*. He had been ever ſince oppoſite to the *French* Alliances, and bent upon engaging *England* in a War with that Crown and Aſſiſtance of the Confederates, and was now extremely diſſatisfy'd with the Concluſion of the Peace, and with the Miniſtry, that he thought either aſſiſted, or at leaſt might have prevented it: And in theſe Diſpoſitions he was like to be follow'd by the beſt and ſobereſt part of the Houſe of Commons.

For my Lord Treaſurer and Lord Chamberlain *(Danby* and *Arlington)* I found them two moſt admirable Emblems of the true and ſo much admir'd Felicity of Miniſters of State. The laſt, notwithſtanding the greateſt Skill of Court, and the beſt turns of Wit in particular Converſation that I have known there, and the great Figure he made in the firſt Part of theſe Memoirs, was now grown out of all Credit and Confidence with the King, the Duke, and Prince of *Orange*, and thereby forc'd to ſupport himſelf by Intrigues with the Perſons moſt diſcontented againſt my Lord Treaſurer's Miniſtry, whoſe Greatneſs he ſo much envied, and who was yet at this time in much worſe Condition than himſelf, tho' not ſo ſenſible of it: For he had been very ill with the late Parliament upon account of Tranſactions from *France*, which tho' he had not approv'd, yet he durſt not defend himſelf from the Imputation, for fear of expoſing his Maſter. He was hated by the *French* Ambaſſador for endeavouring (as he thought) to engage the King in a War with *France*: He was in danger of being purſued by his Enemies next Parliament, for having (as they pretended) made the Peace, and endeavour'd to ſtifle the Plot; and yet I found within a Fortnight after I arrived, that he ſate very looſe with the King his Maſter, who told me ſeveral Reaſons of that Change, whereof one was his having brought the Buſineſs of the Plot into the Parliament againſt his abſolute Command. And to compleat the happy and envied State of this chief Miniſter, the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* and Earl of *Sunderland* were joined with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftſbury* in the deſign of his Ruin.

"of

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" of *Danby*, in the Names of the Commons of " *England*, and to deſire that he may be commit- " ted to ſafe Cuſtody: *Reſolving* again, That it be " referred to the Committee of Secrecy to draw " up further Articles againſt him.

Addreſs for a Faſt.

On *Friday March* 21. the Lords and Commons agreed in an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty for appointing a *ſolemn Day of Humiliation, being deeply ſenſible of the ſad and calamitous Condition of this Kingdom, occaſioned chiefly by the impious and malicious Conſpiracies of a Popiſh Party, who have not only plotted and intended the Deſtruction of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, but the total Subverſion of the Government, and True Religion eſtabliſhed among us.* And accordingly his Majeſty commanded a *General and Publick Faſt*, to be kept throughout the Kingdom, on *Friday April* 11.

The King ſpeaks in favour of the Earl of *Danby*.

On *Saturday March* 22. the Commons ordered a *Bill* to be brought in, *to ſecure the King and Kingdom againſt the Danger and Growth of Popery.* And being commanded to attend his Majeſty in the Houſe of Peers, the King ſpoke to them in favour of the Earl of *Danby*; But returning to their Houſe, they *Reſolved*, " That a Meſſage be immediately ſent to " the Lords, to remind their Lordſhips of the laſt " Meſſage ſent them from this Houſe, relating to " *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, and to demand that he " might be forthwith ſequeſtred from Parliament, " and committed to ſafe Cuſtody." Upon which the Lords deſired a preſent Conference with the Commons, where the Duke of *Monmouth* ſpake thus; *I am commanded by the Lords to acquaint you, That their Lordſhips having taken into Conſideration Matters relating to the Earl of* Danby, *together with what his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay upon that Subject; have ordered that a Bill be brought in, by which* Thomas *Earl of* Danby *may be made for ever incapable of coming to his Majeſty's Preſence, and of all Offices and Employments, and of receiving any Grants or Gifts from the Crown, and of ſitting in the Houſe of Peers.* In the mean time, the Commons hearing that the King had ſigned a Pardon for the Earl, they appointed a Committee to repair to the Lord Chancellor, to enquire into the manner of Suing forth that Pardon. The Lord Chancellor did inform the Committee, " That the Pardon was paſſed with all " Privacy, the King commanding him to bring the " Seal to *Whitehall*; and being there, he laid it up- " on the Table; whereupon his Majeſty command- " ed the Seal to be taken out of the Bag, which " his Lordſhip was obliged to ſubmit unto, it not " being in his Power to hinder it; and the King " writ his Name upon the top of the Parchment, " and then directed to have it ſealed; whereupon " the Perſon that uſually carried the Purſe affixed the " Seal to it." Upon this Report from his Lordſhip, the Commons *Reſolved*, " That an humble " Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, to repreſent the " Irregularity and Illegality of the Pardon mention'd " by his Majeſty to be granted to the Earl of *Danby*, and the dangerous Conſequence of granting " Pardons to any Perſons that lie under an Impeach- " ment of the Commons of *England*.

But the Commons reſolve to proceed againſt him.

King's Pardon to the Earl of *Danby*.

Commons Addreſs againſt it.

The Earl then withdraws.

On *Tueſday March* 25. the Lords ſent a [a] Meſſage to acquaint the Houſe of Commons, *That they had ſent to apprehend* Thomas *Earl of* Danby, *both to his Houſe here in Town, and to his Houſe at* Wimbleton; *and that the Gentleman-Uſher of the Black-Rod had returned their Lordſhips Anſwer, That he could not be found.* Whereupon the Commons ordered, " That " a Bill be brought in to ſummon *Thomas* Earl of " *Danby* to render himſelf to Juſtice by a certain " Day to be therein limited, or in default thereof, " to attaint him. On *Thurſday March* 27. the Lords ſent down a Bill, entituled, *An Act for baniſhing and diſabling* Thomas *Earl of* Danby, *&c.* But the Commons immediately *Reſolved*, That the Bill be rejected; and on *April* 1. paſſed a Bill for the Attainder of *Thomas* Earl of *Danby* of High-Treaſon; which they ſent up to the Lords by Sir *Robert Peyton*.

Attainted by the Commons.

On *April* 3. the [b] Commons agreed upon the Articles of Impeachment of High-Treaſon, and other high Crimes and Offences againſt *William* Earl of *Powys*, *William* Viſcount *Stafford*, *Henry* Lord *Arundell* of *Wardour*, *William* Lord *Petre*, and *John* Lord *Bellaſis*, now Priſoners in the *Tower* of *London*. The next Day there was a Conference between the two Houſes, in the *Painted Chamber*, concerning the Bill ſent up againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, where the Lord Privy-Seal managed the Conference for their Lordſhips, and deliver'd himſelf to this effect, " That the Lords choſe to deliver back by Confe- " rence, rather than Meſſage, to preſerve a good " Underſtanding, and to prevent Debate or Contro- " verſy between them: The Lords obſerve, That " the great Affairs of this Nation are at a ſtand, at " a time of greateſt Danger and Difficulty that this " Kingdom ever laboured under: That the King " hath always in his Reign enclined to Mercy and " Clemency to all his Subjects: Therefore to a King " ſo merciful and compaſſionate, the firſt Inter- " ruption of his Clemency they did deſire ſhould " not proceed from the two Houſes, preſſing the " King to an Act of the greateſt Severity; there- " fore have paſſed the Bill, with ſome Amendments, " which he deliver'd." The Commons diſagreed to the Amendments made by the Lords, and drew up Reaſons to be offered in another Conference, implying, That their Lordſhips Amendments had wholly alter'd the Nature of their Bill, and from a Bill of Attainder, had converted it into a Bill of Baniſhment: And at the ſame time drew up an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, to deſire him to iſſue out his Royal Proclamation for apprehending the ſaid Earl; and had the ſame Day another Conference with the Lords, upon the Earl of *Danby*'s Caſe, where the Lord *Huntington* managed the Conference, and what he delivered was to this Effect; " The Lords have deſired this Conference with the " Commons, not ſo much to argue and diſpute, as " to mitigate and reconcile: They have already ob- " ſerved, that the Debate of this Bill hath given ſo " long and ſo great an Obſtruction to publick Buſi- " neſs, and therefore they deſire you to believe, that " *that* is the Reaſon which hath chiefly prevailed " with their Lordſhips in a Matter of this Nature, " and upon this Ground it is, that if a way may be " found to ſatisfy and ſecure the publick Fears, by " growing leſs than the Bill you have propoſed, the " Lords do not think it adviſable to inſiſt upon the " utmoſt and moſt rigorous Satisfaction, to prevent " Juſtice, which might be denied. To induce you " to this Compliance, the Lords do acknowledge, " that Baniſhment is ſo far from being the legal " Judgment in Caſe of High Treaſon, that it is not

Impeachment of the Popiſh Lords.

A Conference upon the Caſe of the Earl of *Danby*.

Another Conference on the ſame Subject-Matter.

[a] See a Speech of the Earl of *Shaftſbury*'s in the Houſe of Peers, deliver'd *March* 25. 1679. for putting away evil Counſellors and Popiſh Councils, privately printed under the Title of *A Speech of a noble Peer*, and afterwards ordered to be burnt. Put into the Appendix to the Lives of the Chancellors. 8*vo.* 1712.

[b] *Die Jovis, April* 3. Report that the Lords with the White Staves have attended his Majeſty with the humble Deſire of this Houſe, that all ſuch Perſons who breed, or ſuffer their Children to be bred in the Popiſh Religion, may by his Majeſty's Order be put out of all publick Employments, —— and that no Perſon ſhall be put into, or continue in any publick Employment, who ſhall knowingly marry a Papiſt; which his Majeſty is pleaſed to grant.

Friday Apr. 4. In the Houſe of Commons an Act for the better Diſcovery and more ſpeedy Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants ſent down from the Lords, was read a ſecond time, and committed to a Committee, who were to bring in a Clauſe to prevent any of the Royal Family from matching with Popiſh Recuſants.

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“the legal Judgment in any Caſe whatſoever, ſince it can never be inflicted but by the Legiſlative Authority: But they ſee no reaſon why the Legiſlative Authority ſhould always be found to act to the utmoſt extent of its Power; for there may be a prudential neceſſity ſometimes of making Abatements, and it might be of fatal Conſequence if it ſhould not be ſo. And the Lords, to remove all Jealouſies of the Precedents of this kind, do declare, That nothing which hath been done in the Earl of *Danby*'s Caſe, ſhall be ever drawn into Example for the time to come, and will ſo enter it upon their Journal. And thereupon their Lordſhips inſiſt upon their Amendments ſo far, as to exclude all Attainders; and do promiſe themſelves the Commons will in this Point comply with their Lordſhips, who do again aſſure them, That their Reſolutions are grounded only upon their Tenderneſs and Conſideration of the Publick.”

The third Conference.

There was another Conference on this Subject-Matter *April* 12. upon which the Commons again reſolved to adhere to their Bill, and to diſagree to the Amendments made by the Lords: Upon which the Bill of Attainder did at laſt paſs both Houſes. Upon which Sir *Edward Carteret*, Uſher of the Black-Rod, on *April* 16. gave the Houſe of Lords an Account, that the Earl of *Danby* had the laſt Night render'd himſelf to him, and was in his Cuſtody. “Their Lordſhips ordered him to be brought to their Bar, where kneeling, and then ſtanding up, the Lord Chancellor let him know, that he ſtands impeached by the Commons; and that, upon his withdrawing himſelf, a Bill of Attainder had paſſed the two Houſes; by which, however, he had Time given him to come in, and make his Defence.——The Earl of *Danby* excuſed his not appearing ſooner, declared his Innocency, and made ſeveral Petitions to the Houſe, and then was ordered to withdraw. And being called in, and brought to the Bar again, the Lord Chancellor acquainted him, that their Lordſhips will allow him Time to give in his Anſwer to the Articles of his Impeachment, till the firſt Day of the Sitting of the Houſe after *Eaſter*; That if any further Charge be put in againſt him, he ſhall have further time to Anſwer; That he ſhall have Council aſſigned him, and ſhall have liberty to make uſe of Records, and that his Witneſſes ſhall be ſummoned.—Upon which he withdrew, and by Order of the Houſe was committed to the *Tower*.

Bill of Attainder paſſed the two Houſes.

Then the Earl ſurrendred himſelf.

And made his Excuſes at the Bar.

Is committed to the *Tower*.

On *April* 25. the Earl was brought from the *Tower* to the Bar of the Lords Houſe, where he delivered in Writing his Plea and Anſwer to the Articles of his Impeachment: Which being read, he withdrew. In the mean time, his Majeſty made a Delaration on *April* 20. for diſſolving the [a] Privy-Council, telling them, “He hath reſolved to lay aſide the Uſe he may have hitherto made of any ſingle Miniſtry, or private Advices, or Foreign Committee for the general Direction of his Affairs; and to conſtitute ſuch a Privy-Council as may not only by its Number be fit for the Conſultation and Digeſtion of all Buſineſs both Domeſtick and Foreign, but alſo, by the choice of them out of the ſeveral Parts this State is compoſed of, may be the beſt informed in the true Conſtitutions of it, and thereby the moſt able to counſel him in all the Affairs and Intereſts of this Crown and Nation: And by the conſtant Advice of ſuch a Council, his Majeſty reſolved hereafter to govern his Kingdoms, together with the frequent Uſe of his great Council of Parliament, which he takes to be the true ancient Conſtitution of this State and Government. And for the greater Dignity of this Council, their conſtant Number ſhall be limited to that of Thirty: And for their greater Authority, there ſhall be fifteen of his chief Officers who ſhall be Privy-Counſellors by their Places; and for the other fifteen, he will chuſe ten out of the ſeveral Ranks of the Nobility, and five Commoners of the Realm, whoſe known Abilities, Intereſt and Eſteem in the Nation, ſhall render them without all Suſpicion of either miſtaking or betraying the true Intereſt of the Kingdom, and conſequently of adviſing him ill.

The King makes a new Privy Council.

The Names of this New *Privy Council* were as follow:

List of the New Council.

His Highneſs Prince *Rupert*; *William* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Heneage* Lord *Finch*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Lord Preſident of the Council; *Arthur* Earl of *Angleſey*, Lord Privy Seal; *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Albemarle*; *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, Maſter of the Horſe; *Henry* Duke of *Newcaſtle*; *John* Duke of *Lauderdale*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*; *James* Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Steward of the Houſhold; *Charles* Lord Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*; *Henry* Lord Marqueſs of *Worceſter*; *Henry* Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold; *James* Earl of *Salisbury*; *John* Earl of *Bridgwater*; *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland*, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State; *Arthur* Earl of *Eſſex*, firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury; *John* Earl of *Bathe*, Groom of the Stole; *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Falconberg*; *George* Lord Viſcount *Hallifax*; *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*; *John* Lord *Roberts*; *Denzil* Lord *Hollis*; *William* Lord *Ruſſel*; *William* Lord *Cavendiſh*; *Henry Coventry* Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State; Sir *Francis North*, Kt. Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common Pleas; Sir *Henry Capell*, Knight of the *Bath*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty; Sir *John Earnley*, Kt. Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir *Thomas Chicheley*, Kt. Maſter of the Ordnance; Sir *William Temple*, Bar. *Edward Seymour*, Eſq; and *Henry Powle*, Eſq;

His Majeſty had reaſon to value himſelf upon this Eſtabliſhment of a Council ſo generally grateful to the two Houſes, and to all his faithful Subjects; and therefore his Majeſty came the next day into the Houſe of Lords, and made this Speech on that Occaſion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech on this Occaſion.

I Thought it requiſite to acquaint you with what I have done now this Day; which is, That I have eſtabliſh'd a new Privy Council, the conſtant Number of which ſhall never exceed Thirty.

I have made Choice of ſuch Perſons as are worthy, and able to adviſe me; and am reſolved, in all my weighty and important Affairs, next to the Advice of my Great Council in Parliament (which I ſhall very often conſult with) to be adviſed by this Privy Council.

I could not make ſo great a Change, without acquainting both Houſes of Parliament.

And I deſire you all to apply your ſelves heartily, as I ſhall do, to thoſe Things which are neceſſary for

[a] Sir *William Temple* claims the Honour of propoſing this Change of Council, and ſays it was debated and digeſted about a Month between the King and him, till his Majeſty was fully ſatisfied in it; but Sir *William* deſir'd him not to take a Reſolution of that Importance without the Advice of three or four Perſons, on whoſe Judgment and Affection to his Service his Majeſty could moſt rely. Hereupon the King ordered him to communicate the whole Scheme to the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*; but one after another.——The Lord Chancellor ſaid, *It look'd like a thing from Heaven fallen into his Majeſty's Breaſt*; the Lord *Eſſex*, *that it would leave the Parliament and Nation in the ſame Diſpoſitions to the King which he found at his coming in*; and the Lord *Sunderland* approving it as much as any, *&c.*——When the thing was done, it was receiv'd with general Applauſe in the Country, with Bonfires in the City, and the ſame in *Ireland*. In *Holland* the Stocks of the *Eaſt India* Company roſe upon it immediately. *France* alone was unſatisfied with it.

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the Good and Safety of the Kingdom, and that no time may be loſt in it.

Committee for Tryal of the Popiſh Lords.

On *April* 23. a Committee of Secrecy had been appointed to look into the Anſwers of the five Popiſh Lords in the *Tower*, and to enquire into the Method of Proceeding to Tryals upon Impeachments: Who declared their Opinion to be, “ That “ the Lord *Bellaſis* being impeached of High-Trea- “ ſon by the Commons, cannot make any anſwer “ but in Perſon: That the ſeveral Writings put in “ by the Lord *Powys*, Lord *Stafford*, and Lord *Arun-* “ *del* of *Wardour*, which they call their ſeveral Pleas “ and Anſwers, are not Pleas or Anſwers, but Ar- “ gumentative and Evaſive; to which the Com- “ mons neither can nor ought to Reply: That if “ the Anſwers of the Lord *Powys*, Lord *Stafford*, “ and Lord *Arundel* (as well as that of the Lord “ *Petre)* were ſufficient; yet there ought not to “ be any Proceedings againſt them, or any of them, “ until the Lord *Bellaſis* alſo put in a ſufficient An- “ ſwer in Perſon: That the Commons do demand “ of the Lords, That their Lordſhips would forth- “ with Order and Require the ſaid Lord *Powys*, “ Lord *Stafford*, Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, and Lord “ *Bellaſis*, to put in their perfect Anſwers; or, in “ default thereof, that the Commons may have “ Juſtice againſt them.

Ld. *Danby's* Plea, and Anſwers of the Popiſh Lords.

On *April* 25. a Meſſage was brought from the Lords, “ That *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, and *John* “ Lord *Bellaſis*, had this Day appeared in Perſon at “ the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, and that *Tho-* “ *mas* Earl of *Danby* had put in his Plea, and the “ Lord *Bellaſis* his Anſwer; which the Lords have “ ſent down, deſiring they may be returned with “ all convenient ſpeed.” On *April* 26. the Lord *Stafford*, *Arundel* and *Powys*, appeared likewiſe at the Lords Bar, and retracted their former Pleas, and put in their Anſwers to the Impeachments exhibited againſt them.

Commons Vote againſt the Duke of *York*.

On *April* 27. the Commons *Reſolved*, “ That “ the Duke of *York* being a *Papiſt*, and the hopes “ of his coming ſuch to the Crown, has given the “ greateſt Countenance and Encouragement to the “ preſent Conſpiracies and Deſigns of the *Papiſts* “ againſt the King and the Proteſtant Religion:” And ſent up this Vote to the Lords by the Lord *Ruſſel*, deſiring their Lordſhip's Concurrence to it.

Their Addreſs for executing Sentences of the Law againſt Papiſts.

At the ſame time they agreed to an Addreſs, “ That “ his Majeſty would be pleaſed to Order the Exe- “ cution of one *Pickering* a Priſoner in *Newgate*, and “ of divers Prieſts and Jeſuits, who had been Con- “ demn'd by the Judges at the *Old Bailey*, and in “ the ſeveral Circuits, but did remain as yet unex- “ ecuted; to the great emboldening of ſuch Offen- “ ders, in caſe they ſhould eſcape without due Pu- “ niſhment.” To which his Majeſty in the *Ban-*

The K.'s Anſwer.

quetting-Houſe, returned this Anſwer; *Gentlemen, I have always been tender in matters of Blood, which my Subjects have no reaſon to take Exception at: But this is a matter of great Weight, I ſhall therefore conſider of it, and return you an Anſwer.*

April 28. the Committee appointed to examine and peruſe the nature of the Plea of *Thomas* Earl of

Report of the Committee in the Caſe of the Earl of *Danby*.

Danby, made this Report; “ 1. We find no Prece- “ dent that ever any Pardon was granted to any “ Perſon Impeached by the Commons of High- “ Treaſon, or other High Crimes, the Impeach- “ ment depending. 2. As to the manner of the “ paſſing the Earl of *Danby*'s Pardon, it hath been “ formerly reported to the Houſe, and the Com- “ mittee refer themſelves to that Report. 3. That “ by what means it was obtained, the time allow- “ ed the Committee hath been ſo ſhort, that we “ cannot as yet diſcover the Adviſers or Promoters “ thereof, any farther than what is mentioned in “ the ſaid Report relating to the Lord Chancellor. “ *Reſolved*, That a Meſſage be ſent to the Lords, “ to deſire their Lordſhips to demand of the Earl “ of *Danby*, *Whether he will rely upon, and abide* “ *by the Plea of his Pardon?* Accordingly the next Day the Earl was again brought to the Bar of the Lords Houſe, where kneeling, and then ſtanding up, the Lord Chancellor acquainted him, That the Commons had returned to their Lordſhips the Plea delivered by him at the Bar of their Houſe on the 25th Inſtant, with a deſire that their Lordſhips would ask him, *Whether he will rely upon, and abide by his ſaid Plea?* The Earl praying time to Anſwer, their Lordſhips allow'd him till *Saturday* next, and then he withdrew, [a] and was conducted back to the *Tower*.

On *Wedneſday April* 30. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons, ſpake thus:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The K.'s Speech.

THE Seaſon of the Year advancing ſo faſt, I thought it neceſſary to put you in mind of Three Particulars. 1. *Proſecution of the Plot.* 2. *Diſbanding of the Army.* 3. *Providing a Fleet for our common Security. And to ſhew, that whilſt you are doing your Parts, my Thoughts have not been miſ-employed, but that it is my conſtant Care to do every thing that may preſerve your Religion, and ſecure it for the future in all Events.*

I have commanded my Lord Chancellor to mention ſeveral particulars; which, I hope, will be an Evidence, that in all things that concern the publick Security, I ſhall not follow your Zeal, but lead it.

Then the Lord Chancellor added:

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons,

Ld Chancellor's Speech.

“ That Royal Care which his Majeſty hath ta- “ ken for the general Quiet and Satiſfaction of all “ his Subjects, is now more evident, by theſe new “ and freſh Inſtances of it which I have in Com- “ mand to open to you.

“ His Majeſty hath conſidered with himſelf, that “ 'tis not enough that your Religion and Liberty is “ ſecure during his own Reign, but he thinks he “ owes it to his People to do all that in him lies, “ that theſe Bleſſings may be tranſmitted to your “ Poſterity, and ſo well ſecured to them, that no “ Succeſſion in after-ages may be able to work the “ leaſt Alteration.

Promiſing Limitations belonging to a Popiſh Succeſſor.

“ And therefore his Majeſty, who hath often ſaid “ in his Place, That he is ready to conſent to any “ Laws of this kind, ſo that the ſame extend not “ to alter the deſcent of the Crown in the Right “ Line, nor to defeat the Succeſſion, hath now “ commanded this to be farther explain'd.

“ And to the end it may never be in the Power of “ any Papiſt, if the Crown deſcend upon him, to “ make any Change either in [b] Church or State; “ I am commanded to tell you, That his Majeſty is

[a] His Lordſhip ſeem'd to inſiſt on his Pardon, as the quickeſt way to get rid of the Peril he was in. Wherefore the Commons reſolved, that it was the Opinion of the Houſe, that the Pardon pleaded by the Earl of *Danby* was illegal and void, and ought not to be allow'd in Bar of the Impeachment of the Commons of *England*. And Mr. Speaker with the Houſe went up to the Lords Bar, and demanded Judgment againſt the ſaid Earl. And underſtanding afterwards that the Lords would admit the Earl of *Danby* to have the Validity of his Pardon pleaded at their Bar, they reſolved, *May* 10, That no Commoner whatſoever preſume to maintain the Validity of the Pardon pleaded by the Earl of *Danby*, without the Leave of this Houſe firſt had; and that the Perſons ſo doing ſhould be accounted Betrayers of the Liberties of *England*. Thus his Lordſhip continued in the *Tower* till *Hilary* Term, 1683.

[b] Father *Orleans*, Hiſtorian of King *James* II. calls this the Marquis of *Hallifax*'s Expedient to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion under a Popiſh ſucceſſor, recommended by the King to the two Houſes.

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" willing that Proviſion may be made, firſt, to di- " ſtinguiſh a *Papiſt*, from a *Proteſtant* Succeſſor; " then ſo to limit and circumſcribe the Authority of " a Popiſh Succeſſor, in theſe Caſes following, that " he may be diſabled to do any harm:

" Firſt, in reference to the Church; his Majeſty " is content that Care be taken, that all Eccleſiaſti- " cal and Spiritual Benefices and Promotions in Gift " of the Crown, may be conferred in ſuch a man- " ner, that we may be ſure the Incumbents ſhall al- " ways be of the moſt pious and learned Proteſtants: " And that no Popiſh Succeſſor (while he conti- " nues ſo) may have any Power to controul ſuch " Preſentments.

" In reference to the State, and Civil part of the " Government; as it is already provided, That no " Papiſt can ſit in either Houſe of Parliament; ſo " the King is pleaſed that it be Provided too, That " there may never want a Parliament, when the " King ſhall happen to die, but that the Parlia- " ment then in being may continue Indiſſolvable for " a competent time; or if there be no Parliament " in being, then the laſt Parliament which was in " being before that time, may re-aſſemble and ſit a " competent time, without any new Summons, or " Elections.

" And as no Papiſt can by Law hold any Place " of Truſt, ſo the King is content that it may be " further Provided, That no Lords, or other of the " Privy Council, no Judges of the Common Law, " or in Chancery, ſhall at any time during the " Reign of any Popiſh Succeſſor, be put in, or diſ- " placed, but by the Authority of Parliament.

" And that Care alſo be taken, that none but " ſincere Proteſtants may be Juſtices of the Peace.

" In reference to the military Part, The King is " willing, that no Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy- " Lieutenant, nor no Officer in the Navy (during " the Reign of any Popiſh Succeſſor) be put out, " or removed, but either by Authority of Parlia- " ment, or of ſuch Perſons as the Parliament ſhall " intruſt with ſuch Authority.

" 'Tis hard to invent another Reſtraint to be put " upon a Popiſh Succeſſor, conſidering how much " the Revenue of the Succeſſor will depend upon " conſent of Parliament, and how impoſſible it is " to raiſe Money without ſuch conſent. But yet, " if any thing elſe can occur to the Wiſdom of the " Parliament, which may further ſecure Religion " and Liberty againſt a Popiſh Succeſſor, without " defeating the Right of Succeſſion it ſelf, his Ma- " jeſty will moſt readily conſent to it.

" Thus watchful is the King for all your Safety; " and if he could think of any thing elſe, that you " do either want or wiſh to make you happy, he " would make it his Buſineſs to effect it for you.

" God Almighty long continue this Bleſſed Uni- " on between the King, and his Parliament, and " People.

The Commons not ſatisfied. Theſe were good Words; but the Commons, on *May* 1. revived a Committee formerly appointed to conſider what part of the Money given for disbanding of the Army, is yet undiſpoſed of, and remaining in the *Exchequer*. And they fell at the ſame time upon the further Conſideration of ſecuring and preſerving the King, and the Proteſtant Religion, againſt the Attempts of the Papiſts, both in the Reign of his Majeſty and his Succeſſors: And read a ſecond time, *A Bill for better prevention of illegal Exaction of Money from the Subject*; and *Ordered*, " That leave be given to bring in a Bill, That when " any Member of this Houſe is preferred to any Of- " fice or Place of Profit, a new Writ ſhall imme- " diately iſſue out for electing a Member to ſerve " in his ſtead." On *May* 5. they *Reſolved*, " That " it was the Opinion of that Houſe, That the Par- " don pleaded by the Earl of *Danby* was illegal and " void, and ought not to be allowed in Bar of the " Impeachment of the Commons of *England*." And Mr. Speaker, with the Houſe, went up to the Lord's Bar, and demanded Judgment againſt the ſaid Earl.

The K.'s Meſſage to the Commons. On the ſame Day the Lord *Ruſſel* acquainted the Houſe, " That his Majeſty commanded him to let " the Houſe know, That his Majeſty is willing to " comply with the Requeſt made to him by the " Houſe, concerning *Pickering*, and that the Law " ſhall paſs upon him accordingly. As to the Con- " demned Prieſts, the Houſe of Peers have ſent for " them, in order (as his Majeſty conceives) to ſome " Examinations. And further to acquaint you, " That he repeateth his Inſtances to you, To think " of putting the Fleet in ſuch a Poſture, as may " quiet Mens Fears, and at leaſt ſecure us from any " ſudden Attempt; which his Majeſty doubts not " but you will do: And though the Streights and " Difficulties he lieth under are very great, he doth " not intend, during this Seſſion, to preſs for any " other Supply; being willing rather to ſuffer the " Burdens that are upon him ſome time longer, than " to interrupt you, whilſt you are employ'd about " the diſcovery of the Plot, the Tryal of the Lords, and the Bill for Securing our Religion.

Addreſs againſt the Earl of Lauderdale. On *May* 8. the Commons agreed upon an Addreſs to his Majeſty, To remove the Duke of *Lauderdale* from all Offices, Employments, and Places of Truſt, and from his Majeſty's Council in *England* and *Scotland*, and from his Preſence for ever; as being the Chief of thoſe, who *by their arbitrary and deſtructive Counſels, tending to the Subverſion of the Rights, Liberties and Properties of his Majeſty's Subjects, and the Alteration of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſh'd, have endeavoured to alienate the Hearts of his loyal Subjects from his Perſon and his Government*. To which the King only made this cold Return, *That he would conſider of it, and return an Anſwer*.

The King and both Houſes agreed in one Thing, the Neceſſity of a Tax: And therefore, on *May* 9th, after their Lordſhips had receded from their Amendments of the *Money Bill*, his Majeſty came to his Throne, and the Commons attending, their Speaker preſented the *Bill*, and his Majeſty gave his Royal Aſſent to it, *For granting a Supply to his Majeſty of two hundred and ſix thouſand four hundred ſixty two Pounds, ſeventeen Shillings, and three Pence, for paying off and disbanding the Forces raiſed ſince the nine and twentieth of* September, *One thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy ſeven*. (Money Bill paſſed by the King.) After this, the Commons underſtanding that the Lords would admit the Earl of *Danby* to have the Validity of his Pardon pleaded at their Bar, they *Reſolved*, " That no Commo- " ner whatſoever ſhould preſume to maintain the " Validity of the Pardon pleaded by the Earl of " *Danby*, without the Leave of this Houſe firſt had; " and that the Perſons ſo doing ſhould be account- " ed Betrayers of the Liberties of the Commons of " *England*.

Addreſs of both Houſes againſt Popiſh Prieſts. On *May* 10. the Lords and Commons, *in an Addreſs to his Majeſty, taking notice of the great Reſort of the multitude of Jeſuits, Popiſh Prieſts, and other Popiſh Recuſants, to the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and Parts adjacent, and their obſtinate Continuance there, in Contempt of his Majeſty's Laws, and Royal Proclamations, humbly beſeech his Majeſty, that the* Militia *of* London, Weſtminſter, Southwark, *the* Tower-Hamlets, *and the Counties of* Middleſex *and* Surry, *may immediately be raiſed, and put in a poſture of Defence*. In the mean time, ſome Differences did ariſe about the manner of proceeding upon the Impeachments depending before the Lords; for which Purpoſe the Commons had propoſed, *That a Committee of both Houſes might be nominated to conſider of the moſt proper Ways and Methods of proceeding upon Impeachments*. (Committee for Impeachments.) The Lords refuſed to agree, for this Reaſon aſſign'd, *That they did not find it conformable to the Rules and Orders of Proceedings of this Court*. Upon this the Houſe of Commons deliver'd this Reſolution, in a Conference with

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their Lordſhips; *That Things ſtanding thus, they cannot proceed in the Tryals of the Lords, before the Methods of Proceedings be adjuſted between the two Houſes.* Upon which a Committee of both Houſes was accordingly appointed to conſider of Propoſitions and Circumſtances relating to the Tryals of the Lords in the *Tower.*

Under theſe Difficulties and Dangers both Houſes ſate on the *Sunday May* 11. and the Commons *Reſolved, Nemine Contradicente,* "That in Defence of "the King's Perſon, and the *Proteſtant Religion,* "this Houſe doth declare, that they will ſtand by "his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes; and "that if his Majeſty ſhould come by any violent "Death *(which God forbid)* that they will revenge "it to the utmoſt upon the *Papiſts:*——And *or*"*dered,* That the Vote ſhould be drawn in Form of an Addreſs, to be preſented to his Majeſty. To which his Majeſty returned this gracious Anſwer; *Gentlemen, I thank you for your Zeal for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and of my Perſon; and I aſſure you I ſhall do what in me lies to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion, and am willing to do all ſuch things as may tend to the Good and Benefit of my Subjects.*

Reſolution of the Commons.

The K.'s Anſwer.

On *Wedneſday May* 14. Mr. *Powle* delivered a Meſſage from his Majeſty, as followeth:

Charles Rex.

King's Meſſage for ſetting out a Fleet.

"Though his Majeſty hath already, at the firſt "Meeting in Parliament, and ſince, by a "Word or two, mentioned the Neceſſity of having a Fleet at Sea this Summer: yet the Seaſon "for preparing it being far advanced, and our Neighbours before us in their Preparations, he cannot "hold himſelf diſcharged towards his People, if he "do not now with more Earneſtneſs again recommend the ſame to your preſent Care and Conſideration; and the rather, from the daily Expectation of the return of the Fleet from the *Streights,* "to which a great Arrear is due; and hereby he "muſt acquit himſelf of the evil Conſequences, "which the want of a Fleet in ſuch a Juncture may "produce: And he hath not done this without conſidering, that the entring on the Work preſently "can be no Hindrance to the other great Affairs "upon your Hands, but rather a Security in the "Diſpatch thereof." A Debate ariſing in the Houſe upon the Meſſage, they *Reſolved,* That the further Conſideration of it be adjourned till *Monday* Se'night next.

Queſtion of the Vote of the Biſhops in Capital Caſes?

In the propoſed Method for the Tryal of the Lords, a new Queſtion did ariſe, How far the Biſhops ought to vote, or to be preſent in capital Caſes? On which Occaſion, on *Tueſday May* 13. it was *Reſolved, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That the Lords Spiritual have a Right to ſtay in Court, in capital Caſes, till ſuch time as Judgment of Death comes to be pronounced.* And on *May* 15. the Lords explained themſelves, *That the Meaning of the Reſolution paſſed yeſterday concerning the Lords Spiritual, is, That the Lords Spiritual have a Right to ſtay, and ſit in Court, till the Court proceed to the Vote of,* Guilty, or not Guilty? After this Preliminary, on *May* 16. it was *Reſolved, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That* Thurſday *next be appointed to begin the Tryals of the Five Lords in the* Tower, *(viz.) the Earl of* Powys, *Lord Viſcount* Stafford, *Lord* Petre, *Lord* Arundel *of* Wardour, *and Lord* Bellaſis. (But the Day of Tryal was afterwards adjourned till *Tueſday May* 27. On which very Day the Parliament was prorogued.) After which Reſolution paſſed, the Lords Spiritual asked the Leave of the Houſe, "That they might withdraw themſelves from the "Tryals of the ſaid Lords, with the Liberty of en"tring their uſual Proteſtations." But the Commons voted, and inſtructed their Committee to inſiſt upon it[a], *That the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in any Proceedings againſt the Lords in the* Tower.

Bill of Excluſion.

On *Thurſday May* 15. a *Bill* had been brought in to the Houſe of Commons, *to diſable the Duke of* York *from inheriting the Imperial Crown of* England: Which was read the ſecond time on *May* 21. and *Reſolved,* by a great Majority, that the Bill ſhould be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe. This enclined his Majeſty to bring this Seſſion to a ſpeedy Period[b]: And therefore on *May* 27. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and the Commons attending, he gave his Royal Aſſent to, 1. *A Bill for the better ſecuring the Liberty of the Subject, and for prevention of Impriſonments beyond the Seas.* 2. *A Bill for re-ingroſſing the Records of Fines, burnt in the late Fire in the* Temple. 3. *A Private Bill, concerning* Charles Dale *of* Rutlandſhire, *Eſq;* Then his Majeſty intimated to the two Houſes his Reſolution to prorogue them; and the Lord Chancellor accordingly, by his Majeſty's Command, did prorogue the Parliament till the 14th of *Auguſt* next.

Bills paſſed.

Parliament prorogued.

And ſoon after diſſolv'd.

Soon after this Parliament was diſſolv'd[c], and another ſummon'd to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 17th Day of *October* next: But before the Meeting, his Majeſty, by Proclamation the 24th, was pleaſed to declare, That the ſaid Parliament ſhould be prorogued till the 30th Day of the ſame Month: And afterward order'd a Commiſſion for proroguing the ſaid Parliament till the 26th of *January* next: At which time his Majeſty made a ſhort Speech to the two Houſes, and without allowing them to enter upon any Debates, commanded the Lord Chancellor to prorogue them till the 15th of *April* next.

About the End of *Auguſt* the King was much

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[a] See the Reaſons and Narrative of Proceedings betwixt the two Houſes, which were deliver'd by the Houſe of Commons to the Lords at the Conference touching the Tryal of the Lords in the *Tower* on *Monday May* 26. 1679. particularly as to the Right of the Biſhops to appear at the Tryals. Printed *Fol.* 1673.

May 27. 1679. the Lords after reading the Narrative and Reaſons of the Commons, put the Queſtion, whether to inſiſt upon their Votes concerning the Lords Spiritual. Reſolved in the Affirmative. Diſſentient 28.

[b] The Earl of *Eſſex* told Sir *William Temple*, that the King had found out there were Remonſtrances ready prepar'd in the Houſe of Commons to inflame the City and Nation; and that the three Lords *(Hallifax, Eſſex,* and *Sunderland)* having thereupon conſulted with his Majeſty. He had reſolv'd to prorogue the Parliament that Morning; and that it could not be allow'd Time or Vent by a Debate in Council, which Sir *William* thought an ill Omiſſion, and that it *ought to have the Authority of the King with the Advice of his Council.* But it paſs'd otherwiſe, and with very great Reſentment of both Houſes, and ſuch Rage of the Earl of *Shafiſbury*, that he ſaid upon it aloud in the Houſe, that he would have the Heads of thoſe who were the Adviſers of this Prorogation.

[c] By the King a Proclamation for diſſolving the preſent Parliament, and declaring the ſpeedy calling of a new one, to be holden at *Weſtminſter* on the 17th of *Octob.* next. Dated *July* 12. *Regni* 31. 1679.

See, 1. A brief Account of the Tryal of Father *Lewis*, the pretended Biſhop of *Landaff*, at the laſt Aſſizes at *Monmouth, March* 25, 1679. for cheating a poor Woman of ſeveral Sums of Money, on pretence of praying her Father's Soul out of Purgatory, 1679. *4to.* 2. The Tryal of *Nathaniel Reading* Eſq; for attempting to ſtifle the King's Evidence as to the horrid Plot on *Wedneſday April* 16, at *Weſtminſter-Hall.* Printed *Fol.* 1679.——3. An Account of the Behaviour of the fourteen late Popiſh Malefactors whilſt in *Newgate*, and their Diſcourſes with the Ordinary; with a particular Account of the five Jeſuits, executed on the 14th of *June*, 1679. By *Sam. Smith*, Ordinary of *Newgate*, 1679. *Fol.*——4. The Tryal of *Charles Kerne*, arraigned for being a Popiſh Prieſt, at the Aſſizes held at *Hereford* on *Monday Aug.* 4. 1679. *Fol.*——5. The Tryal, Conviction, and Condemnation, of *Andrew Brommich* and *William Atkins*, for being Romiſh Prieſts, at the Aſſizes held at *Stafford Aug.* 13. 1679. *Fol.*——6. The Tryal and Conviction of *Thomas Knox* and *John Lane*, for a Conſpiracy to defame and ſcandalize Dr. *Oats* and Mr. *Bedloe*, thereby to diſcredit their Evidence about the Popiſh Plot, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Screggs Novemb.* 25. 1679.

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indiſpoſed by two or three Fits of a Tertian Ague. The News of this, and of the Parliament's Diſſolution, coming to the Duke of *York* in *Flanders*, he reſolved upon an immediate return into *England*; and the Report of his ſudden Return was thus made, by Authority: " *Windſor Sept.* 2. This Morning " his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* arrived " here, contrary to Expectation, and told his Ma" jeſty, That hearing of his Indiſpoſition, he thought " he could do no leſs than come to wait upon him, " and ſee how he did: adding, that he was ready, " as ſoon as his Majeſty pleaſed, to return to *Flan*" *ders*, or any other part of the World his Majeſty " ſhould command him to." This Return of the Duke was very ſurprizing to the Court it ſelf, and very alarming to the greater part of the Nation, who had ſo much Reaſon to fear a Plot upon the King's Life, even for the ſake of a Popiſh Succeſſor. The King himſelf was ſenſible that he could not enjoy his Brother's Company, without an univerſal Diſcontent among his Subjects. But the Duke was very unwilling to croſs the Seas again; and therefore when he ſaw that he muſt leave the Court, he deſir'd rather to retire into *Scotland*, where his Figure might be greater than Abroad, and his Return, upon any Exigence, might be more quick and eaſy. This Compromiſe between the King and the Duke had this Notice given of it by Authority: *New-Market Octob.* 7. *His Royal Highneſs having repreſented to his Majeſty, That he conceives it, for many Reſpects, more proper for him to be in his Majeſty's Dominions, rather than thoſe of another Prince, and made it his humble Requeſt to his Majeſty to have his Leave to go into* Scotland: *His Majeſty hath granted it; and it's preſumed his Royal Highneſs will in a ſhort time repair thither.*

Duke of *York* returns to *England*.

A Surprize to the Court, and Offence to the Country.

The Duke retires into *Scotland*.

On *Monday Octob.* 27. their Royal Highneſſes, attended by many of the Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality, followed with a numerous Train of Coaches, began their Journey towards *Scotland*, and lodg'd the firſt Night at the Earl of *Saliſbury*'s at *Hatfield*, and was received at *Edinburgh* with great Solemnity, where *Decemb.* 4. his Royal Highneſs took his Place in the Council, and ſpoke to them in a very affectionate manner; " expreſſing his great " Satisfaction at the Civilities he had met with ſince " his entring into the Kingdom, and declaring his " Readineſs to do every thing that lay in his power " to promote the Honour and Service of the King, " and the Intereſts of this Kingdom." It was ſome Advantage to the Intereſt and Deſigns of the Duke and his Friends, that the rigid *Presbyterians*, or *Field-Conventiclers*, had in the beginning of this Year moſt barbarouſly murdered the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and afterward took Arms[a], ſeized the City of *Glaſcow*, and encreas'd into a formidable Army, that was routed by the Duke of *Monmouth* at *Bothwell-Bridge*.

His Speech to the Council.

Duke of *Monmouth* grows popular.

The Duke of *Monmouth* improv'd every day in the Affections of the People of *England*, and by his Zeal in Proſecution of the Plot, and his joining heartily with thoſe Members of both Houſes who were thought the beſt Proteſtants, and the greateſt Patriots, that he began to be invited to caſt an Eye upon the Crown; and a Report was induſtriouſly given out, that the King had been lawfully married to his Mother. Upon which his Majeſty cauſed a *Declaration* to be entred in the Council Book,

The King declares he was never marry'd to the Duke's Mother.

THat to avoid any Diſpute which may happen in Time to come concerning the Succeſſion to the Crown, he declares in the Preſence of Almighty God, That he never gave nor made any Contract of Marriage, nor was married to any Woman whatſoever, but to his preſent Wife Queen *Catherine, *now living.*

Whitehall, *March* 3. 1679.

Charles Rex.

Another Proteſtation.

Three Months after his Majeſty thought fit to renew a Proteſtation, *On the Word of a King, and the Faith of a Chriſtian, that he was never married to Mrs.* Barlow, *aliàs* Walters, *the Duke of* Monmouth'*s Mother, nor to any other Woman whatſoever, beſides the now Queen*[b]. Which Royal *Proteſtation* was recorded in the High Court of *Chancery*.

The Duke of *York* was ſo jealous of the Competition of *Monmouth*, that at the beginning of *September* he had prevailed with the King to take from him his Commiſſion of Captain-General, and to take from him all his other Places, and to command him to depart the Kingdom. Accordingly the Duke of *Monmouth* went over to *Utrecht*, and reſolved to reſide there, whilſt the Duke of *York* ſtay'd at *Bruſſels*: But hearing of the Duke's ſudden going back to *England*[c], he thought fit to follow him; and on the 27th of *November* he arrived at *London* about Midnight: and the Watch ſpreading the News of it, the Bells rang, and Bonfires were made through the City and Suburbs in a very diſtinguiſhing manner.

Petitions for Sitting of the Parliament.

Upon the ſeveral Prorogations of the Parliament, the Members were very uneaſy, and the People much grieved; ſo that very many Petitions were preſented to the King *for the ſitting of the Parliament*[d], *as highly neceſſary for the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Peace of his Kingdoms.* But the King reſolving that there ſhould be no Seſſion, this manner of Petitioning was called *Tumultuous and Unlawful*: And the King in Council, *Decemb.* 10. ordered the Lord-Mayor of *London* to ſuppreſs them, and puniſh thoſe that went about collecting Hands to ſuch Petitions. The King alſo publiſh'd a Proclamation, dated *Decemb.* 12. wherein he call'd this Way of *Petitioning*, " A Method ſet on foot " by ill Men, to promote Diſcontents among the " People, and to raiſe Sedition and Rebellion:" And ſtrictly commanded all his loving Subjects, of what Rank or Degree ſoever, that they preſume *not to promote any ſuch Subſcriptions, nor in any-wiſe join in any Petition of that manner to be preferred to his Majeſty, upon Peril of the utmoſt Rigour of the Law that may be inflicted for it.* And yet this Buſineſs of *Petitioning* was zealouſly carried on, and

Diſcountenanc'd by the King.

[a] Dr. *John Sharp*, Abp. of St. *Andrews*, aſſaulted and murder'd on the Road between *Edinburgh* and his own Houſe, on *May* 3. 1679.

[b] The Maſter of the *Charter-Houſe*, a *Scots* Gentleman, long in the Service of King *Charles* abroad, had the particular Care and Cuſtody of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother, and buried her at *Paris*. He was often Expreſs in this Matter, and ſaid poſitively, the King had never any Intention to marry her; and that indeed ſhe did not deſerve any ſuch good Intention toward her, being a very ill Woman.

[c] The Return of the Duke from *Flanders* was diſcover'd by Sir *William Temple* to be a Political Juggle of two chief Miniſters to ſave themſelves, by a way of ingratiating for having before too much offended. The Secret (ſays he) was this: *Upon the King's Illneſs, the Lords Eſſex and Hallifax being about him, thought his Danger great, and their own ſo too; and that if any thing happen'd to the King's Life, the Duke of Monmouth would be at the Head of the Nation, in oppoſition to the Duke of York, upon pretence of Popery, and in conjunction with the Earl of Shaftſbury, who had threatned to have their Heads upon Prorogation of the laſt Parliament; which Threat was apply'd by the Lords Eſſex and Hallifax to themſelves; reckoning the Lord Sunderland ſafe by his Relation to the Earl of Shaftſbury, and the fair Terms that had always been between them. This Fright had ſo affected theſe two Lords, that not ſtaying to ſee what the King's ſecond Fitt would be, they propos'd to the King the ſending immediately for the Duke,* &c.

[d] See *A Petition of ten of the Peers*, Earl of *Shaftſbury*, Earl of *Huntingdon, Clare, Stamford*, &c. to his Majeſty; humbly beſeeching him to conſider the Danger of his Royal Perſon, and of the Proteſtant Religion and the Government, and to permit the Parliament to ſit at the Time appointed.

many

1679. 31 *Car.* II. many were prepared, and ſome preſented: But the King received them very coldly, and often reprimanded thoſe that brought them, particularly when Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, accompanied by many eminent Citizens, did on *Jan.* 13. preſent to his Majeſty ſuch a Petition for the Sitting of the Parliament; his Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, *That he look'd upon himſelf to be the Head of the Government, and the only Judge of what was fit to be done in ſuch Caſes, and that he would do what he thought moſt for the Good of himſelf and his People:* Adding to Sir *Gilbert*, *That he did not expect to find one of his Name, and particularly him, in ſuch a Thing, and that he was very ſorry for it.*

Duke of *York* weary of *Scotland.* During theſe Intervals of Parliaments, the Duke of *York* thought it ſafe and proper for him to return out of *Scotland:* And to break the Deſign with more ſoftneſs to the People, on *Jan.* 28. his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare in Counil, *That he had ſent for his Royal Highneſs, not having found ſuch an Effect from his Abſence as ſhould encline him to keep him longer from him. That ſome Queſtions had been ſtarted of late, of ſuch a Nature, and of ſo great Concern to the Duke, as made it reaſonable to have him preſent at the next Seſſion of Parliament; and that though his Majeſty would take care to preſerve his Right, yet it might be for his Satisfaction to be here himſelf. That his Majeſty was ſo well aſſured of the Duke's Compliance, that he could anſwer, his Return ſhould have no ill Influence upon the Publick.* So on *Febr.* 24. their Royal Higneſſes arrived at *Deptford*, and went up the River in a Barge, and were ſaluted by the Guns from the Ships, and from the *Tower*; and at their Landing at the *Privy-Stairs*, his Majeſty received them in a moſt affectionate manner, and led the Dutcheſs to the Queen's Apartment, and from thence to her own; whither many of the Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality immediately repaired, to compliment their Royal Highneſſes, and to kiſs their Hands: And two Days after they were attended by the Lord-Mayor, Court of Aldermen, Recorder, and Common-Council of *London*, where the Recorder made a Speech, and in all their Names congratulated the Duke's ſafe Arrival, and pray'd for his Health and Proſperity. So great Labour was employed to make the World (if poſſible) to believe, That the Duke of *York* was now the beſt Friend, and even a Favourite of the People.

Honours and Preferments. There were this Year many and great Advances and Changes in Honours and Preferments: On *April* 13. his Majeſty ſigned a Warrant for conſtituting Captain *Thomas Cheek* to be Lieutenant of the *Tower* of *London*, in the room of Sir *John Robinſon.* On *April* 25. *Richard Coling* Eſq; was ſworn Clerk Extraordinary of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council. The Duke of *York*, to decline the Compliment of the Commons, laid down his Admiralty; and his Majeſty appointed Sir *Henry Capel*, Knight of the *Bath*, *Daniel Finch* Eſq; Sir *Thomas Lee*, Sir *Humphry Winch*, Sir *Thomas Meers*, Bar^ts. *Edward Vaughan* and *Edward Hales* Eſqrs; Commiſſioners for the Execution of the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England.* On *April* 23. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Thomas Player*, and Colonel *Birch* and Colonel *Whitley*, were appointed Commiſſioners to disband the Army. On *July* 20. his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, in Conſideration of the many and faithful Services performed unto him by the Right Honourable *George* Lord Viſcount *Hallifax*, *John* Lord *Roberts*, and *Charles* Lord *Gerrard* of *Brandon*, to confer upon them the Dignities of Earls of this Kingdom, creating the ſaid Lord Viſcount *Hallifax* Earl of *Hallifax*; the Lord *Gerrard* Earl of *Newberry*, Viſcount *Brandon*; and the Lord *Roberts*, Earl of *Falmouth*, Viſcount *Bodmyn:* But on *July* 26. his Majeſty was pleaſed to change the Title of Earl of *Falmouth*, which he had conferr'd on the Lord *Roberts*, and inſtead thereof to create him Earl of *Radnor*. And his Majeſty was then pleaſed, as a Mark of his Grace and Favour to the Lord Viſcount *Yarmouth*, to create him Earl of *Yarmouth.* And again, on *Aug.* 20. his Majeſty changed the Title of Earl of *Newberry*, which he had conferred on the Lord *Gerrard* of *Brandon*, and inſtead thereof created him Earl of *Macclesfield.* In the beginning of *October* the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was removed from the Place of Preſident of the Privy-Council: For he had been now an hearty Oppoſer of Popery, and of the Duke's Succeſſion: And tho' he had been once in the moſt Arbitrary Meaſures of the Court, yet now, either to make an Atonement, or to ſhew his Reſentment, he was the greateſt Patron of the Eſtabliſh'd Religion and Laws. He had at the Opening of this Seſſion made a famous Speech, wherein were theſe odd and notable Things: *We have a little Siſter, and ſhe has no Breaſts: What ſhall we do for our Siſter in the Day when ſhe ſhall be ſpoken for? and we have ſeveral little Siſters without Breaſts: the* French *Proteſtant Churches, the two Kingdoms of* Ireland *and* Scotland. *The Protection of the Proteſtants Abroad is the greateſt Power and Security the Crown of* England *can attain, and which can help us to give a Check to the growing Greatneſs of* France. Scotland *and* Ireland *are two Doors, either to let in Good or Miſchief upon us.* Popery *and* Slavery, *like two Siſters, go Hand in Hand; ſometimes the one goes firſt, ſometimes the other: But where-ever the one enters, the other is always following cloſe at the Heels. In* England *Popery was to have brought in Slavery: In* Scotland *Slavery went before, and Popery was to follow,* &c. Speech of the Earl of *Shaftsbury.* Upon this Removal of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, his Majeſty was pleaſed to make the Earl of *Radnor* Preſident of the Council, who took his Place at the Board on *October* 25.

About the Middle of *September*, his Majeſty, in Conſideration of the conſtant Loyalty of the Family of *George* Lord *Berkeley* of *Berkeley-Caſtle*, and of his Lordſhip's conſiderable Services and good Affection to his Majeſty's Perſon, was graciouſly pleaſed, by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, to confer upon his Lordſhip the additional Honours of Viſcount *Durſely*, and Earl of *Berkeley*, in the County of *Glouceſter.* On *Octob.* 20. his Majeſty conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon *Jonathan Raymond* and *Simon Lewis*, Sheriffs, and *William Ruſſel*, one of the Common-Council of *London*, giving them the Character of *Perſons of whom his Majeſty had received a very good Account as to their Principles and Affections to the Government, and to the Proteſtant Religion as now eſtabliſh'd in the Church of* England.

In the Heats and Fatigues of proſecuting the Popiſh Plot, Sir *William Jones*, Attorney-General, humbly beſought his Majeſty, that he might reſign his Place, wherein he was unable longer to ſerve his Majeſty, becauſe of the Affliction lately befallen him in his Family, and the Diſtempers of Body which he had contracted by a Sedentary Life. The King was pleaſed to gratify him therein, and to permit him to quit that Employment, with an Aſſurance of his being very well ſatisfied with the good and faithful Services performed by him while he was in it; and his Majeſty was then pleaſed to make Choice of Sir *Creſwel Levinz*, one of his Majeſty's Counſel learn'd in the Law, to be his Attorney-General.

On *November* 19. his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare in Council, That he had given Leave to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Eſſex* to reſign his Place of firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury; but that his Majeſty intended his Lordſhip ſhould continue of his Privy-Council. And the Right Honourable *Lawrence Hyde* Eſq; being by his Lordſhip's ſaid Reſignation become the firſt in that Commiſſion, his Majeſty cauſed him to be ſworn a Privy-Counſellor, and accordingly he took his Place at the Board. And his Majeſty was pleaſed to make

Sir

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Sir *Stephen Fox*, Kt. one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.

On the Removal of the Duke of *Monmouth*, his Majeſty was pleaſed to make the Duke of *Albemarle* Captain of his Life-Guards of Horſe: And the Earl of *Mulgrave* Governor of *Hull*, and Lord-Lieutenant of the *Eaſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*. And about the ſame End of *November* his Majeſty created *Edward* Lord Viſcount *Conway* Earl of *Conway*, and granted to the Earl of *Cheſterfield* the Offices of Warden and Chief-Juſtice in Eyre of all his Majeſty's Forreſts, Parks, &c. on this ſide *Trent*. On *December* 5. his Majeſty was pleaſed in Council to declare, That deſigning to employ Sir *Robert Southwell*, Kt. in his Service abroad, he had given him Leave to reſign his Place of one of the Clerks of the Council to *Francis Gwynne*, Eſq; who being called in, was ſworn accordingly. On *December* 26. his Majeſty was pleaſed to grant the Office of Receiver and Pay-Maſter of his Forces to *Nicholas Johnſon* and *William Fox*, Eſqs. On *Jan.* 7. his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Edward Deering*, Eſq; Younger Son of Sir *Edward Deering*, Kt. and Bart. deceas'd, in *Conſideration of ſeveral Services by him rendred both before and ſince his Majeſty's happy Reſtauration.*

Humour of ridiculing the *Popiſh Plot*.

Nothing was become more acceptable to the Court, than the Humour of ſtifling and ridiculing the *Popiſh Plot*. For this Cauſe Articles of Complaint were preferred by Dr. *Oates* and Mr. *Bedlowe* againſt the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs*; which, with his Lordſhip's Anſwer, were openly heard and debated before his Majeſty in Council, on *Wedneſday Jan.* 21. where his Lordſhip was favoured and vindicated in all Particulars by the King and Council, who therefore diſmiſs'd the Matter from the Board, and left his Lordſhip to take ſuch Courſe at Law as he ſhould think fit. Theſe and other Proceedings in Council were thought to be ſo partial, that on *Jan.* 31. the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Henry Capell*, and Mr. *Powle*, prayed his Majeſty to give them Leave to withdraw from the Council-Board. To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, *With all his Heart.* And on *Feb.* 4. *Daniel Finch*, Eſq; firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, and *Sidney Godolphin*, Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners for the Treaſury, were ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and took their Places at the Board.

Privy-Counſellors withdraw.

Other Honours and Preferments.

At the Beginning of *Hilary-Term*, Mr. Baron *Raymond* was ſworn one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, in the room of Sir *Robert Atkyns*, who the Day before received his Diſcharge, under the Great-Seal; and Sir *Richard Weſton*, one of his Majeſty's Serjeant's at Law, was ſworn one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, in the Place of Mr. Juſtice *Raymond*. On *Feb.* 7. *Charles Littleton* was made Governor of *Sheerneſs*, in the room of Major *Dorrell* deceas'd. And about the ſame time his Majeſty thought fit to add the Lord *Brownkard* and Sir *Thomas Littleton* to the Commiſſion for executing the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*.

On *Feb.* 11. his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare in Council, "That Mr. Secretary *Coventry* had long "ſolicited him, on account of his Infirmneſs of "Body, for his Leave to reſign his Place of one of "his Principal Secretaries of State: That his Ma"jeſty had at laſt been prevailed upon to grant it, "though with ſome unwillingneſs, becauſe of the "great Satisfaction his Majeſty had always had in "his Services: That his Majeſty's Intention was "he ſhould however continue of his Privy-Coun"cil: And that his Majeſty had made Choice of "Sir *Leoline Jenkins* (Judge of the High Court of "Admiralty, and his late Ambaſſador Extraordina"ry and Plenipotentiary at the Treaty at *Nimeguen*) "to ſucceed him in that Station, which Mr. Se"cretary *Coventry* would quit, ſo ſoon as he had put "his Affairs in order: And in the mean time his "Majeſty was pleaſed to command Sir *Leoline Jen"kins* to be ſworn of his Privy-Council, who ac"cordingly took his Place at the Board.

Ambaſſadors and Envoys.

On *Feb.* 17. his Majeſty appointed Sir *Robert Southwell* Kt. to go his Envoy Extraordinary to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*: And Sir *Francis Pemberton*, one of the Juſtices of the *King's-Bench*, received his Diſcharge, under the Great-Seal. On *Feb.* 21. his Majeſty declar'd Sir *Palmes Fairborne* to be left Lieutenant-Governor of *Tangier*, in the room of Colonel *Duncan*: Upon whoſe Arrival the Earl of *Inchiquin*, the Governor, had obtained Leave to come for *England*, in whoſe Abſence the ſaid Sir *Palmes* was to command in Chief. The Lord *Bodmyn* went Envoy Extraordinary to the King of *Denmark*; and Sir *Gabriel Silvius*, in the ſame Quality, to the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburgh*. On *March* 6. his Majeſty going to *Blackwall* to ſee ſome Frigots there building, dined with *Henry Johnſon*, Eſq; and conferr'd upon him the Honour of Knighthood.

State of Religion.

The King profeſſes a Zeal to the *Church of England*.

Proclamations againſt *Papiſts*.

As to *Religion*: While the Nation and the Parliament were ſo juſtly apprehenſive of the Dangers of *Popery*[a], the King was pleaſed to keep them in ſome Amuſement, by ſeeming himſelf to ſhew a great Affection and Zeal for the *Proteſtant Church* Eſtabliſh'd. He fell in readily with all the Parliamentary Addreſſes for executing the Laws againſt the *Papiſts*, though nothing was more averſe to his own Inclination and Judgment. On *May* 4. he cauſed a *Proclamation* to be publiſh'd, commanding all *Papiſts*, or reputed *Papiſts*, forthwith to depart from the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and from within ten Miles of the ſame. And on the ſame Day he publiſh'd another *Proclamation* for the Diſcovery and Apprehending *Maurice Gifford* a Popiſh Prieſt, and ſeveral other Perſons of the *Romiſh* Religion, *who had, (out of their deteſtable and barbarous Malice) conſpired and agreed together to ſet on fire the City of* London, *the Suburbs thereof, and the Places thereunto adjacent.* On *June* 13. *Thomas White*, alias *Whitebread*, Provincial of the Jeſuits in *England*, *William Harcourt*, pretended Rector of *London*; *John Fenwick*, Procurator for the Jeſuits in *England*; *John Gaven*, alias *Gawen*, and *Anthony Turner*, all Jeſuits and Prieſts, were brought to their Tryal at the *Old-Baily*, by virtue of a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, being indicted of High-Treaſon, for conſpiring the Death of his Majeſty, and the Subverſion of the Government and Proteſtant Religion; and, upon full Evidence, were found *Guilty*. And the next Day *Richard Langhorne*, Counſellor at Law, who was indicted for the ſame Crimes, was, after a long Tryal, likewiſe found

Tryal of Prieſts and Jeſuits.

[a] See the Popiſh Damnable Plot againſt our Religion and Liberties fairly laid open and diſcover'd in the Breviats of threeſcore and four Letters and Papers of Intelligence paſs'd betwixt the Pope, the Duke of *York*, Cardinal *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Cibo*, Cardinal *Barberini*, Nuncio and Internuncio for the Pope in *Italy*, *France* and *Flanders*, and the Lord *Arundell*, Mr. *Coleman*, *Albany*, Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Evans*: As alſo the ſaid Mr. *Coleman*, *Albany*, St. *Germain*, *Leyburn*, *Sheldon*, *Throgmorton*, and ſeveral others. As they were drawn up by the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons for the Satiſfaction of the Houſe of Lords in the Bill againſt the Duke of *York* and expected Tryals of the Lords. Now publiſhed for the Vindication of the Houſe of Commons upon the ſaid Bill, and for Satisfaction of all the faithful Subjects of his Majeſty's Kingdoms; with ſeveral Animadverſions and Remarks made upon the ſaid Letters. *London*, for *R. Janeway*, 1680. *Fol.*

See the Trial of *Nathaniel Reading* Eſq; before the Lord Chief Juſtice *North*, for endeavouring to ſtifle the Evidence for the King againſt the Popiſh Lords, *April* 24. 1679. Committed and ſentenc'd to ſtand in the Pillory, one Year's Impriſonment, and a Fine of one thouſand Pounds.——This notable Perſon had been Secretary to *Mas Annello* in the Inſurrection at *Naples* above thirty Years before, and lived about thirty Years after this Tryal. Remarkable for the Strength of old Age and Wickedneſs.

Guilty.

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Guilty. And then Sentence paſſed upon them all ſix, to be drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd. When they came to Execution, they all proteſted, upon their Salvation, at the very moment of death, That they were wholly Innocent of the Crimes objected againſt them, and for which they were about to ſuffer. Many People were ſurprized at theſe dying Aſſeverations, when the Evidence was ſo clear in all the Facts, and in every Circumſtance of them; ſome imputed their obſtinate denial, to an expectance of Pardon; others, to an extravagant Notion of Merit; and few believed them, but thoſe who had been proſelyted to them. On *July* 18, Sir *George Wakeman* the Queen's Phyſician, Mr. *William Marſhal*, Mr. *William Rumſey*, and Mr. *James Corker*, were Tryed upon a like Indictment of High-Treaſon, for conſpiring the death of the King, and ſubverting the Government, and the Proteſtant Religion. But the King's Witneſſes were now ſo far diſcountenanc'd, that the Jury brought the Priſoners in, *Not Guilty*. Yet his Majeſty ſuffered *William Pleſſington* a Popiſh Prieſt, being convicted of High-Treaſon, for exerciſing his Function here, contrary to the Law, to be executed at *Cheſter*, on *Saturday* the 19th of *July*; and connived at the like execution of *John Evans*, and *William Floyd*, two Popiſh Prieſts, at *Cardiff*, on the 23d of *July*. His Majeſty, by Proclamation dated *September* 8. Declares to the World, *That it had appeared, at the Tryals and Arraignments of the Conſpirators, in the horrid and traiterous Conſpiracy now under Proſecution, That among the ſeveral Ways and Means contrived for the Murther of his Sacred Majeſty, four Ruffians were appointed to go to* Windſor, *and there to Aſſaſſinate his Royal Perſon; and that by Information upon Oath, there was juſt cauſe to ſuſpect that* Lay-allyan, Karney, *and* Brahall, *Iriſhmen, and* Wilſon *an Engliſhman, were the Perſons hired to commit that execrable Crime, and were ſince fled from Juſtice: And therefore his Majeſty propoſes the Reward of an hundred Pounds for the diſcovery of any one of thoſe Offenders*. In another Proclamation Dated *October* 31, his Majeſty farther declared, *That the late horrid Plot and Conſpiracy of divers Prieſts and Jeſuits, and other Papiſts, againſt his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, and for the Subverſion of the Proteſtant Religion and Government eſtabliſhed, had been ſo far diſcovered, that the ſad Effects thereof had, by his Majeſty's Care, and the Bleſſing of Almighty God, been hitherto prevented, and the moſt notorious Offenders therein brought to condign Puniſhment. But his Majeſty conſidered, that nothing would more conduce to the laſting Safety of his Majeſty, his Kingdoms, and the Proteſtant Religion therein eſtabliſh'd, than that there might be a full and perfect diſcovery of the ſaid Conſpiracy, and therefore offers Pardon, and other Encouragement, to all that can make any farther diſcovery*. Again by Proclamation dated *November* the 12th, *his Majeſty propoſes a Reward of an hundred Pounds to any Perſon who ſhall diſcover and apprehend any Jeſuit; and fifty Pounds to any Perſon who ſhall diſcover any Eſtate Real or Perſonal belonging to any Jeſuit, or College or Seminary of Jeſuits; or to any Popiſh Prieſt, College, Seminary, Convent or Nunnery of Popiſh and Superſtitious Foundation, (except the ſame be iſſuing out, or Part of the Eſtate and Eſtates of Sir* Thomas Preſton, *Sir* John Warner, 2500 l. *Charge upon the Eſtate of* Henry Nevil, *Eſq; and* 1500 l. *in the Hands of* Auguſtine Hungate, *which are already diſcovered, and now under Examination before the Lords-Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.)*

Some Papiſts acquitted.

The King apprehends his own Life in danger.

And encourages a further Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot.

In *December* his Majeſty farther declared, "That "out of his continual Care of the Proteſtant Religion, he had appointed a Committee of the "Lords of his Privy-Council, to conſider of the "moſt effectual Means for putting the Laws in ex- "ecution againſt the *Papiſts*, and for the ſuppreſ- "ſion of *Popery*; who reporting their Opinions to "his Majeſty in Council, there was a Reward of "Ten Pounds to be paid to the diſcoverer of any "Papiſt, or ſuſpected Papiſt, who ſhall be harbour- "ed in any of his Majeſty's Houſes, and the Officer "who harbour'd them ſhould be turn'd out of his "Place. The Juſtices of Peace were likewiſe per- "mitted to ſearch *Somerſet-Houſe*, at any time in "the Queen's abſence, as alſo St. *James's*, for "Prieſts and Papiſts. And that no Popiſh Recu- "ſant might expect any Favour or Connivance for "their ſtaying in Town, his Majeſty declared his "Reſolution, not to grant them any Diſpenſations "or Licenſes to that effect. And for preventing "the Reſort of all Perſons to the Chapels of Am- "baſſadors and Foreign Miniſters of the Popiſh Re- "ligion, (except they be their menial Servants) the "Conſtables and Beadles were directed to ſeize all "Perſons who ſhould be found unduly reſorting "thither. And that no Encouragement might be "wanting, in order to the Conviction of Papiſts, "a Privy-Seal was paſſing, to enable all the Judges "to reward, according to their Diſcretions, all Per- "ſons that ſhould proſecute ſuch Popiſh Recuſants "before them, to be pay'd out of the Eſtates or "Forfeitures of thoſe who ſhould be convicted by "their Proſecutions. And for ſuch Perſons as were "already Impriſoned any where, upon Suſpicion of "being Popiſh Prieſts, it was farther Ordered, That "they be forthwith proſecuted to an Attainder. "And whereas Liſts of the *Papiſts*, and Reputed "*Papiſts* of *England* and *Wales* had been lodg'd in "the Houſe of Commons by the Knights of the "reſpective Shires, and Copies thereof laid before "the Lords of the Committee, the Lord Chancel- "lor was now directed to cauſe Commiſſions to be "prepared (in which the ſaid Liſts were to be in- "ſerted) impowering and requiring the Juſtices of "the Peace of each County to tender the Oaths of "Allegiance and Supremacy to the Perſons particu- "larly named therein; and upon their refuſal to "proceed againſt them according to Law, in or- "der to their ſpeedy Conviction." And after all theſe Opinions of the Committee, confirmed and enforced by the King in Council, a Proclamation was publiſh'd the ſame Day, declaring, *That his Majeſty was ſenſible of the great encreaſe of* Popery *within this Kingdom of late Years, by reaſon of the neglect of putting in execution thoſe good Laws which were provided for ſuppreſſing the ſame, whereby Jeſuits and Prieſts had been emboldened to reſort hither from Parts beyond the Seas in great Numbers, and had openly practiſed and aſſerted the moſt pernicious and damnable Principles of that Religion, and to perſuade and withdraw divers of his Majeſty's good Subjects from their Obedience to his Majeſty, and to reconcile them to the Pope and See of* Rome: *Therefore his Majeſty apprehending that many of his good Subjects might be ignorant of the good Laws made againſt* Popery, *his Majeſty thinks fit to publiſh and make known the principal and moſt penal of the ſaid Laws; as well to prevent and hinder any of his loving Subjects from being miſled into any ſuch Offences, through Ignorance, as to guide and encourage all Perſons knowing of any ſuch Offences, to a legal Proſecution of the ſame*.

Proclamation for putting the Laws in Execution againſt Papiſts.

On *Jan.* 17, at the Seſſions for *Middleſex* and *London*, Eight Perſons were Arraigned for High-Treaſon, upon the Statute of 27 *Eliz. cap.* 2. who being born Subjects of the King of *England*, and having taken the Order of Prieſthood, by Authority derived from the See of *Rome*, had come and remained in *England*, contrary to the Statute; and Six of them were Convicted. And yet after all theſe ſolemn Declarations, and formal Proceedings, the King was believed, by all who beſt knew him, to be a *Papiſt* in his Heart, and a profeſs'd encourager of ſuppreſſing and ridiculing the *Popiſh Plot*; which never ended in his Reign, nor with his Life[a].

The King is not throughly convinc'd of the Popiſh Plot.

Omiſſion in the Teſt Act, about Members of Convocation.

[a] The diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, and the vigorous Proſecution of it had created ſuch Abhorrence, or at leaſt excited ſuch Caution in ſome of the Popiſh Peers, that they turn'd Proteſtants upon it, and continued ſo till death, particularly the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Shrewſbury*.

1679. 31 *Car.* II.

There was little more of Eccleſiaſtical Concern; unleſs we take Notice, That the Houſe of Lords had obſerved an Omiſſion in the *Teſt Act*, and other *Acts of Security*, "That no Proviſion was made for "requiring the Members of Convocation to take "the Oaths and Declaration." Upon which a *Bill* was brought in, Intituled, *An Act to diſable any Perſon from ſitting in any of the Houſes of Convocation, till he hath taken the Oaths, and made and ſubſcribed the Declaration therein contained.* Which *Bill* being ſent from the Lords, was on *Apr.* 3[d] read the firſt time, and on *Apr.* 8. a ſecond time, and then committed, upon the Debate of the Houſe, to a Committee of Members expreſſly named; to which were to be added all the Members that ſerved for the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. A *Report* from this Committee was made on *Apr.* 22. That they had taken the Bill into Conſideration, and agreed upon ſeveral Amendments and Clauſes: Which being read, the Bill was recommitted, and was afterwards dropt. The Foundation of this Bill was laid, in this Opinion of all People, That the Members of Convocation were not ſo called to Parliament by the *Premunientes* Writ, as to be intitled to the Privileges or Duties of Parliament-Men, by any Law or Statute, unleſs expreſſly named in it.

Unhappy Diſtinction of *Whig* and *Tory*.

The Nation was ſo divided into Party and Faction, under the unhappy Names of *Whig* and *Tory*, that at Elections for Parliament, and other publick Meetings, it occaſioned many Tumults and Riots, and other perſonal Challenges and Combats. Upon which his Majeſty, by his Proclamation dated *March* 9, was pleaſed to declare, "That it had "become too frequent, eſpecially with Perſons of "Quality, under a vain Pretence of Honour, to "take upon them to be the Revengers of their "private Quarrels, by Duels and ſingle Combat; "which ought not to be, upon any Pretence or "Provocation whatſoever: Therefore, his Majeſty "conſidering, that the ſin of Murther was deteſtable before God, and this way of proſecuting Satiſfaction was ſcandalous to Chriſtian Religion, "and was a manifeſt Violation of the Laws; out of "his pious Care to prevent unchriſtian and raſh effuſion of Blood, he ſtrictly charges and commands "all his loving Subjects, That they do not, either "by themſelves or others, challenge any Perſon, "nor accept of any Challenge, nor actually fight "any Duel; Declaring his Royal Pleaſure, That he "will not grant his Pardon to any Perſon that ſhall "be ſo concern'd in any Duel, but leave him to "the utmoſt rigour and Severities of the Laws.

Proclamation againſt Duelling.

Unhappy Diviſions among the Clergy.

The Diſſentions among the Clergy were as apparent as among the People. Thoſe Divines who were hearty in their Zeal againſt Popery, and were ſtedfaſt in aſſerting the legal Rights and Liberties of Church and State, were unhappily run down for *Whigs*, and even for *Fanaticks*, though Perſons of the greateſt Learning, Sobriety, and Affection to the Eſtabliſh'd Conſtitution: While other Clergymen, who were drawn in to declaim againſt the *Fanaticks* more than againſt the [a] *Papiſts*, and to pretend to be more afraid of a Republick than of a Popiſh Succeſſor, they valued themſelves for the diſtinguiſhing Name of *Tories*; and run into ſuch high Notions of *Paſſive Obedience*, and Unbounded Prerogative, that they really gave a great Advantage to the *Papiſts*, and help'd to make the *Diſſenting* Teachers the more acceptable not only to the common People, but even to many of the Nobility and Gentry, who were offended at thoſe new Marks of a *High-Church*. For, to uſe the Words of Sir *John Hawles*, late Solicitor-General, in his Remarks on *Fitz-Harris*'s Tryal, *Many of the Clergy of the Church of* England *had been prevailed with to cry up the* Popiſh, *as a* Fanatick Plot: *The* Papiſts *and the* Church of England *being in the late Times equally Sufferers, and Oppreſs'd by the* Fanaticks, *they naturally grew to have a Kindneſs for each other, and both join'd in hating the* Fanaticks; *and therefore pretended at leaſt, that they did not believe any thing of the Popiſh Plot, but that* that *Report was given out by the Fanaticks, whilſt they themſelves were deſigning ſomething againſt the Church of* England.

The Parliament, by the laſt Prorogation, was to have met again on *April* the 15th. But on *Monday April* the 5th his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare in Council, "That he thought fit, for ſeveral weighty Conſiderations, to make a further Prorogation 1680.
"till the 17th of *May* next." At which time the two Houſes met at *Weſtminſter*, and were prorogued, by Commiſſion, till the firſt of *July* next: At which time it was further prorogued, by Commiſſion, till the 22[d] Day of the ſame Month. But in the mean time, his Majeſty declared in Council, on *July* 14, "That he thought fit to prorogue the "Parliament from the 22[d] inſtant till the 23[d] of *Auguſt*;" when it was again prorogued, by Commiſſion, till the 21st of *October*. On which Day his Majeſty by Proclamation declared, That the Parliament ſhould then meet, and ſit, and therefore required the Preſence and Attendance of all the Members.

The Parliament Prorogued from time to time.

In the mean time Inſtructions were given, and great Intereſt was made to obtain, at ſeveral Seſſions and Aſſizes, a Declaration of Abhorrence of Petitioning for the ſitting of a Parliament; and many of theſe Forms of Abhorrence were preſented to the King, who ſeem'd to be very fond of them. The City of *Weſtminſter* was the firſt, who, by *Francis Wythins*, Eſq; (Knighted for that Service) preſented ſuch an *Addreſs* of Abhorrence, made by the Grand-Jury, and ſubſcribed by the Juſtices. The

Abhorrence of petitioning.

[a] 26 *Martij*, 1679. the Houſe of Commons being informed that Dr. *John Nelſon*, [a Clergyman] was the Author of a Pamphlet intituled, *A Letter from a Jeſuit at* Paris *to his Correſpondent in* London, *ſhewing the moſt effectual way to ruin the Government and the Proteſtant Religion*, Ordered he be ſent for in Cuſtody.

In the mean time the ſoberer Part of the Biſhops and Clergy were juſtly alarm'd at the Dangers of *Popery*, and joined heartily in Abhorrence of it. Particularly Dr. *Compton* Biſhop of *London* appointed the Clergy of his Dioceſe to meet in Conference againſt the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, and appointing the 20th of *May*, 1679. for ſuch a Conference at *Dunmow* upon the Queſtion of *Half Communion*; and a ſecond Conference on *Prayers in an unknown Tongue*; and a third on the *Worſhip of Saints and Angels*, with Sermons each Day on thoſe reſpective Subjects; the good Biſhop ſent a Circular Letter to his Clergy in thoſe Diſtricts, one of which to Dr. *Thomas Fuller*, Rector of *Willingale-Doe* in *Eſſex* I have now by me, thus honeſtly expreſſing himſelf.——"No "Man can be ignorant of the great Alarm the whole Nation "has been in from the wicked Deſigns of the Popiſh Party; "ſo that if ever *one* time was more favourable than *another* "to ſuppreſs that Faction, it is certainly *now*, when Hands "and Hearts are ready to join with me, *&c.* Dated *May* 2. 1679.

And thoſe few Biſhops that diſtinguiſhed themſelves of the Duke's Party, were ſo ſeverely reflected on by the common Speakers and Writers, that it occaſioned the publiſhing of the Speech of a Reverend Biſhop of the Church of *England*, in defence of themſelves and the Government, againſt the malicious Libels of theſe Times. Printed in the Year 1679. 4[to].

And yet thoſe Divines called *Whigs* did the Church of *England* moſt ſervice, nay and moſt hurt to the Cauſe of Non-conformity, as Dr. *Lewis du Moulin* in his laſt Tract before his death in 1680. *An Appeal of the Non-Conformiſts, &c.* confeſs'd in theſe Words, "That ſeveral Biſhops and Doctors of the "Church of *England*, as Dr. *Lloyd*, Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Patrick*, that are acknowledged by the Non-"Conformiſts to be Perſons of great Learning, Worth, and "Piety, but who are extreme admirers of the Epiſcopacy of "*England*, and all its Conſequences; and who have alſo preferred its Government to all other Eſtabliſhments in *Europe*, have by an unlucky Accident contributed more towards the Reputation of the *Engliſh* Hierarchy and its Practices, and towards the perpetuating the Feuds and Quarrels between the Conformiſts and Non-conformiſts, than it "has been poſſible for any other corrupted Party to do by "all their Irregularities, and Advances towards *Rome*.

like

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like *Addreſſes* were brought up from the Counties of *Surrey*, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and *Norfolk*; this laſt County particularly giving the King their humble Thanks for recalling the Duke of *York* from *Flanders*[a].

On *Thurſday October* 21. the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and his Majeſty coming to the Houſe of Lords, with the Commons attending, was pleaſed to make this gracious Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Meeting of the Parliament.

THE ſeveral Prorogations I made, have been very advantagious to our Neighbours, and very uſeful to me; for I have employed that time in making and perfecting an Alliance with the Crown of Spain, *ſuitable to that which I had before with the* States *of the* United Provinces, *and they alſo had with* Spain, *conſiſting of mutual Obligations of Succour and Defence.*

The K.'s Speech.

I have all the reaſon in the World to believe, That what was ſo much deſired by former Parliaments, muſt needs be very grateful to you now: For tho' ſome, perhaps, may wiſh theſe Meaſures had been taken ſooner, yet no Man can with Reaſon think that it is now too late; for they who deſire to make theſe Alliances, and they who deſire to break them, ſhew themſelves to be of another Opinion.

And as theſe are the beſt Meaſures that could be taken for the ſafety of England, *and the repoſe of Chriſtendom; ſo they cannot fail to attain their end, and to ſpread and improve themſelves farther, if our Diviſions at home do not render our Friendſhip leſs conſiderable abroad.*

To prevent thoſe as much as may be, I think fit to renew to you all the Aſſurances which can be deſired, that nothing ſhall be wanting on my part to give you the fulleſt Satisfaction your Hearts can wiſh, for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, which I am fully reſolved to maintain againſt all the Conſpiracies of our Enemies, and to concur with you in any new Remedies which ſhall be propoſed, that may conſiſt with preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its due and legal courſe of Deſcent.

And in order to this I do recommend it to you, to purſue the farther Examination of the Plot, with a ſtrict and an impartial Enquiry. I do not think my ſelf ſafe, nor you neither, till that Matter be gone through with; and therefore it will be neceſſary that the Lords in the Tower *be brought to their ſpeedy Tryal, that Juſtice may be done.*

I need not tell you what Danger the City of Tangier *is in, nor of what Importance it is to us to preſerve it. I have with a mighty Charge and Expence, ſent a very conſiderable Relief thither; but conſtantly to maintain ſo great a Force as that War will require, and to make thoſe new Works and Fortifications, without which the Place will not be long Tenable, amounts to ſo vaſt a Sum, that without your Support it will be impoſſible for me to undergo it: Therefore I lay the Matter plainly before you, and do deſire your Advice and Aſſiſtance.*

But that which I value above all the Treaſure in the World, and which I am ſure will give me greater Strength and Reputation both at home and abroad, than any Treaſure can do, is, a perfect Union among our ſelves.

Nothing but this can reſtore the Kingdom to that Strength and Vigour which it ſeems to have loſt, and raiſe us again to that Conſideration which England *hath uſually had.*

All Europe *have their Eyes upon this Aſſembly, and think their own Happineſs or Miſery, as well as ours, will depend upon it.*

If we ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into ſuch a miſunderſtanding amongſt our ſelves, as would render our Friendſhip unſafe to truſt to; it will not be to be wondred at, if our Neighbours ſhould begin to take new Reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as may be fatal to us.

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Let us therefore take care that we do not gratiſie our Enemies, and diſcourage our Friends by any unſeaſonable Diſputes.

If any ſuch do happen, the World will ſee it was no Fault of mine; for I have done all that was poſſible for me to do, to keep you in Peace while I live, and to leave you ſo when I die.

But from ſo great Prudence and ſo good Affection as yours, I can fear nothing of this kind; but do rely upon you all, that you will uſe your beſt Endeavours to bring this Parliament to a good and happy concluſion.

After this *Speech* the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, directed the Commons to return to their Houſe, and to proceed to the Choice of a *Speaker*: Which they accordingly did, and unanimouſly elected *William Williams*, Eſq; of *Grays-Inn*, Councellor at Law, and Recorder of *Cheſter*; who the next Day, was preſented to his Majeſty ſeated in his Throne in the Houſe of Lords, and approved by him. On *Tueſday Octob.* 26. they entred on their Debates; and becauſe the Senſe of the Houſe, and the State of the Nation, will beſt appear by what was then deliver'd, we ſhall here inſert the two leading *Speeches*. The Lord *R.* began thus:

W. Williams choſen Speaker.

Mr. Speaker;

SIR,

"SEeing, by *God's Providence* and his *Majeſty's* " *Favour*, we are here aſſembled to conſult " and adviſe about the greateſt Affairs of the Kingdom, I humbly conceive it will become us to " begin firſt with that which is of moſt Conſequence to our *King* and *Country*, and to take into Conſideration how to ſave the *Main*, before we ſpend any Time about *Particulars*.

Speeches in the Houſe of Commons.

" *SIR*, I am of Opinion, That the *Life* of our " *King*, the *Safety* of our *Country* and *Proteſtant* " *Religion*, are in great Danger from *Popery*; and " that either the *Parliament* muſt *ſuppreſs* the *Power* " and *Growth* of *Popery*, or elſe that *Popery* will " ſoon *deſtroy* not only *Parliaments*, but all that is " *Near* and *Dear* to us. And therefore I humbly " move, That we may reſolve to take into our " Conſideration, in the firſt place, *How to ſuppreſs* " *Popery, and prevent a Popiſh Succeſſor*; without " which, all our Endeavours about other Matters " will not ſignify any thing, and therefore this " juſtly challengeth the Precedency.

He was ſeconded by Sir *H. C.* in this notable manner.

Mr. Speaker,

SIR,

"I Stand up to ſecond that Motion, and to give " ſome Reaſons, with your Permiſſion, why " I agree in it, not doubting but other Perſons will " be of the ſame Opinion, if they have the ſame " Sentiments what *Influence* the *Popiſh Party* have " had in the *Management* of moſt of our Affairs " both at *Home* and *Abroad*, for many Years laſt " paſt; and how that Party hath *encreaſed* and been " *encouraged*.

" *SIR*, I remember, that after his Majeſty's " happy Reſtauration, it was thought convenient " that an *Act of Uniformity* ſhould paſs, as the beſt " Law that could be invented to ſecure the *Church* " from the Danger of *Popery* and *Fanaticiſm*; and " accordingly it did paſs in the Year 1662. But " in the Year 1663, ſome that then managed the " great Affairs of State, or at leaſt had great Intereſt with his Majeſty, were of another Opinion;

[a] The Arraignment and Tryal of *Roger* Earl of *Caſtlemain*, for intending to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, to kill the King, levy War, and alter the eſtabliſh'd Religion to the Superſtition of the Church of *Rome*, on *Tueſday*, *June* the 15th 1680. acquitted.

1680. “ for they had prevailed with him to grant a *Tole-*
32 *Car.* II. “ *ration* and *Indulgence*, and to make a *Declaration*
“ to that Purpoſe. The Parliament aſſembling
“ ſoon after, thought it very ſtrange, that in one
“ Year an *Act of Uniformity* ſhould be the beſt way
“ to preſerve the Church, and that in the next
“ Year a *Toleration* and *Indulgence*; therefore, after
“ a ſerious Debate about it in *Feb.* 1663, they
“ made an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty, humbly repre-
“ ſenting how it would reflect on the Wiſdom of
“ that Parliament, to have ſuch an Alteration made
“ ſo ſoon; and that ſuch Proceedings, for ought
“ they could foreſee, would end in *Popery*. Upon
“ which his Majeſty, out of his great Goodneſs,
“ ſtopt the iſſuing out of the ſaid *Toleration*, heark-
“ ening rather to the Advice of his *Parliament*,
“ than to any *private Counſellors*.

“ *SIR*, I cannot inform you who it was that
“ gave that Advice to his Majeſty, nor certainly
“ affirm that they were Popiſhly affected; but if I
“ may take the liberty to judge of a Tree by its
“ Fruit, I have ſome Reaſon to think ſo; becauſe
“ I find by *Coleman*'s *Letters*, and other Diſcove-
“ ries, that a *Toleration* and *Indulgence* ſhould be
“ one of the great *Engines* they intended to uſe for
“ the eſtabliſhing of *Popery* in this Nation. But
“ the Project thus failing at this Time, they were
“ forc'd to wait with Patience until they could have
“ another Opportunity; employing in the mean
“ time their Diabolical Counſels in weakening the
“ *Proteſtant* Intereſt, (in order to a general Deſtru-
“ ction of it) by engaging us in a War with *Hol-*
“ *land*: In which the *French* acted the ſame Part
“ in the Behalf of the *Dutch*, as they did after-
“ wards in our Behalf againſt them in 1672, very
“ fairly looking on both times, while we poor
“ *Proteſtants* with great Fury *deſtroy'd* one the o-
“ ther. But this was not ſo ſtrange, nor ſo plain,
“ as the *dividing* of our *Fleet* under the Command
“ of Prince *Rupert* and General *Monk*, and the De-
“ ſign of deſtroying them, as well as their Ships,
“ and the reſt of our Navy-Royal at *Chatham*. And
“ as they thus acted their Part at *Sea*, ſo they did
“ not forget to do their beſt *a-Shore*; in *Apr.* 1666,
“ ſome Perſons that were then hang'd, confeſs'd
“ they had been *treated* with, and had *treated* with
“ others, to burn the City of *London* in *September*
“ following; of which Confeſſion we then took
“ as little Notice, as we have of other Diſcoveries
“ ſince: However, accordingly in *September*, *Thir-*
“ *teen Thouſand* Houſes of the City of *London* were
“ burnt: And thoſe that were taken in carrying on
“ that Work, generouſly *diſcharg'd* without any
“ *Tryal*; and one Papiſt, that confeſs'd that him-
“ ſelf and others did ſet the City on fire, was in
“ great haſte hang'd; and ſo the Buſineſs was *huſh'd*
“ *up*, as compleatly as the laſt great *Plot* is like to
“ be now, branding *Hubert*, that then made that
“ Confeſſion, with *Madneſs*; as now theſe laſt Wit-
“ neſſes, with *Perjury*, *Sodomy*, and what not.
“ However, theſe Buſineſſes were not ſo carried on,
“ but his Majeſty diſcerned ſome of the Intrigues
“ of them, which made him alter his Councils,
“ and, contrary to the Endeavours of that Party,
“ enter into new Alliances, by making up that ex-
“ cellent *League*, uſually call'd the *Triple-League*;
“ which put a ſtop to theſe Men's Deſigns as to
“ Affairs Abroad, but not to their Deſigns here at
“ Home. For having obtained the *Oxford* Act,
“ and ſome others againſt the *Diſſenters*, great En-
“ deavours were uſed to have them executed ſe-
“ verely, in expectation that the *Diſſenters* would
“ ſo be made weary of living *quietly* under them,
“ and in the end be glad of a *Toleration*: But the
“ *Diſſenters* deceived them, and ſubmitted to the
“ Laws, inſomuch that in 1670, till 1671, there
“ was hardly a Conventicle to be heard of in *Eng-*
“ *land*; and might never have been more, if that
“ Party had not been afraid of a great Diſap-
“ pointment thereby: Wherefore, to revive our 1680.
“ *Diviſions*, and to bring in (as they hoped) their 32 *Car.* II.
“ own *Religion*, they employed all their Force a-
“ gain to get a *Toleration*; I ſay, *They* did it, be-
“ cauſe it cannot be imagin'd it could be from any
“ Proteſtant Intereſt, both Churchmen and Diſſen-
“ ters publickly declaring their Deteſtationn of it:
“ And in 1672 it was obtain'd, printed, and pub-
“ liſh'd; after we had, in order to the carrying it
“ on, *broke* that never-to-be-forgotten *Triple-League*,
“ *ſacrificed* our *Honour* to the *French*, not only by
“ making a *ſtrong Alliance* with them, but by *ſeiz-*
“ *ing* the *Dutch Smyrna Fleet*, and then afterwards
“ proclaiming War with them: Which War was
“ continu'd, in order to ruin us both; for the
“ *French* proved but *Lookers on* at *Sea*, (as they had
“ done when engaged with the *Dutch* in 1665.)
“ though great *Conquerors* at *Land*, eſpecially of
“ the *Proteſtants* in *Germany* and *Holland*. And as
“ this *Toleration* was accompanied with theſe great
“ Alterations in Affairs Abroad, ſo it was back'd,
“ 1. With a great Miniſter of State at the Helm at
“ Home, who was ſo confident of the re-fixing
“ *Popery* here, that he could not forbear to declare
“ himſelf to be of that Religion, I mean my Lord-
“ Treaſurer *Clifford*: As alſo, 2. With a great
“ Army at *Black-Heath* ready upon all Occaſions:
“ And, 3. With the greateſt Violation on the Pro-
“ perty of the Subject that ever happen'd in this
“ Nation, the *Seizing* of *One Million and an half*,
“ or thereabout, in the *Exchequer*. All which in-
“ deed made our Condition deſperate, and, as many
“ thought, paſt Retrieve. But, Mr. *Speaker*, here
“ again the Goodneſs and Wiſdom of his Majeſty
“ ſaved us, refuſing to follow ſuch pernicious Coun-
“ ſels: Upon which *Clifford* not only loſt his Place,
“ but his Life too, breaking his Heart (as is by
“ moſt believed) to ſee himſelf ſo diſappointed in
“ this great Deſign. And here, as we can never
“ too much *deteſt* my Lord *Clifford*, and ſuch others
“ who contrived our Ruin; ſo we can never ſuffi-
“ ciently *admire* his Majeſty's Royal Care in work-
“ ing out our Security, by refuſing to follow any
“ Advice that tended to thoſe Ends. And there-
“ fore, to the great Diſappointment of that Party,
“ at the Requeſt of the Houſe of Commons at their
“ next Meeting, he *recalled* the ſaid *Toleration*, *diſ-*
“ *banded the Army*, and, in convenient time, *made*
“ *a Peace* with *Holland*. But though this Party
“ were thus defeated of their Deſign, yet not ſo
“ diſcouraged as to give it over. They changed
“ their Meaſures, but not their Principles; and al-
“ though they deſiſted from further *aiming* at a
“ *Toleration*, yet they no ways neglected *purſuing*
“ a *Reformation*, but, in order thereto, proſecuted
“ a Correſpondence formerly begun for that Pur-
“ poſe with the *French* King, and by promiſing
“ him conſiderable Supplies to carry on the War
“ he was then engaged in, ſecured themſelves, as
“ they thought, of his Aſſiſtance for ſettling of *Po-*
“ *pery* here. Accordingly it is not unknown what
“ a Party of Men, and what Quantities of Ammu-
“ nition, and other Neceſſaries for War, were ſent
“ to the *French* King, during the War he was then
“ engaged in, and how it was done contrary to the
“ Advice of the Parliament, and the Solicitations
“ of moſt of the Princes of *Europe*, and true Inte-
“ reſt of *England*, to the Aſtoniſhment of all good
“ Men; eſpecially becauſe it was *contrary* to his
“ Majeſty's own *Proclamation*, and when the *French*
“ had *declared* they made that *War* for *Religion*, en-
“ deavouring to force the *Dutch* to *allow* of *Popiſh*
“ *Churches*. However, ſuch was the Strength of
“ this Party, that this Aſſiſtance was continued un-
“ til the *French* King was willing to make a Peace;
“ and then, who more inſtrumental than our Mi-
“ niſters to effect it? Several Ambaſſadors, and Ple-
“ nipotentiaries too, being ſent as well to the
“ Court of *Spain*, as *Germany* and *Holland*, for that

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"Purpoſe. And at laſt, the *Dutch* being weary, and conſumed with the *War*, they were perſuaded to be willing for a *Peace*; and accordingly on *Jan.* 10, 1667. entred into a Treaty with us for a general Peace, to be accompliſhed by ſuch Ways and Means as are therein preſcribed: Which League was kept private for ſome time; and inſtead of any Diſcovery thereof, about the End of *February* following (the Parliament being then ſoon after to aſſemble) a great Noiſe was made of entring into a War againſt *France*; it being concluded, that nothing like that would incline the Parliament to give Money, nor the People freely to part with it, becauſe it was the only way to extinguiſh thoſe Fears they lay under, by reaſon of the growing Greatneſs of *France*. At the Meeting of the Parliament, the Project was ſet on foot with all the Art and Induſtry imaginable; and ſo far were the major-part of the Members perſuaded of the Reality thereof, that they were inclinable to give a great Sum of Money for the carrying on of the War: But while they were in Conſultation about it, the *League* formerly mention'd, agreed at the *Hague*, was unluckily made (in ſome meaſure) publick, and occaſion'd a great Jealouſy of the Reality of the Pretended War; and the greater, becauſe, upon Enquiry, they could not find there were any Alliances made to that Purpoſe. And yet notwithſtanding this, and the great Endeavours of ſome worthy Members of that Parliament, (now of this) an Army of thirty thouſand Men were raiſed, and a Tax of above one Million two hundred thouſand Pounds was given. And then, inſtead of a *War*, a *General Peace*, according to that *Treaty* agreed with *Holland*, was preſently made: By which that Party thought they had ſecured not only the Power of *France*, but the Men and Money here raiſed at Home, to be made ſerviceable for their Ends; there wanting nothing but a *Popiſh King* to perfect all theſe Deſigns: For which we have great Reaſon to believe they had made all neceſſary Preparations, as well by employing Men and Money to find out wicked Inſtruments to take away the King's Life, as by providing one *Claypool* to be a Sacrifice, to make an Atonement for the Act, and to caſt the Wickedneſs thereof on the *Fanaticks*. To which purpoſe the ſaid *Claypool* was really impriſon'd ſome time before in the *Tower*, upon the Evidence of two Witneſſes, that he ſhould ſay, *That he, and two hundred more, had engaged to kill the King the next time he went to* New-Market; for which, in all probability, he had as really been hang'd, if the breaking out of the *Plot* had not prevented their Deſigns. Then was *Claypool*, the next Term after, publickly cleared at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, the Witneſſes appearing no more againſt him. Thus were we again reduced to a miſerable Condition: But it pleaſed God, by the Diſcovery of the Plot by Dr. *Oates*, once more to ſave us; whoſe Evidence (he being but one Witneſs) they thought at firſt to have out-braved; but ſome of them being ſo infatuated as to kill Juſtice *Godfrey*, and *Coleman* ſo unfortunate as to leave ſome of his *important Papers* in his Houſe, notwithſtanding the Time he had to convey them away, it wrought ſo great a Fermentation in the People, as that there was no Remedy, but that the farther Purſuit of the Plot muſt be again laid aſide, and a fair Face put upon Things: And ſo accordingly there was for a few Months; but how, after *Wakeman*'s Tryal, Things turn'd again, what Endeavours have been ſince uſed to *ridicule* the *Plot*, to *diſparage* the *old Witneſſes*, to *diſcourage new ones*, to ſet up *Presbyterian Plots*, and to increaſe our *Diviſions*, I ſuppoſe muſt be freſh in every Man's Memory here, and therefore I ſhall not offer to trouble you therewith.

"But, *SIR*, I cannot conclude, without begging your Patience, while I obſerve how Things have been carry'd on in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, anſwerable to what was done here.

"In *Ireland*, the *Papiſts* are at leaſt *five* to one in Number for the *Proteſtants*, and may probably derive from their Cradle an Inclination to maſſacre them again: At leaſt, the *Proteſtants* have no Security, but by having the *Militia Arms*, and the Command of *Towns* and *Forts* in their Hands. But about the ſame time, or a little before that the *Toleration* came out here in 1672, an *Order* went from hence, which, after a long Preamble of the Loyalty and Affection of the *Papiſts* to his Majeſty, *required the Lord-Lieutenant* and Council to *diſpenſe* with the *Papiſts wearing of Arms*, and *living in Corporations*, and a great many other things in their Favour; of which they have made ſuch uſe, as that the *Plot* there was in as good Readineſs as that here; but how carry'd on, and what Endeavours were there alſo uſed to ſtifle it, will appear, when your Leiſure may permit you to examine thoſe Witneſſes.

"In *Scotland* the Government is quite alter'd, the *Uſe* of *Parliaments* in a manner *aboliſhed*, and the *Power* of that *Government* lodged in a *Commiſſioner* and *Council*, a *Standing Army* of *twenty two thouſand Men* ſettled, all Endeavours uſed to *divide* the *Proteſtant Intereſt*, and to *encourage* the *Papiſts*. By which we may conclude, that the ſame Intereſt hath had a great hand in the Management of Affairs there alſo.

"And, *SIR*, may we not as well believe that the World was at firſt made of *Atoms*, or by Chance, without the help of an Omnipotent Hand, as that theſe Affairs in this our Little World have been thus carry'd on ſo many Years together, ſo contrary to our true Intereſt, without ſome great original Cauſe? By which the *Popiſh* Intereſt hath ſo far got the Aſcendant of the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, that notwithſtanding all his Majeſty's Endeavours, Things have been ſtrangely over-ruled in favour of that *Party*; how, and which way, his Majeſty's *Declaration*, made in *April* 1679, is to me a great Manifeſtation.

"*SIR*, I hope the Weight of the Matter I have diſcours'd on will plead my Pardon with the Houſe for having troubled you ſo long. I ſubmit what I have ſaid to your Judgment, humbly deſiring a favourable Conſtruction: And although I have ſaid ſome Things that are very ſtrange, and other Things grounded only on Conjectures; yet I believe that no Man will have juſt Reaſon to doubt the Probability of the Truth, if they will but conſider what a potent Friend the *Papiſts* have had of *James* Duke of *York*, and how *emboldened* by the *Hopes* of having him for *King*. And as it is not to be doubted but that they have had *his* Aſſiſtance, ſo they have had the *French* Ambaſſador's too, who, by his *Frequency* at the *Palace*, hath ſeemed rather *one of the Family and King's Houſhold*, than *a Foreign Ambaſſador*; and by his Egreſs and Regreſs to and from his Majeſty, rather *a Prime Miniſter of State of this Kingdom*, than *a Counſellor to another Prince*. And the Truth of all hath been ſo confirmed by *Coleman*'s *Letters*, making the *Duke*'s Intereſt, the *French* Intereſt, and the *Papiſts* Intereſt ſo much one, and by the many Witneſſes that have come in about the Plot, that I think we may rather be at a Loſs for our Remedy, than in doubt of our Diſeaſe. And therefore, though I know the Difficulties I may bring my ſelf under, by having thus laid open ſome Men's Deſigns; yet ſeeing my King and Country have call'd me to

"this

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"*SIR*, I think (ſeeing Things are thus) with-"out neglecting our Duty to our King and Country, "nay, to our *God* too, we cannot defer endeavour-"ing the ſecuring of the King's Perſon and Prote-"ſtant Religion by all lawful Means whatſoever: "And therefore I ſecond the Motion that was "made, that we may, in the firſt place, take into "our Conſideration how to ſuppreſs *Popery*, and "prevent a *Popiſh Succeſſor*; that ſo we may never "return again to Superſtition, Idolatry and Slavery, "but may always preſerve that pure Religion, to "be the Religion of this Nation, for which ſo ma-"ny of our Fore-fathers have ſuffer'd Martyrdom, "I mean the *Proteſtant Religion*, as long as the Sun "and Moon endure.

Reſolution againſt a Popiſh Succeſſor.

At the End of the Debates of this Day, the Houſe reſolved, *That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, that they ought, in the firſt place, to proceed effectually to ſuppreſs* Popery, *and prevent a* Popiſh Succeſſor.[a]

The Duke of *York* ſeem'd to expect a Vote of this nature, and therefore would not ſtay to bear the Affront of it, but the Day before the Seſſion departed for *Scotland*, he and his Dutcheſs and Retinue going down the River in their Barges, to embark on the Men of War appointed to attend them, his Majeſty being pleaſed to accompany them as far as *Woolwich*[b].

On *Octob.* 27. they firſt reſolved, *That an Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, declaring the Reſolution of this Houſe to preſerve and ſupport the King's Perſon and Government, and the Proteſtant Religion at Home and Abroad.* And then falling on the Debate of Diſſolving, and ſo often Proroguing the Parliaments, and the Diſcouraging of Petitions for the Sitting of them, they came to theſe *Reſolutions:*

Reſolution for the Right of Petitioning.

Reſolved, "That it is, and ever hath been the "undoubted Right of the Subjects of *England*, "to petition the King for the Calling and Sitting "of Parliaments, and Redreſſing of Grievances.

Reſolved, "That to traduce ſuch Petitioning "as a Violation of Duty, and to repreſent it to "his Majeſty as tumultuous or ſeditious, is to be-"tray the Liberty of the Subject, and contribute "to the Deſign of ſubverting the ancient Legal "Conſtitution of this Kingdom, and inducing Ar-"bitrary Power.

Reſolved, "That a Committee be appointed to "enquire after all ſuch Perſons that have offended "againſt the Right of the Subject.

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Sir Francis Wythins expell'd the Houſe.

After theſe *Votes*, a Complaint was made againſt Sir *Francis Wythins*, a Member of the Houſe[c], who had preferred an *Addreſs* to the King againſt the Peoples Right of Petitioning: And he not being in the Houſe, an *Order* was made that he ſhould attend the next Day; where, after he was heard in his Place, he was ordered to withdraw, and this Sentence was paſs'd upon him, *That he ſhould receive the Cenſure of the Houſe upon his Knees, and be forthwith expell'd the Houſe.*

Proclamation for further Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot.

His Majeſty, to ſtop the Torrent of the Houſe, and to ſeem to fall in with them in a like Zeal againſt *Popery*, did on *Octob.* 30. publiſh a *Proclamation*, declaring *his Princely Care for ſecuring the true Proteſtant Religion, and for ſatisfying the Minds of his loving Subjects; and that therefore he thought fit to encourage the more effectual Diſcovery and Suppreſſion of the moſt horrid and execrable* Popiſh Plot, *by promiſing a free Pardon to any Perſons who ſhould come in, and give farther Information and Evidence concerning it:*

Reſolutions againſt Popery.

The Commons were ſo little ſatisfy'd with[d] this Court-Promiſe of ſuppreſſing *Popery*, that on *Novemb.* 2. they fell into a Debate of the *Popiſh Plot*, and came to theſe Reſolutions: "1. That the "Duke of *York*'s being a *Papiſt*, and the Hopes of "his coming ſuch to the Crown, hath given the "greateſt Countenance and Encouragement to the "preſent Deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt the King "and Proteſtant Religion. 2. That in Defence of "the King's Perſon and Government, and Prote-"ſtant Religion, this Houſe doth declare that they "will ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and "Fortunes; and that if his Majeſty ſhould come "to any violent Death, (which God forbid) they "will revenge it to the utmoſt on the *Papiſts*[e]."

Bill of Excluſion.

And after ſeveral Speeches, it was reſolved, That a Bill be brought in to *diſable* James *Duke of* York *to inherit the Imperial Crowns of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereto belonging.* This Bill was read the firſt Time on *Novemb.* 4. when Sir *Leoline Jenkins* argued, That it was, *1ſt*, contrary to natural Juſtice, to condemn a Man before the Conviction, or the Hearing of him. *2dly*, That it was contrary to the Principles of our Religion to diſpoſeſs a Man of his Right, becauſe he differs in point of Faith. *3dly*, It was againſt the Divine Right of Monarchy, and to give the Crown to the Diſpoſal of the People. *4thly*, It was againſt the Oath of Allegiance, which did bind all Perſons to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors; by which the Duke, as Preſumptive-Heir, muſt be underſtood.

Arguments againſt it.

Arguments for it.

Other Members argued not only for the Legality, but for the Expedience, and even the Neceſſity of ſuch a Bill, as the only Way of preſerving the King, the Government, and the Proteſtant Religion: And

[a] See Reaſons for the Indictment of the Duke of *York* for not coming to Church, brought to the Grand Jury of *Middleſex June* 16, 1680. delivered by the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, ſubſcribed by him and the Earl of *Huntingdon*, the Lords *Grey* of *Werk*, *Ruſſel*, *Cavendiſh*, *Brandon* and *Wharton*, Sir *William Cowper*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *Scroop Howe*, *Thomas Thrynne* Eſq; *William Forreſter* Eſq; *John Trenchard* Eſq; *Tho. Wharton* Eſq; With Account of the Jury ſent for up, and diſmiſs'd, before they could make the ſaid Preſentment, and their Foreman, Mr. *Willmot*, expos'd to great Sufferings.

[b] Father *Orleans* tells us, that the Duke of *York* prepared to maintain his Birthright in Parliament with freſh Vigour, when the Marquis of *Hallifax* and the Earl of *Sunderland* came to him from the King, to deſire he would abſent himſelf for a while, and return into *Scotland*, during the Seſſion. This Requeſt ſtartled the Duke, &c. *Hiſt. Revolut.* p. 259.

[c] Mr. *Withens*, of the *Inner-Temple*, as Steward of the Liberties of *Weſtminſter*, preſented an Act and Addreſs of the Grand Jury at their Seſſions after *Eaſter*, 1680. againſt ſigning or promoting Petitions, for which he was Knighted. About the ſame time, Sir *Robert Carr*, a Burgeſs for *Briſtol*, was expelled the Houſe, and committed to the *Tower*, for having ſaid *there was no Plot but a Preſbyterian Plot.* Soon after Sir *George Jefferies*, Recorder of *London*, was voted a Betrayer of the Rights of the Subject, which was a great Lift to him in Court-Favour and Preferment.

[d] See the Speeches of *William* Lord *Ruſſel* for a Bill of Excluſion; firſt on beginning the Debate *Octob.* 26. and again on *Novemb.* 2. After which he carried up the Bill to the Lords on *Nov.* 15.—*Memoirs of the* Ruſſel Family, 8*vo.* 1712. p. 247.

[e] See the two Speeches of Mr. *Laurence Hyde*, afterward Earl of *Rocheſter*, againſt the Bill of Excluſion. 1. When a certain Member had made a Speech reflecting on the Duke and Lord *Clarendon* for making up the Match for the King, as if they did it becauſe they foreſaw that the Queen would have no Children, and particularly on the Duke for the Loſs of my Lord *Sandwich*, for clearing of Perſons taken in the Fire of *London*, the Death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, &c. 2. On *Novemb.* 11. when, upon carrying and engroſſing the Bill, a certain Member replying to Sir *R. M.* that he had made large Encomiums on the Duke, extolling his Endowments and Services to the Nation: Whereas, for his part, &c. he was interrupted by Mr. *Hyde*, who made the following Speech: "Although it hath been ſaid that no good Proteſtant can "ſpeak againſt this Bill, yet, Sir, I cannot forbear to offer "ſome Objections againſt it. I do not know that any of "the King's Murderers were condemned without being heard: "And muſt we deal thus with the Brother of our King? &c. *Memoirs of the Family of the* Hydes, 1712. 8*vo.* p. 133.

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Proceeding in it.

ſo it was, by a very great Majority, *Reſolved*, "That "the Bill ſhould be read a ſecond time on *Saturday* "Morning, *Nov.* 6." At which time it was *Reſolved*, "That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe. That it be an Inſtruction to the ſaid Committee, that the *Excluſion* in the ſaid Bill do extend to the Perſon of "*James* Duke of *York* only. And that this Houſe "will reſolve it ſelf into a Committee of the whole "Houſe, on *Monday* Morning next at Ten of the "Clock, to proceed to the Conſideration of the "ſaid Bill." Accordingly, on *Nov.* 8. the Houſe reſolved it ſelf into a Committee, and reported their Reſolution, "That the ſaid Bill for diſabling *James* "Duke of *York*, &c. with the ſeveral Clauſes and "Amendments, be engroſſed.

The King offended.

The King was incens'd at this Proceeding of the Commons againſt his Brother; but to ſhew his Reſentment in the calmeſt manner, he ſent this Meſſage to the Houſe on *Nov.* 10. *His Majeſty deſires this Houſe, as well for the Satisfaction of his People as of himſelf, to expedite ſuch Matters as are depending before them, relating to* Popery, *and the* Plot; *and would have them reſt aſſured, that all Remedies they can tender to his Majeſty conducing to thoſe Ends, ſhall be very acceptable to him, provided they be ſuch as may conſiſt with preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its legal Courſe of Deſcent.* After a Debate upon this Meſſage, and a general Diſſatisfaction in it, the Houſe came to theſe Reſolutions: 1. "That a Committee be appointed to draw up an humble Addreſs to his Majeſty, upon the Debate of the "Houſe, in Anſwer to his Majeſty's gracious Meſſage. 2. That this Houſe will proceed in the "Proſecution of the Lords in the *Tower*, and will "forthwith begin with *William* Viſcount *Stafford*.

On *Novemb.* 11. this Addreſs to his Majeſty was read, and agreed to be preſented:

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

Addreſs of the Commons.

"WE Your Majeſty's moſt loyal and obedient "Subjects, the Commons in this preſent "Parliament aſſembled, having taken into our moſt "ſerious Conſideration Your Majeſty's gracious "Meſſage, brought unto us on the 9th day of this "Inſtant *November* by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, do "with all Thankfulneſs acknowledge Your Majeſty's Care and Goodneſs, in inviting us to expedite ſuch Matters as are depending before us, relating to *Popery* and the *Plot*. And we do, in all "Humility, repreſent to Your Majeſty, that we "are fully convinced that it is highly incumbent "upon us, in diſcharge both of our Duty to Your "Majeſty, and of that great Truſt repoſed in us by "thoſe whom we repreſent, to endeavour, by the "moſt ſpeedy and effectual Ways, the Suppreſſion "of *Popery* within this Your Kingdom, and the "bringing to publick Juſtice all ſuch as ſhall be "found guilty of the horrid and damnable *Popiſh* "*Plot*. And tho' the Time of our Sitting (abating "what muſt neceſſarily be ſpent in the chuſing and "preſenting a *Speaker*, appointing Grand Committees, and in taking the Oaths and Teſts enjoined "by Act of Parliament) hath not much exceeded a "Fortnight; yet we have in this Time not only "made a conſiderable Progreſs in ſome Things which "to us ſeem, and (when preſented to Your Majeſty "in a Parliamentary way) will, we truſt, appear to "Your Majeſty to be abſolutely neceſſary, for the "ſafety of your Majeſty's Perſon, the effectual ſuppreſſion of Popery, and the ſecurity of the Religion, Lives and Eſtates of your Majeſty's Subjects; but even in relation to the Tryals of the "five Lords impeached in Parliament for the execrable *Popiſh Plot*, we have ſo far proceeded, as "we doubt not but in a ſhort time we ſhall be ready for the ſame. But we cannot, without being unfaithful to your Majeſty, and to our Country, (by whom we are intruſted) omit, upon this "Occaſion, humbly to inform your Majeſty, That "our Difficulties, even as to theſe Tryals, are much "encreaſed by the evil and deſtructive Counſels of "thoſe Perſons who adviſed your Majeſty, firſt to "the Prorogation, and then to the Diſſolution of "the laſt Parliament, at a time when the Commons "had taken great Pains about, and were prepared "for thoſe Tryals. And by the like pernicious Counſels of thoſe who adviſed the many and long Prorogations of the preſent Parliament, before the "ſame was permitted to ſit; whereby ſome of the "Evidence which was prepared in the laſt Parliament, may poſſibly (during ſo great an interval) "be forgotten or loſt; and ſome Perſons who might "probably have come in as Witneſſes, are either "dead, have been taken off, or may have been "diſcouraged from giving their Evidence. But "of one miſchievous Conſequence of thoſe dangerous and unhappy Counſels, we are certainly and "ſadly ſenſible, namely, That the Teſtimony of a "material Witneſs againſt every one of thoſe five "Lords, (and who could probably have diſcovered "and brought in much other Evidence about the "*Plot* in general, and thoſe [a] Lords in particular) "cannot now be given in *Viva voce*, foraſmuch as "that Witneſs is unfortunately dead, between the "calling and the ſitting of this Parliament. To "prevent the like, or greater Inconveniencies for "the future, we make it our moſt humble Requeſt to your moſt Excellent Majeſty, that, as "you tender the Safety of your Royal Perſon, the "Security of your Loyal Subjects, and the Preſervation of the true Proteſtant Religion, you will "not ſuffer your ſelf to be prevailed upon by the "like Counſels, to do any thing which may occaſion in Conſequence (though we are aſſured, never with your Majeſty's Intentions) either the "deferring of a full and perfect Diſcovery and Examination of this moſt wicked and moſt deteſtable "*Plot*, or the preventing the Conſpirators therein "from being brought to ſpeedy and exemplary Juſtice and Puniſhment. And we humbly beſeech "your Majeſty to reſt aſſured, (notwithſtanding "any Suggeſtions which may be made by Perſons, "who, for their own wicked Purpoſes, contrive to "create a diſtruſt in your Majeſty of your People,) "That nothing is more in the Deſires, and ſhall be "more in the Endeavours of us, your faithful and "loyal Commons, than the promoting and advancing of your Majeſty's true Happineſs and Greatneſs.

On the ſame Day was read the Ingroſſed Bill, Intituled, *An Act for Securing the Proteſtant Religion, by diſabling* James *Duke of* York *to inherit the Imperial Crown of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*; and paſs'd the Houſe, by a very great Majority. In the Debates one of the Members ſpoke thus:

Mr. SPEAKER,

"THE Honourable Member that ſpoke before "made large *Encomiums* on the Duke, extolling his Endowments and Services to the Nation. For my part, I think, that the better qualify'd he is, the greater is our Danger. But as "to what he ſaid, *of having fought our Battels, and* "*done great Things for the Nation*, I think he hath "not done fairly by the Houſe; for he ſhould alſo "have told us, *how the Tripple-League was broken*,

[a] See *A faithful Account of the Sickneſs*, Death, and Burial, of Captain *William Bedloe*, who died *Auguſt* 20, and was buried *Aug.* 22, at *Briſtol*, after ſolemnly declaring the Truth of his Evidence given in the Popiſh Plot.

" *and*

1680. 32 Car. II.

“ *and my Lord of* Sandwich *loſt his Life; how he* “ *chang'd his Religion, and hath ever ſince encouraged* “ Popery, *and aſſiſted that Intereſt; how the City of* “ London *was burnt, and the Actors diſcharg'd;* “ *how the diſcovery of the* Popiſh Plot *was prevented* “ *as much as it could be, and the* Presbyterian *one* “ *encourag'd; that ſo we might have all afore us*—— He [a] was going on more ſeverely, but was interrupted.

Meſſage from the King about *Tangier.*

On *Novemb.* 12. his Majeſty ſent this Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons: *His Majeſty did in his* Speech, *at the opening of this Seſſion, deſire the Advice and Aſſiſtance of his Parliament, in relation to* Tangier: *The Condition and Importance of the Place, obliges his Majeſty to put this Houſe in mind again, That he relies upon them for the Support of it; without which it cannot be much longer preſerved. His Majeſty doth therefore very earneſtly recommend* Tangier *again to the due and ſpeedy Care and Conſideration of this Houſe.*

Upon this Meſſage a warm Debate aroſe; ſome objected, That it was a Duty incumbent on them to ſecure Things at Home, on which their All depended, before they entred into an Expence of Time about ſecuring Things Abroad: *Tangier* might be of great Importance to Trade, but not ſo managed as to be any Security to the Proteſtant Religion. The *Portugueſes*, when they deliver'd it up, did Covenant to have one Popiſh Church remain there, for the Conveniency of Prieſts and Fryars: And tho' it was then agreed, That their Mortality ſhould not be ſupply'd, but after the Deceaſe of thoſe Perſons the ſaid Popiſh Church might be demoliſh'd, or converted to a Proteſtant Uſe; yet Things had been otherwiſe managed, and the Papiſts there were now more than ever: That my Lord *Bellaſis*, now a Priſoner in the *Tower* for the Plot, had been Governor of *Tangier*, and even ſtill the Soldiers and Commanders were moſt of that Religion, ſo that the Place was but a kind of Nurſery for a Popiſh Army.——Others argued, That they were indeed afraid of *Tangier*, but more afraid of a Popiſh Succeſſor; and therefore till they were ſecured in the latter, they could not think themſelves concern'd in the former; and in the mean time they could not give Money, without endangering the Religion and Government of the Nation: For they *remembred when one million one hundred thouſand Pounds was given for building of Ships, and not one Ship built; and above two millions given to ſupport the Tripple-League, and then it was preſently employ'd for the breaking of it; when one million two hundred thouſand Pounds was given for an actual War with* France, *when at the ſame time we were under all the Obligations for Peace, and ſo continu'd.*——Others again pleaded, [b] That there was no need of raiſing new Forces for the Security of *Tangier*; ſince there were ſeveral Regiments, beſides the Guards, in pay at home, which might be Tranſported thither, with little Charge, and be Maintain'd there as cheap as here.——At laſt the Commons *Reſolved*, That a Committee be appointed to draw up an *Addreſs* to be preſented to his Majeſty, upon the Debate of the Houſe, *humbly re-*

Severe Speeches.

preſenting to his Majeſty the dangerous State and Condition of the Kingdom, in Anſwer to his Majeſty's Meſſage.

Addreſs or Remonſtrance of the Commons.

This *Addreſs* was a Remonſtrance of Grievances, and Acts of Popery, and Arbitrary Power; “ That “ *Tangier* had been ſeveral times under the Com- “ mand of Popiſh Governours: That the Supplies “ ſent thither, had been in great part made up of “ Popiſh Officers and Soldiers, and that the *Iriſh* “ Papiſts had been the moſt countenanc'd and en- “ courag'd. That here at home the Endeavours “ and Attempts of the Popiſh Party had been ſo “ bold and ſucceſsful, that ſo it was matter of ad- “ miration to them, and which they could only aſ- “ cribe to an over-ruling Providence, That his Ma- “ jeſty's Reign was ſtill continued over them, and “ that they were yet aſſembled to conſult the “ Means of their Preſervation. That this bloody “ and reſtleſs Party had found Countenance and Pro- “ tection from the Laws made againſt them: That “ they had form'd means to diſgrace their Oppoſers; “ and if they were Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, “ or other Magiſtrates, to have them turn'd out of “ Commiſſion. That after ſome time they became “ able to influence Matters of State and Govern- “ ment, and thereby to deſtroy thoſe they could not “ corrupt. The continuance, or prorogation of “ Parliaments, had been accommodated to ſerve the “ Purpoſes of that Party. *Money raiſed upon the* “ People, to ſupply his Majeſty's *Extraordinary* “ Occaſions, had, by the prevalence of Popiſh “ Counſels, been employed to make War upon a “ Proteſtant State, and to advance and augment “ the dreadful Power of the *French* King. That “ great Numbers of his Majeſty's Subjects were ſent “ into, and continued in the Service of that King. “ That even the Miniſters of *England* were made “ Inſtruments to preſs upon the States of *Holland* “ the acceptance of one Demand (among others) “ from the *French* King, for procuring their Peace “ with him, That they ſhould admit the publick “ Exerciſe of the *Roman Catholick* Religion. That “ if ever any Command were given for the Laws “ to be put in execution againſt the Papiſts, even “ from thence they gain'd Advantage to their Par- “ ty, whilſt the edge of thoſe Laws was turn'd a- “ gainſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, and the *Papiſts* eſcap'd “ in a manner untouch'd. That the *Teſt* Act had “ little effect; for the *Papiſts*, either by Diſpenſa- “ tion obtained from *Rome*, ſubmitted to thoſe “ Teſts, and held their Offices themſelves; or thoſe “ put in their Places, were ſo favourable to the ſame “ Intereſts, that *Popery* it ſelf had rather gain'd than “ loſt ground ſince that *Act*. That a Popiſh Secre- “ tary (ſince executed for his Treaſons) had main- “ tain'd a Correſpondence at *Rome*, and in the “ Courts of other Foreign Princes, for the *Subdu-* “ *ing* (in their own Words) *that Peſtilent Hereſie* “ *which had ſo long domineer'd over this Northern* “ *World*. That out of thoſe Councils and Corre- “ ſpondencies was hatcht that damnable and helliſh “ *Plot*, by the good Providence of Almighty God “ brought to light about two Years ſince. That “ when this accurſed Conſpiracy was firſt diſcover'd,

[a] The Bill of Excluſion (ſays the Reverend Mr. *Johnſon*) was carry'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, ſeveral times in the Houſe of Commons; but when it came in the *Weſtminſter* Parliament to be carry'd up by my Lord *Ruſſell* to the Houſe of Lords, it was ſo ill received there, that the Biſhops were for throwing it out to-rights: However, after a Reading, and after a Debate, which laſted till about Midnight, it was thrown out. That learned Nobleman, the Great Earl of *Eſſex*, was pleaſed to tell me what Arguments he inſiſted upon in that Debate. The firſt was, That the Regality of *England* was an Office, concerning which the XVII Chapter of King *Edward* the Confeſſor's Laws is wholly ſpent; and it is ſo declar'd in many Acts of Parliament as low as Queen *Mary*'s Time.——Hereupon he argued, that a Perſon unqualify'd, as all the World knew the Duke of *York* to be, could not be admitted to that Office, *&c.*——My Lord of *Eſſex* told me, that his Adverſaries in that Debate wav'd the Jargon of Divine Right and the Line of Succeſſion, and at that time betook themſelves chiefly to Reaſons of State. They were got at the old Scarecrow, *venient Romani*, the Foreign Catholick Princes would eſpouſe the Duke of *York*'s Quarrel, the ancient Kingdom of *Scotland* would admit him for their King in oppoſition to our Act of Parliament, and this would entail a dangerous War upon the Nation. They were likewiſe doubtful of *Ireland*, &c.

[b] See the Speech of *William* Lord *Ruſſel* againſt a Supply for *Tangier, while they were ſure it muſt go to the Hands of the Duke's Creatures*; and falling into theſe Prophetical Words, that *if ever there ſhould happen in this Nation any ſuch Change, as that he ſhould not have liberty to live a Proteſtant, he was reſolv'd to die one.*

the

1680. 32 *Car.* II. "the Papiſts began to ſmother it, with the barbarous Murther of a Juſtice of the Peace, within one of his Majeſty's own Palaces. That amidſt theſe Diſtractions and Fears, Popiſh Officers for the Command of Forces were allow'd upon the Muſters by ſpecial Orders, Counter-ſign'd by a Secretary of State: And in like manner, above fifty new Commiſſions were granted about the ſame time to known Papiſts. That when, in the next Parliament, the Houſe of Commons were prepared to bring to a legal Tryal the principal Conſpirators in this Plot, that Parliament was firſt prorogu'd, and then diſſolv'd. And the Interval between the Calling and Sitting of this Parliament had been ſo long, that the Papiſts had gained Time and Advantages of covering their paſt Crimes, and practiſing them more effectually. That Witneſſes had been corrupted, not only by Promiſes of Reward, but of the Favour of his Majeſty's Brother. That divers of the moſt conſiderable of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects had Crimes of the higheſt Nature forged againſt them, the Charge to be ſupported by Subornation and Perjury, that they might be deſtroyed by Forms of Law and Juſtice. That a Preſentment being prepared for a Grand-Jury of *Middleſex* againſt the Duke of *York*, the Grand-Jury were in an unprecedented and illegal manner diſcharged, and that with ſo much haſte and fear, leaſt they ſhould finiſh that Preſentment; That they were prevented from delivering many other Indictments by them at that time found againſt other Popiſh Recuſants. That becauſe a Pamphlet came forth Weekly, call'd, *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, expoſing Popery (as it well deſerv'd;) a New and Arbitrary Court was made in the *King's-Bench* (rather like a *Star-Chamber* than a Court of Law,) that the ſame ſhould not for the future be printed by any Perſon whatſoever. That notwithſtanding all the Proclamations for the baniſhing Papiſts from about this great City, and Reſidence of his Majeſty's Court, and the Parliament, yet great Numbers of them, and of the moſt dangerous ſort, did daily reſort hither, and abide here. Under theſe and other ſaid Effects and Evidences of the Prevalence of Popery, and its Adherents, they his Majeſty's faithful Commons found this his Majeſty's diſtreſſed Kingdom, and other Parts of his Dominions, labouring when they aſſembled; they therefore humbly deſire to be ſecured from the dreadful Deſign of introducing *Popery*; and that whilſt they ſhall give a Supply to *Tangier*, they may be aſſured they do not augment the Strength of their Popiſh Adverſaries, nor encreaſe their own Dangers: Which Deſires of his faithful Commons, if his Majeſty ſhall graciouſly vouchſafe to grant, they ſhall not only be ready to aſſiſt his Majeſty in Defence of *Tangier*, but do whatſoever elſe ſhall be in their Power to enable his Majeſty to protect the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt at Home and Abroad, and to reſiſt and repel the Attempts of his Majeſty's and the Kingdom's Enemies [a]."

Reſolution againſt the diſcharging of Juries.

On *Novemb.* 13. ſeveral Perſons were examin'd at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, about the diſmiſſing of a Grand-Jury in *Middleſex*: And after a Debate, the Houſe came to theſe Votes. 1. *That the diſcharging of a Grand-Jury by any Judge, before the End of the Term, Aſſizes, or Seſſions, while Matters are under their Conſideration, and not preſented, is Arbitrary, Illegal, Deſtructive to publick Juſtice, a manifeſt Violation of his Oath, and is a Means to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom.* 2. *That a Committee be appointed to examine the Proceedings of the Judges in* Weſtminſter-Hall, *and report the ſame, with their Opinion therein, to this Houſe.*

On *Novemb.* 15. the *Bill for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, by diſabling* James *Duke of* York *to inherit the Imperial Crown of* England, *and* Ireland, *&c.* was carry'd up to the Houſe of Lords by *William* Lord *Ruſſel*, attended by almoſt the whole Houſe of Commons. At the firſt Reading in the Houſe of Lords, and its being put to the Vote, Whether it ſhould be read a ſecond time? It was carry'd in the Affirmative by two Votes only. On the ſecond Reading, it was debated till Eleven a-Clock at Night, the King being preſent all the while, to encourage an Oppoſition to it; and then it was thrown out of the Houſe by a Majority of thirty Voices, of which, ſome Men were pleaſed to obſerve that fourteen were Biſhops.

Bill of *Excluſion* thrown out of the Houſe of Lords.

On *Nov.* 25. the Commons were ſo much diſguſted againſt the late Speaker, *Edw. Seymour* Eſq; that they now impeached him upon four Articles; and a Motion was made for an *Addreſs* to be preſented, to remove him from his Majeſty's Council and Preſence for ever. Soon after they fell upon Sir *George Jefferies*, then Recorder of the City of *London*, and ordered, That an humble *Addreſs* be made to the King to remove him out of all publick Offices, and that the Members which ſerved for the City ſhould communicate this Vote to the Court of Aldermen. Upon the ſame Account, they order'd Sir *Giles Philips* and Mr. *Coleman* to be ſent for into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, for deteſting and abhorring the Petitioning for Sitting of the Parliament, and voted it a Breach of Privilege of Parliament: The like the Commons did by Capt. *William Caſtle*, Mr. *John Hutchinſon*, Mr. *Henry Walrond*, Mr. *William Stavel*, and Mr. *Thomas Herbert*; Sir *Thomas Holt*, Serjeant at Law, and Mr. *Thomas Staples*. And becauſe Sir *Francis North* (Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*) adviſed, and was aſſiſting in drawing up a *Proclamation* againſt Petitioning for the Sitting of the Parliament, the Commons voted, *That it was a ſufficient Ground for the Houſe to proceed againſt him for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors.* The like Vote paſſed againſt Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*; and Sir *Richard Weſton*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer* [a]: And they reſolved actually to impeach Sir *William Scroggs* of High-Treaſon.

Edw. Seymour Eſq; impeached.

Sir *George Jefferies* obnoxious.

And other Abhorrers of Petitioning.

Judges voted Unjuſt.

On *Tueſday, Nov.* 30. *William* Viſcount *Stafford* one of the five Lords impeached by the Houſe of Commons for the horrid *Popiſh Plot*, was brought to his Tryal before the Lords in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, a Committee of the Commons managing the Impeachment againſt him. This Day was taken up in opening the Court, and in hearing the general Evidence to prove the ſaid *Popiſh Plot.* Next Day, the Witneſſes proving the particular Charge againſt the Lord *Stafford*, were heard and examin'd. The Tryal laſted a whole Week [b], when, on *Decemb.* 7. he was brought to the Court, to receive the Judgment of the Lords; of whom thirty one pronounced him *Not Guilty*, and fifty five *Guilty*: So that Sentence of Death was paſſed upon him as in Caſes of High-Treaſon. But his Execution was deferr'd till *Wedneſday Decemb.* 29. when he was beheaded

Tryal of Ld. *Stafford*.

He is condemned. And executed.

[a] See the humble Addreſs of the Commons in Parliament aſſembled on *Monday Nov.* 29, 1680. Repreſenting the reſtleſs Endeavours and bold Attempts of the Popiſh Party, for many Years laſt paſt, to introduce the *Romiſh*, and utterly to extirpate the true Proteſtant Religion. *Printed by Order of the Speaker.*

[b] See the Speech of the Lord High Steward in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, at the time of his pronouncing the Judgment of the Houſe of Peers againſt the Lord Viſcount *Stafford*, *Dec.* 7. 1680. *Printed by Order of the Lords.*

1680. 32 Car. II. on a Scaffold for that Purpoſe erected on *Tower-Hill*, proteſting with his laſt Breath, That he was utterly innocent of the Crimes for which he ſtood condemned.

On *Wedneſday Decemb.* 15. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and made this *Speech* to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech. *AT the Opening of this Parliament I did acquaint you with the Alliances I had made with* Spain *and* Holland, *as the beſt Meaſures that could be taken for the Safety of* England, *and the Repoſe of* Chriſtendom.

But I told you withal, That if our Friendſhip became unſafe to truſt to, it would not be wonder'd at if our Neighbours ſhould begin to take new Reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as might be fatal to us.

I muſt now tell you, That our Allies cannot but ſee how little has been done ſince this Meeting to encourage their Dependance upon us: And I find by them, that unleſs we can be ſo united at Home, as to make our Alliances valuable to them, it will not be poſſible to hinder them from ſeeking ſome other Refuge, and making ſuch new Friendſhips, as will not be conſiſtent with our Safety. Conſider, that a Neglect of this Opportunity is never to be repaired.

I did likewiſe lay the Matter plainly before you, touching the State and Condition of Tangier: *I muſt now tell you again, that if that Place be thought worth the Keeping, you muſt take ſuch Conſideration of it, that it may be ſpeedily ſupply'd; it being impoſſible for me to preſerve it on an Expence ſo far above my Power.*

I did promiſe you the fulleſt Satisfaction your Hearts could wiſh for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and to concur with you in any Remedies which might conſiſt with preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its due and legal Courſe of Deſcent. I do again, with the ſame Reſervations, renew the ſame Promiſes to you.

And being thus ready, on my part, to do all that can reaſonably be expected from me, I ſhould be glad to know from you, as ſoon as may be, how far I ſhall be aſſiſted by you, and what it is you deſire from me.

The Commons returning to their Houſe, reſolved themſelves into a Grand Committee how to ſecure the Kingdom againſt *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government:* And after ſome Debate, they reſolved, *That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that one Means to ſuppreſs* Popery, *is, that the Houſe be moved that a Bill be brought in immediately to baniſh all the Conſiderable* Papiſts *out of the Kingdom.* And upon a further Debate on the Dangers of *Popery*, they reſolved, *That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that as long as the Papiſts have any Hopes of the Duke of* York's *ſucceeding the King in the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *and Dominions thereunto belonging, the King's Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Lives, Liberties and Properties of all his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects are in apparent Danger of being deſtroy'd.* And upon Reference made to an *Act* of Queen *Eliz.* for an *Aſſociation*, to revenge her Death upon the *Papiſts*, they came to a like Reſolution, *That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the Houſe be moved that a Bill be brought in for an Aſſociation of all his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, for the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, againſt all Invaſions and Oppoſitions, and for preventing the Duke of* York, *or any other Papiſt, from ſucceeding to the Crown.*

(Margin: Proceeding of the Commons. A Bill for Aſſociation.)

On *Decemb.* 17. the Houſe went on to conſider of Ways and Means to ſecure the Kingdom againſt Popery and Arbitrary Government; and after ſeveral Debates, they reſolved, 1. *That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, that the Houſe be moved, that a Bill be brought in for the more effectual ſecuring of the Meetings and Sittings of frequent Parliaments.* 2. *That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the Houſe be moved, that a Bill be brought in, that the Judges may hold their Places and Salaries,* quam diu ſe bene geſſerint. 3. *That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That one Means to prevent Arbitrary Power, is, that the Houſe be moved that a Bill be brought in againſt illegal Exaction of Money upon the People, to make it High-Treaſon.*

(Margin: Remarkable Votes.)

His Majeſty's Speech[a], made *Decemb.* 15. to both Houſes, was now read and conſidered by the Commons; and after many ſevere Reflections upon the *French* Ambaſſador, and the *French* Women, and the Duke, and the Duke's Creatures, they reſolved, *That a Committee be appointed to prepare an humble Addreſs to his Majeſty, upon the Debate of the Houſe, in Anſwer to his Majeſty's Speech.* This *Addreſs* was agreed to on *December* 20. in which the Commons repreſent, "That this Proteſtant Kingdom can never be ſafe while there is any Hopes and Expectation of a Popiſh Succeſſor; and they beſeech his Majeſty, in great Wiſdom, to conſider whether, in caſe the Imperial Crown of this Proteſtant Kingdom ſhould deſcend to the Duke of *York*, the Oppoſition which may poſſibly be made to his poſſeſſing it, may not only endanger the farther Deſcent in the Royal Line, but even Monarchy it ſelf? They therefore become humble Petitioners to his ſacred Majeſty, that in tender Commiſeration of his poor Proteſtant People, his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to depart from the Reſervation in his ſaid Speech: And whenever a Bill ſhall be tender'd to his Majeſty, in a Parliamentary Way, *to diſable the Duke of* York *from inheriting the Crown*, his Majeſty will give his Royal Aſſent thereto: As alſo to another *Act*, whereby his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects may be enabled to *aſſociate* themſelves, *for the Defence of his Majeſty's Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Security of his Kingdoms.* And as ſome farther Means for the Preſervation both of their Religion and Property, they are humble Suitors to his Majeſty, that from henceforth ſuch Perſons only may be Judges as are Men of Ability, Integrity, and known Affection to the Proteſtant Religion, and that they may hold both their Offices and Salaries, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint.* That no one may bear the Office of a Lord-Lieutenant, but who is a Perſon of Integrity, and known Affection to the Proteſtant Religion. That Deputy-Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace may be alſo ſo qualified, and may be moreover Men of Ability, of Eſtates and Intereſt in their Country. That none may be employed as Military Officers, or Officers in his Majeſty's Fleet, but Men of known Experience, Courage, and Affection to the Proteſtant Religion. And theſe their humble Requeſts being obtained, they ſhall, on their part, be ready to aſſiſt his Majeſty, for the Preſervation of *Tangier*, and for putting his Majeſty's Fleet into ſuch a Condition, as it may preſerve his Majeſty's Sovereignty of the Seas, and be for the Defence of the Nation.

(Margin: Addreſs of the Commons, in Anſwer to the King's Speech.)

[a] See the Speech of *William* Lord *Ruſſel* upon taking the King's Speech into Conſideration *Decemb.* 18. 1680. Mr. "Speaker, Being it is ſo apparent, that all our Fears of Popery ariſe from, and center in the Duke of *York*, and that it is impoſſible the Affairs of this Nation ſhould ever ſettle on a good Proteſtant Bottom as long as there is a Popiſh Succeſſor, which cannot be prevented but by the Succeſſion Bill. That there may be no ill Conſtruction made of our Deſires, I would humbly move you to offer to ſupply the King with what Money he may need for the Support of *Tangier*, and Alliances upon his granting of the Succeſſion Bill only, &c.

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Queries of the Sheriffs.

On *Decemb.* 23. theſe *Quæries* relating to the execution of *William* Viſcount *Stafford*, were offered to the Houſe by the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*: 1. *Whether the King, being neither Judge nor Party, can order the Execution?* 2. *Whether the Lords can award the Execution?* 3. *Whether the King can diſpenſe with any part of the Execution?* 4. *If the King can diſpenſe with ſome part of the Execution, why not with all?* After ſome Debate upon theſe Matters, the wiſer Members came to apprehend, that ſuch a Diſpute might end in preventing the Execution of the ſaid Lord *Stafford*; and therefore it was reſolved, *That this Houſe is content that the Sheriffs of* London *and* Middleſex *do execute* William *late Viſcount* Stafford, *by ſevering his Head from his Body only.*

Self-denying Vote.

On *Dec.* 30, upon a Debate of the Freedom of Voting, and of the Corruption and Partiality occaſion'd by Offices and Penſions, they Reſolved, *That no Member of this Houſe ſhall accept of any Office or Place of Profit from the Crown, without the leave of this Houſe; nor any promiſe of any ſuch Office or Place of Profit, during ſuch time as he ſhall continue a Member of this Houſe.*

Impeachment of Sir *William Scroggs.*

On *Jan.* 5. Articles of Impeachment were brought in againſt Sir *William Scroggs*, Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*; and it being the Senſe of the Houſe, That the late Order made in the *King's-Bench*, their Warrants for ſeizing of Books, and their diſmiſſing of Grand-Juries, doth tend to the Subverſion of the Government, and hath been, and ever ought to be, in Judges, adjudg'd Treaſon; It was Reſolv'd, *That the ſaid Sir* William Scroggs *be Impeached upon the ſaid Articles*; *And that the ſaid Articles be ingroſs'd, and carry'd up to the Lords by my Lord* Cavendiſh.

Vote of the Lords for belief of the Popiſh Plot.

On *Jan.* 6. this Meſſage was brought from the Lords, and read in the Houſe of Commons; *Reſolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That they do declare, that they are fully ſatisfied that there now is, and for divers Years laſt paſt hath been a horrid and treaſonable Plot, contriv'd and carry'd on by thoſe of the Popiſh Religion in* Ireland, *for maſſacring the* Engliſh, *and ſubverting the Proteſtant Religion, and the ancient eſtabliſh'd Government of that Kingdom: To which their Lordſhips deſire the concurrence of this Houſe.* The Commons ſoon Reſolv'd, *That this Houſe doth agree with the Lords in the ſaid Vote, with the addition of theſe Words,* "*That the Duke of* York's *being a Papiſt, and the expectation of his coming to the Crown, hath given the greateſt Countenance and Encouragement thereto, as well as to the horrid Popiſh Plot in this Kingdom of* England[a].

On *Friday Jan* 7. his Majeſty's Gracious *Meſſage* to the Commons in Parliament, *January* the 4th, 1680. ſent on *Tueſday* laſt, was read, as followeth:

Charles Rex.

The K.'s Meſſage.

"HIS Majeſty received the Addreſs of this "Houſe with all the Diſpoſition they could "wiſh, to comply with their reaſonable Deſires: "but upon peruſing it, he is ſorry to ſee their "Thoughts ſo wholly fix'd upon the *Bill of Excluſion*, as to determine, that all other Remedies "for the ſuppreſſing of Popery will be ineffectual: "His Majeſty is confirmed in an Opinion againſt "that Bill, by the Judgment of the Houſe of Lords, "who rejected it. He therefore thinks there remains nothing more for him to ſay, in Anſwer "to the Addreſs of this Houſe, but to recommend "to them, the Conſideration of all other Means "for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion; "in which they have no reaſon to doubt of his "concurrence, whenever they ſhall be preſented to "him in a Parliamentary way: And that they would "conſider the preſent State of the Kingdom, as "well as the Condition of Chriſtendom in ſuch a "manner as may enable him to preſerve *Tangier*, "and ſecure his Alliances abroad, and the Peace "and Settlement at home.

Upon a Debate on this *Meſſage*, the Houſe ſeem'd readily to come into theſe Opinions. Reſolved, *That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That there is no Security nor Safety for the Proteſtant Religion, the King's Life, or Government of this Nation, without paſſing a Bill for diſabling* James *Duke of* York *to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; and to rely upon any other Means and Remedies, without ſuch a Bill is not only inſufficient, but dangerous.*

A Popiſh Succeſſor inconſiſtent with the Safety of the Proteſtant Religion.

Reſolved, *That his Majeſty, in his laſt Meſſage, having aſſured this Houſe of his readineſs to concur in all other Means for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion*; this Houſe doth declare, *That until a Bill be likewiſe paſs'd for excluding the Duke of* York, *this Houſe cannot give any Supply to his Majeſty, without danger to his Majeſty's Perſon, extreme hazard of the Proteſtant Religion, and unfaithfulneſs of thoſe by whom this Houſe is intruſted.*

After this ſeveral Perſons being named for giving ill Advice to his Majeſty, and Motions ſeconded by Arguments, That Addreſſes might be made, grounded on common Fame, for their removal from the King's Perſon, and from all Places of Truſt and Power: The Reſult was, That they expreſſly named *George* Earl of *Hallifax*, *Lawrence Hyde*, Eſq; *Henry* Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, *Henry* Earl of *Clarendon*, and *Lewis* Earl of *Feverſham*; and voted an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, to remove them from all Offices of Honour and Profits, and from his Majeſty's Councils and Preſence for ever. Then the Houſe entred into a Debate of Parliamentary Aids, and againſt all other ways of ſupplying the King's Occaſions, as tending to the keeping off Parliaments, and exhauſting the publick Treaſure, and contracting Debts, and undermining the Government; and ſo came to theſe concluding Votes:

Miniſters of State to be remov'd.

Reſolved, *That whoever ſhall hereafter lend, or cauſe to be lent, by way of advance, any Money upon the Branches of the King's Revenue, ariſing by Cuſtom, Exciſe, or Hearth-Money, ſhall be judged a hinderer of the ſitting of Parliaments, and be reſponſible for the ſame in Parliament.*

Vote againſt lending the King Money.

Reſolved, *That whoever ſhall accept or buy any Tally, or Anticipation, upon any part of the King's Revenue; or whoever ſhall pay ſuch Tally hereafter to be ſtruck, ſhall be adjudged to hinder the ſitting of Parliaments, and be reſponſible therefore in Parliament.*

Things growing to this height, the King was extremely troubled, to find that he could not protect his Miniſters, his Brother, nor (as he thought) himſelf, and reſolved to put an end to their Seſſion on *Jan.* 10. Which the Commons having private Notice of, aſſembled early in the Morning, and before the Uſher of the Black-Rod came in, they Reſolved, *That whoſoever adviſed his Majeſty to prorogue the Parliament, to any other purpoſe than in order to paſſing a Bill for the Excluſion of* James *Duke of* York, *is a betrayer of the King, the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Kingdom of* England, *a promoter of the* French

Parting Votes.

[a] There was this happineſs in the Diſcovery and unconteſted Proofs of a Popiſh Plot, that it made the King at laſt ſenſible he could never bring in Popery. It calls to mind the Story that Mr. *Sam. Johnſon* tells in his *Notes on the Paſtoral Letter.*——Sir *Ellis Leighton* us'd to go over into *France* in the time of King *Charles* the ſecond's Government, only to curſe it out of hearing, and to give himſelf that vent abroad which was not ſafe at home. The burden of his Complaint was, that whereas the King had promiſed to ſet up the Catholick Religion, which he might do by the ſtrength of his Guards every Day, he would rather play a damn'd long Church Game, which would laſt longer than his Life.

Intereſt, and a penſioner of France. After which the Houſe of Commons were ſent for up to the Lords; where his Majeſty, ſeated on his Throne, was pleaſed to give his Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act prohibiting the Importation of Cattle from* Ireland. 2. *An Act for ſupplying the late Act for Burying in Woollen:* And, 3. To a private *Act*, concerning Sir *Charles Houghton*. And then his Majeſty was pleaſed to Command the Lord Chancellor to prorogue the Parliament till *Thurſday* the 20th of this inſtant *January*. But on *January* 18. his Majeſty, by Proclamation, thought fit to diſſolve the preſent Parliament; and was pleaſed to make known to all his loving Subjects, "That he had given Directions to the Lord-Chancellor of *England*, for the iſſuing out of Writs in due Form of Law, for the calling of a new Parliament, which ſhould begin and be holden at *Oxford* on the 21st of *March* next.

Acts paſſed.

Parliament prorogued.

Diſſolved.

A new Parliament is call'd.

His Majeſty diſpoſed his Honours and Preferments chiefly to thoſe Perſons who were in the Intereſt of the Duke, and had moſt oppoſed the late Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons: Though ſome few popular Men had the like titular Favours from his Majeſty, to ſweeten and reconcile them to the Court. On *April* 16. the Earl of *Oſſory* was ſworn of the Privy-Council, who died on *July* 30, after ſome Days ſickneſs of a violent Fever, leaving a Son and Heir, *James* now Duke of *Ormond*. On *April* 26. Sir *Leoline Jenkins* was ſworn one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, and received the Seals which *Hen. Coventry*, Eſq; then deliver'd up to his Majeſty. How far the being of a Party was a Recommendation to his Majeſty's Favour, was publickly ſhewn in the Caſe of the Lord *Shandois*, who having humbly acquainted the King, "That the *Turkey-Company* had made choice of him to be ſent as Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, and praying his Majeſty's Approbation:" His Majeſty was pleaſed to reply, *That his Lordſhip having countenanc'd and been engag'd in the Buſineſs of petitioning about the Parliament (which his Majeſty look'd upon as derogatory to his Prerogative, and tending to Sedition) his Majeſty could not think him ſo fit for his Favour.* Whereupon his Lordſhip was forc'd, before the Committee of *Foreign Intelligence*, on *April* 26. humbly to acknowledge his fault unto his Majeſty, and to ſay, *That in the matter of petitioning, he was drawn in, and miſled, by being given to underſtand, That that Proceeding was for his Majeſty's Service: But that being ſince better inform'd, he abhorr'd and diſown'd all ſuch Practices, and humbly begg'd his Majeſty's Pardon for what was paſs'd, promiſing to behave himſelf more dutifully for the future.* Which humble Submiſſion of his Lordſhip the King accepted of, and then aſſur'd him of his Favour, and approv'd of him for his Ambaſſador to go for *Turkey*.

Honours and Preferments

Caſe of the Lord *Shandois*.

About the end of *April* his Majeſty thought fit to conſtitute Sir *Job Charleton*, Kt. one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*, (from whence Mr. Juſtice *Raymond* was called up to the *King's-Bench*:) By whoſe removal the Place of Chief-Juſtice, and one of his Majeſty's Council at *Ludlow*, for the *Marches* of *Wales*, being become void, the King conferred the ſame upon Sir *George Jeffryes*, Kt. Recorder of the City of *London*. For the moſt unhappy partiality in the diſpoſal of Royal Favours, was to find out thoſe Lawyers who were thought moſt inclinable to carry the Prerogative beyond the Law: And it ſeem'd to be upon this View, that Sir *George Jeffryes*, Sir *John Keeling*, *Robert Hampſon*, *Edmund Weſt*, *Thomas Walcot*, Eſq; Sir *John Boynton*, *Edward Bigland*, *William Richardſon*, *William Bugby*, Eſq; Sir *Robert Wright*, and Sir *Francis Manly*, received the King's Writs, commanding them to take upon them the State and Degree of Serjeants at Law, and appear'd for that purpoſe at the Court of *Chancery* on *May* 12.

New Judges.

Call of Serjeants.

On *May* 26. the Earl of *Clarendon* was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council. On *June* 2. his Majeſty was pleaſed, in conſideration of the great and eminent Services of the Earl of *Rothes*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, to confer upon him the Honours and Dignities of a Duke and Marqueſs of that Kingdom, by the Title of Duke of *Rothes*, and Marqueſs of *Brambreich*, Earl of *Leſlie*, Viſcount of *Lugtoun*, Lord *Acmutie* and *Coſcubery*. His Majeſty, near the ſame time, made choice of the Earl of *Middleton*, to go his Envoy-Extraordinary to the Emperor; and the Earl of *Mulgrave* to Command the Forces going for *Tangier*. On *Auguſt* 5. his Majeſty, in conſideration of the great Abilities, and twenty Years faithful Service of *Phines Pett*, Eſq; in the Employment of Maſter Shipwright of his Yard at *Chatham*, was pleas'd to confer upon him the Honour of Knighthood, and to advance to him to the Place of one of the Principal Officers and Commiſſioners of his Navy, in the place of Sir *Anthony Deane*, whom his Majeſty (at his humble Suit) permitted to quit the ſame. On *Auguſt* 9. his Majeſty Knighted *Jonas Moore*, Eſq; Maſter-Surveyor of his Majeſty's Ordnance and Armories, giving him this Mark of Royal Favour, as well in Conſideration of his known Abilities, as of the faithful Services of his Father, Sir *Jonas Moore*, deceas'd. On *Auguſt* 31. at a Chapter of the *Garter*, held at *Windſor*, there were elected into the Vacancies of that Order, his Grace the Duke of *Grafton*, who was then at Sea, and the Right Honourable the Earl of *Saliſbury*; and on *Sept.* 15. the Prince Elector *Palatine*, who this Summer made a viſit to the *Engliſh* Court, was elected a Knight Companion of the ſame Order.

Other Advancements.

On *Sept.* 3. *Henry Savill*, Eſq; was ſworn Vice-Chamberlain to the King, which Place had been vacant ſince the death of Sir *George Cartwright:* And on *Sept.* 11. the Earl of *Feverſham* was declared Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, in the place of the Earl of *Oſſory*; and the Lord Viſcount *Lumley* was made Maſter of the Horſe to her Majeſty, in the room of the Earl of *Feverſham*. About the ſame time his Majeſty was pleaſed to create the Lady *Dacres*, Mother to the preſent Earl of *Suſſex*, Counteſs of *Sheppey*.

[a] It was remarkable that a Curate of Dr. *Cartwright*'s at *Barking* had been a *Romiſh* Prieſt, and being ſtill ſo was prevail'd upon to be the chief Witneſs for invalidating the Teſtimony of Dr. *Oats* in the Tryal of the Earl of *Caſtlemain* in *June* 1680. even after the Biſhop of *London* had admoniſh'd the Doctor to diſcharge him from that Curacy. The Earl himſelf in his *Manifeſto* printed 1681. tells us, Mr. *Berry*, *alias Hutchinſon* appear'd at call, and I to ſhew the ſaid *Berry*'s Familiarity and great Acquaintance with Mr. *Oates*, demanded, *if he had not formerly reconcil'd him and made him a Papiſt?* He anſwering Yes, the Chief Juſtice ſaid, I ought not to aſk ſuch Queſtions as might endanger his Life. And preſently the King's Council charg'd him with Treaſon. I reply'd that he had been a Popiſh Prieſt, but was now converted and had publickly acknowledged his Error. At laſt, after much ado, he was commanded to tell what he knew of Mr. *Oats*, and then he ſpoke thus.——Mr. *Berry* having given his Evidence, and Mr. *Oats* denying all that was urg'd, the ſaid Mr. *Berry* began to exhort him to *ſpeak Truth, and to remember there was a God in Heaven*; with more to that purpoſe. But the King's Council inſtead of applauding his *Sermon*, laid again Treaſon to his Charge, as having *perſuaded a Subject to the Popiſh Religion, and having no Pardon.*——I repeated that Mr. *Berry's Converſion to the Proteſtant Religion had wiped away all Faults of that nature.* Whilſt the Court and King's Council were arguing Mr. *Berry* ſlipt away, which being at laſt perceived, they commanded him to be recall'd. And then the Chief Juſtice aſk'd him, *what Religion he was of?* He anſwer'd, *A Proteſtant.* The King's Council notwithſtanding inſiſted ſtill to have his foreſaid Confeſſion recorded, which made the Chief Juſtice at laſt declare, that it ſhould be done in caſe any Body made Oath of it. But ſeveral being called and refuſing to do it, a grave and reverend Divine (who was Dean of *Rippon*, as I was told) roſe up and acquainted the Court, that this *Berry* was his Curate at *Barking*; that the Biſhop of *London* having heard ſomething againſt his Preaching, had ſent him (the ſaid Doctor) word, that he would provide him another; and that laſt *Saturday* at Dinner his Lordſhip told him, he was diſtracted. Mr. *Oats* preſently acknowledg'd, that he had known and look'd upon him to be ſuch a one, and ſo without more words he was diſmiſs'd.

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Ambaſſadors, Envoys and Governors.

At the beginning of *October Charles Fanſhaw*, Eſq; was ſent over his Majeſty's Envoy-Extraordinary to the Prince Regent of *Portugal*; Mr. *Parry*, his Majeſty's late Envoy at that Court, having obtained leave to return home. On *Octob.* 15. Sir *Robert Carr*, Bar^t. Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council. On *Novemb.* 20. his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon Captain *John Wetwang*. On *Novemb.* 17. the Earl of *Plimouth* died at *Tangier* of a Bloody-Flux; and the Governor, Sir *Palmes Fairborn*, was wounded by a Musket-ſhot on the 24th of *October*, of which he died three Days after, leaving the chief Command of that diſtreſſed Garriſon to Colonel *Sackvile*. About *Chriſtmas* his Majeſty appointed Sir *Richard Dutton* to ſucceed Sir *Jonathan Atkyns* in the Government of *Barbadoes*. On *Jan.* 22. his Majeſty conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon *George Treby*, Eſq; Recorder of the City of *London*, who in that Office ſucceeded the violent Sir *George Jeffryes*. On *Jan.* 26. the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, and the Earl of *Ailesbury* were ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and took their Places at the Board. And ſoon after his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute the Right Honourable *Edward* Earl of *Conway*, one of his Majeſties principal Secretaries of State, in the room of the Earl of *Sunderland*, and on *Feb.* 2. his Lordſhip in Council took the Oaths of Secretary of State and Privy-Councellor. On *Feb.* 14. Sir *Robert Sawyer* was ſworn his Majeſty's Attorney-General, in the room of Sir *Creſwell Levinz*, who was now made one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*, in the Place of Sir *William Ellis*, deceas'd. On *March* 9. the Earl of *Craven* was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council.

State of Religion.

As to *Religion* his Majeſty was under a popular neceſſity of declaring his Affection to the *Church of England*, and expreſſing a Zeal againſt Popery. At the beginning of *April* his Majeſty commanded the Judges, who were returned from their ſeveral Circuits, to give an Account of what they had done in purſuance of the Directions they had received from his Majeſty in Council, for the more effectual executing the Laws againſt Popiſh Recuſants; and accordingly all the Judges, on *April* 14. attended his Majeſty at the Committee of Popery, and made the following Report:

The King obliged to declare againſt Popery.

Report of the Judges.

That in ſome Counties they found moſt of theſe named in the Commiſſions, already Convicted, and their Convictions returned into the Exchequer; *but that they had however cauſed them to be again proclaimed as ſuch. That in other Counties, many* Popiſh *and reputed* Popiſh Recuſants *had taken the Oaths, and came to Church; That others, to avoid the effect of the Law, ſhifted Counties; That in ſome Counties the Commiſſions were but newly come down; That however all poſſible Care was taken for the ſpeedy and effectual proceeding upon them: And laſtly, That in all their Circuits they had cauſed thoſe that were not already convicted, to be preſented; and had applied themſelves, with all poſſible zeal and vigour, for the punctual performance of the directions they had received in this matter.*

Inſtructions to the Judges.

His Majeſty was pleaſed to approve of what they had done, and to require them to proceed as they had begun; letting them know, "That they ſhould "be ſupplied with all ſuch Orders and Directions as "ſhould be further neceſſary. And that for ſuch "Perſons as had abſented or withdrawn themſelves "from their reſpective Counties, effectual Care be "taken for their Proſecution at the next Aſſizes. "And that his Majeſty would direct the Lords-"Commiſſioners of the Treaſury to appoint ſeveral "fit and able Perſons to ſollicit and attend this Ser-"vice, as well at the Aſſizes, as wherever elſe "there ſhould be occaſion; his Majeſty's Intenti-"on being, That the ſaid Laws againſt Popiſh Re-"cuſants be duly and effectually executed." But indeed, all this was but a Feint in Politicks, and a Neceſſity upon the Court to be carry'd along with the ſtream of the Country.

The Papiſts now againſt the Diſſenters.

As it had been formerly the Intereſt of the Papiſts to promote Indulgence and Toleration to the Proteſtant Diſſenters, that under the Effects of ſuch a Liberty they might ſhelter themſelves, and weaken the *Church of England*; ſo now, upon a Turn of Affairs, they chang'd their Opinion, or at leaſt their Meaſures: For that Party now encourag'd the ſevere proſecution of the Proteſtant *Diſſenters*, thereby to take off the edge of the Laws from themſelves, and to divert the zeal of the Members of the Church of *England* againſt their Brethren in ſeparation from them, and ſo to irritate and alienate the Hearts of all Proteſtants from one another. The Bigottry of the *Scotch* Presbyterians help'd much to raiſe an *Odium* upon all of that Denomination: For when *James Skeyn*, Brother to the Laird of *Skeyn*, *Archibald Steward*, and *John Spreull*, were on *November* 13. examin'd before his Majeſty's Privy Council at *Edinburgh*, concerning the late Rebellion at *Bothwell-Bridge*, and *Airdſmoſſe*, the ſaid *James Skeyn* did own and declare, "That the Perſons who were "concern'd in either of the ſaid Rebellions were "not Rebels. That the burning the Acts of Par-"liament at *Rutherglen*, and the Proclamation "made againſt his Majeſty, were juſt: That the "Excommunication uſed againſt the King by one "*Cargill*, and the Reaſons of it, are juſt. That the "killing of the late Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, "was no Murther; That the Actors were upon "their Duty. That he thinks there is a declared "War between thoſe that ſerve the Lord, and thoſe "that ſerve the King, againſt the *Covenant*. That it "is lawful to kill any of the King's Council and "Soldiers, in defence of the Goſpel. That he "thinks, the King being Excommunicated, and "there being now a lawful declared War againſt "him, on account of the Breach of the Covenant, "it is lawful to kill him, and all thoſe that are in "oppoſition to the Covenant.

Fury of the Field-Conventiclers in Scotland.

"*Archibald Steward* confeſs'd he was in the Re-"bellion of *Airdſmoſſe*, and preſent at the Excom-"munication of the King; and that the King was "juſtly Excommunicated. He declared, he diſ-"own'd the King's Authority, and thought him-"ſelf not oblig'd to obey him. And being ask'd, "*Whether he thought it lawful to kill the King, be-*"*ing Excommunicated?* He deſir'd time to conſider "of it before he anſwer'd, but ſaid it was lawful "to kill the late Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and "own'd the Proclamation againſt the King, and "the burning the Acts of Parliament.

Some of the Clergy too warm againſt the Diſſenters.

As the *Diſſenters* were made the more Odious by the violence of their Brethren in *Scotland*, ſo many of the *Church-men*, and eſpecially the *Clergy*, fell under a ſuſpicion of being Popiſhly affected, becauſe they warmly eſpouſed the Intereſt of the [a] Court, in abhorring of Petitions, and in oppoſing the *Aſſociation*, and the *Excluſion* Bill: For which one *Richard Thomſon*, Miniſter in *Briſtol*, did ſo hotly diſtinguiſh himſelf, that the Houſe of Commons cenſur'd him, [b] and ſent for him into Cuſtody; which turn'd

[a] It is ſaid in the Life of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, that about *November* 1680. upon throwing out the Bill of Excluſion in the Houſe of Peers, the Clergy in and about the City of *London* preſented an Addreſs of Congratulation to the King, which Dr. *Tillotſon* refus'd to ſign.

[b] The Reverend Mr. *Thompſon* was likewiſe accus'd of abetting and preaching up the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome* in the Points of Juſtification, Auricular Confeſſion, Penance, Extreme Unction, *&c.*

See the Report from a Committee of the Commons in Parliament, appointed to conſider the Petition of *Richard Thompſon* of *Briſtol*, Clerk, and to examine Complaints againſt him; and the Reſolution of the Commons upon this Report for his Impeachment upon High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, *Friday December* 24, 1680. *Printed by the Order of the Speaker.*

only

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only to his Merit at Court, and Preferr'd him ſoon after to the Deanery of *Briſtol*. Under this Diſpoſition of the Clergy, many ſevere Reflections were made upon them in the Houſe of Commons; particularly one of the Members, *J. B.* upon a Debate of the *Aſſociation*, ſaid thus: "Mr. *Speaker*; Sir, I "retain a good Opinion of an *Aſſociation Bill*, notwithſtanding what hath been ſaid, as to the weakneſs it may receive from our unhappy Diviſions in "Points of Religion and Intereſt, too much promoted by ſome of our Clergy. For, *Sir*, when "I conſider how the *Laudean* Principles, as to "raiſing of Money without Parliaments, in the "late Times, infected moſt of our Clergy, ſo as "that they not only preach'd up the King's abſolute Authority over Mens Properties, but branded "with the Title of Rebels, and condemn'd to Hell "thoſe that offer'd to argue againſt it; I do conclude, That it is uſual for one or two Biſhops to "give meaſures or Directions to the reſt of the Biſhops, and they to the Clergy of their ſeveral "Dioceſſes; and that therefore the Clergy derive "the Politicks generally from one or two Biſhops "in ſome great Station——But People will diſcern "that the Clergy may be good Divines, but not ſo "good Politicians; and that there may be ſome difference, in Point of Intereſt, between them and "the Laity; becauſe Clergymen may be in a poſſibility of being advanc'd by Popery, if they "ſubmit; but the Laity, under a probability of "loſing all, notwithſtanding all Submiſſions. *Sir*, "I do not trouble you with this Diſcourſe, out of "a fear that our Clergy will not ſhew themſelves "good Proteſtants, for I have that Veneration for "them, and Opinion of them, as to believe, that "many of the Biſhops, and Clergy too, would as "ſoon Die for the Proteſtant Religion, as any "Perſons in the Nation: But I am jealous that "there is ſome *over-ruling* Power got in amongſt "them, ſomething anſwerable to that of a Popiſh "Succeſſor in the State." A further Advantage was taken, to bring the Biſhops under a Suſpicion, by their joining to throw out the *Bill of Excluſion*: Upon which occaſion one of the Commons ſpoke thus:——"If this be our Caſe, and there be nothing wanting but a Popiſh King to compleat "our Miſery, and the Art of Man cannot find out "any way to ſecure us againſt a Popiſh King, without the *Excluſion Bill*; Is it not ſtrange it ſhould "be rejected in the Houſe of Lords? I cannot believe that the Fathers of the Church ſhould join "in that which muſt infallibly give Opportunity "for the tearing out of the Bowels of their Mother, "and deſtroying her for ever: If ſo, well may we "lie down and cry, *We have no body to help us, but* "*only thee, O God?*

The beſt and wiſeſt of the Clergy for Peace and Union.

During theſe Heats and mutual Animoſities, ſome of the moſt learned and exemplary Clergy endeavour'd, both in private and publick, to bring the *Diſſenters* to a Senſe of the Neceſſity of Union among Proteſtants, hoping the apprehenſion of preſent Danger would have diſpos'd them to a better Inclination to the things which belong'd to the common Peace of the Reformation. With this proſpect the learned and judicious Dr. *Stillingfleet* being appointed to preach before the Lord-Mayor, on *May* 2. being the firſt *Sunday* in the Term, he thought fit to lay open the *unreaſonableneſs and miſchief of the preſent Separation.* Which Sermon he ſoon after publiſh'd, and proſecuted the Subject of it in an excellent Treatiſe, Intituled, *The unreaſonableneſs of Separation; or, an impartial* [a] *Account of the Hiſtory, Nature, and Pleas of the preſent Separation from the Communion of the Church of* England. To promote this return of the *Diſſenters* into the Communion of the Church of *England*, *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London* had held in the Year preceding three ſeaſonable Conferences with his Clergy upon the two Sacraments, and upon Catechiſing Youth in the true Principles of Religion. And in this Year his Lordſhip purſued the good Deſign in three other Conferences; on, 1. The [b] *Half Communion*: 2. *Prayers in an unknown Tongue*: 3. *Prayers to Saints*. And the Subſtance of this Converſation his Lordſhip publiſh'd in a *Letter* to the Clergy of his Dioceſe, Dated *July* 6. 1680. His Lordſhip further hoped that it might tend to pacifie and reconcile the *Diſſenters*, by bringing in the Judgment of foreign Divines againſt their needleſs Separation: For this purpoſe his Lordſhip wrote to Monſieur *le Moyne*, Profeſſor in Divinity at *Leyden*; and Monſieur *L'Angle*, one of the Preachers of the Reformed Church at *Charington* near *Paris* [c]; and to Monſieur *Claude*, another Eminent *French* Divine; who, in their ſeveral *Anſwers* (that are all publiſh'd to the World) do agree in vindicating the Church of *England* from any Errors in the Doctrine, or any unlawful Impoſitions in the Service and Diſcipline of it; [d] and therefore do condemn a Separation from it, as needleſs and uncharitable.

Prudence of the Biſhop of *London*.

The Commons in Parliament were ſenſible that nothing did more encourage the Intereſt of *Popery* than theſe Diviſions at home fomented by the *Papiſts*: It was under this Opinion that they firſt agreed to bring in a Bill, *For an Aſſociation of all his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, for the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, againſt all Invaſions and Oppoſitions.* And on *Decemb.* 21. they read and committed a Bill, *For uniting his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects.* Which though oppoſed by one Member, who thought it *more convenient to have a Law for forcing the Diſſenters to yield to the Church, and not to force the Church to yield to them*: Yet the Majority of the Houſe fell in heartily with this Bill of *Comprehenſion*, as the only Means of a firm Union among *Proteſtants* and an effectual Suppreſſion of the Dangers of *Popery*. And one of the Members ſpoke thus:

The Commons for Union, and a Bill of *Comprehenſion*.

[a] See an impartial Vindication of the Clergy of *England* in a Letter to a Friend. In which are intermix'd ſeveral Paſſages which may ſerve as a Reply to Dr. *Owen*'s and Mr. *Baxter*'s late Anſwer to Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s Sermon, entitled, *The Miſchief of Separation.* By a Reverend Divine of the Church of *England*. Subſcribed *S. R.* (*i. e. Sam. Rolls*, D. D.) Dated *July* 25. 1680. *London* 1680. 8*vo*.

A ſhort Defence of the Church and Clergy of *England*, wherein ſome of the common Objections againſt both are anſwered, and the means of.

[b] And Dr. *William Lloyd*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, making now a very diligent Viſitation of his Dioceſe, did invite the chief Leaders among the Diſſenters to friendly Conferences at *Oſweſtry*, *Wrexam*, &c. in order to reclaim them to Unity and Peace.

[c] See at the end of Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s unreaſonableneſs of Separation, 1681. 4*to*. I. A Letter from Monſieur *Le Moyne*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*, to my Lord Biſhop of *London*, concerning the nature of our preſent Differences, and the unlawfulneſs of Separation from the Church of *England*. Dated *Sept.* 3. 1680. ——— II. A Letter from Monſieur *de L'Angle*, one of the preſent Preachers of the Reformed Church-Meeting at *Charenton* near *Paris*, upon the ſame Subject. Dated *Paris*, *Octob.* 31. 1680.——— III. A Letter from Monſieur *Claude*, on the ſame Subject. Dated *Paris* 29. *Novemb.* 1680.

[d] Father *Orleans* makes it an Artifice of the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, that all Proteſtants might find it their Intereſt to deſtroy the Catholicks, and ſo the Duke of *York*'s Excluſion from the Crown might be brought about; he projected an Union among all the Nonconformiſt Sectaries and the Church of *England*, and to bring it about he put the Houſe of Commons upon preſſing the King to repeal all the Laws made by Queen *Elizabeth* againſt them. His Majeſty perceived what they tended to, and making a true Judgment upon the Occaſion of that demand, firſt prorogued and afterwards diſſolved the Parliament.

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Mr. Speaker,

"I Would not open my Mouth in favour of this "*Bill*, if I thought it would any ways pre- "judice the Church or Church Government; but I "believe it may have a quite contrary Effect, and "tend more for the Preſervation and Safety of the "Church and Church-Government, than any Bill "whatſoever that could be contriv'd——The *Preſ-* "*byterians*, *Independants*, and all other Diſſenters, "may be more in Number than the *Papiſts*, and "may be willing enough to have the Church-Go- "vernment alter'd, if not deſtroy'd; yet being "they cannot have any Succour from Abroad, nor "from the Government here at Home, I cannot "ſee any great Danger of them; for it is not pro- "bable that they ſhall ever have a King of their "Opinion, nor a Parliament, by the diſcovery they "made of their Strength in the laſt Elections; for "according to the beſt Calculation I can make, "they could not bring in above one in twenty: "And therefore, becauſe they have not ſuch bloody "deſperate Principles as the *Papiſts*, and becauſe "we agree in Points of Faith, and ſo no ſuch great "Danger from them as from the *Papiſts*; I think "we have reaſon to conclude, That the Church is "moſt in Danger from the *Papiſts*, and that there- "fore we ought to take care of them in the firſt "place; and we cannot do *that* by any way more "likely to prove effectual, than by ſome ſuch Bill "as this: Becauſe, if it ſhould have the Effect de- "ſign'd, of bringing in many of the Diſſenters in- "to the Church, it would diſappoint them of the "great Hopes they have grounded on our Diviſi- "ons, and make the Church ſtronger, not only to "oppoſe the Papiſts, but ſuch Fanaticks as may "not come in: And if we ſhould not have this "Succeſs, I do not underſtand it will any way "weaken the Church-Government.

The *Act* of 35 *Eliz.* for Payment of twenty Pounds a Month for every Perſon not reſorting to their Pariſh-Church [a], was apparently made againſt the *Popiſh Recuſants*, but had been lately executed upon the *Proteſtant Diſſenters*. Upon which the Commons reſolved, *That it is the Opinion of this Houſe that the Proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters, upon the Penal Laws deſign'd againſt the Papiſts, is at this time grievous to the Subject, a weakening the Proteſtant Intereſt, an Encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom.* And therefore they prepared another Bill, *For exempting his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects diſſenting from the Church of* England, *from the Penalties impoſed upon the Papiſts, by repealing the ſaid Act of the* 35 Eliz. This Bill paſſed the Commons, and was agreed to by the Lords, and lay ready for his Majeſty's Aſſent: But when his Majeſty came to the Throne to paſs this among other Bills, this was taken from the Lords Table, and never heard of after: Which no Man durſt have done without the King's Command, or at leaſt his Privity and Connivance at it: It was commonly ſaid to have been taken away by a Natural Son of the King's, who ſtanding at the Table to play with it, was inſtructed to run away with it. The Loſs of this Bill was complain'd of in the next Parliament at *Oxford*, but without Satisfaction or Redreſs.

The Commons againſt Proſecuting the Proteſtant Diſſenters.

A Bill for Relief of them, ſtoln away.

1681.

The King, at the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, had ſummoned another to meet on the 21ſt of *March* at *Oxford*. This Change of Place was very diſpleaſing, not only to the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, but generally to both Houſes, who apprehended ſome Arbitrary Deſigns in it. Whereupon ſeveral of the Nobility, after mature Conſideration of the Matter, reſolved to petition the King againſt it: Which Petition was delivered by the Earl of *Eſſex*, with this Speech to the King.

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Oxford Parliament.

Petition againſt the Sitting of it.

May it pleaſe your Majesty,

"THE Lords here preſent, together with di- "vers others of the Peers of the Realm, "taking Notice, That by the late *Proclamation*, "your Majeſty has declared an Intention of Calling "a Parliament at *Oxford*; and obſerving from Hi- "ſtory and Records how unfortunate many Aſſem- "blies have been, when call'd at a Place remote "from the Capital City, as particularly the Con- "greſs in King *Henry* the IId's Time at *Clarendon*; "three ſeveral Parliaments at *Oxford* in *Henry* the "IIId's Time, and at *Coventry* in *Henry* the VIth's "Time; and divers others which have proved fatal to "thoſe Kings, and have been follow'd with great Miſ- "chief on the whole Kingdom: And conſidering the "preſent Poſture of Affairs, the many Jealouſies and "Diſcontents that are among the People, they have "great Cauſe to apprehend, that the Conſequences "of a Parliament now at *Oxford* may be as fatal to "your Majeſty and the Nation, as thoſe others "mention'd have been to the then Reigning Kings. "And therefore we do conceive, that we cannot "anſwer it to *God*, to your Majeſty, or to the Peo- "ple, if we, being Peers of the Realm, ſhould "not on ſo important an Occaſion humbly offer "our Advice to your Majeſty, That, if poſſible, "your Majeſty may be prevail'd with to alter this "(as we apprehend) unſeaſonable Reſolution. The "Grounds and Reaſons of our Opinions are con- "tain'd in this our *Petition*, which we humbly "preſent to your Majeſty.

Speech of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

This *Petition* was ſo remarkable, that it deſerves to be here inſerted.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty:

The Humble PETITION *and Advice of the Lords under-named, Peers of the Realm,*

Humbly Sheweth,

"THAT whereas your Majeſty hath been "pleaſed, by divers Speeches and Paſſages "to your Houſes of Parliament, rightly to repre- "ſent to them the Dangers that threatned your "Majeſty's Perſon and the whole Kingdom from "the miſchievous and wicked Plots of the *Papiſts*, "and the ſudden Growth of a Power, unto which "no Stop or Remedy could be provided, unleſs it "were by Parliament, and an Union of your Ma- "jeſty's Proteſtant Subjects in one Mind and one "Intereſt.

The *Petition* it ſelf.

"And the Lord Chancellor, in purſuance of "your Majeſty's Commands, having more at large "demonſtrated the ſaid Dangers to be as great as we "in the midſt of our Fears could imagine them; "and ſo preſſing, that our Liberties, Religion, "Lives, and the whole Kingdom, would be cer- "tainly loſt, if a ſpeedy Proviſion were not made a- "gainſt them.

[a] It is certain that the wiſe and moderate Church of *England* Men were the more inclinable at this time to reconcile the Diſſenters to them, becauſe they ſaw that the Papiſts were widening the Breaches between them to enter in at thoſe Breaches. And yet ſome of the Diſſenters were ſo manag'd, as to believe the Churchmen were not in earneſt, but were only temporizing for fear of the prevailing Powers of Popery. For ſo Dr. *Lewis du Moulin* in his Appeal of the Nonconformiſts, publiſh'd juſt after his death, *Octob.* 23. 1680. did uncharitably declare that the zeal and fervour of the prevailing corrupt Church Party in *England* at this preſent Juncture of time, in writing ſo many Books againſt the Papiſts, and ſtanding up ſo ſtoutly againſt the horrid Attempt upon the King's moſt ſacred Life, and introducing of Popery, and *hearkening to ſome Terms of Reconciliation with the Non-Conformiſts*, to make the Oppoſition the ſtronger againſt Papiſts, does no way ſeem to be the effect of a Chriſtian Moderation, but a mere worldly Intereſt; and the goodneſs of a ſtubborn Boy, juſt ſo long as the Rod is over his Back.

"And

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“ And your Majeſty, on the 21ſt of *Apr.* 1679, having call'd unto your Council many honourable and worthy Perſons, and declared to them and the whole Kingdom, that being ſenſible of the evil Effects of a ſingle Miniſtry, or private Advice, or Foreign Committee, for the general Direction of your Affairs, your Majeſty would, for the future, refer all Things unto the Council; and by the conſtant Advice of them, together with the frequent Uſe of your great Council the Parliament, your Majeſty had hereafter reſolved to govern the Kingdom, we began to hope we ſhould ſee an End of our Miſeries.

“ But, to our unſpeakable Grief and Sorrow, we ſoon found our Expectation fruſtrated; the Parliament then ſubſiſting, was prorogu'd and diſſolv'd, before it could perfect what was intended for our Relief and Security: And tho' another was thereupon call'd, yet, by the many Prorogations, it was put off till the 21ſt of *October* paſt; and notwithſtanding your Majeſty was then again pleas'd to acknowledge, that neither your Majeſty's Perſon nor the Kingdom could be ſafe, till the Matter of the *Plot* was gone through, it was unexpectedly prorogu'd on the 10th of this Month, before any ſufficient Order could be taken therein; all their juſt and pious Endeavours to ſave the Nation were overthrown; the good Bills they had been induſtriouſly preparing, to unite all your Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, brought to nought; the Diſcovery of the *Iriſh* Plot ſtifled; the Witneſſes that came in frequently more fully to declare that, both of *England* and *Ireland*, diſcourag'd; thoſe Foreign Kingdoms and States, who, by a happy Conjunction with us, might give a Check to the *French* Power, diſheartned even to ſuch a Deſpair of their own Security againſt the growing Greatneſs of that Monarch, as we fear may induce them to take new Reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as may be fatal to us; the Strength of our Enemies, both at Home and Abroad, encreaſed, and our ſelves left in the utmoſt Danger of ſeeing our ſelves brought into utter Deſolation.

“ In theſe Extremities we had nothing, under God, to comfort us, but the Hopes that your Majeſty (being touch'd with the Groans of your periſhing People) would have ſuffer'd your Parliament to have met on the Day unto which it was prorogu'd, and that no farther Interruption ſhould have been given to their Proceedings, in order to the ſaving of the Nation; yet that failed us too. But when we heard that your Majeſty, by the private Suggeſtion of ſome wicked Perſons, Favourers of *Popery*, Promoters of *French* Deſigns, and Enemies to your Majeſty and the Kingdom, (without the Advice, and, as we have good Reaſon to believe, againſt the Opinion even of your Privy-Council) had been prevail'd with to diſſolve it, and to call another to meet at *Oxford*, where neither Lords nor Commons can be in Safety, but will be daily expos'd to the Swords of the Papiſts, and their Adherents, of whom too many are crept into your Majeſty's Guards: The Liberty of ſpeaking according to their Conſciences will be thereby deſtroy'd; and the Validity of all their Acts and Proceedings concerning it left diſputable. The Streightneſs of the Place no way admits of ſuch a Concourſe of Perſons as now follows every Parliament: The Witneſſes that are neceſſary to give Evidence againſt the Popiſh Lords, ſuch Judges, or others whom the Commons have impeach'd, or had reſolved to impeach, can neither bear the Charge of going thither, nor truſt themſelves under the Protection of a Parliament that is it ſelf evidently under the Power of Guards and Soldiers.

“ The Premiſſes conſider'd, we your Majeſty's *Petitioners*, out of juſt Abhorrence of ſuch a dangerous and pernicious Council (which the Authors have not dared to avow) and the direful Apprehenſions of the Calamities and Miſeries that may enſue thereupon, do make it our moſt humble Prayer and Advice, That the Parliament may not ſit at a Place where it cannot be able to act with that Freedom which is neceſſary, and eſpecially to give unto their Acts and Proceedings that Authority which they ought to have amongſt the People, and have ever had, unleſs impair'd by ſome Awe upon them (of which there wants not Precedents;) and that your Majeſty would be graciouſly pleas'd to order it to ſit at *Weſtminſter* (it being the uſual Place,) and where they may conſult and act with Safety and Freedom.

And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c.

Monmouth,	*Shaftsbury*,
Kent,	*Mordant*,
Huntingdon,	*Evers*,
Bedford,	*Paget*,
Saliſbury,	*Gray*,
Clare,	*Herbert*,
Stamford,	*Howard*,
Eſſex,	*Delamere*.

The King frown'd upon the Deliverers of this *Petition*, and perſiſted in his Reſolution of holding the Parliament at *Oxford* [a]. To which Purpoſe he went from *Windſor* on *March* 14. and was receiv'd at the Confines of the County by the High-Sheriff, and at *Wheatly* by the Lord *Norris*, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, and conducted in great Pomp to *Oxford*, where he was receiv'd with great Expreſſions of Loyalty by the Univerſity and City; and publick Notice was given, That *this Univerſity was no leſs renowned Abroad, as well as at Home, for its Loyalty and Duty to his Majeſty, than for its Learning, and ſound Religion: In a word, That his Majeſty had met in that Place with all the Demonſtrations poſſible of Duty and Joy, as his having honour'd them with his Royal Preſence.*

The King offended.

Receiv'd at Oxford.

On *Monday*, *March* 21. the Parliament opened at *Oxford*; and his Majeſty coming into the Houſe of Lords (which was in the publick Schools) and being in his Robes ſeated on his Throne, and ſending for the Commons to attend him, he was pleas'd to make this gracious *Speech*:

Opening of the Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE unwarrantable Proceedings of the laſt Houſe of Commons were the Occaſion of my parting with the laſt Parliament; for I, who will never uſe Arbitrary Government my ſelf, am reſolv'd not to ſuf-

The King's Speech.

[a] To help run down the Belief of a Popiſh Plot, *Roger* Earl of *Caſtlemain* having lately eſcap'd in a Tryal for High Treaſon, and thereupon for greater Safety retir'd into *France*, did there write an Account of his Proſecution, which was printed in *England Anno* 1681. as dated from *Amiens*, *March* 7. 168⁰⁄₁. under this Title; *The Earl of* Caſtlemain's *Manifeſto*: Wherein he blackens the King's Evidence, and did the King himſelf no Honour, by repreſenting his Majeſty in good Eſteem with the *Popes* of *Rome*. Says the *Earl*, p. 26. I have been ſo far from hearing of any Excommunication, or Declaration of Hereſy iſſued out againſt the King by his Holineſs, or any of that Church; that I am as much aſſur'd that it is falſe, as that he (*i. e.* Dr. *Oats*) never chriſten'd, or confirm'd his ſaid Majeſty: For I have been twice myſelf at *Rome*, and know, that the *Popes* have ſtill ſpoken of him with great Honour and Reſpect.

[b] See *Vox Patriæ*: Or a Collection of the Petitions and Addreſſes made from divers Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of this Realm, to their reſpective Repreſentatives, choſen to ſerve in the Parliament held at Oxford, *March* 21. 1680. Printed 1681. Folio.

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1681. 33 Car. II. *fer it in others. I am unwilling to mention Particulars, becauſe I am deſirous to forget Faults; but whoſoever ſhall calmly conſider what Offers I have formerly made, and what Aſſurances I renew'd to the laſt Parliament; how I recommended nothing ſo much to them as the Alliances I had made for the Preſervation of the General Peace in Chriſtendom, and the farther Examination of the* Popiſh Plot, *and how I deſir'd their Advice and Aſſiſtance concerning the Preſervation of* Tangier, *and ſhall then reflect upon the ſtrange unſuitable Returns made to ſuch Propoſitions, by Men that were call'd together to conſult, perhaps may wonder more, that I had Patience ſo long, than that at laſt I grew weary of their Proceedings.*

I have thought it neceſſary to ſay thus much to you, that I may not have any new Occaſion given me to remember more of the late Miſcarriages: It is much my Intereſt, and ſhall be as much my Care as yours, to preſerve the Liberty of the Subject; becauſe the Crown can never be ſafe, when that is in danger: And I would have you likewiſe be convinc'd, That neither your Liberties and Properties can ſubſiſt long, when the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown are invaded, or the Honour of the Government brought low, and into diſreputation.

I let you ſee, by my calling this Parliament ſo ſoon, that no Irregularities in Parliament ſhall make me out of Love with them; and by this means offer you another opportunity of providing for our Security here, by giving that countenance and protection to our Neighbours and Allies, which you cannot but know they expect from us, and extremely ſtand in need of at this inſtant; and at the ſame time give one Evidence more, that I have not neglected my Part, to give that general Satisfaction and Security, which, by the Bleſſing of God, may be attained, if you, on your Parts, bring ſuitable Diſpoſitions towards it; and that the juſt Care you ought to have of Religion, be not ſo manag'd and improv'd into unneceſſary Fears, as to be made a Pretence for changing the Foundation of the Government.

I hope the Example of the ill Succeſs of former Heats, will diſpoſe you to a better Temper; and not ſo much to inveigh againſt what is paſt, as to conſider what is beſt to be done in the preſent conjuncture. The further proſecution of the Plot; the Tryal of the Lords in the Tower; *the providing a more ſpeedy conviction for Recuſants; and, if it be practicable, the ridding our ſelves quite of all of that Party, that have any conſiderable Authority and Intereſt amongſt them, are things, though of the higheſt Importance, that hardly need to be recommended to you, they are ſo obvious to every Man Conſideration, and ſo neceſſary for our Security: But I muſt needs deſire you, not to lay ſo much weight upon any one Expedient againſt Popery, as to determine that all other are ineffectual; and among all your Cares for Religion, remember, That without the Safety and Dignity of the Monarchy, neither Religion nor Property can be preſerved.*

What I have formerly and ſo often declared touching the Succeſſion, I cannot depart from. But to remove all reaſonable Fears that may ariſe from the poſſibility of a Popiſh Succeſſor's coming to the Crown, if means can be found, that in ſuch a Caſe, the Adminiſtration of the Government may remain in Proteſtant Hands; I ſhall be ready to hearken to any ſuch Expedient, by which the Religion might be preſerv'd, and the Monarchy not deſtroy'd.

I muſt therefore earneſtly recommend to you, to provide for the Religion and the Government together, with regard to one another, becauſe they ſupport each other: And let us be United at Home, that we may recover the Eſteem and Conſideration we uſed to have Abroad.

I conclude with this one Advice to you, That the Rules and Meaſures of all your Votes, may be the known and eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Land; which neither can, nor ought to be departed from, nor chang'd, but by Act of Parliament: And I may the more reaſonably require that you make the Laws of the Land your Rule, becauſe I am reſolv'd they ſhall be mine.

After this *Speech* the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, directed the Commons to return to their Houſe, and to make choice of a *Speaker*. Which they accordingly did, unanimouſly electing *William Williams* of *Grays-Inn*, Eſq; Counſellor at Law, and Recorder of *Cheſter*, who had been *Speaker* in the former Parliament. When the Commons preſented him to his Majeſty, on *Tueſday, March* 22. he made this *Speech*: *W. Williams* is again choſen *Speaker.*

May it pleaſe Your Majesty;

"THE Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament Aſſembled, with Duty and Loyalty agreeable to themſelves and the Perſons whom they repreſent, have, in Obedience to your Royal Pleaſure, for the diſpoſing of themſelves in that great Aſſembly for your Majeſty's Service, conſider'd of a Speaker; and, to manifeſt to your Majeſty, and the World, they are not inclinable to changes, have with one Voice elected me their *Speaker*, having had the Honour to ſerve your Majeſty and the Commons in that Truſt in the laſt Parliament, *His Speech to the K.*

"With all Humility, I preſume again, by their Commands, to ſtand before your Majeſty, to receive your Pleaſure, with a Head and Heart full of Loyalty to your ſacred Perſon; arm'd with a ſettled Reſolution never to depart from your well, ancient and eſtabliſh'd Government.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, ſaid to this purpoſe:

"Mr. *Speaker*, for ſo I am commanded to call you, his Majeſty hath well conſider'd the choice the Commons have made, and does very much approve of that Election, and doth accept and allow you for *Speaker*.

After which the *Speaker* made this further *Speech*:

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

"NAtural Allegiance commands Loyalty to your Majeſty from every Subject.

"Your ſingular Grace and Favour to me, in the laſt Parliament, continu'd by the Honour I have in this, add more than dutifulneſs and Obedience to my Loyalty.

"I am ſet in the firſt Station of your Commons, for Truſt and Quality; an high and ſlippery Place: It requires a ſteady Hand, and a well-pois'd Body in him that will ſtand firm there. Uprightneſs is the ſafe poſture, and beſt Policy, and ſhall be mine in this Place, guarded with this Opinion, That your Majeſty's Service, in this Truſt, is one and the ſame with the Service of your Commons, and that they are no more to be divided than your Crown and Sceptre.

"They truly ſerve the Crown and Country, (which ſhall be my Care and Induſtry) who make the Safety of your ſacred Perſon, the Defence and Security of the Proteſtant Religion, the Support of your Majeſty's Government, the Maintenance of the Laws, and Preſervation of the ancient Conſtitutions of Parliament, one and the ſame undivided Intereſt, one and the ſame Safety, one and the ſame inſeparable Security for your ſelf and People.

"Theſe are the Deſires of all good Men, but muſt be the effect of good Counſels, for the enabling of your Majeſty's great Council now in Parliament aſſembled. To compleat this bleſſed Eſtabliſhment, with all Humility, I Addreſs to "your

"your Majeſty, in the Name, and on the behalf "of the Commons in Parliament;

1. "That we and our Servants may be free in "our Perſons and Eſtates, from Arreſts, and other "Diſturbances.

2. "That in our Debates, Liberty and Freedom "of Speech be allow'd us.

"3. That, as Occaſion ſhall require, your Ma-"jeſty will vouchſafe us acceſs to your Royal Per-"ſon.

"I take leave to join this humble Petition for "my ſelf, that nothing by me, in weakneſs, or thro' "inadvertency, ſaid or done, may turn to the pre-"judice of the Commons; and that my Behaviour "and Proceedings may receive a benign and favou-"rable Interpretation with your gracious Majeſty.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by Command from his Majeſty, ſaid to this effect:

Mr. Speaker,

Anſwer of the Lord-Chancellor to the Speaker.

"All your Petitions are fully and freely granted "by his Majeſty, in as large and ample a manner "as ever any Houſe of Commons yet enjoy'd "them: The King is very ſure the Wiſdom of "this Houſe of Commons will make as prudent "an uſe of them, as any of your Anceſtors ever "did. Your own particular Petition is grateful to "the King too; becauſe he knows you will be "careful to avoid miſtakes, as his Majeſty is ready "to forgive them.

"And now, Mr. *Speaker*, theſe Preliminaries be-"ing thus over, the King deſires you wou'd haſten "to the reſt that are neceſſary to be diſpatch'd, be-"fore we can enter upon Buſineſs; that ſo we may "husband Time, which is now more neceſſary than "ever; and he hopes that this Parliament will come "to a very happy and proſperous Concluſion: And "that it may do ſo, God Almighty direct and proſ-"per all your Conſultations.

Printing of the Votes.

On *Thurſday March* 24. the Debates of the Commons began with a Motion for Printing the Votes: Which was oppoſ'd by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, as *againſt the gravity of that Aſſembly*; That *no great Aſſembly in Chriſtendom did it*; That again, *it was againſt their Gravity, and a ſort of Appeal to the People*. But the Members, on the other ſide argu'd, That *Printing their* Votes, *was like true* Engliſhmen, *who are not aſham'd of what they do*; *and that the People who they repreſent*, *may have a true account of their Proceedings*; and ſo the Reſolution paſs'd for Printing.

A Complaint of the loſs of a Bill in the laſt Parliament.

Another Motion was made, to enquire into the Miſcarriage of the Bill for Repeal of the Bill of 35 *Eliz. &c.* how it came to be ſlipt over in the laſt Parliament, and not preſented, for the Royal Aſſent? "Which (ſaid the mover) I look upon "as a Breach of the Conſtitution of the Govern-"ment." But the farther Debate of this Matter was adjourn'd to the next Day.

Bill of Excluſion.

While another Motion was made, "That, for the Preſervation of "the Proteſtant Religion, and the King's Perſon, "a Bill be brought in, to prevent a *Popiſh Succeſ-"ſor*, and in particular againſt *James* Duke of "*York*"; the ſame Bill which paſs'd the laſt Parliament.

Oppoſed by Sir *Lionel Jenkins.*

Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* ſtood up and ſaid, "*I muſt give my negative to this Motion*; *and my* "*reaſon why I do ſo, is, becauſe the King hath de-*"*clared in his Speech, That as to the Point of altering the Succeſſion, he cannot depart from what he has ſo often declared.*" He farther argu'd, "That the "*King's Speech* gave them a Latitude for Expedi-"ents; and therefore he would not have the Bill "any more put to the hazard of Rejection, but "hoped they would conſider of ſome Expedients." Other Members declared, "That they could ſee no "Expedient to ſave Religion, and preſerve the "King's Perſon, but only the Bill to exclude the "Duke; however to pay the King all the Reſpect "in the World, they would ſet apart a time to "conſider Expedients, and appointed *Saturday* for "the Debate of them.

Enquiry into the loſs of the Bill.

On *Friday, March* 25. a Motion was made, for returning Thanks to thoſe Places who had freely and without Expence choſen their Members; and the Members ſo elected were order'd to ſend their Thanks to thoſe who choſe them. Then a Motion was made for reſuming the Debate upon the loſs of the Bill for repeal of the Bill of 35 *Eliz.* Sir *W. J.* argu'd thus; *This Matter deſerves material Conſideration, whether in reſpect of the loſs of the Bill, or the ſhaking of the very Conſtitution of Parliament. The Bill that is loſt, is of great Moment, and of great Service to the Country, and perhaps to their Lives, in the time of a Popiſh Succeſſor. Thoſe Men that hindred the paſſing that Bill, had a Proſpect of that; and if it be ſent up again, we are like to meet with great oppoſition. But be the Bill what it will, the Precedent is of the higheſt Conſequence. The King has his negative to all Bills, but I never knew that the Clerk of the Parliament had a negative.*—— *If this way be found out, That Bills ſhould be thrown by; it may be hereafter ſaid, they were forgot, and laid by; and ſo we ſhall never know whether the King would paſs them or no. If this be ſuffer'd, it is in vain to ſpend time here*, &c. The Matter was at laſt referr'd to a Conference with the Lords, concerning the Conſtitution of Parliaments, in Matters relating to paſſing of Bills.

Libel of *Fitz-Harris*.

Then was read the Account of *Fitz-Harris*, and the Libel wrote by him. For the underſtanding of which Matter, it muſt be obſerv'd, that this *Fitz-Harris* was the Son of Sir *Edward Fitz-Harris*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt, and conſequently a fit Tool to ridicule the *Popiſh Plot*; With this Deſign he became a Correſpondent with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, her Woman Mrs. *Wall*, and the *French* Ambaſſador's Confeſſor, from whom he had receiv'd ſeveral Sums of Money: And having been acquainted with one *Everard* beyond Sea, when they were both in the *French* King's Service, he did about the beginning of *February*, after the Parliament was diſſolv'd, renew his ſaid Acquaintance with *Everard*, and repreſented to him the Advantages he might have, by ingratiating himſelf into the *French* and *Popiſh* Intereſt; and that for this purpoſe, it would be proper to draw up a ſharp Libel upon the King, and his Adminiſtration, and then charge the ſaid Libel among the *Non-conformiſts*, as a Deſign of theirs to raiſe a Rebellion, and ſubvert the Government. The Inſtructions that *Fitz-Harris* gave to *Everard* for the Subject-matter of this Libel, were to this effect; "That the King and Royal Family ſhould be "traduc'd, as being Papiſts, and arbitrarily affected "from the beginning: That King *Charles* I. had "an Hand in the *Iriſh* Rebellion; and that *Charles* "II. did countenance the ſame, by preferring *Fitz-*"*Gerald*, *Fitz-Patrick*, and *Mount-Garret*, who "were engaged in the *Iriſh* Rebellion. That the "Act forbidding to call the King a Papiſt, was to "ſtop Mens Mouths, when he ſhould incline to fur-"ther Popery; which appear'd by his adhering ſo "cloſely to the Duke of *York*'s Intereſts, and hin-"der'd him from being proceeded againſt by the "Parliament; and hindring the Officers put in by "the Duke of *York*, to be turn'd out; and for that "the Privy-Councellors and Juſtices of Peace, who "were for the Proteſtant Intereſt, were turn'd out "of all Places of Truſt: That it was as much in the "Power of the People to depoſe a Popiſh *Poſſeſſor*, "as a Popiſh *Succeſſor*; and ſeeing there was no "hopes the Parliament, when they met at *Oxford*, "could do any good, the People were bound to pro-"vide for themſelves." This was drawn up into a traiterous Paper, or Libel, to [illegible] call'd, *The True* Engliſhman *ſpeaking plain* Engl[illegible] *In a Letter from a Friend to a Friend.* It was [illegible]e fix'd upon the Proteſtant *Diſſenters*, and to b[illegible]pers'd by the Penny-Poſt to the proteſting Lor[illegible] and leading Men in the

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the Houſe of Commons, who were immediately thereupon to be taken up and ſearch'd. *Everard* affirm'd the Court had an hand in it, and that the King had given *Fitz-Harris* Money, and wou'd give him more, if it had Succeſs. And this is ſo much the more to be credited, ſince the King himſelf told Sheriff *Corniſh*, *That* Fitz-Harris *had, three Months before his apprehenſion, been with him, and acquainted him he was in purſuit of a Plot, which very much related to his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Government, &c.* And that upon Sir *William Waller*'s acquainting the King with the particulars he had taken, while he was conceal'd, as aforeſaid; tho' he thank'd him for it, and commanded Secretary *Jenkins* to iſſue out a Warrant for the apprehenſion of *Fitz-Harris*, and that Sir *William* ſhould take care of the execution of it; yet he was no ſooner gone, but Sir *William* ſaid, *He was inform'd by two worthy Gentlemen, That the King was highly offended with him*, ſaying, *He had broken all his Meaſures; and that he wou'd, one way or other, have him taken off.* *Fitz-Harris*, however, was ſoon after taken and committed to *Newgate*; where being examin'd by Sir *Robert Clayton* and Sheriff *Corniſh*, he diſcover'd a diſpoſition, and at length a willingneſs to diſcover the whole Deſign the next Day after. But to prevent it, *in all* appearance, he was that Day remov'd into the *Tower*. The Commons thought that all this look'd ſo much like a Trick, and a continuation of the *Popiſh Plot*, that they reſolv'd to impeach the ſaid *Edward Fitz-Harris* of High-Treaſon, and appointed Sir *Leoline Jenkins* to carry up the Impeachment to the Houſe of Lords; who at firſt refus'd it, and ſaid, *The ſending him upon that Meſſage, reflected upon the King his Maſter, and let them do what they would to him, he would not go:* But being threatned by the Houſe, and better adviſ'd by his Friends, he ſaid at laſt, *He was ready to obey the Order of the Houſe, and was ſorry his Words had given Offence.*

Impeachment of *Fitz-Harris.*

Expedients to prevent a Bill of *Excluſion.*

On *Saturday, March* 26. they fell upon debating of ſome Expedient to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion, and the King's Life, without the Bill for excluding the Duke. Sir *J. E.* propos'd a Regency for the next Heir, leaving him the Name of a King, but not the Power. This was ſpoke againſt as a dangerous and impracticable thing; and the Houſe came readily into a Reſolution "That there was no Re-"medy to ſave Religion, and the Government, but "excluding the Duke of *York*, and all other Popiſh "Succeſſors." In the Afternoon an Account was brought to the Houſe, That the Lords had thrown out the Impeachment of *Fitz-Harris*, and had directed that he ſhould be proſecuted at Common-Law. This incens'd the Commons to a high degree, and carry'd them into a Vote, "That this "refuſal of the Lords was a denial of Juſtice, a vio-"lation of the Conſtitutions of Parliaments, and an "obſtruction to the further diſcovery of the *Popiſh* "*Plot*." They further *Reſolved*, "That if any "Judge, Juſtice, or Jury, or any inferior Court, "ſhall proceed againſt *Edward Fitz-Harris*, or any "other Perſon impeach'd in Parliament for the ſame "Crimes for which he [a] or they ſtand impeach'd, "it is a high Breach of the Privilege of Parlia-"ment.

The Lords throw out the Impeachment of *Fitz-Harris.*

The Commons offended.

On *Monday, March* 28. the Bill for excluding the Duke of *York*, was read the firſt time, and order'd a ſecond Reading; and they were reſuming the Debate about *Fitz-Harris*, when on a ſudden the Uſher of the Black-Rod commanded their attendance in the Houſe of Lords; whither they immediately went: And the King being there in his Robes, told them, "He perceiv'd there were great "Heats between the Lords and the Commons; "and their beginnings had been ſuch, as he could "expect no good Succeſs of this [b] Parliament, and "therefore thought fit to diſſolve them:" And accordingly the Lord-Chancellor declared the Parliament diſſolved.

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The Parliament diſſolv'd.

The King immediately took Coach, and drove in great haſte to *Windſor*, where he lay that Night, and the next Morning he poſted away to *Whitehall*, ſeeming there extremely pleas'd that he had made his *Eſcape*, as it were, from *Oxford*, and had got a deliverance from his Parliament. On *April* 3. *Fitz-Harris* was Arraign'd at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, where he three times refus'd to hold up his Hand, inſiſting upon his *being impeach'd in Parliament, and therefore that he ought not to be Try'd by any inferior Court.* The Court aſſign'd him for Councel Sir *Francis Winnington*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Pollixfen*, and Mr. *Wallop*, to argue his Plea againſt the Judicature of the Court; and on *Wedneſday* the 4th of *May* the Priſoner was again brought to the Bar, and his Councel attended, where the King's Attorney-General, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, enter'd a Demurrer to the Priſoner's Plea, and inſiſted chiefly upon the manifeſt defect of Forms, becauſe the Plea runs, *That the ſaid* Fitz-Harris *was impeach'd at the late Parliament in Oxford*, de alta Proditione, *but does not ſay of what ſort or manner of Treaſon; nor did it ſet forth the Impeachment at large, which a Plea ought to do, when it is againſt the Juriſdiction of the Court.* The Priſoner's Councel mov'd for farther time; which was given them till *Saturday* Morning, when the Matter was largely and learnedly debated on both Sides: The King's Council, and alſo the Court, declaring, That they meddled not at all with the Privilege of the Houſe of Commons, or the Juriſdiction of the Lords in Parliament, which was not the Queſtion, but only as to the Form of the Plea. After the Debates were ended, the Court took time to conſider, before they would proceed to Judgment. The 11th of *May* the Court ſate again; the Plea was over-rul'd; the Priſoner pleaded *Not Guilty*; and alledging, that a material Witneſs for him was abſent in *Holland*, his Tryal was put off till the 9th of *June*. On *June* the 8th Dr. *Oliver Plunket*, titular Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, was Try'd at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, for High-Treaſon. The Evidence againſt him were all profeſs'd Papiſts, and came out of *Ireland*. The chief Matters ſworn againſt him were, *That he was made* [c] *Primate of* Ireland *by the Pope, at the* French *King's Recommendation; had actually levy'd great Sums of Money among his Clergy, to introduce the* French *Dominion into that Kingdom, and to exterminate the Proteſtants*; and upon Evidence of this was found *Guilty*. The next Day *Fitz-Harris* was Try'd at the ſame Bar: The chief Evidences againſt him were, Sir *William Waller*, and *Everard*, upon whoſe Teſtimonies he was found guilty of High-Treaſon, and on the firſt of *July* they were both executed at *Tyburn*. Preſently after his Tryal Mrs. *Fitz-Harris*, the Priſoner's Wife, accuſed the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, for contriving that Treaſonable Libel for which her Husband was condemn'd. Upon which that Lord was committed to the *Tower*; and ſo was *Rouſe*, *Hains*, *White*, and *Colledge*, commonly call'd the *Proteſtant Joiner*.

The King pleas'd that he had got ſafe from *Oxford.*

Arraignment of *Fitz-Harris.*

His Tryal.

Oliver Plunket Try'd and Condemn'd.

Plunket and *Fitz-Harris* executed.

The diſſolution of two Parliaments, eſpecially of the laſt, in ſo abrupt a manner, raiſed up a general Spirit of diſcontent and diſtruſt in the Body of

[a] See the effect of [illegible]e Speech of Sir *Robert Clayton*, one of the Citizens of [illegible]*don*, moving for a Bill of Excluſion, *March* 27. ſeconde[illegible] *William* Lord *Ruſſel*, &c. Memoirs 1712. 8*vo*. p. 252.

[b] See the Debates [illegible] House of Commons aſſembled at *Oxford March* 21. 1680. to *Monday March* 28. 1681. Printed for *R. Baldwin* 1681. Fol.

[c] See the laſt Speech of Mr. *Oliver Plunket*, titular Primate of *Ireland*, who was executed at *Tyburn* on *Friday* 1. *July*, 1681. Written with his own Hand. Printed by *N. Thompſon* 1681.

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the People of *England*. This made the King deſcend to an Apology for himſelf, in an Appeal to the World, by a Royal *Declaration of the Cauſes and Reaſons that moved his Majeſty to diſſolve the two laſt Parliaments.* And on *April* 8. 1681. *it was Ordered by his Majeſty in Council, That the ſaid Declaration be forthwith printed and publiſh'd, and read in all Churches and Chapels throughout this Kingdom.* The Clergy paid a chearful Compliance to the reading of it, [a] and thereby gave Offence to ſome of their Patrons, and to many of the People.

His Majeſty's Declaration *to all his loving Subjects, touching the Cauſes and Reaſons that moved him to diſſolve the two laſt Parliaments.*

Declaration of Reaſons for diſſolving the two laſt Parliaments.

"IT was with exceeding great Trouble, that we "were brought to the diſſolving of the two "laſt Parliaments, without more Benefit to our "People by the calling of them: But having done "our Part, in giving ſo many Opportunities of pro- "viding for their good, it cannot be juſtly imputed "to us, that the Succeſs hath not anſwer'd our Ex- "pectation.

"We cannot at this time but take Notice of the "particular Cauſes of our diſſatisfaction, which at "the beginning of the laſt Parliament we did re- "commend to their Care to avoid, and expected "we ſhould have had no new Cauſe to remember "them.

"We open'd the laſt Parliament, which was "held at *Weſtminſter*, with as gracious Expreſſions "of our readineſs to ſatiſfie the Deſires of our good "Subjects, and to ſecure them againſt all their juſt "Fears, as the weighty Conſideration, either of "preſerving the eſtabliſh'd Religion, and the Li- "berty and Property of our Subjects at home, or "of ſupporting our Neighbours and Allies abroad, "could fill our Hearts with, or poſſibly require "from us.

"And we do ſolemnly declare, That we did in- "tend, as far as would have conſiſted with the "very Being of the Government, to have comply'd "with any thing that could have been propos'd to "us, to accompliſh thoſe Ends.

"We ask'd of them the ſupporting the Alliances "we had made for the Preſervation of the general "Peace in Chriſtendom; we recommended to "them the further Examination of the Plot; we "deſir'd their Advice and Aſſiſtance concerning the "Preſervation of *Tangier*; we offer'd to concur in "any Remedies that could be propos'd for the Se- "curity of the Proteſtant Religion, that might con- "ſiſt with preſerving of the Succeſſion of the "Crown in its due and legal courſe of deſcent. To "all which we met with moſt unſuitable Returns "from the Houſe of Commons: Addreſſes, in the "nature of Remonſtrances, rather than of Anſwers; "Arbitrary Orders for taking our Subjects into Cu- "ſtody, for Matters that had no relation to Privi- "leges of Parliament; ſtrange illegal Votes, de- "claring divers eminent Perſons to be Enemies to "the King and Kingdom, without any Order or "Proceſs of Law, any hearing of their Defence, "or any Proof ſo much as offer'd againſt them.

"Beſides theſe Proceedings they Voted as follow- "eth, on the 7th of *January* laſt.

"Reſolved, *That whoſoever ſhall lend, or cauſe to "be lent, by way of advance, any Money upon the "Branches of the King's Revenue, ariſing by Cuſtoms, "Exciſe, or Hearth-Money, ſhall be adjudged to hin- "der the ſitting of Parliaments, and ſhall be reſponſi- "ble for the ſame in Parliament.*

"Reſolved, *That whoſoever ſhall buy any Tally, "or Anticipation, upon any part of the King's Reve- "nue; or whoſoever ſhall pay any ſuch Tally hereafter "to be ſtruck, ſhall be adjudged to hinder the ſitting of "Parliaments, and ſhall be reſponſible for the ſame in "Parliament.*

"Which Votes, inſtead of giving us Aſſiſt- "ance to ſupport our Allies, or enable us to pre- "ſerve *Tangier*, tended rather to diſable us from "contributing towards either, by our own Reve- "nue or Credit; not only expoſing us to all "Dangers that might happen either at home or "abroad, but endeavouring to deprive us of the "poſſibility of ſupporting the Government it ſelf, "and to reduce us to a more helpleſs Condition "than the meaneſt of our Subjects.

"And on the 10th of the ſame Month they paſs'd "another Vote, in theſe Words:

"Reſolved, *That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, "That the proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters upon "the Penal Laws, is at this time grievous to the Sub- "ject, a weakening of the Proteſtant Intereſt, an en- "couragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace "of the Kingdom.*

"By which Vote, without any regard to the "Laws eſtabliſh'd, they aſſum'd to themſelves a "Power of ſuſpending Acts of Parliament. Where- "as our Judges and Miniſters of Juſtice, neither can, "nor ought, in reverence to the Votes of either "or both the Houſes, break the Oaths they have "taken, for the due and impartial execution of "our Laws; which by Experience hath been "found to be the beſt Support, both of the Pro- "teſtant Intereſt, and of the Peace of the King- "dom.

"Theſe were ſome of the unwarrantable Pro- "ceedings of that Houſe of Commons, which were "the occaſion of our parting with that Parlia- "ment.

"Which we had no ſooner diſſolv'd, but we "caus'd another to be forthwith aſſembled at *Ox- "ford*; at the opening of which we thought it ne- "ceſſary to give them warning of the Errors of the "former, in hopes to have prevented the like Miſ- "carriages; and we requir'd of them to make the "Laws of the Land their Rule, as we did, and do "reſolve they ſhall be ours. We further added, That "what we had formerly and ſo often declared con- "cerning the Succeſſion, we would not depart "from; but to remove all reaſonable Fears that "might ariſe from the poſſibility of a Popiſh Suc- "ceſſor's coming to the Crown, if means could be "found, that in ſuch a Caſe, the Adminiſtration "of the Government might remain in Proteſtant "Hands, we were ready to hearken to any Expe- "dient, by which the Religion Eſtabliſh'd might "be preſerv'd, and the Monarchy not deſtroy'd.

"But, contrary to our Offers and Expectation, "we ſaw, that no Expedient would be entertain'd, "but that of a total Excluſion, which we had ſo "often declar'd, was a Point, that in our own "Royal Judgment, ſo nearly concern'd us, both "in Honour, Juſtice, and Conſcience, that we "could never conſent to it. In ſhort, we cannot, "after the ſad Experience we have had of the late "Civil Wars, that murder'd our Father (of Bleſ- "ſed Memory,) and ruin'd the Monarchy, conſent "to a Law, that ſhall eſtabliſh another moſt "unnatural War, or at leaſt make it neceſſary "to maintain a ſtanding Force, for the Preſer- "ving the Government, and the Peace of the "Kingdom.

[a] There was a Letter of the King to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. —— Our Will and Pleaſure is, that forthwith you give ſuch Directions as have been uſual in like Caſes, or as you ſhall judge moſt expedient and requiſite in this, for the reading of our ſaid Declaration in [illegible]nd every the Churches and Chapels, &c. Given this ele[illegible] of *April*, 1681. MS. *Collect. Lambeth.*

"And

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"And we have reaſon to believe, by what paſs'd "in the laſt Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, that if we "could have been brought to give our Conſent to "a Bill of *Excluſion*; the Intent was not to reſt "there, but to paſs further, and to attempt ſome o-"ther great and important Changes, even in the "preſent.

"The Buſineſs of *Fitz-Harris*, who was im-"peach'd by the Houſe of Commons of High-"Treaſon, and by the Houſe of Lords referr'd to "the ordinary Courſe of Law, was on the ſudden "carry'd on to that Extremity, by the Votes which "the Commons paſs'd on the 26th of *March* laſt, "that there was no Poſſibility left of a Reconci-"liation.

"The Votes were theſe:

"*Die Sabbati 26 Martii, poſt Meridiem.*

"Reſolved, *That it is the undoubted Right of the* "*Commons in Parliament aſſembled to impeach be-*"*fore the Lords in Parliament any Peer or Commo-*"*ner for Treaſon, or any other Crime or Miſdemea-*"*nor; and that the Refuſal of the Lords to proceed* "*in Parliament upon ſuch Impeachment, is a Denial* "*of Juſtice, and a Violation of the Conſtitution of* "*Parliaments.*

"Reſolved, *That in the Caſe of* Edward Fitz-"Harris, *who by the Commons hath been impeached* "*of High Treaſon before the Lords, with a Decla-*"*ration, That in convenient Time they would bring up* "*the Articles againſt him, for the Lords to reſolve,* "*That the ſaid* Fitz-Harris *ſhould be proceeded with* "*according to the Courſe of Common-Law, and not* "*by way of Impeachment at this time, is a Denial of* "*Juſtice, and a Violation of the Conſtitution of Par-*"*liaments, and an Obſtruction to the further Diſco-*"*very of the Popiſh Plot, and of great Danger to* "*his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion.*

"Reſolved, *That for any inferior Court to pro-*"*ceed againſt* Edward Fitz-Harris, *or any other* "*Perſon lying under an Impeachment in Parliament,* "*for the ſame Crimes for which he or they ſtand im-*"*peach'd, is a high Breach of the Privilege of Par-*"*liament.*

"It was a Matter extremely ſenſible to us, to "find an Impeachment made uſe of to delay a Tryal "that we had directed againſt a profeſs'd Papiſt, "charg'd with Treaſons againſt us, of an extraor-"dinary Nature: And certainly the Houſe of Peers "did themſelves Right, in refuſing to give Coun-"tenance to ſuch a Proceeding.

"But when either of the Houſes are ſo far tranſ-"ported, as to vote the Proceedings of the other "to be a Denial of Juſtice, a Violation of the Con-"ſtitution of Parliaments, of Danger to our Perſon "and the Proteſtant Religion, without Conferences "firſt had to examine upon what Grounds ſuch "Proceedings were made, and how far they might "be juſtify'd. This puts the two Houſes out of "capacity of tranſacting Buſineſs together, and "conſequently is the greateſt Violation of the Con-"ſtitution of Parliaments.

"This was the Caſe; and every Day's Continu-"ance being like to produce new Inſtances of fur-"ther Heat and Anger between the two Houſes, to "the Diſappointment of all publick Ends for which "they were call'd, we found it neceſſary to put an "End to this Parliament likewiſe.

"But notwithſtanding all this, let not the reſt-"leſs Malice of ill Men, who are labouring to poi-"ſon our People, ſome out of Fondneſs of their "old beloved Commonwealth Principles, and ſome "out of Anger at their being diſappointed in the "particular Deſigns they had for the Accompliſh-"ment of their own Ambition and Greatneſs, per-"ſuade any of [illegible] good Subjects that we intend to "lay aſide the [illegible] of Parliaments: For we do ſtill

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"declare, that no Irregularities in Parliaments ſhall "ever make us out of love with Parliaments, which "we look upon as the beſt Method for healing the "Diſtempers of the Kingdom, and the only Means "to preſerve the Monarchy in that due Credit and "Reſpect which it ought to have both at Home "and Abroad.

"And for this Cauſe we are reſolved, by the "Bleſſing of God, to have frequent Parliaments, "and both in and out of Parliament to uſe our ut-"moſt Endeavours to extirpate Popery, and to re-"dreſs all the Grievances of our good Subjects, and "in all things to govern according to the Laws of "the Kingdom.

"And we hope, that a little Time will ſo far "open the Eyes of all our good Subjects, that our "next Meeting in Parliament ſhall perfect all that "Settlement and Peace which ſhall be found want-"ing either in Church or State.

"To which, as we ſhall contribute our utmoſt "Endeavours, ſo we aſſure our ſelf, that we ſhall "be aſſiſted therein by the Loyalty and good Affe-"ctions of all thoſe who conſider the Riſe and Pro-"greſs of the late Troubles and Confuſions, and "deſire to preſerve their Country from a Relapſe.

"And who cannot but remember, that Religion, "Liberty and Property, were all loſt and gone, "when the Monarchy was ſhaken off, and could "never be reviv'd till that was reſtored.

This *Declaration*, however ſmooth and fair, was by no means popular. Some thought it nothing but a Torrent of Words: Others had a worſe Opi-nion of it, as a Stretch of Prerogative, and a pro-feſs'd Inſult upon the late Members of both Houſes. Many queſtion'd the Validity of it. Sir *William Jones*, in his juſt and modeſt Vindication of the two laſt Parliaments, plainly ſays, That though the King did not communicate this Paper to the Council till *Friday* the 8th of *April*; yet M. *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, read it over three Days before, and de-manded of a Gentleman there his Opinion of it: Which M. *Barillon* might the better remember, be-cauſe of the great Liberty the Gentleman took to ridicule it to his Face. Not acceptable to the People.

It is certain that his Majeſty had taken great Offence at the *Oxford* Parliament for the particular Zeal of the People in many of their Elections, and for the particular Reſpect paid the Members of the City of *London*, in a great Retinue waiting on them, &c. Of this number of Attendants was one *Stephen Colledge*, commonly known by the Name of the *Proteſtant Joiner*, a buſy Man, and a great Zealot againſt Popery, who went down to *Oxford*, and there ſpoke Words, and recited Rhimes, that were ſaid to reflect upon the King. This Mecha-nick was to be made an Example of meddling with Politicks; ſo an Indictment of High Treaſon was exhibited againſt him to the Grand Jury of *Middle-ſex*; but the Jury return'd an *Ignoramus* upon it. For which Mr. *Wilmore* (the Fore-man) was, out of all Courſe of Law, apprehended and examined before the Council *Aug.* 16. and ſent to the *Tower*, and was afterwards forc'd to fly beyond the Seas. When the Deſign had thus miſcarry'd in *London*, they laid a new Scene againſt this Offender at *Ox-ford*, where they hoped to find a more pliable Grand Jury: And to make ſure that the Bill might not a ſecond time miſcarry, the Witneſſes were ſent down Poſt to the Aſſizes, and by ſecret Management were privately ſhut up with the Jury till they had found the Bill; which was afterwards complain'd of as an intolerable Practice. As ſoon as the Bill was found againſt him, a Jailer and a Meſſenger were ſent a-way to hurry him down to his Tryal, who, by Or-der of the King's Council, took from him all his Inſtructions for his Defence, and carry'd them to the Council, for them only to make their Uſe and Advantage of 'em. This way of Procedure was thought Case of Mr. Stephen Colledge.

1680. thought to be very harſh and illegal; yet the poor
32 *Car.* II. Man, under theſe ſevere Circumſtances, was not wanting to himſelf, but ſtoutly made his Defence; and, as Sir *John Hawles* obſerves upon that Tryal, the *beſt Defence, all Circumſtances conſider'd, that ever Man made for his Life* [a]. But indeed it ſeem'd to be a Matter reſolv'd upon *Above*, He muſt die; and ſo he was, *Aug.* 18. found guilty of High Treaſon, and on the 31ſt of the ſame Month executed in the *Caſtle-Yard.*

Caſe of the Earl of *Shaftſbury.*

It was propoſed to make an Example of a Peer, as well as of a poor Commoner. My Lord *Shaftſbury* was a Perſon moſt odious to the Court, and the more ſo, becauſe his Lordſhip (with ſeveral other Peers) had entred a Proteſtation againſt the Lords rejecting the Impeachment of *Fitz-Harris*; and upon the Diſſolution of the Parliament, return'd immediately to *London*, as if he intended there to influence the City againſt the Court. Soon after his Return, one *Bryan Hans* came to him, and aſſur'd him, he could give great Light in the Matter of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfry*'s Murder [b], if he might have his Pardon. The Earl endeavoured to get one, but it could not be obtained. *Hans* being taken and carry'd before the Council, hoped to get Favour, by accuſing the Earl of attempting to ſuborn him to do it; and on the Information of this *Iriſh* Evidence, the Lord *Shaftsbury* was apprehended at his Houſe in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, and on the 2d of *July* committed to the *Tower* for High Treaſon; and Capt. *Wilkinſon*, who had waited on the Earl to *Oxford* (among other Friends and Followers) was now tempted to charge this upon his Lordſhip, as a Deſign of Sedition and Treaſon: But *Wilkinſon*, tho' a Priſoner for Debt in the *King's-Bench*, reſiſted all their Temptations and Offers, and would not be drawn in to be an Evidence. The Earl, after his Commitment, preſented ſeveral Petitions for a Tryal, or Bail, according to the *Habeas Corpus* Act; but he could not be heard till *November* 24. and then a Bill of High Treaſon was preferred to the Grand-Jury at the Seſſions-Houſe in the *Old-Bailey.* Mr. *Blaithwate* and Mr. *Guynne* ſwore, that the Papers produced in Court were taken in the Lord *Shaftſbury*'s Houſe: And Sir *Leoline Jenkins* depoſed, that one of them, which was a Project of an *Aſſociation*, was the ſame Paper, unalter'd, that Mr. *Blaithwate* gave him. But *this Writing* (ſaith Sir *John Hawles*) *was no manner of Evidence of Treaſon, admitting what the Witneſſes ſwore, as to the finding of it, to be true; becauſe it was not proved that it was compos'd or proſecuted by the Earl of* Shaftsbury, *or by his Order.* Two *Macknamarra*'s and one *Booth*, ſwore that Capt. *Wilkinſon* was to have been Captain of a Troop of Horſe in the Army which the Lord *Shaftsbury* was to raiſe. One *Turbervile* ſwore, that the Lord *Shaftsbury* ſaid about *February* laſt, that *there was little Good to be done to the King as long as his Guards were about him.* One *Smith* gave Evidence, that the Earl ſhould ſay, *If the King ſhould offer any Violence to the Parliament at* Oxford, *he would meet with a ſtrong Oppoſition.* And one *Haynes* ſwore to theſe Words ſpoken by the Earl [c], *The Duke of* Buckingham *has as much Right to the Crown as any* Stewart *in* England. But the Jury (of whom Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton* was Fore-man) conſider'd of the Depoſitions of Capt. *Wilkinſon*, made before the King, giving a large Account of the Intrigue carry'd on by *Booth*, to engage him to be an Evidence againſt the Earl; and knew *Booth* to be a Fellow of infamous Character, who had been condemn'd for Clipping and Coining: Nor had they reaſon to believe any thing ſaid by *Turbervile*, *Smith*, or *Haynes*; and there was ſo much of their Falſhoods and of their Deſigns to perjure themſelves, prov'd againſt them in *Colledge*'s Tryal, that they therefore brought in an *Ignoramus.* Upon which Sir *John Hawles* makes this Remark; *The Grand-Jury (though ſome of them afterwards ſmarted for it, upon other Pretences) did like honeſt, underſtanding Gentlemen: And had they done otherwiſe, to avoid the Ignominy of being call'd (though in truth it was an Honour to be)* an Ignoramus-Jury, *they had juſtly deſerv'd the Reproach which ſince has lighted on other Juries, ſuch as Mr.* Corniſh's, *and the like.* The People were generally ſo well ſatisfy'd, that the Spite of the Papiſts was grounded on the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s apparent Zeal for the Religion and Liberties, that they publickly rejoyced in his Deliverance, and made Bonfires that Evening in ſeveral Parts of the City. *Graham* (who was the Solicitor againſt him, and had managed the *Iriſh* Evidence) had much a-doe to eſcape the Fury of the Multitude; and the Judges (as they themſelves confeſs'd in *Graham*'s Tryal) were affronted as they ſate on the Bench. The Earl being clear'd by the Grand-Jury, mov'd to be diſcharg'd, but could not obtain it till the End of the next Term. When he was at Liberty, he proſecuted *Graham* and his Accuſers, as his Declaration ſets forth, *for conſpiring to indict him of High Treaſon, for which they ſolicited* Wilkinſon *to give Falſe-Teſtimony againſt the ſaid Earl,* &c. The *Defendants* mov'd that they might not be try'd in *London*, becauſe the Sheriffs, Mr. *Pilkington* and Mr. *Shute*, were the Lord *Shaftſbury*'s Friends. The Judges allow'd their Plea; but the Earl would not try his Cauſe elſewhere.

In the mean time, by the Encouragement and

[a] See the Speech and Carriage of *Stephen Colledge* at *Oxford*, before the Caſtle, on *Wedneſday Aug.* 31, 1681. taken exactly from his own Mouth at the Place of Execution. *London*, 1681. *Fol.* —— I was ever a Proteſtant; I was born ſo; I have lived ſo, and ſo, by the Grace of God, I will die of the Church of *England.* —— I know of no Plot in the World but the Popiſh Plot, *&c.*

[b] There is a Printed Sheet, entitul'd *A Brief Account of the Deſigns which the Papiſts have had againſt the Earl of* Shaftſbury, occaſioned by his Commitment *July* 2, 1681. grievouſly complaining of the Court and Clergy. —— And conceiving the Eccleſiaſticks in a more implicite Obedience to them, and that they have leſs Honour to loſe than others, they muſter'd up as much as they could the whole Poſſe of the Clergy to reproach and defame him. And as if it had been of more Conſequence to ſink and eclipſe the Credit of this Peer, than to gain or convert Souls to God, the Pulpits, inſtead of commending *Jeſus Chriſt* to the Conſciences of Men, were employ'd thro' all Parts of the Nation in blaſting the Earl of *Shaftſbury.*

[c] The Reverend Mr. *Sam. Johnſon* writes thus in his *Notes on the Paſtoral Letter.* A noble Peer, who was very much out at Court, not for the Court Drudgery he had done, but becauſe he would do no more, tho' of Courſe he was very ungratefully loaded by themſelves for what he had done, was now accus'd by the ſuborn'd perjur'd *Iriſh* Court Witneſſes of an *Oxford* Plot. —— In ſhort, there never was more foul Play from the Beginning of the World, than was in the Proſecution of my Lord *Shaftſbury* for an *Oxford* Plot, and in the Practice of Subornation upon Capt. *Wilkinſon*, to put a Force upon him to ſwear againſt that Lord, and in the Conſequence of it againſt a vaſt number of the beſt Men in *England.* For the Captain was brought to a Dilemma, and was plac'd juſt in the midſt betwixt Chancellor *Finch*'s two ſorts of Advancement, which with as much Wit as Honeſty he put the Captain in mind of at that Time: For he was either to accept of a great Sum of Money, or the Duke of *York*'s five hundred Pounds a Year Land, to ſwear againſt my Lord *Shaftſbury*, or elſe to be hang'd himſelf before my Lord *Shaftſbury*, with which Chancellor *Finch* threatned him: But the brave old Soldier was Proof againſt both, for he abhorr'd the Wages of Unrighteouſneſs and the Price of Blood.

[c] The Reverend Mr. *Samuel Johnſon* wrote thus of him in his *Notes on the Paſtoral Letter.* "I have not forgot my "Preacher, who ſaid, that *Judgment began at the Houſe of* "*God* when the Biſhops were in the *Tower*: Whereas I know "that it began at the Houſe of God when *Stephen Colledge* was "murder'd, who ſuffered more for the Proteſtant Religion "and his Country, than all the Biſhops either in or out of the "*Tower*, and than the whole Clergy of *England* put toge"ther, and left a Dying-Speech, which outweighs their "Sermons. —— And yet when he was ſent down to the *Oxford* "Slaughter-Houſe to be deſtroyed, becauſe it could not be "done here at *London*, I remember ſeveral of the Clergy "play'd with his Death, and were very much pleas'd that "they had one *Colledge* more in their Univerſity.

Solicitations

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Solicitations of the Court, a multitude of *Addreſſes* were brought up to the King, to thank him for his late *Declaration*, and for his maintaining the Succeſſion in the right Line; with ſome Complements and Flouriſhes, that gave no Reputation to this new way of Addreſſing, when it did not ſo much prove the Affections of the People, as it really betray'd the Inclinations of the Court.

The Duke of *York* was all this while in *Scotland* as his Majeſty's High-Commiſſioner, and found there an obſequious Parliament, who being firſt amuſed with *An Act ratifying all former Laws for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion*; fell readily into another *Act, acknowledging and aſſerting the Right of Succeſſion to the Imperial Crown of* Scotland, wherein they declare, *That no difference in Religion, nor no Law, nor Act of Parliament made or to be made, can alter or divert the Right of Succeſſion and Lineal Deſcent of the Crown to the neareſt and lawful Heirs.* After which, they made another *Act for a Standing Army*, under the Title of *An Act for continuing the Supply for the maintaining his Majeſty's additional Standing Forces for five Years longer:* And concluded with another *Act for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion againſt Popery and Fanaticiſm.* The Earl of *Argyle* mov'd in Parliament for a Security againſt a *Popiſh Succeſſor*; for which he could not be forgiven. He was immediately committed, and ſoon after proſecuted, under a pretence of having put his own Senſe and Interpretation upon the *Teſt* when he took it; and he was upon this trivial Account found guilty of High Treaſon, and muſt have then ſuffer'd, if he had not made a ſhift to eſcape his Deſtiny at that time, by exchanging Cloaths with his Daughter, and ſo getting privately out of *Edinburgh-Caſtle*, and flying beyond the Seas, from whence he return'd too ſoon, and brought back his own Deſtruction with him.

Caſe of the Earl of *Argyle*.

Honours and Preferments.

As to Honours and Preferments: On *April* 7. *Charles* Duke of *Richmond* was elected a Knight-Companion of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*, in a Chapter held at *Whitehall*, and was inſtalled with uſual Ceremonies on *April* 18. At the Beginning of *Eaſter-Term* his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute Sir *Francis Pemberton*, Kt. Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the Court of *King's-Bench*; who having received his Commiſſion, and taken the Oaths, was on *April* 13. brought by the Lord-Chancellor to pay his Duty to his Majeſty, by whom he was moſt graciouſly receiv'd, ſuitable to the Opinion his Majeſty had of his great Integrity, Loyalty, and Knowledge of the Laws. On *April* 19. his Majeſty having appointed *Thomas Dereham* Eſq; to be his Reſident at the Court of the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, was pleas'd to confer upon him the Honour of Knighthood. On *April* 27. his Majeſty was pleaſed, in conſideration of the faithful Services perform'd by the Right Honourable *Lawrence Hyde* Eſq; firſt Commiſſioner of his Majeſty's Treaſury, in that and other Employments of eminent Truſts, to create him Viſcount *Hyde* of *Kennelworth*, and Baron of *Wooton-Baſſet*. On *May* 14. his Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd to confer upon the Right Honourable *Heneage* Lord *Finch*, Lord-Chancellor of *England* (as a Mark of the great Satisfaction his Majeſty had in the many faithful Services which his Lordſhip had rendred the Crown) the Honour and Dignity of an Earl of this Kingdom, by creating him Earl of *Nottingham*. In *July* his Majeſty being deſirous to place a laſting Mark of his Eſteem upon the Family of Sir *George Carteret* Kt. and Bart. late Vice-Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, as well for the long and loyal Services of the ſaid Sir *George* at Home and Abroad, as for the Merit of his Son Sir *Philip Carteret*, who loſt his Life in [illegible] Majeſty's Service at Sea, was graciouſly pleas'd [illegible] create Sir *George Carteret* Bart. (eldeſt Son to the [illegible] Sir *Philip*, and Grandſon and Heir of the afore[illegible] Sir *George*) a Baron of *England*, by the Name of Baron *Carteret* of *Hawnes* in the County of *Bedford*. On *Aug* 3. his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Chriſtopher Buckle* of *Surrey* Eſq;. Sir *Samuel Morland* had invented an Engine, which, with the Strength of eight Men, would force the Water in a continual Stream, at the rate of above ſixty Barrels an Hour, from the River *Thames* up to the Top of *Windſor-Caſtle*, and from thence into the Air above ſixty Foot high. This Experiment often repeated, gave ſo much Pleaſure and Admiration to the King, that on *Auguſt* 14. he ſent for Sir *Samuel Morland*, and in the Preſence of Prince *Rupert*, and many of the Nobility, declar'd, that he was highly ſatisfy'd with all the late Experiments and extraordinary Effects of Sir *Samuel*'s New Water-Engine; and therefore, as an Earneſt of his particular Grace and Favour, gave him with his own Royal Hand, and commanded him to wear it on his Breaſt, as a Mark of Honour, during his Life, a fair Medal of Gold, faſten'd to a Green Ribbon; on the one Side of which Medal was his Majeſty's Effigies, ſet round with Diamonds of a conſiderable Value; and on the other Side the following Inſcription, CAROLO II°. *Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Regi, Samuel Morlandus Eques Auratus & Baronettus,* Magiſter Mechanicorum, *In rebus adverſis ſummo vitæ periculo, In proſperis fœlici Ingenio frequens adfuit.* After which, the Lord-Chamberlain (by his Majeſty's Order) cauſed him to be ſworn *Maſter of the Mechanicks*, and the Inſcription on the Medal to be regiſter'd in the great Parchment Roll of the Office. On *Septemb.* 6. his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on *George Raynsford* of *Lincolns-Inn* Eſq; Son to the late Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Raynsford*.

Election of Sheriffs for *London* and *Middleſex*.

Upon Occaſion of the *Ignoramus-Juries*, the Court-Party concern'd themſelves extremely much in the Election of new Sheriffs: But the Citizens, who thought their Liberties and Lives did depend upon it, choſe Mr. *Pilkington* and Mr. *Shute*, by a very great Majority. The King was reſolved to expreſs his Diſpleaſure at it; and therefore, when on *Octob.* 13. Sir *George Treby* Recorder, and theſe two Sheriffs, were ſent to invite his Majeſty, in the Name of the City, to do them the Honour of Dining at *Guild-Hall* on the 28th: His Majeſty gave them this Rebuke; *Mr. Recorder, An Invitation from my Lord-Mayor and the City is very acceptable to Me; and to ſhew that it is ſo, notwithſtanding that it is brought by Meſſengers that are ſo unwelcome to me as theſe two Sheriffs are, yet I accept it.* His Majeſty had before condeſcended to a meaner thing, by diſtinguiſhing the loyal Apprentices of *London*, and giving a Brace of Bucks for a Dinner at *Sadlers-Hall* on *Auguſt* 4. and ſending many of his principal Courtiers to Dine with them, and directing his Son, the Duke of *Grafton*, to be one of the Stewards for another Year: All which was thought no leſs than to encourage Servants to oppoſe their Maſters.

Honours and Preferments.

On *November* 6. his Majeſty Knighted Major *George Vernon* of *Farnham* in the County of *Surrey*, for the Loyalty and Affection with which he had on all Occaſions promoted the Service of his Majeſty. On *Decemb.* 30. his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute his Grace the Duke of *Grafton* Colonel of his firſt Regiment of Foot-Guards, in the room of Colonel *Ruſſel*, who had, with his Majeſty's Leave, reſigned that Command. On *March* 3. *George Legg* Eſq; Maſter-General of the Ordnance, was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council. On *March* 16. his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on *John Knight* Eſq; one of the Sheriffs of *Briſtol*, and was pleas'd to declare, that it was in conſideration of his known Loyalty, and conſtant Adherence to the Church of *England*, and Intereſt of the Crown.

Lady *Anne* goes to *Scotland*.

The Lady *Anne*, in a dutiful Reſpect to her Father,

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ther, paid him a Viſit this Summer in *Scotland*, going by Sea, and attended by three of his Majeſty's Yachts, and arriv'd ſafe in *Scotland* on *July* 19. The Prince of *Orange* came over to make another Viſit to the *Engliſh* Court; and Landing at *Margate*, came Poſt to *Whitehall* on *July* 23. and having Din'd with Sir *Stephen Fox*, went that Night to *Windſor*; and after ſome Diverſions, went back to *Harwich* on *Friday Aug.* 5. to imbark there for *Holland*.

Duke of *York* returns.

The Duke of *York* return'd from *Scotland* in one of his Majeſty's Yachts, and Landed at *Yarmouth* on *March* 10, and went that Night to *Norwich*, where his Reception was contriv'd to be with great Demonſtrations of Joy. The Picture of his Royal Highneſs in *Guildhall* had been cut and defaced by ſome unknown Hand: The Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen, to take off the Imputation from the City, by a ſolemn Order, dated *Jan.* 27. declared their Abhorrence of this Indignity, which, they ſay, cannot be underſtood otherwiſe than an effect of Malice againſt the Perſon of his Royal Highneſs; and therefore, out of a juſt and due Regard to the Honour of his Royal Highneſs, and their deep Reſentment of that inſolent and villainous Act, they offer a Reward of five hundred Pounds for finding out the Author of it.

Murther of *Thomas Thynne* Eſq;

On *Sunday*, *Febr.* 12. between ſeven and eight at Night, a barbarous Aſſaſſination was committed upon the Perſon of *Thomas Thynne*, Eſq; who paſſing the *Pall-Mall* in his Coach, was ſet upon by three Men on Horſe-back, one of which diſcharg'd a Muſquetoon into the Coach, and mortally wounded him, four Bullets entring his Body; and having perform'd this piece of Villany, made their eſcape. His Majeſty having been inform'd of what had happen'd, was pleas'd to give immediate Orders for the ſtopping all Perſons that could not give a good Account of themſelves in the ſeveral Ports; and for the making diligent ſearch here in Town, in order to the diſcovering the Aſſaſſines. The diligence of thoſe that made the Search, was ſo ſucceſsful, that upon ſome Information that was given them, they traced the Murtherers to their ſeveral Lodgings, and there apprehended them, and brought them on *Monday* Morning before the Council, (which was extraordinarily aſſembled for that purpoſe:) The chief of them being call'd in, readily confeſs'd the whole Fact, ſaid his Name was *Vratz*, that he was a *German*, and a Captain of Foot; that he had accompany'd Count *Charles-John Coningſmark* in his Travels, and came with him into *England*; that the Friendſhip and Acquaintance he had with him, and the Favours he had received from his Family, had made him take very much to Heart the Affronts which Mr. *Thynne* had put upon the Count, by his Diſcourſes and otherwiſe, and therefore reſolv'd to take Satisfaction of him; and being inform'd on *Sunday*, that Mr. *Thynne* was was gone abroad in his Coach, he took Horſe, with a Friend, and Servant of his own, who was provided with a Muſquetoon, being themſelves armed with Swords and Piſtols: That meeting Mr. *Thynne*'s Coach in the *Pall-Mall*, he rode up to it, and bid the Coachman Stand, intending to fight Mr. *Thynne*; but that his Servant, who was a *Polander*, not rightly apprehending what he ſaid, diſcharg'd his Muſquetoon upon Mr. *Thynne*; whereupon they made their eſcape. Mr. *Thynne* died on *Monday* about ſix in the Morning. On *Sunday*, *Feb.* 19, about eight at Night, Count *Charles-John Coningſmark* was taken as he landed at *Graveſend* in a Diſguiſe, intending to imbark on a Veſſel that was going out: He was next Morning brought to Town and Examin'd before his Majeſty in Council, who referr'd the Matter to the Lord-Chief-Juſtice, and his Lordſhip committed him Priſoner to *Newgate*, in order to his Tryal, at which he was with great difficulty acquitted of the Murther; while the other Actors, Captain *Vratz*, *John Sterne*, and *George Borotski*, were, according to a Sentence paſs'd on them at the *Old-Bailey*, executed on *March* 10. in the *Pall-Mall*, where they committed that barbarous Fact; and the Body of *George Borotski* (whoſe Hand did the Murther) was by his Majeſty's Command to be hung up in Chains.

Count *Coningſmark* acquitted.

State of Religion.

In Matters of Religion, great Offence had been taken at a new Expoſition of the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Creed*, and the *Ten Commandments*, written and publiſh'd by Mr. *Thomas Aſhenden*, Rector of *Dingley* in the County of *Northampton*, who was thereupon conven'd, and cenſur'd by his Ordinary; and on *Sunday*, *June* 5. he did publickly in the Cathedral-Church of *Peterborough* make this *Recantation*, at the time of Divine-Service, being enjoin'd thereto by the Right Reverend *William* Lord Biſhop of *Peterborough*, who was preſent, together with the Reverend Dean Dr. *Patrick*, ſome of the Prebendaries, and ſeveral Perſons of Quality.

Recantation of Mr. *Tho. Aſhenden*.

I Thomas Aſhenden, *being deeply ſenſible of the foul Diſhonour I have done to our moſt Holy Religion, and the great Scandal I have given, by a late prophane Abuſe of the* Lord's-Prayer, *the* Creed, *and the* Ten Commandments, *which I wrote, and cauſed to be publiſh'd; do here, in the Preſence of God, and of his Miniſters, and of this Congregation, moſt heartily bewail with unfeigned Sorrow both that notorious Offence, and alſo all my other Sins which betray'd me unto it; moſt humbly begging Forgiveneſs of God, and of his Church, whoſe heavieſt Cenſures I have juſtly deſerved. And as I earneſtly deſire that none of my Brethren (much leſs our Holy Function, or the Church) may be the worſe thought of by any, by reaſon of my Miſcarriages; ſo I do faithfully promiſe, by God's Grace, to endeavour to behave my ſelf hereafter ſo religiouſly in my Place and Calling, that I may not be any more a Diſcredit to them. In which Reſolution that I may perſiſt, I beg and implore the Aſſiſtance of all your Prayers; and deſire withal, that this my Retractation, and ſincere Profeſſion of Repentance, may be made as publick as my Crimes have been, that none may be tempted hereafter to do Evil by my Example.*

Condition of the *Diſſenters.*

The *Diſſenters* were now odious to the Court, not as Separatiſts from the Church, but as Enemies to the State, and eſpecially to the Duke's Succeſſion[a]. And the *Church-men* were more acceptable to the King, not as Members of a true Communion, but as the Promoters of Royal Prerogative, and Supporters of the Intereſt of his Royal Highneſs. Under this unhappy Way of diſtinguiſhing *Whigs* and *Tories*, the former were ſo much ſuſpected by the Government, that it would not truſt them upon common Juries, becauſe of the late Returns of *Ignoramus*, which they thought chiefly owing to that Party. Upon this Account, a very ſtrange

[a] See a Declaration of the Juſtices of Peace at a Quarter-Seſſions for the County of *Middleſex*, held at *Hicks*'s *Hall* on *Friday Octob.* 14. 33. *Car.* II. 1681. declaring, that all Licenſes ſhall be taken away from the Keepers of Publick Houſes, who ſhall not go to their Pariſh-Church and receive the Sacrament there; and that Church-Wardens, and Overſeers of the Poor ſhall diſpoſe of no Money to thoſe who go to Conventicles; and that fitting Perſons ſhall be appointed to proſecute all Offenders againſt the Statutes of 17. and 22. *Car.* II. againſt unlawful Conventicles. *Printed Sheet.*

Another Order of Seſſions for the County of *Middleſex*, held *Dec.* 22. 1681. for making a due Return of the Chriſtian and Surnames of Preachers in Conventicles, and the conſiderable Perſons who frequent the ſame. *Printed Sheet.*

A third Order of Seſſions for the County of *Middleſex Jan.* 13. 168½. for enforcing a former Order of *Dec.* 22. laſt paſt, and for deſiring the Biſhop of *London* that all ſuch Perſons may be excommunicated, who ſhall commit Crimes deſerving that Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, *&c.* *Printed Sheet.*

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Act of Partiality happened at the Seſſions at *Hicks*'s-*Hall* on *Aug.* 26. as will appear by this Account, tho' given by Authority, to palliate that Matter:

Caſe of a Grand-Jury.

" Whereas a Pannel was return'd by the Sheriff, of " the Number of fifty four Perſons, to ſerve of the " Grand-Jury for this County, very few of which, " if any, were known to the Juſtices of Peace on " the Bench, or the High-Conſtables of the Hun-" dreds, which induced the Juſtices to enquire af-" ter the Perſons ſo returned, and moſt of them " were found to be *Diſſenters*, who frequented " Conventicles, and ſeldom or never came to " Church: Whereupon the Juſtices thought fit, " according to the Power given to them by the " Statute of 3 *Hen.* VIII. to command the Sheriff " there preſent to put out ſome of the Pannel, and " put in others in their ſtead; which the Sheriff " refuſing at three ſeveral Commands to do, the " Juſtices, that the Service of the County might " not be obſtructed, did take fifteen of thoſe re-" turn'd by the Sheriff, and ſwore them to ſerve " for the Grand-Jury: But to the Intent they " might make the beſt Diſcovery they could of " the ſaid Perſons ſo ſworn, the Court thought fit " to tender them the Oaths of Allegiance and Su-" premacy, which they all took.

Addreſſes of Abhorrence.

His Majeſty took all Occaſions to expreſs his Satiſfaction in the Loyalty of thoſe Church-men who came with their *Addreſſes*, abhorring the *Aſſociation*, and declaring for the unalterable Right of *Succeſſion*; as particularly Dr. *Gower*, Maſter of St. *John*'s *College*, and Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, waited on his Majeſty at *New-Market* on *Septemb.* 18. and made a fine Speech in the Name of the Univerſity, of which this was the moſt pleaſing Part: " We will ſtill believe and maintain, " That our Kings derive not their Titles from the " People, but from God; that to him only they " are accountable; that it belongs not to Subjects " either to create or cenſure, but to honour and " obey their Sovereign, who comes to be ſo by a " Fundamental Hereditary Right of Succeſſion, " which no Religion, no Law, no Fault or For-" feiture can alter or diminiſh, *&c.*" To which his Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer; *That he was fully ſatisfy'd of the Loyalty of the Univerſity, and that he did not at all doubt but they would always act according to what they there declared.* His Majeſty likewiſe told them, *that he would conſtantly own and defend the Church of* England *as eſtabliſh'd by Law. This he bid them be aſſured of, for he would be as good as his Word, whatever Repreſentation either had or ſhould be made of him to the contrary.* Being farther pleas'd to add, *that there was no other Church in the World that taught and practis'd Loyalty ſo conſcientiouſly as that did.*

French Proteſtants reliev'd.

Upon the Perſecution of the *Proteſtants* in *France*, his Majeſty had a good Opportunity of pleaſing his own Proteſtant Subjects, by receiving and encouraging thoſe diſtreſſed Sufferers and Refugees [a]: And therefore on *Aug.* 28. his Majeſty was pleaſed in Council to declare, *That he held himſelf obliged, in Honour and Conſcience, to comfort and ſupport all ſuch afflicted Proteſtants, who by reaſon of the Rigours and Severities uſed toward them, upon account of their Religion, ſhould be forced to quit their native Country, and ſhould deſire to ſhelter themſelves under his Majeſty's Royal Protection, for the Preſervation and free Exerciſe of their Religion.* And in order hereunto, his Majeſty was pleas'd farther to declare, *That he will grant unto every ſuch diſtreſſed Proteſtant who ſhall come hither for Refuge, and reſide here, his Letters of* Denization, *under the Great-Seal, without any Charge whatſoever, and will likewiſe recommend it to his Parliament, at their next Meeting, to paſs an* Act *for the general* Naturalization *of all ſuch Proteſtants as ſhall come over, as aforeſaid,* &c. When a Suſpicion was raiſed, that many of theſe Exiles from *France* pretending to be *Proteſtants*, were really *French Papiſts*, and therefore dangerous Enemies in Diſguiſe: His Majeſty was pleas'd in Council to order, *Octob.* 19. that this following *Advertiſement* ſhould be publiſhed.

WHereas *ſeveral ſcandalous Reports are daily ſpread abroad, that a great part of thoſe who call themſelves Proteſtants, and are lately come from* France, *for Protection, into this Kingdom, are* Papiſts; *whereby many well-diſpoſed People are diſcouraged from contributing to the Relief of thoſe poor* Proteſtants *who have forſaken their Livelihoods and Country to preſerve a good Conſcience: Theſe are to give Notice, that all Care imaginable is taken by the Miniſters of the* French *Congregations, both at the* Savoy, *and in* London, *that according to his Majeſty's gracious* Declaration *made in Council on* July 28. 1681. *none be admitted into either of their Congregations, or receive any Benefit of the ſaid Collections, but ſuch as bring very good and authentick Teſtimonials of their being of the Proteſtant Religion, and of their receiving of the Holy Sacrament. And if any Perſon can detect any of thoſe who pretend to be fled hither for Religion, to be really* Papiſts [b]; *it is deſired that he give Information thereof to the Lord Biſhop of* London, *or to the Miniſters of the ſaid* French *Congregations.*

Proſecution of *Diſſenters.*

But while this Care was taken of Foreign Proteſtants, there was a vigorous Proſecution of the Proteſtant *Diſſenters* here at Home; which was generally thought a piece of Court-Artifice, to play the Church of *England* againſt the *Diſſenters*, and inrage the *Diſſenters* againſt the *Church* of *England*, that they might not unite and ſee their common Danger, but rather, by deſtroying one another, might make room for a third Party, that lay behind the Curtain and watch'd an Opportunity of the Duke's Succeſſion. The King, whoſe Principle and Practice (even againſt the Law) had been to indulge the *Diſſenters*, was now drawn in to be very ſolicitous for the rigorous Proſecution of them; the Juſtices of *Middleſex* were very forward to obey the Inſtructions of the Court, by putting the Laws in Execution againſt them, and contriv'd to have his Majeſty's expreſs Command for it: For at the Beginning of *December* they humbly repreſented to his Majeſty, " That an Intimation " of his Pleaſure was neceſſary at this time, as to " the putting the Laws in Execution againſt *Con-" venticles*, in regard that when it was lately given " them in Charge at the Council-Board, to put the " Laws in Execution againſt *Popiſh Recuſants*, " there was no mention made of ſuppreſſing *Con-" venticles*; and therefore it was pretended that " they were not to be diſturb'd or meddled with:" His Majeſty was pleas'd to take this Occaſion to command the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and the ſaid Juſtices of the Peace, " To uſe their ut-

[a] There had been an Order of Council *July* 21, 1681. for referring a Memorial preſented to his Majeſty in behalf of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants [illegible]broad, to the Conſideration of the Lords Committee o[illegible]is Board for Trade and Plantations.

[b] See the King's [illegible]ers Patents for a charitable Collection toward Relief of t[illegible]treſſed Proteſtants of *France*, whom his Majeſty looks up[illegible] not only as diſtreſſed Strangers, but chiefly as perſecuted [illegible]teſtants; who, by the great Hardſhips and Perſecutions which are brought upon them for the Sake of their Religion, have in great Numbers betaken themſelves unto this our Kingdom, *&c.* Given at *Weſtminſter* the 10th of *Sept.* in the 33d Year of our Reign.

See the ſolemn Thanks of the Miniſters and Church-wardens of the *French* Congregation in the *Savoy* to his Majeſty, for his gracious Declaration in favour of the *French* Proteſtants, dated *Octob.* 19. 1681. inſerted in the *Gazette.*

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"moſt Endeavours to ſuppreſs all Conventicles, "and unlawful Meetings, upon pretence of religious Worſhip: His Majeſty declaring, It is "his expreſs Pleaſure that the Laws be effectually "put in Execution againſt them, both in City and "Country.

Act of 35 *Eliz.* turn'd upon Proteſtant *Diſſenters.*

In theſe Proceedings it was thought the greater Hardſhip, that the *Act* of 35 *Eliz.* deſign'd againſt Popiſh Recuſants, which as ſoon as turn'd againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters, had a Bill of Repeal brought in the laſt *Weſtminſter* Parliament, was now rigorouſly executed [a] upon all manner of Nonconformiſts; which at this time gave a general Diſcontent, and occaſion'd ſome Reflections on the King that were very rude and violent, as particularly on *Novemb.* 16. Mr. *Frederick Harvey* was by Warrant of the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy-Council committed Priſoner to *Newgate* for High Treaſon, he having ſpoken divers treaſonable and dangerous Words againſt his Majeſty and the Government, viz. *That his Majeſty's conſenting to the tyrannical Proceedings of convicting Diſſenters, he did not queſtion but would make him* (meaning the King's Majeſty) *the Head ſhorter; and that he did admire the City did not ſecure him the laſt* Lord-Mayor's-Day, *when they had him there.*

Partiality to *Papiſts.*

That which made the *Diſſenters* the more pitied, was, that very great Partiality was ſhewn in protecting the *Papiſts* from thoſe Penal Laws, which had their Edge altogether turn'd upon the *Proteſtant Diſſenters.* This Partiality was ſo notorious, that at laſt a publick Complaint was made againſt the Deputy-Clerk of the Peace of the County of *Wilts*, for favouring certain Papiſts in that County, who were order'd to be proſecuted by the Seſſions, and yet were afterwards by him diſmiſs'd with Indemnity. Upon this formal Complaint, no leſs could be done than to bring up the ſaid Offender, by one of his Majeſty's Meſſengers, to the Council-Board, where (it is ſaid) *he receiv'd a ſevere Reprimand*; and that it was likewiſe recommended to the Juſtices of the Peace for that County, at their next Quarter-Seſſions, to proceed againſt him for ſuch Miſdemeanors as he ſhould be charged with.

Inſolence of the *Papiſts.*

This Countenance of the Court made the *Papiſts* not only ſafe, but extremely inſolent. On *March* 3. Information was given in Council, "That "on the 2[d] of *February* laſt the Officers of the "High Sheriff of *Lancaſhire* having diſtrain'd the "Cattle and other Goods of divers convicted *Popiſh Recuſants*, living at *Altcarr*, near *Ormeſkerke*, in that County, for their Forfeitures, were "in their return with the ſaid Goods riotouſly aſſaulted in the High-way by the ſaid *Popiſh Recuſants*, and their Abettors; and the Goods not "only reſcued from them, but they beaten and "wounded in ſuch a manner, that the Recovery "of ſome of them was much doubted." Thereupon his Majeſty was pleas'd to [b] order the Judges that go that Circuit, to cauſe ſuch of the ſaid Offenders as are already in Cuſtody to be proceeded againſt for the ſame, according to the utmoſt Severity of the Law, and to endeavour the apprehending of all others concern'd therein, by rewarding the Diſcoverers of them, that ſo they may receive an exemplary Puniſhment.

1682.

Character of the Duke of *Monmouth.*

The Duke of *Monmouth* was now to be publickly diſgrac'd, of whom this Character is given by a late Author: "This Gentleman ſtood poſſeſs'd "of all the Qualities requiſite to gain him the "Love of the People, and ſtir up the Jealouſie of "the Duke of *York*. King *Charles* had heap'd "Honours upon him, and nothing pleas'd him ſo "much as to ſee him *Great*. He had been ſent to "*Scotland* in the Year 1679, to ſuppreſs an Inſurrection which the Severity of *Lauderdale's* Adminiſtration had occaſion'd; where his Lenity "towards a People made by Oppreſſion mad, gain'd "him the Ill-will of a Predominant Party at Court. "The Zeal he ſhew'd ſome time after in the Proſecution of the *Popiſh Plot*, and his Friendſhips "with ſome that were profeſs'd Enemies to the "Duke, concurr'd to his Fall: Yet King *Charles* "ſtill continu'd under-hand the ſame Tenderneſs "for him, though he was declar'd in publick to "be in Diſgrace. The Duke's Faction at Home, "and a Foreign Intereſt Abroad, were too powerful for King *Charles* to grapple with, even tho' "the Fortune of a Favourite Son was at Stake. "The more he was depreſs'd by the Envy of his "Uncle, the higher he roſe in the Affections of "the People; till the breaking out of what was "call'd the *Proteſtant Plot*, overwhelm'd not only him, but a whole *Party* with him.

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The firſt Mark of the King's new Anger to the Duke of *Monmouth*, was, to ſignify his Pleaſure to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, that they ſhould chuſe another Chancellor in the Place of the Duke of *Monmouth*: With which Royal Will and Pleaſure the Univerſity comply'd, and made Choice of his Grace the Duke of *Albemarle* to be their Chancellor; and they afterwards put a greater Mark of Ignominy upon the Duke of *Monmouth*, by taking down his Picture that was hanging in their Publick Schools, and burning it in a very eager and ridiculous manner. This Humour of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, in rejecting and affronting their Chancellor the Duke of *Monmouth*, was plainly owing as a Complement to the Duke of *York*, who being lately return'd from *Scotland*, Dr. *Coga*, the Vice-Chancellor, waited on him at *New-Market*, at the beginning of *April*, and in the Name of himſelf and the Univerſity made a ſhort Speech in *Latin*, "To congratulate his Royal Highneſs's Return "into *England*, and to acknowledge, that by his "Royal Highneſs's good Conduct, the Government of *Scotland*, both in Church and State, is "ſettled in Peace, and therefore they would by "no means doubt, but that, under his Majeſty, "his Royal Highneſs's Preſence would have a great "Influence in effecting the ſame here in *England*; "by which means all *Great Britain* being join'd in "one, the Church of *England*, and Rights of the "Crown, may for ever flouriſh." To which his Royal Highneſs was pleas'd to anſwer to this effect: *That he gave the Univerſity his Thanks for their kind Expreſſions: That he was very glad of this, and all other Occaſions, to declare, That he would ever ſtand by the Church of* England *as now eſtabliſh'd, and countenance the Members of it, as having ſeen by Experience, that they are the beſt Supporters of the Crown; and that he would uſe his Endeavours and Intereſt for the Preſervation of the King's Perſon, and the Government in the State, and the Church of* England, *as now eſtabliſh'd by Law.* The Duke, againſt his own Genius, was to purſue the Arts of Popularity; and therefore, on *April* 20, he was pleas'd to honour with his Preſence the *Artillery*

Duke of *Monmouth* in Diſgrace.

Burnt in Effigie at *Cambridge.*

In Complement to the Duke of *York.*

a See an Advertiſement in the *Gazette April* 21, 1681. to undeceive his Majeſty's loyal Subjects, who may be miſled into Error, by a Pamphlet, called, *The Life and Death of the* 35th *of* Elizabeth.

b Order of King and Council at *Whitehall Octob.* 5. 1681. that a Liſt of the Names of ſeveral Tradeſmen, who are Papiſts, reſiding in the Pariſhes of St. *Martin's* in the Fields, St. *Giles's* in the Fields, St. *Paul's Covent-Garden*, and Places adjacent, contrary to the Laws of this Kingdom, and his Majeſty's Proclamations for reinforcing the ſame, being this Day preſented at the Board, be forthwith [illegible] to his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the County of [illegible]*dleſex*, and the City and Liberties of *Weſtminſter*, wh[illegible] his preſent Seſſions of Peace are to proceed againſt the ſa[illegible] Popiſh Tradeſmen according to Law, and to give the Bo[illegible] an Account of what they ſhall do thereupon.

Company,

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Company, at their Annual Feaſt in *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, where he retir'd after Dinner into another Room, and gave Acceſs to a great Number of Citizens, who were taught to croud in, for the Honour of kiſſing his Hand. He had ſoon after an Occaſion of going once more to *Scotland*, purpoſing to make but a very ſhort Stay. So on *May* 3. he departed from *Windſor*, and went down in one of his Majeſty's Yachts to embark on the *Gloceſter*, commanded by Sir *John Berry*, and attended by the *Dartmouth*, the *Ruby*, and the *Happy Return*. But on *Friday May* 5. the *Gloceſter* Frigat ran upon the Sand call'd the *Lemon* and *Ore*, about 16 Leagues from the Mouth of *Humber*, and there was loſt: His Royal Highneſs went off in a Boat, and took as many Perſons of Quality with him as the Boat could well bear. Other Boats were ſent to take out the Men from the ſinking Ship; but ſhe ſunk ſo faſt, that ſeveral of the Paſſengers and Sea-men periſhed with her; among whom were the Earl of *Roxborough*, the Lord *O-Brian*, the Laird *Hopton*, Sir *Joſeph Douglas*, and Mr. *Hyde*, Brother-in-Law to the Duke, with ſeveral of the Duke's Servants, and above an hundred and thirty Seamen were miſerably loſt, the Commander Sir *John Berry* hardly eſcaping by a Rope over the Stern [a] into Capt. *Wyborne*'s Boat; who being afterwards examin'd before the Council, his Majeſty declared himſelf ſatisfy'd, that the ſaid Sir *John* was no way faulty in the Loſs of the *Gloceſter*, and therefore was pleas'd to give him the Command of the *Henrietta*, a Third Rate Frigat, and of the Squadron deſign'd for the Coaſt of *Ireland*, in the ſame manner as was at firſt intended. The Duke got ſafe to *Scotland* on *May* 7. and with great Expedition came back by Sea to *London* in twenty Days.

Duke of York goes again to Scotland.

Danger at Sea.

Contention for new Sheriffs.

The Court was very ſolicitous for the choice of new Sheriffs for *London* and *Middleſex*, and earneſtly recommended Mr. *North* and Mr. *Box*; but the Hearts of the Citizens were for Mr. *Papilion* and Mr. *Dubois*. This occaſion'd a very Riotous [b] Controverſie; the Lord-Mayor complying with the Court, and the old Sheriffs reſolving to aſſert the Rights of the City. Hence, on the Day of Election, *June* 24. a great Noiſe and Clamour was made in *Guild-Hall*, where the *Whig* Party (as they were call'd) being much the more Numerous, the *Lord-Mayor* adjourn'd the *Common-Hall* till *Tueſday* Morning: But the two Sheriffs thinking that Adjournment to be an Arbitrary Act for interrupting a regular Election, went on with the Poll. Upon which Mr. *Pilkington* and Mr. *Shute*, the two Sheriffs, were by Order of Privy-Council taken into Cuſtody by a Serjeant at Arms, and committed Priſoners to the *Tower*, by a Warrant ſign'd by twenty four Privy-Counſellors, who made a further Order, "That "Mr. Attorney-General ſhould forthwith exhibit "an Information in the *King's-Bench* againſt *Thomas Pilkington* and *Samuel Shute*, Eſqrs. Sheriffs "of *London*, and *Henry Corniſh*, Eſq; one of the "Aldermen, and ſuch others, as upon Examinati"on, ſhould be found to have been Promoters and "Encouragers of the late enormous Riot, and that "he do proceed againſt them according to the ut"moſt ſeverity of the Law.

On *Friday*, *June* 30. the impriſon'd Sheriffs were, upon a Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, brought by the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to the *King's-Bench-Bar*; where, after having pleaded *not guilty*, they were admitted to Bail. The Sheriffs being thus at liberty, met at a *Common-Hall* on *July* the firſt, when the Lord-Mayor being ſick, ſent Order by the Recorder to adjourn the *Hall* to the 11th following; but the Sheriffs again denying the validity of ſuch Adjournment, proceeded in the Election, and declared their choice of *Papilion* and *Dubois*. On *Friday*, *July* 7. the Mayor and his Party met again, and heard Lawyers argue the regularity of the late Adjournments: But coming to no concluſion, the Court was again adjourn'd to the 14th of *July*; on which Day an Order of Council was produc'd, whereby his Majeſty *thought fit, for the better keeping of the Peace of the City, to direct and require the Lord-Mayor to maintain and preſerve intire the ancient Cuſtoms of the City; and for the better doing thereof, to take effectual Order, That at the* Common-Council *to be held on* July 14. *all Proceedings be begun anew, and carry'd on in the uſual manner, as they ought to have been on the 24th of* June *laſt*. But the manner of Proceeding was thought to be by no means uſual: For *Dudley North*, Eſq; was only put up to be confirm'd, as being already duly elected by my Lord-Mayor; and while the Sheriffs were Polling in another Place, his Lordſhip came down to the *Huſtings*, and declared the Election, by Majority of Voices, to fall upon Mr. *Box*; but he wiſely paid his Fine, and *Peter Rich*, Eſq; was choſen in his Place, and he and Mr. *North* were ſworn before the Lord-Mayor in the *Huſtings*.

Court very angry at the City.

This great ſtruggle put the Court upon conſidering, and in a manner reſolving to take away the Election of Sheriffs out of the Power of the City; and no other Expedient could be found, but by taking away their Charter; which, if once effected, would not only give the Court the advantage of making a *Common-Hall*, but open a Gap to their making a *Houſe of Commons* too: For near five Parts in ſix of the Houſe of Commons were Burgeſſes, and Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*, who would not dare to conteſt their Charters, if the City of *London* could not hold her own by Law. So that in *Hilary-Term* this Year a *Quo Warranto* was brought againſt the City, for two *heinous Crimes*, no worſe than theſe two: "*Firſt*, That they had made an "*Addreſs* to the King, for the Parliament to ſit for "redreſs of Grievances. *Secondly*, That the City "had raiſed Money towards repairing *Cheapſide-*"*Conduit*, ruin'd by the Fire of *London*." The City pleaded their Right. The Attorney-General reply'd. Upon which there was a Demurrer; and here the Matter reſted for a time: The novelty of theſe Pretenſions cauſing a great Amuſement in the generality of the City and Nation, who well knew whereto this tended, but could hardly imagine how it would end. After a long ſuſpence, two Arguments only were permitted on either ſide; one in *Hilary-Term*, 1682. and the other in *Eaſter-Term* following: And ſo Judgment was given, in *Trinity-Term* next after *againſt* the City. This Judgment was obſerv'd to be very ſtrange and unwarrantable, for it was without any Reaſon given, and by two Judges only, whereof the one was Sir *Francis Wythens*, (who had heard but one Argument, and who afterwards, in the abſence of Sir *Edward Herbert*, deliver'd that for Sir *Edward*'s Opinion, which Sir *Edward* himſelf, when preſent, diſown'd,) and the other was Sir *Thomas Jones*; however, to confirm their own Judgment with better Authority than their own, theſe two Judges declar'd upon the Bench, that their Brother *Raymond* was of the ſame Opinion with them, and that ſo was the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Sanders*, though he indeed was paſt his Senſes, and had only Underſtanding enough left to expoſtulate with them, why they would trouble him, when he had loſt his Memory?

Quo Warranto.

Judgment againſt the City.

Many other Quo Warranto's.

While the City of *London* lay under this Awe and

[a] Capt. *Ayres* the Pilot was found guilty, and ſentenc'd to perpetual Impriſonment.

[b] See an Act of Common Council for regulating the Election of Sheriffs, and for repealing the treaſonable and diſloyal Acts, and Proceedings of that Court in the time of the late Rebellion. Dated *June* 6. 1683. Reprinted by *Sam. Roycroft*, 1699.

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Menace of the Court, many other *Quo Warranto*'s were iſſued out againſt other inferior Places; and ſeveral of them were ſo terrify'd, that they came and reſign'd their Charters, and accepted of new Patents, with Regulation at the pleaſure of the Court. Upon which way of Proceeding theſe Remarks of a late Writer are not improper: "The "*Charters* of the City of *London*, and other *Corporations*, ſtood in the way of an *Abſolute Government*; and it was reſolved to break through this "*Barrier*. In order to which, *Quo Warranto*'s "were brought againſt them; and in proceſs of "time, they were either ſurrendred by the *Corporations* themſelvs, or vacated in *Weſtminſter-hall* "by a Sett of *Judges* pick'd out for that purpoſe. "And it was reſolv'd thereby to make one of the "Eſtates of Parliament depend intirely upon the "*Will* and *Nomination* of the *Prince*. While theſe "*Quo Warranto*'s were going on, whole Peals of "*Anathema*'s were rung out againſt thoſe *Patriots* "that ſtood up for the Liberties of their Country "in the preceding Parliaments: And it was look'd "upon as a Crime againſt the State, for any one to "regret the approaching Fate of his Country; even "the *holy Scriptures* themſelves were made a *Stale* "for *Arbitrary Power*; and the *Laws* which were "given to the *Jews*, as they were a *Political State*, "were now brought in, upon every occaſion, to "countenance the Deſigns of the Court: As if "thoſe Laws which were intended only to ſupport "the political Government of the *Jews*, were the "real Foundation of the Chriſtian Religion; or, "that the *Conſtitution* of *England* was founded up-"on the *Jewiſh Doctrine*. All which was not much "for the Honour of thoſe Gentlemen that broach'd "that Notion. This was a time never to be for-"got, when to wiſh well to our Countrey was a "Crime; and when Heaven itſelf was rank'd up-"on our Enemies ſide, by ſome that pretended to "expound its Will. In ſome Places, new kind of "*Funeral Harangues* came in Faſhion: Our *Laws*, "our *Liberties*, our *Parliaments*, our *Native Rights*, "were to be buried; but inſtead of dropping a Tear "at their *Funeral*, fulſom *Panegyricks* were made "upon their Murtherers, [a] and Curſes denounc'd "againſt thoſe that would have retriev'd them from "Deſtruction.

Reflect. on them.

Death of Great Men.

This Year was the more remarkable for the death of three very Great Men. The Duke of *Lauderdale* Died *Auguſt* 24. generally fear'd in *Scotland*, and as univerſally hated in *England*; a Man of Parts and Learning, not of Morals, nor reputed Integrity; of an impetuous Spirit, a great promoter of Arbitrary Power, and indeed the underminer of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, by laying it on a new Foundation, *the Pleaſure of the King*. His Highneſs *Rupert* Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Cumberland*, &c. Died at his Houſe in *Spring-Garden*, *November* 29. in the ſixty-third Year of his Age, after ſome Days ſickneſs of a Pleuriſie and Fever; his Body on *Decemb.* 6. was privately interr'd among others of the Royal Family in a Vault on the South ſide of King *Henry* VIIth's *Chapel*: A Perſon of great forwardneſs and fire in his Youth, and afterwards of good temper and Sedateneſs: He had of late Years proved a faithful Councellor to the King, and a great Patriot to the *Engliſh* Liberty; and therefore was towards his latter end neglected by the Court to that degree, that nothing paſs'd between him and his great Relations, but bare Civilities in the common Forms. On *Decemb.* 18. in the Afternoon, the Right Honourable *Heneage* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, died at his Houſe in [b] *Queen-ſtreet*, in the ſixty firſt Year of his Age, after having ſerv'd his Majeſty nine Years in that high Station with great Honour and Veracity.

Honours and Preferments.

There was a great diſpoſal of Honours and Preferments: In the beginning of *April* his Majeſty was pleas'd, upon the death of the Lord *Fretchevil*, to give the Government of the City and Garriſon of *York* to Sir *John Beresby*, Bar. And ſoon after, on the death of *Nicholas Johnſon*, Eſq; his Majeſty conferr'd the Office of Pay-maſter of his Forces upon *Charles Fox*, Eſq; On *Aug.* 22. his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on Mr. *Cornwal Bradſhaw*, as *being well ſatisfy'd of his Loyalty, and of his Care and Induſtry in the Management of his Revenue of Hearth-Money*, of which he was one of the Managers.

The Earl of *Hallifax* had at firſt gone along with the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, &c. but had been lately brought over to the Intereſt of the Duke of *York*; for which reaſon, about the middle of *Auguſt*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer upon him the Honour and Dignity of a Marqueſs of this Kingdom, by creating him Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, *in conſideration of the eminent and faithful Services which he had render'd his Majeſty and the Crown*; and ſoon after his Majeſty conferr'd upon him the Office of [c] Lord Privy-Seal. On *Septemb.* 20. the Earl of *Sunderland* was by his Majeſty's Command readmitted a Privy-Counſellor, and again took his Place at the Board. On *Septemb.* 25. the Duke of *Hamilton* was Elected a Knight-Companion of the *Garter*, in a Chapter held at *Whitehall*. Towards the end of *November* his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer upon Sir *John Bennet*, Knight of the *Bath*, the Dignity of a Baron of this Kingdom, under the Style and Title of *John* Lord *Oſſulſton*. And preſently after his Majeſty was pleas'd to create *James* Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, a Duke of this Kingdom, by the ſame Name and Title: And the Lord Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, a Duke of this Kingdom, by the Name and Title of Duke of *Beauford*: And the Lord *Norris*, an Earl, by the Name and Title of Earl of *Abingdon*. And with a greater flood of diſtinguiſhing Favours, cheap and grateful, at the beginning of *December* his Majeſty was pleas'd to grant the Title and Dignity of an Earl of this Kingdom to *Edward* Viſcount *Cambden*, by the Name and Style of Earl of *Gainsborough*: And to *Conyers* Lord *Darcy*, by the Name and Style of Earl of *Holderneſs*: And to *Thomas* Lord *Windſor*, Governor of his Majeſty's Town and Garriſon of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, by the Name and Style of Earl of *Plymouth*: As alſo the Title and Dignity of a Viſcount of this Kingdom to *Horatio* Lord *Townſhend*, by the Name and Style of Viſcount *Townſhend* of *Raynham*. The Titles and Dignities of a Baron and a Viſcount, to Sir *Thomas Thynne*,

[a] Sir *Tho. Pilkington*, Alderman and late Sheriff of *London*, was tried at the *King's-Bench* upon an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, brought by the Duke of *York*, for ſaying upon the Evidence of Sir *William Hooker* and Sir *Henry Tulſe*, Aldermen, that *He the Duke fired the City, and is now come to cut our Throats*. The Jury found for the Plaintiff, and gave one hundred thouſand Pounds for Damages. And Sir *Patience Ward*, Alderman, preſuming to give Evidence upon his Oath, in favour of Sir *Thomas Pilkington* was in *Eaſter Term* following tried and found guilty in a ſingular manner upon an Information of Perjury againſt him.

[b] There was in the mean time all poſſible Friendſhip betwixt the *Engliſh* and *French* Courts. The Hiſtory of the War of *Holland*, written originally in *Italian* by the Count *de Maiole*, and printed at *Paris* within this Year 1682. with the *French* King's Privilege was ſoon after ſuppreſs'd, almoſt all the Copies ſeiz'd and deſtroy'd, and the Author ſent to the *Baſtile*, upon the Complaint of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors then reſiding at *Paris*; becauſe of the Diſcoveries it made of all the private Tranſactions and Managements betwixt the Court of *England* and that of *France*, about entring into that War, and carrying it on. The Name of Count *de Maiole* was but a cover for the Abbot *Primi*, who was the Perſon thrown into the *Baſtile* upon complaint of my Lord *Preſton*; from whence, after a mock Impriſonment of nine or ten Days, he was let out again.

[c] In the room of the Earl of *Angleſey*, from whom the Seal was now taken, as from a diſaffected Peer.

Bar.

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Bar. by the Name and Style of Baron *Thynne* of *Warmiſter*, and Viſcount *Weymouth*. The Title and Dignity of a Baron, to Colonel *George Legg*, of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and Maſter-General of the Ordnance, by the Name and Style of the Baron of *Dartmouth*. The ſame Title and Dignity of a Baron, to *William* Lord *Ailington*, Conſtable of his Majeſty's *Tower* of *London*, by the Name and Style of Baron of *Weymondley*. His Majeſty at the ſame time created the Honourable Colonel *Churchill*, *John* Lord *Churchil* of *Aymouth* in *Scotland*. And his Majeſty obſerving the extraordinary Inclination with which his Grace the Duke of *Grafton* had apply'd himſelf to Sea Affairs, and the ſucceſsful Progreſs he had made therein, to encourage this diſpoſition in him, was graciouſly pleas'd to confer upon him the Office of Vice-Admiral of *England*, vacant by the death of his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*; whoſe Offices of Conſtable and Governor of the Caſtle and Foreſt of *Windſor*, and Lord-Lieutenant of the Counties of *Berks* and *Surrey*, his Majeſty conferr'd upon *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, Son and Heir to his Grace the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl-Marſhal of *England*. After the death of the Earl of *Nottingham*, his Majeſty was pleas'd, on *Wedneſday December* 20. to commit the Cuſtody of the Great Seal to the Right Honourable Sir *Francis North*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, with the Title of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*; and on *December* 22. his Lordſhip was ſworn at the Council Board, and took his Place as Lord Keeper. On the ſame Day the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Pemberton* was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council; and at the beginning of the next Term was remov'd from the *King's-Bench* to be Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*. Upon which his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Place of Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench* upon Sir *Edmund Sanders*. On *Jan.* 1. *Humphry Mackworth* and *Thomas Montgomery*, Eſqrs; Treaſurers of the *Middle-Temple*, with ſome others of that Society, waited on his Majeſty to *Wiſh him a happy New Year*, and in a very Loyal Speech declar'd their unanimous Reſolutions to adhere to their former Addreſſes: Which his Majeſty was pleas'd to accept very graciouſly. They then paid the like reſpect to the Duke, and were kindly receiv'd by his Royal Highneſs: For which Complements his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Humphry Mackworth*, Eſq; *as a Mark of his Royal Favour to the Loyal Society of the Middle-Temple*. On *Jan.* 28. the Earl of *Conway* (with whoſe Services his Majeſty was pleas'd to declare himſelf very well ſatisfy'd) reſign'd his Place of one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State: And his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the ſame upon the Right Honourable the Earl of *Sunderland*, who was ſworn in Council on the 31ſt of *January*. His Majeſty was pleas'd on *Febr.* 11. to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon the Honourable *Dudley North*, Eſq; one of the preſent Sheriffs for the City of *London* and County of *Middleſex*. On *Febr.* 28. the Right Honourable *Theophilus* Earl of *Huntingdon*, and *Henry* Earl of *Peterborough*, were ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council. About the middle of *March* his Majeſty was pleas'd, upon the death of Sir *Edward Carteret*, to confer the Place of Uſher of the Black Rod upon *Thomas Duppa*, Eſq; eldeſt Gentleman Uſher to his Majeſty. And *Henry Bulſtrode*, Eſq; [a] was ſworn into the vacant Place of one of his Majeſty's Gentlemen Uſhers daily Waiters.

State of Religion.

In Matters of Religion his Majeſty was pleas'd to aſſert his Supremacy in the Right of appointing *Publick Faſts* and *Thankſgivings*, upon this frivolous occaſion: The Party moſt zealous in oppoſing *Popery* and the *Duke's Succeſſion*, to ſhew their Strength, and to improve it, had appointed a publick Meeting, with a Sermon, and a Dinner, as uſual in many other Companies and Societies of Men; and they invited their Gueſts, upon a Ticket in this Form: *It having pleaſed Almighty God, by his wonderful Providence, to deliver and protect his Majeſty's Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and* Engliſh *Liberties (hitherto) from the helliſh and frequent Attempts of their Enemies (the* Papiſts;) *In Teſtimony of Thankfulneſs herein, and for the preſerving and improving mutual Love and Charity, among ſuch as are ſenſible thereof, you are deſired to meet many of the Loyal Proteſtant Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Citizens, on* Friday *the 21ſt Day of this inſtant* April, 1682. *at ten of the Clock at St.* Michael's *Church in* Cornhil, *there to hear a Sermon, and from thence to go to* Haberdaſhers-Hall *to Dinner; And to bring this Ticket with you.* This voluntary Combination, tho' innocent enough in it ſelf, was repreſented to the Court as dangerous in the Conſequence of it: And therefore this Order was made in Council *April* 19.

Feaſt and Sermon.

Order of Council.

"WHereas the appointing of Publick *Faſts* and "*Thankſgivings* is matter of State, and "belongs only to his Majeſty, by his Prerogative; "and his Majeſty being inform'd, that in the City "of *London* Invitations have been made of great "and unuſual Numbers, by printed *Tickets*, one of "which is hereunto annex'd; his Majeſty looks "upon the ſame as an inſolent Attempt, in manifeſt Derogation of his Right, and of dangerous "Conſequence: The Matter of the ſaid Invitation "being of a publick Nature, and the manner of "carrying it on tending to Sedition, and raiſing "Diſtinctions and Confederacies amongſt his Subjects, againſt the known Laws and Peace of the "Kingdom: His Majeſty therefore, by the Advice "of his Council, hath thought fit, and doth hereby ſtrictly Charge and Command the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, as they will anſwer "the contrary at their Peril, to take immediate and "effectual care to prevent and hinder the ſaid Meeting as an unlawful Aſſembly: And all Sheriffs, "Conſtables, and other his Majeſty's Officers in "the ſaid City, are hereby commanded to be aiding "and aſſiſting therein.

While the [b] Duke of *York* was in *Scotland*, he found his greateſt Intereſt to be among the higheſt of the Epiſcopal Party: For which reaſon he confin'd his Favours to them, and encourag'd them to be very ſevere upon the *Presbyterians*. Upon his return into *England*, he thought proper to have *Letters Teſtimonials* from the *Scotch* Biſhops, directed to his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; which were immediately ſent after him, and toward the end of *April* were thus publiſh'd by Authority.

[a] *John Hampden*, Eſq; in a Tract he publiſh'd in 1692. tells us, That diſcourſing ten Years before at *Paris* with the famous Hiſtorian *Mezeray*, about the difference of the Government in *France* and *England*, he broke out into theſe Expreſſions with tranſport, *O fortunatos nimium bona ſi ſua norint, Angligenæ!* We had once in *France* the ſame happineſs and the ſame privileges which you have. Our Laws were made by Repreſentatives of our own chuſing. Our Money was not taken from us but by our own conſent. Our Kings were ſubject to the Rules of Law and Reaſon. But now, alas, we are miſerable, and all is loſt, think nothing too dear to maintain theſe precious Advantages; and if ever there be occaſion, venture your Life, your Eſtate, and all you have, rather than ſubmit to the miſerable Condition to which you *ſee us reduc'd.*

[b] The wiſe and honeſt Men had in the mean time very melancholy Apprehenſions of this Popiſh Succeſſor. The Earl of *Angleſey* drew up a bold Paper of Advice to his Majeſty, thus inſcribed: The Account of *Arthur* Earl of *Angleſey*, Lord Privy Seal, to your moſt Excellent Majeſty, of the true State of your Majeſty's Government and Kingdoms. *Apr.* 27. 1682.— p. 16. *The fatal Cauſe of all our Miſchiefs preſent or apprehended, and which if not by Wiſdom antidoted, may raiſe a Fire which may burn and conſume to the very Foundations, is the unhappy Perverſion of the Duke of* York, *the next Heir of the Crown, in point of Religion.*

EDEN-

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EDENBURGH, March 9. 1682.

May it pleaſe your Grace;

The Duke of *York* brings Teſtimonials from the *Scotch* Biſhops.

"HIS Royal Highneſs having parted from hence " on *Monday* laſt, being call'd by the King " to attend his Majeſty at *New Market*; we ſhould " prove very defective in Duty and Gratitude, if " if upon this occaſion we ſhould forget to acknow- " ledge to your Grace, how much this poor Church, " and our Order, do owe to his Princely Care and " Goodneſs, that his Majeſty, and the worthy Bi- " ſhops of *England*, may from you receive the juſt " Accounts thereof.

" Since his Royal Highneſs's coming to this " Kingdom, we find our Caſe much changed to " the better, and our Church and Order (which " through the Cunning and Power of their Adver- " ſaries were expoſed to extreme Hazard and Con- " tempt) ſenſibly reliev'd and reſcu'd; which, next " to the watchful Providence of God, (that mer- " cifully ſuperintends his Church) we can aſcribe " to nothing ſo much, as to his Royal Highneſs's " gracious Owning and vigilant Protection of us.

" Upon all Occaſions he gives freſh Inſtances of " his eminent Zeal againſt the moſt unreaſonable " Schiſm, which by Renting, threatens the Sub- " verſion of our Church and Religion, and con- " cerns himſelf as a Patron to us, in all our publick " and even perſonal Intereſts; ſo that all Men " take Notice of his ſignal Kindneſs to us, and ob- " ſerve, that he looks upon the Enemies of the " Church, as Adverſaries to the Monarchy it ſelf: " Nor did we ever propoſe or offer to his Royal " Highneſs any rational Expedient, which might " conduce for the Relief or Security of the Church, " which he did not readily Embrace and Effe- " ctuate.

" The Peace and Tranquillity of this Kingdom, " is the effect of his prudent and ſteady Conduct of " Affairs; and the Humours of our wicked Fana- " ticks are much reſtrained from dangerous Erup- " tions, upon their apprehenſions of his Vigilance " and Juſtice: For they dread nothing ſo much, " as to ſee him upon the Head of his Majeſty's " Councels and Forces againſt them.

" We hope your Grace will will make our duti- " ful Acknowledgment to his Royal Highneſs, for " all his Princely Favours to us, and give him the " moſt firm Aſſurance of our moſt ſincere Endea- " vours to ſerve him, and of our moſt fervent Pray- " ers for his temporal and eternal Happineſs, as the " bounden Duty of,

May it pleaſe your Grace,

Your Grace's moſt Humble

and Faithful Servants,

Alexand. St. And.	*Ja. Gallovidiens,*
Jo, Edinburgens,	*George Brechin,*
Andr. Drunkelden,	*Jam. Dumblanon.*
Arth. Glaſcuens,	

Inſolence and Hypocriſie of *Papiſts*.

Under the Duke's Protection many of the *Roman Catholicks* were publickly encourag'd and preferr'd; and ſome others of them acted a more ſecret Part, in aſſuming the Name of *Proteſtants*, and under that Diſguiſe thruſting themſelves into Places and Employments: Among theſe, one at leaſt crept into a Cure of Souls, one *John Duffey* a *Scotchman*, who obtained the Rectory of *Raile* in *Eſſex*; and who, upon Information of his Character given to the Council Board, was ſent for into Cuſtody; but on on the 5th of *December* he made his eſcape from one of his Majeſty's Meſſengers. Upon which it was the next Day order'd by his Majeſty in Council, " That his Majeſty's Meſſengers ſhould make ſtrict " and diligent ſearch after him, and that all the Ports " ſhould be ſtopt, in order to his being apprehen- " ded; and publick Notice was given of him, to " the Intent, that any Perſon that could diſcover " him, might cauſe him to be ſecur'd, and car- " ry'd before the next Juſtice of the Peace, in or- " der to his being brought before the Board: He being deſcrib'd to be a *tall Man, of a fair Complexion, full Eye, about fifty Years of Age, &c.* He had been taken on the *Sunday* before, coming out of the Houſe of a foreign Ambaſſador at the time of *Maſs*, and being carry'd before a Magiſtrate, the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy were tendred him; which he refuſing, was committed to the Cuſtody of that Meſſenger from whom he made his eſcape, and was flying beyond Sea; but on *Thurſday, December* 7. he was retaken at *Rocheſter*, and brought the next Morning before the Council; where he again refuſing to take the Oaths, he was, by Order of the Board, ſent to the Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, to be proceeded againſt according to Law.

Zeal againſt *Popery* made Criminal.

Zeal againſt *Popery* was now look'd upon to be only a Faction; and thoſe who were eminent in it, were to be diſtinguiſh'd as ſeditious Men, and Enemies to the King, and his Government. Upon this Rule of the State, popular Rejoicings, on the *Fifth* of *November*, were to be prevented and ſuppreſs'd. But when it was impoſſible to reſtrain the Spirit of the People, the Court reſolv'd to puniſh it, for a Terror to others; and therefore at the Seſſions held in the beginning of *December*, at the *Old-Bailey*, ſeveral Apprentices and young Perſons were indicted for having committed a Riot within the City, on *Monday* the 6th of *November* at Night; of which being convicted, they were fined twenty Marks each, and order'd to ſtand on the Pillory [a] at ſeveral Places; which was executed on *Saturday* the 9th of *December*.

1683.

Citizens of *London* are condemn'd for a Riot.

On *Tueſday* the 8th of *May* ſeveral Perſons were Try'd at the *Old-Bailey*, before the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Sanders*, for a pretended Riot and Aſſault made on Sir *John Moore*, Kt. the late Lord Mayor, upon *Midſummer-day* laſt, being the Day for Election of Sheriffs; and after a long Tryal were found *Guilty*, and had theſe ſevere Fines impoſed upon them: *Thomas Pilkington* 500 Pounds; *Samuel Shute* 1000 Marks; *Ford* Lord *Gray*, and *Henry Corniſh*, Alderman, the like Sum; Sir *Thomas Player* 500 Marks; *Slingsby Bethel*, Eſq; 1000 Marks; Mr. *Jenkes* 300 Marks; Mr. *Deagle* 400 Marks; Mr. *Freeman* 300 Marks; Mr. *Jekyl* 200 Marks; Mr. *Goodenough* and Mr. *Swinock* 500 Marks; Mr. *Keys* and Mr. *Wickham* 100 Marks each. This Reckoning was inflam'd by a late Arreſt of the preſent Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and ſeveral Aldermen, made at the Suits of Mr. *Papilion* and Mr. *Dubois*, who claim'd a Right of being legally elected Sheriffs the laſt Year. Which was thought to be ſuch an Inſult upon the Friends of the King and Court, that the City were forc'd to diſclaim the Action, by this Order in *Common-Council*, on the 22d of *May*:

The Lord Mayor Arreſted.

"WHereas Sir *William Pritchard*, Kt. Lord " Mayor of this City, was in a rude man- " ner lately Arreſted, at the Suit, or in the Name " of Mr. *Papilion* and Mr. *Dubois*; And whereas " it hath been alledg'd by the ſaid Mr. *Papilion* and

[a] The Meetings of the Diſſenters were by Authority reſtrain'd. On the 20th of *June* the Lord Mayor of *London* iſſu'd out his Orders for ſuppreſſing of Conventicles, commanding all Conſtables to attend upon *Sundays* for that purpoſe in every Ward.

Mr.

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"Mr. *Dubois*, That the Action upon which the ſaid Arreſt was, was proſecuted at the Inſtance of the Citizens of *London*: The Members of this Court, to deliver themſelves and the ſaid Citizens from this untrue Imputation, do declare, that they were not privy or conſenting to the ſaid Action and Arreſt, and do diſown and diſapprove the ſame.

Theſe Diſtractions of the City haſten'd the Loſs of their Charter and their Conſtitution: For on *June* 12. the Court of *King's-Bench*, in the Abſence of the Lord Chief-Juſtice, gave Judgment for the King upon the *Quo Warranto*, That *the Franchiſes and Liberties of the City of* London *be ſeized into the King's Hands.* But Judge *Jones* was pleas'd to ſay, "That by the King's ſpecial Command, Judgment ſhould not be entred till his Majeſty's Pleaſure were further known." This was generally look'd upon to make the Citizens reſign their own Liberties, inſtead of being condemned to a Deprivation of them. On *Monday*, *June* 18. a *Petition* of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Commons, was preſented to his Majeſty in Council, confeſſing themſelves *moſt heartily and unfeignedly ſorry for the Miſgovernment of the City of late Years, whereby the Citizens had fallen under his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, and Judgment had been pronounc'd againſt them, acknowledging the great Favour of his Majeſty's not requiring Judgment to be immediately entred thereupon; and conſidering this their diſtreſſed Condition, they humbly caſt themſelves at his Royal Feet, imploring his Princely Compaſſion and Grace to be extended to this his ancient City, moſt humbly begging his Majeſty's Pardon for all their Offences, and promiſing to ſubmit themſelves to his Majeſty's good Pleaſure.* After the reading this *Petition*, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens, were commanded to withdraw: And being again call'd in, the Lord-Keeper, in a *Speech*, told them, *That his Majeſty would ſtill ſhow the City all the Favour they could reaſonably deſire; and though he had obtained Judgment in a* Quo Warranto, *it was not his Intention to prejudice them in their Properties or Cuſtoms. That the City had not been well adviſ'd, to defer their Application to his Majeſty thus long, even till the Court had pronounc'd Judgment: It might have been done with much better Grace, if it had been more early. However, his Majeſty would not reject their Suit, if they agreed upon the Particulars the King did now require of them: For* (ſays he) *his Majeſty requires your Submiſſion to theſe Regulations*:

Judgment given upon the *Quo Warranto.*

Terms of Submiſſion required from the City

1. "That no Lord-Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, Common-Serjeant, Town-Clerk, or Coroner of the City of *London*, or Steward of the Borough of *Southwark*, ſhall be capable of, or admitted to the Exerciſe of their reſpective Offices, before his Majeſty ſhall have approved them under his Sign-Manual.

2. "That if his Majeſty ſhall diſapprove the Choice of any Perſon to be Lord-Mayor, and ſignify the ſame under his Sign-Manual to the Lord-Mayor, or, in default of a Lord-Mayor, to the Recorder, or Senior Alderman; the Citizens ſhall within one Week proceed to a new Choice: And if his Majeſty ſhall in like manner diſapprove the ſecond Choice, his Majeſty may, if he pleaſe, nominate a Perſon to be Lord-Mayor for the enſuing Year.

3. "If his Majeſty ſhall, in like manner, diſapprove the Perſons choſen to be Sheriffs, or either of them, his Majeſty may appoint Perſons to be Sheriffs for the enſuing Year, by his Commiſſion, if he ſo pleaſe.

The Lord-Keeper told them, That *theſe Regulations being made, his Majeſty would not only pardon this Proſecution, but confirm their Charter in ſuch manner as may be conſiſtent with them*; concluding thus: *My Lord-Mayor, the* Term *draws toward an end, and* Midſummer-Day *is at hand, when ſome of the Officers uſe to be choſen, whereof his Majeſty will reſerve the Approbation: Therefore it is his Majeſty's Pleaſure that you return to the City, and conſult the Common-Council, that he may ſpeedily know your Reſolutions hereupon, and accordingly give his Directions. That you may ſee the King is in Earneſt, and the Matter is not capable of Delay, I am commanded to to let you know he hath given Order to his Attorney-General to enter up Judgment on* Saturday *next, unleſs you prevent it by your Compliance in all theſe Particulars.* A Common-Council was held at their return, to conſider of theſe Propoſals: And the Queſtion being put, whether they ſhould aſſent and ſubmit to his Majeſty's Order of Regulations? It was carry'd in the Affirmative by a Majority of Eighteen Voices: And this Submiſſion was preſented to his Majeſty on the 21st of *June*.

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A Submiſſion made.

Theſe evident Violations of *Liberty* and *Property*, improved by the nearer Proſpects of *Popery*, had provok'd many of the Nobility and Gentry to enter into ſome Meaſures of ſtopping the Torrent of the Court, and providing, if poſſible, for the Enjoyment of their eſtabliſh'd Laws and Religion. This was the true Riſe of what they call'd the *Fanatick Plot*, firſt diſcover'd by one *Keeling*, who gave a long and confuſed Narrative of it, only naming ſome mean Perſons, and charging three ſeveral Deſigns; one of ſurprizing the Guards; another of murdering the King and the Duke of *York* at the *Rye-Houſe*, as they were to paſs by from *New-Market*; and a third of an Inſurrection at *Black-Heath*, upon a Match at Foot-Ball there appointed. Upon this Diſcovery, a *Proclamation* was publiſh'd for the apprehending Colonel *John Rumſey*, *Richard Rumbold*, Malſter, *Richard Neltborp*, Eſq; *Edward Wade*, Gent. *Richard Good-enough*, Gent. Capt. *Walcott*, *William Thompſon*, *James Burton*, and *William Hone*, Joiner. Upon this Proclamation, Colonel *John Rumſey*, for a Pardon and Reward, ſurrender'd himſelf the next Day, and was examin'd by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, and made a large Confeſſion; which was ſoon confirm'd by the Information of Mr. *Robert Weſt* and Mr. *Sheppard*: So that on *June* 28. another *Proclamation* was iſſued for the apprehending of *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, *Ford* Lord *Gray*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, Kt. and *Robert Ferguſon*, a Fanatick Teacher. The Duke of *Monmouth* had been the laſt Summer diverting himſelf in the Country, with Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* in his Company: In his Return toward *London*, he was taken into Cuſtody of a Serjeant at Arms at *Stafford*. The Duke receiv'd the Meſſage with great Preſence of Mind, and went along with the Serjeant to *London*, and offer'd himſelf to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* to be examin'd, provided there were others of the Council preſent: But the Secretary refuſing to let any of the Lords attend, the Duke would not be queſtion'd by him; ſo the Secretary order'd a ſecond Warrant to be drawn for the Meſſenger's keeping him in Cuſtody longer, which he did from *Saturday* till *Monday*, and then the Duke was Bail'd before Judge *Raymond*: His Bail were the Earl of *Clare*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, *William-Leviſon Gower*, Eſq; and *John Offley*, Eſq;. The firſt Day of the Term he made his Appearance at the *King's-Bench Bar*, according to his Recognizance, and clear'd his Bail. He was now very unwilling to come into Cuſtody again, and therefore withdrew, as ſoon as the *Proclamation* came out for apprehending of him. As to *Ferguſon*, he had the Art of Eſcaping, in a manner thus related by a modern Writer: "Here I cannot omit acquainting the Reader, that *Ferguſon* was always look'd upon as the more dangerous Plotter, one that gave the *Bloodieſt Counſels* of all that were in the Confederacy; and yet when "this

Charge of a *Fanatick Plot.*

Character of *Robert Ferguſon.*

" this Warrant was deliver'd to Mr. *Legat* the " Meſſenger, to ſeize the reſt of the Offenders, " Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* gave *Legat* a ſtrict Command not to take *Ferguſon*, but to ſhun him " where-e'er he met him; and if he ſhould happen to find him in Company among the reſt, " he ſhould ſuffer him to eſcape: Which is ſuch " a *Myſtery*, that can never be unriddl'd, without " believing him to be a State-Intelligencer, to " betray the reſt of the Confederates. This Relation I had from ſeveral Gentlemen of known " Credit; but being unwilling to publiſh it upon " Hear-ſay, I ask'd Mr. *Legat* himſelf about it, " who is yet living, and a Meſſenger in this Reign, " and he aſſur'd me of the Truth of it, as it is " above related from his own Mouth, and who " will ſtill juſtify it to any Man, whoſe Curioſity " leads him to make farther Enquiry about it.

Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*.

The Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* had been formerly committed Cloſe-Priſoner to the *Tower*, upon Information given by *Fitz-Harris*'s Wife, that he was concern'd in Writing that Libel for which her Husband was executed. This Noble Peer had join'd with the *Whig-Party* in the Houſe of Lords, and had heard them talk many things with a Liberty common to Diſcontented Men: Which gave him an Opportunity of being capable to be made an Evidence; and it was ſaid, That the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* did now reconcile him to the Court, upon Condition *he ſhould go through the Drudgery of Swearing*. And upon this Encouragement he ſoon became (as Sir *John Hawles* calls him) a *Thorough-pac'd Evidence*: And upon his Information, Warrants for High-Treaſon were iſſued out againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, and others. The Earl of *Eſſex* not offering to abſcond, was preſently confin'd Priſoner in the *Tower*; where ſoon after he was found with his Throat cut by a Razor. This rais'd a Suſpicion of his being murder'd; and theſe Circumſtances happen'd to confirm it. The King and the Duke of *York* were at that very time within the *Tower*, where they had not been for near fifteen Years before. Before the Jury was impannell'd to make an Inqueſt upon this Fact, the Earl's Body was taken out of the Cloſet where the Fact was committed, and ſtript of the Cloaths, which were carry'd away, and the Cloſet waſh'd; and when one of the Jury inſiſted to ſee my Lord's Cloaths in which he died, the Coroner was ſent for into another Room; and upon his Return, he told the Jury, it was the Body, and not the Cloaths, they were to Sit upon. After this, a Motion being made, that the Jury ſhould adjourn, and give Notice to my Lord's Relations, that if they had any thing material to diſcover, they ſhould do it within ſuch a time: It was anſwer'd, That the King had ſent for the Inquiſition, and would not riſe from the Council-Board till it was brought. There was another unlucky Circumſtance that gave a greater Looſe to the Tongues of People, which was, that it happen'd on the very ſame Morning when my Lord *Ruſſel* was upon his Tryal; and particular Care was taken to give immediate Notice of it to the Court at the *Old-Bailey*: And the King's Counſel made a direct Uſe of it to confirm the *Plot*, and to condemn the Lord *Ruſſell*, as the more apparently guilty of it. But notwithſtanding theſe Preſumptions, and the Offer of alledging many more; it was rather taken for granted, that the Earl of *Eſſex*, from a Greatneſs of Spirit, had laid violent Hands on himſelf; and it is ſaid, that his neareſt Relations were of that Opinion[a]. The King himſelf ſeem'd to be very much concern'd at the Misfortune, and ſaid thus, *My Lord of* Eſſex *needed not to have deſpair'd of Mercy, for I ow'd him a Life*.

Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

On *Thurſday*, *July* 12. Capt. *Thomas Walcott* was brought to his Tryal upon this Plot, and was found guilty of High-Treaſon, in conſpiring the Death of his Majeſty, and preparing Money and Arms, in order to an Inſurrection for the Subverſion of the Government[b]. The next Day, *William* Lord *Ruſſell*, *William Hone*, and *John Rouſe*, were indicted for the ſame Crimes, and found guilty. On *July* 20. *Walcott*, *Rouſe* and *Hone*, were drawn upon Sledges to *Tyburn*, and there Hang'd and Quarter'd: And on the next Day Sentence of Death was likewiſe executed upon *William* Lord *Ruſſell*, by ſevering his Head from his Body upon a Scaffold erected for that Purpoſe in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, where he deliver'd a *Paper* to one of the Sheriffs, with this ſhort *Speech* to him:

The Lord *Ruſſel* executed.

Mr. Sheriff,

His Lordſhip's Speech and *Paper*.

I *Expected the Noiſe would be ſuch, that I could not be very well heard: I was never very fond of much ſpeaking, much leſs now; therefore I have ſet down in this* Paper *all that I think fit to leave behind me. God knows how far I was always from Deſigns againſt the King's Perſon, or of altering the Government; and I ſtill pray for the Preſervation of both, and of the Proteſtant Religion.*

I am told that Capt. Walcott *has ſaid ſomething concerning my Knowledge of the Plot: I know not whether the Report be true or no, but I hope it is not; for, to my Knowledge, I never ſaw him, to ſpeak with him, in my whole Life: And in the Words of a Dying Man, I know of no Plot, either againſt the King's Life, or the Government. But I have now done with this World, and am going to a better. I forgive all the World, and, I thank God, I die in Charity with all Men: And I wiſh all ſincere Proteſtants may love one another, and not make room for Popery by their Animoſities.*

The PAPER *deliver'd by the Lord* Russell *to the Sheriffs*[c].

" I Thank God I find my ſelf ſo compoſed and " prepared for Death, and my Thoughts ſo " fix'd on another World, that I hope in God I " am quiet from ſetting my Heart on this; yet I cannot

[a] The Reverend Dr. *Goodman* had been Chaplain and Confident of the Earl of *Eſſex*; and when ſeriouſly aſk'd his Opinion of the Death of his Lordſhip in the *Tower*, he anſwer'd, He would give All he had in this World to believe *that the Earl had not kill'd himſelf*.

[b] —— That Great, but Innocent Victim, that was ſacrificed to the Rage of a Party; I mean the Lord *Ruſſel*, who was condemn'd for Treaſonable Words, though there was not one Witneſs that ſwore *one Word* againſt him, it being only depoſed that Treaſonable Words were ſaid in his hearing; to which, as was ſworn, he was conſenting, tho' no Words of his were expreſs'd that imported any ſuch Conſent. *Biſhop of* Sarum'*s Vindication*, 8*vo*. p. 40.

[c] See two Sermons preach'd in *Newgate* before the Lord *Ruſſel* the Day before he ſuffer'd by Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, publiſh'd by the Author in 1713. 8*vo*. who ſays in the *Preface*, p. 23. I had been with the Lord *Ruſſel* in *Newgate* four whole Afternoons before that; for he deſir'd to be *alone* till twelve of the Clock. He did all that while poſſeſs his Soul with ſo clear a Serenity, in ſuch a calm and chriſtian manner, that I ſtill reckon it a particular Happineſs, as well as an Honour, that I attended then upon him. Before I preach'd theſe Sermons, he received the Sacrament from Dr. *Tillotſon*'s Hands; when the Office was ended, he ſhewed us the *Paper* he had prepared for his laſt Words. We had ſome Diſcourſe with him about the Lawfulneſs of Conſultations in order to Reſiſtance, in the State in which things were then. He thought the Violence uſed in the Matter of the Sheriffs of *London* ſhewed a Deſign to deſtroy ſuch Men as the Court thought ſtood in their way; of which he was among the firſt, he prayed God

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“ cannot forbear now the ſetting down in Writing a farther Account of my Condition, to be left behind me, than I will venture to ſay at the Place of Execution, in the Noiſe and Clutter that is like to be there. I bleſs God heartily for thoſe many Bleſſings which he in his infinite Mercy hath beſtow'd upon me through the whole Courſe of my Life: That I was born of worthy good Parents, and had the Advantages of a religious Education, which are invaluable Bleſſings; for, even when I minded it leaſt, it ſtill hung about me, and gave me Checks; and has now, for many Years, ſo influenc'd and poſſeſs'd me, that I feel the happy Effects of it in this my Extremity, in which I have been ſo wonderfully (I thank God) ſupported, that neither my Impriſonment, nor Fear of Death, have been able to diſcompoſe me in any degree; but, on the contrary, I have found the Aſſurances of the Love and Mercy of God, in and through my bleſſed Redeemer, in whom only I truſt: And I do not queſtion but I am going to partake of that Fulneſs of Joy which is in his Preſence: The Hopes therefore do ſo wonderfully delight me, that I think this is the happieſt Time of my Life, tho' others may look upon it as the ſaddeſt.

“ I have lived, and now am of the Reformed Religion, a true and ſincere *Proteſtant*, and in the Communion of the Church of *England*; tho' I could never yet comply with, or riſe up to all the Heights of many People. I wiſh with all my Soul all our Differences were remov'd; and that all ſincere *Proteſtants* would ſo far conſider the Danger of *Popery*, as to lay aſide their Heats, and agree againſt the common Enemy; and that the *Church-men* would be leſs ſevere, and the *Diſſenters* leſs ſcrupulous; for I think Bitterneſs and Perſecution are at all times bad, but much more now.

“ For *Popery*, I look on it as an Idolatrous and Bloody Religion, and therefore thought my ſelf bound, in my Station, to do all I could againſt it: And by that I foreſaw I ſhould procure ſuch great Enemies to my ſelf, and ſo powerful ones, that I have been now, for ſome time, expecting the worſt; and bleſſed be God I fall by the Axe, and not by the Fiery Tryal: Yet, whatever Apprehenſions I had of *Popery*, and of my own ſevere and heavy Share I was like to have under it, when it ſhould prevail, I never had a thought of doing any thing againſt it baſely or inhumanly, but what would conſiſt with the Chriſtian Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom: And I thank God I have examin'd all my Actions in that Matter with ſo great Care, that I can appeal to God Almighty, who knows my Heart, that I went on ſincerely, without being mov'd either by Paſſion, Bye-Ends, or ill Deſigns. I have always lov'd my Country much more than my Life, and never had any Deſign of changing the Government, which I value, and look upon as one of the beſt Governments in the World, and would always have been ready to venture my Life for the preſerving it, and would ſuffer any Extremity, rather than have conſented to any Deſign of taking away the King's Life; neither had any Man the Impudence to propoſe ſo baſe and barbarous a thing to me: And I look upon it as a very unhappy and uneaſy part of my preſent Condition, that there ſhould be ſo much as mention made of ſo vile a Fact, though nothing in the leaſt was ſaid to prove any ſuch Matter; but the contrary, by my Lord *Howard*: Neither does any Body, I am confident, believe the leaſt of it: So that I need not, I think, ſay more.

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“ For the King, I do ſincerely pray for him, and wiſh well to him and the Nation, that they may be happy in one another; that he may be indeed the *Defender of the Faith*; that the Proteſtant Religion, and the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, may be preſerv'd and flouriſh under his Government, and that himſelf, in his Perſon, may be happy both here and hereafter.

“ As for the Share I had in the Proſecution of the *Popiſh Plot*, I take God to Witneſs, that I proceeded in it in the Sincerity of my Heart, being then really convinc'd (as I am ſtill) that there was a Conſpiracy againſt the King, the Nation, and the Proteſtant Religion: And I likewiſe profeſs, that I never knew any thing, directly or indirectly, of any Practice with the Witneſſes; which I look upon as ſo horrid a thing, that I never could have endured it: For, I thank God, Falſhood and Cruelty were never in my Nature, but always the fartheſt from it imaginable. I did believe, and do ſtill, that *Popery* is breaking in upon this Nation; and that thoſe that advance it, will ſtop at nothing to carry on their Deſign. I am heartily ſorry that ſo many *Proteſtants* give their helping Hand to it: But I hope God will preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, and this Nation; though I am afraid it will fall under very great Trials, and very ſharp Sufferings: And indeed, the Impiety and Prophaneneſs that abounds, and appears ſo ſcandalouſly bare-fac'd every where, gives too juſt Occaſion to fear the worſt thing that can befal a People. I pray God prevent it, and give thoſe who have ſhewed a Concern for the Publick Good, and have appear'd hearty for the true Intereſt of the Nation, and the Proteſtant Religion, Grace to live ſo, that they may not caſt a Reproach on that which they endeavour to advance; which (God knows) has often given me ſad Thoughts: And I hope ſuch of my Friends as may think they are touch'd by this, will not take what I ſay in ill Part, but will endeavour to amend their Ways, and live ſuitable to the Rules of the true Reformed Religion; which is the only Thing that can adminiſter true Comfort at the Latter-End, and relieve a Man when he comes to die.

“ As for my preſent Condition, I bleſs God I have no Repining in my Heart at it; I know, for my Sins, I have deſerved much worſe at the Hands of God; ſo that I chearfully ſubmit to ſo ſmall a Puniſhment, as the being taken off a few Years ſooner, and the being made a Spectacle to the World. I do freely forgive all the World, particularly thoſe concern'd in taking away my Life; and I deſire and conjure all my Friends to think of no Revenge, but to ſubmit

God he might be the laſt. We thought that was indeed an unjuſtifiable Account; but till a *total Subverſion* came, we ſtill thought it was *unlawful to reſiſt*. He ſaid, *it would be then too late; he had all along had other Notions of the* Engliſh *Government, but he would then enter upon farther Debates upon theſe Matters*. He ſpent the reſt of the Day, till towards Evening, in Devotion: Then his Children and Friends came to him. He ſpoke to his Children in a way ſuited to their Age, with a good meaſure of Chearfulneſs, and took Leave of his Friends in ſo calm a manner as ſurpriz'd them all. The Parting with his Lady was not ſo eaſy to him: She ſtay'd with him all Day, and till Eleven at Night; then they parted in a ſolemn grave Silence. Upon which, when ſhe was gone, he ſaid to me, *The Bitterneſs of Death is now paſt.*

See the Letter of Dr. *John Tillotſon* to my Lord *Ruſſell* concerning the Point of Reſiſtance, if our Religion and Rights ſhould be invaded, dated *July* 20. 1683. With the Doctor's Prayer with his Lordſhip upon the Scaffold.

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" to the Holy Will of God, into whoſe Hands " I reſign my ſelf intirely.

" But to look back a little; I cannot but give " ſome Touch about the *Bill of Excluſion*, and " ſhew the Reaſons of my appearing in that Bu- " ſineſs; which, in ſhort, is this: That I thought " the Nation in ſuch Danger of *Popery*, and that " the Expectation of a *Popiſh Succeſſor* (as I have " ſaid in Parliament) put the King's Life likewiſe " in much Danger, that I ſaw no Way ſo effe- " ctual to ſecure both as ſuch a Bill. As to the " Limitations that were propoſed, if they were " ſincerely offer'd, and had paſſed into a Law, the " Duke then ſhould have been excluded from the " Power of a King, and the Government quite " altered, and little more than the Name of a " King left: So I could not ſee either Sin or Fault " in the one, when all People were willing to ad- " mit of the other; but thought it better to have " a King with his Prerogative, and the Nation " eaſy and ſafe under him, than a King without " it; which bred perpetual Jealouſies, and a con- " tinual Struggle. All this I ſay only to juſtify " my ſelf, and not to inflame others; though I " cannot but think my Earneſtneſs in that Matter " has had no ſmall Influence in my preſent Suffe- " rings. But I have now done with this World, " and am going to a Kingdom which cannot be " moved.

" And as to the *Conſpiring to ſeize the Guards*, " which is the Crime for which I am condemn'd, " and which is made a Conſtructive Treaſon for " taking away the King's Life, to bring it within " the Statute of *Edward* III. I ſhall give this " true and clear Account. I never was at Mr. " *Sheppard's* with that Company but once, and " there was no Undertaking then of ſecuring or " ſeizing the Guards, nor none appointed to view, " or examine them. Some Diſcourſe there was of " the Feaſibleneſs of it; and ſeveral times, by Ac- " cident in general Diſcourſe elſewhere, I have " heard it mention'd as a thing might eaſily be " done, but never conſented to, as a thing fit to " be done: And I remember particularly, at my " Lord *Shaftsbury's*, there being ſome general " Diſcourſe of this kind, I immediately flew out, " and exclaim'd againſt it, and ask'd, If the thing " ſucceeded, what muſt be done next, but Ma- " ſtering the Guards, and Killing them in Cold- " Blood? Which I look'd upon as a deteſtable " thing, and ſo like a *Popiſh* Practice, that I could " not but abhor it. And at the ſame time the " Duke of *Monmouth* took me by the Hand, and " told me very kindly, *My Lord, I ſee you and I* " *are of a Temper; Did you ever hear ſo horrid a* " *thing?* And I muſt needs do him Juſtice, to de- " clare, that I ever obſerv'd in him an Abhorrence " of all baſe things.

" As to my going to Mr. *Sheppard's*, I went " with an Intention to taſte *Sherry*; for he had " promis'd to reſerve for me the next very good " Piece he met with when I went out of Town; " and if he recollects himſelf, he may remember " I ask'd him about it, and he went and fetch'd a " Bottle; but when I taſted it, I ſaid it was hot " in the Mouth, and deſired, that whenever he " met with a choice Piece, he would keep it for " me; which he promiſed. I enlarge the more " upon this, becauſe Sir *George Jeffreys* inſinuated " to the Jury, as if I had made a Story, about " going thither: But I never ſaid that was the " only Reaſon, and I will now truly and plainly " add you the reſt.

" I was, the Day before this Meeting, come " to Town for two or three Days, as I had done " once or twice before, having a very near and " dear Relation lying in a languiſhing and deſpe- " rate Condition: And the Duke of *Monmouth* " came to me, and told me, *He was extremely glad* " *I was come to Town; for my Lord* Shaftsbury, " *and ſome hot Men, would undoe us all.* —— *How* " *ſo, my Lord?* (I ſaid.) —— *Why* (anſwer'd he) " *they will certainly do ſome diſorderly thing or o-* " *ther, if great Care be not taken; and therefore,* " *for God's ſake, uſe your Endeavour with your* " *Friends to prevent any thing of this kind.* He " told me there would be Company at Mr. *Shep-* " *pard's* that Night, and deſired me to be at home " in the Evening, and he would call me; which " he did. And when I came into the Room, I " ſaw Mr. *Rumſey* by the Chimney, though he " ſwears he came in afterward; and there were " Things ſaid by ſome, with much more Heat " than Judgment, which I did ſufficiently diſap- " prove; and yet for theſe Things I ſtand con- " demn'd: But, I thank God, my Part was ſin- " cere and well meant. It is, I know, inferred " from hence, and preſſed to me, that I was ac- " quainted with theſe Heats, and Ill Deſigns, and " did not diſcover them: But this could be but " *Miſpriſion* of Treaſon at moſt; ſo I die Innocent " of the Crime I ſtand condemn'd for. I hope, " no Body will imagine that ſo mean a Thought " ſhould enter into me, as to go about to ſave my " ſelf, by accuſing others: The Part that ſome " have acted lately of that kind has not been ſuch " as to invite me to love Life at ſuch a rate.

" As for the Sentence of Death paſſed upon me, " I cannot but think it a very hard one; for no- " thing was ſworn againſt me (whether true or " falſe, I will not now examine) but ſome Diſ- " courſes about making ſome Stirs. And this is " not Levying War againſt the King, which is " Treaſon by the Statute of *Edw.* III. and not " the conſulting and diſcourſing about it, which " was all that is witneſſed againſt me: But by a " ſtrange Fetch, the deſign of ſeizing the Guards " was conſtru'd a deſign of killing the King; and " ſo I was in that Caſt.

" And now I have truly and ſincerely told what " my Part was, in that which cannot be more " than a bare *Miſpriſion*; and yet I am condemn'd " as guilty of a Deſign of killing the King. I " pray God lay not this to the Charge, neither of " the King, Council, nor Judges, nor Sheriffs, " nor Jury: And for the Witneſſes, I pity them, " and wiſh them well. I ſhall not reckon up the " Particulars wherein they did me Wrong, I had " rather their own Conſciences would do that; " to which, and the Mercies of God, I leave " them: Only I ſhall averr, That what I ſaid of " my not hearing Col. *Rumſey* deliver any Meſ- " ſage from my Lord *Shaftsbury*, was true; for " I always deteſted Lying, though never ſo much " to my Advantage; and I hope none will be ſo " unjuſt and uncharitable, as to think I would " venture on it in theſe my laſt Words, for which " I am ſo ſoon to give an Account to the Great " God, the Searcher of Hearts, and Judge of all " Things.

" From the Time of chuſing Sheriffs, I con- " cluded the Heat in that Matter would produce " ſomething of this kind; and I am not much ſur- " priz'd to find it fall upon me: And I wiſh what " is done to me may put a Stop, and ſatiate ſome " People's Revenge, and that no more innocent " Blood be ſhed; for I muſt and do ſtill look up- " on mine to be ſuch, ſince I know I was guilty " of no Treaſon; and therefore I would not be- " tray my Innocency by Flight, (though much " preſs'd to it;) of which I do not, I thank God, " yet repent, how fatal ſoever it may have ſeemed " to have proved to me: For I look'd upon my " Death in this manner (I thank God) with other " Eyes than the World does. I know I ſaid but " little at the Tryal, and I ſuppoſe it looks more

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“ like Innocence than Guilt: I was alſo adviſed not to confeſs Matter of Fact plainly, ſince that certainly muſt have brought me within the Guilt of *Miſpriſion:* And being thus reſtrain'd from dealing frankly and openly, I choſe rather to ſay little, than to depart from that Ingenuity, that, by the Grace of God, I had carry'd along with me, in the former part of my Life; and ſo could eaſier be ſilent, and leave the whole Matter to the Conſciences of the Jury, than to make the beſt and ſolemneſt part of my Life ſo different from the Courſe of it, as the uſing little Tricks and Evaſions muſt have been. Nor did I ever pretend to any great Readineſs in Speaking. I wiſh thoſe Gentlemen of the Law, who have it, would make more Conſcience in the uſe of it, and not run Men down, and, by Strains and Fetches, impoſe on eaſy and willing Juries, to the Ruin of innocent Men: For to kill by Forms and Subtilties of the Law, is the worſt ſort of Murther: But I wiſh the Rage of hot Men, and the Partiality of Juries, may be ſtopp'd with my Blood; which I would offer up with ſo much the more Joy, if I thought I ſhould be the laſt that were to ſuffer in ſuch a way.

“ Since my Sentence I have had but few Thoughts, but Preparatory one's for Death; yet the Importunity of my Friends, and particularly the beſt and deareſt Wife in the World, prevail'd with me to ſign Petitions, and make an Addreſs for my Life; to which I was ever averſe: For (I thank God) though in all reſpects I have liv'd the happieſt and contented'ſt Man of the World (for now very near fourteen Years,) yet I am ſo willing to leave all, that it was not without difficulty that I did any thing for the ſaving of my Life, that was begging; but I was willing to let my Friends ſee what Power they had over me, and that I was not obſtinate nor ſullen, but would do any thing that an honeſt Man could do, for their Satisfaction; which was the only Motive that ſway'd, or had any weight with me.

“ And now to Sum up all; as I had not any Deſign againſt the King's Life, or the Life of any Man whatſoever, ſo I never was in any Contrivance of altering the Government. What the Heats, Paſſions and Vanities of other Men have occaſion'd, I ought not to be reſponſible for; nor could I help them, though I now ſuffer for them. But the Will of the Lord be done, into whoſe Hands I commend my Spirit; —— *And truſt that thou, O moſt merciful Father, haſt forgiven all my Tranſgreſſions, the Sins of my Youth, and all the Errors of my paſt Life; and that thou wilt not lay my ſecret Sins and Ignorances to my Charge, but wilt graciouſly ſupport me, during that ſmall time of Life now before me, and aſſiſt me in my laſt Moments, and not leave me then to be diſorder'd by Fear, or any other Temptations, but make the Light of thy Countenance to ſhine upon me: Thou art my Sun, and my Shield; and as thou ſupporteſt me by thy Grace, ſo I hope thou wilt hereafter Crown me with Glory, and receive* [a] *me into the Fellowſhip of Angels and Saints, in that bleſſed Inheritance purchaſed for me by my moſt merciful Redeemer, who is, I truſt, at thy Right Hand, preparing a place for me, and is ready to receive me; into whoſe Hands I commend my Spirit.*

In the beginning of *Auguſt*, a Deſcription was given, and a Reward promiſed, for the diſcovery of theſe Conſpirators that fled; *Richard* and *Francis Goodenough*, *Richard Nelthorp*, *Nathanael Wade*, *Joſeph Tyley*, *Stephen Lobb*, *Hugh Weſtlach*, *Edward Norton*, *John Row*, *John Ayloffe*, and *Robert Ferguſon*, of whom this laſt was thus deſcrib'd, *A tall lean Man, dark brown Hair, a great Roman Noſe, thin Jaw'd, heat in his Face, ſpeaks in the* Scotch *Tone, a ſharp piercing Eye, ſtoops a little in the Shoulders; he hath a ſhuffling Gate that differs from all Men, wears his Perriwig down almoſt over his Eyes, about 45 or 46 Years old.*

Algernoon Sidney's hard Uſage.

Under a vigorous purſuit of this *Plot*, the Honourable Colonel *Algernoon Sidney* was taken up, not directly for a Plotter, but for a Republican and a Fanatick: He lay ſome time in the *Tower*, and was brought thence, by *Habeas Corpus*, on the 7th of *November*, to the *King's-Bench-Bar*, where he was arraign'd, upon an Indictment of High-Treaſon, in conſpiring the death of the King, and levying War againſt his Majeſty. To which he pleaded *not Guilty*, and deſired a Fortnight's time for his Tryal; which being granted, he came to his ſaid Tryal on the 21ſt of *November*, and was found *guilty*. He was known to be a Perſon of excellent Parts, and political Knowledge; and yet he was obſerv'd to ſay very little in his own Defence, as believing whatever he ſhould ſay would ſignifie nothing with that Judicature, who he thought had already prejudg'd him: And ſo it was really in effect. For as the learned Sir *John Hawles* has well remark'd, “*He was merely talk'd to death*, under the Notion of a *Commonwealth's-man*; and found Guilty, by a Jury who were not much more proper Judges in the Caſe, than they would have been, if what he had wrote had been done by him in *Syriac* or *Arabick*. It's obſervable, the Indictment againſt him was never Preſented to the Grand Jury before they came into the *Hall*, and yet they *found it* immediately. The greateſt part of the Evidence (as it was in my Lord *Ruſſell's* Caſe) was only hear-ſay; and *Weſt*, whoſe Evidence was once rejected, was now admitted to tell a long Story of what he had heard by common Fame, and in mix'd Converſation. My Lord *Howard* was Rhetorical even to Pedantry, upon the Matter, according to his vain Cuſtom. The two chief Articles againſt him, were, *His ſending a Meſſenger into* Scotland, *to invite them into a Rebellion; And his writing a Treaſonable Libel, found in his Cloſet, upon the Original and Forms of Government.*

As to the firſt Fact, the Priſoner abſolutely deny'd it. As to the other, he anſwer'd, That if the Papers were his, they might be written long ſince, in Anſwer to Sir *Robert Filmer*'s Book, for his own Diverſion, and not for Publication. But one of the Council warmly urg'd this new Axiom in Law, *Scribere eſt Agere*, and cited this Paſſage out of the ſaid Writing; *The King is ſubject to the Law of God, as he is a Man; and to the People that made him ſuch, as a King:* And further argued, That the ſaid Author had maliciouſly produced ſeveral Examples, how ſome evil Princes had been ſometimes deſtroy'd by a popular Fury, and others had been depos'd. It was never ſo much as prov'd to be his Hand Writing: But whatever the writing of thoſe Papers was then thought to

[a] See *a Paper entitled, The Opinion is this that Reſiſtance may be uſed in caſe our Religion and Rights ſhould be invaded.* The Writer, Mr. *Sam. Johnſon* tells us it was written in Vindication of my Lord *Ruſſell* of ever bleſſed Memory, whoſe Opinion it was, and from whom it could not be wreſted at his Death. The wretched Author of all our Miſeries, and the everlaſting Enemy of our Country knows very well at what diſadvantage that great Lord was taken, when he was practis'd upon to retract that Opinion, and to bequeath a Legacy of Slavery to his Country. *Collect. of Papers by Mr.* Samuel Johnſon.

1683. 35 Car. II. be, the Printing of them has been ſince found to be ſafe and legal, and they are no more than an Eſſay upon Government, with a ſtrong Byaſs to a Commonwealth. The Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys* ſhew'd himſelf an angry Party againſt him; for without any regard to the Noble Family of the Earls of *Leiceſter*, and to the Name of the *Sidney*'s, he was pleas'd to tell the Jury, that *the Priſoner was born a Traytor*. After his Condemnation he is ſaid to have deſpiſed the way of Petitioning to his Majeſty about the diſpoſal of his Body; but by the application of his Friends, he had the Honour, on the 7th of *December*, to die upon a Scaffold erected on *Tower-Hill*, where he made this SPEECH:

Men, Brethren and Fathers; Friends, Countrymen and Strangers;

His dying Speech. “IT may be expected that I ſhould now ſay ſome great Matters unto you: But the rigour of the Seaſon, and the infirmities of my Age, encreaſed by a cloſe Impriſonment of above five Months, doth not permit me.

“Moreover, we live in an Age that maketh Truth paſs for Treaſon: I dare not ſay any thing contrary unto it; and the Ears of thoſe that are about me, will probably be found too tender to hear it. My Tryal and Condemnation doth ſufficiently evidence this.

“*Weſt*, *Rumſey* and *Keyling*, who were brought to prove the *Plot*, ſaid no more of me, than that they knew me not; and ſome others, equally unknown unto me, had uſed my Name, and that of ſome others, to give a little Reputation unto their Deſigns. The Lord *Howard* is too infamous by his Life, and the many Perjuries not to be denied, or rather ſworn by himſelf, to deſerve mention; and being a ſingle Witneſs, would be of no value, though he had been of an unblemiſh'd Credit, or had not ſeen and confeſs'd that the Crimes committed by him would be pardon'd, only for committing more; and even the Pardon promis'd, could not be obtain'd till the drudgery of Swearing was over.

“This being laid aſide, the whole Matter is reduc'd to the *Papers* ſaid to be found in my Cloſet by the King's Officers, without any other Proof of their being written by me, than what is taken from the Suppoſition upon the Similitude of an Hand, that is eaſily counterfeited, and which have been lately declar'd, in the Lady *Car*'s Caſe, to be no lawful Evidence in Criminal Cauſes.

“But, if I had been ſeen to write them, the Matter would not be much altered; they plainly appear to relate unto a large Treatiſe written long ſince, in Anſwer to *Filmer*'s Book, which, by all intelligent Men, is thought to be grounded upon wicked Principles, equally pernicious unto Magiſtrates and People.

“If he might publiſh unto the World his Opinion, That all Men are born, under a Neceſſity, deriv'd from the Laws of God and Nature, to ſubmit unto an abſolute Kingly Government, which could be reſtrain'd by no Law or Oath; and that he that hath the Power, whether he came unto it by Creation, Election, Inheritance, Uſurpation, or any other way, had the Right; none muſt oppoſe his Will, but the Perſons and Eſtates of his Subjects muſt be indiſpenſably ſubject unto it: —— I know not why I might not have publiſh'd my Opinion to the contrary, without the Breach of any Law I have yet known,

“I might, as freely as he, publickly have declared my Thoughts, and the Reaſons upon which they were grounded: And I am perſuaded to believe, that God had left Nations unto the liberty of ſetting up Governments as beſt pleaſed themſelves. 1683. 35 Car. II.

“That Magiſtrates were ſet up for the good of Nations, not Nations for the Honour or Glory of the Magiſtrates.

“That the Right and Power of Magiſtrates in every Country, was that which the Laws of that Country made it be.

“That thoſe Laws were to be obſerv'd; and the Oaths taken by them, having the Force of a Contract between Magiſtrate and People, could not be violated without danger of diſſolving the whole Fabrick.

“That Uſurpation could give no Right; and the moſt dangerous of all Enemies to Kings, were they, who raiſing their Power to an exorbitant height, allow'd unto Uſurpers all the Rights belonging unto it.

“That ſuch Uſurpations being ſeldom compaſs'd without the Slaughter of the reigning Perſon or Family, the worſt of all Villanies was thereby rewarded with the moſt glorious Privileges.

“That if ſuch Doctrines were receiv'd, they would ſtir up Men to the deſtruction of Princes, with more violence than all the Paſſions that have hitherto raged in the Hearts of the moſt unruly.

“That none could be ſafe, if ſuch a Reward were propoſed unto any that could deſtroy them.

“That few would be ſo gentle as to ſpare even the Beſt; if, by their deſtruction, one, of a wild uſurper, could become God's anointed; and by the moſt execrable Wickedneſs, inveſt himſelf with that divine Character. ——

“This is the ſcope of the whole Treatiſe; the Writer gives ſuch Reaſons, as at preſent did occur unto him, to prove it. This ſeems to agree with the Doctrines of the moſt reverenc'd Authors of all Times, Nations and Religions: The beſt and wiſeſt Kings have ever acknowledg'd it. The preſent King of *France* hath declared, That Kings have that happy want of Power, that they can do nothing contrary unto the Laws of their Country; and grounds his Quarrel with the King of *Spain*, *Anno* 1667. upon that Principle. King *James*, in his *Speech* to the Parliament, *Anno* 1603. doth in the higheſt degree aſſert it: The Scriptures ſeem to declare it. If nevertheleſs the Writer was miſtaken, he might have been refuted by Law, Reaſon and Scripture; and no Man, for ſuch Matters, was ever otherwiſe puniſh'd, than by being made to ſee his Error: And it hath not (as I think) been known, that they had been referr'd to the Judgment of a Jury, compoſed of Men utterly unable to comprehend them.

“But there was little of this in my Caſe; the Extravagance of my Perſecutors goes higher: The abovemention'd Treatiſe was never finiſh'd, nor could be in many Years, and moſt probably would never have been. So much as is of it, was written long ſince, never review'd nor ſhew'd unto any Man; and not the fiftieth part of it was produc'd, and not the tenth of that afforded to be read. That which was never known unto thoſe who are ſaid to have conſpir'd with me, was ſaid to be intended to ſtir up the People, in proſecution of the Deſigns of thoſe Conſpirators.

“When nothing of particular application unto Time, Place, or Perſon, could be found in it, (as hath ever been done by thoſe who endeavoured to raiſe Inſurrections,) all was ſupply'd by *Innuendo*'s.

“Whatſoever is ſaid of the Expulſion of *Tarquin*, the Inſurrection againſt *Nero*, the Slaughter of *Caligula* or *Domitian*, the Tranſlation of

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" the Crown of *France* from *Merovius*'s Race unto *Pepin*, and from his Deſcendants, unto *Hugh Capet*, and the like, are applied, by *Innuendo*, unto the King.

" They have not conſider'd, that if ſuch Acts of State be not good, there is not a King in the World that has any Title to that Crown he wears; nor can have any, unleſs he could deduce his Pedigree from the eldeſt Son of *Noah*, and ſhew that the Succeſſion had ſtill continu'd in the eldeſt of the eldeſt Line, and been ſo deduced to him.

" Every one may ſee what Advantage this would be to all the Kings of the World; and whether that failing, it were not better for them to acknowledge they had receiv'd their Crown by the conſent of willing Nations; or to have no better Title unto them than Uſurpation and Violence, which by the ſame ways may be taken from them.

" But I was long ſince told, That I muſt die, or the Plot muſt die.

" Leſt the means of deſtroying the beſt Proteſtants in *England* ſhould fail, the Bench muſt be fill'd with ſuch as had been Blemiſhes to the Bar.

" None but ſuch as theſe would have adviſ'd with the King's Councel, of the means of bringing a Man to death; ſuffer a Jury to be pack'd by the King's Solicitors and the under Sheriff; admit of Jury-men who are not Freeholders; receive ſuch Evidence as is abovemention'd; refuſe a Copy of an Indictment, or ſuffer the Statute of 46 *Edw.* III. to be read, that doth expreſſly enact, It ſhould in no Caſe be denied unto any Man, upon any Occaſion whatſoever; over-rule the moſt important Points of Law, without hearing. And whereas the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. upon which they ſaid I ſhould be Try'd, doth reſerve unto the Parliament all Conſtructions to be made in Points of Treaſon; they could aſſume themſelves not only a Power to make Conſtructions, but ſuch Conſtructions as neither agree with Law, Reaſon, or common Senſe.

" By theſe means I am brought to this Place: —— *The Lord forgive theſe Practices, and avert the Evils that threaten the Nation for them. The Lord ſanctifie theſe my Sufferings unto me; and though I fall as a Sacrifice unto Idols, ſuffer not Idolatry to be eſtabliſh'd in this Land. Bleſs thy People, and ſave them; defend thine own Cauſe, and defend thoſe that defend it: Stir up ſuch as are faint; direct thoſe that are willing; confirm thoſe that waver; give Wiſdom and Integrity unto all: Order all things ſo, as may moſt redound to thine own Glory. Grant that I may die glorifying thee for all thy Mercies, and that at the laſt thou haſt permitted me to be ſingled out as a Witneſs of thy Truth, and even, by the Confeſſion of my Oppoſers, for that* OLD CAUSE *in which I was from my Youth engaged, and for which thou haſt often and wonderfully declar'd thy ſelf.*

On the laſt Day of *Michaelmas-Term*, the Lord *Brandon Gerard*, Mr. *Hambden*, Jun. Mr. *Booth*, Mr. *Trenchard*, Mr. *Charlton*, and Major *Wildman*, who had been all accus'd as Conſpirators in the late *Plot*, were brought by *Habeas Corpus* from the *Tower* to the *King's-Bench-Bar*; and there being but one Witneſs againſt them, they were admitted to give Bail for their appearance the firſt Day of the next Term: Which appearance they made on the 23d of *January*, and their Recognizances were continu'd. Mr. *Hambden* had Notice, that his Tryal would be on the firſt *Wedneſday* in *February*; where dropping the Treaſon, he was found guilty of a high Miſdemeanor, and was fin'd forty thouſand Pounds to the King, to find Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life, and to be committed till it was perform'd: But the Lord *Brandon*, Mr. *Booth*, Major *Wildman*, Mr. *Charlton*, Mr. *Trenchard*, and ſome others that were Bailed the laſt Term, had now the Favour to be diſcharg'd.

Mr *Hambden* fined, and others diſcharg'd.

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An Information had been exhibited the laſt Term againſt Mr. *Lawrence Braddon*, and Mr. *Hugh Speak*, ſetting forth, " That whereas the late Earl of *Eſſex*, committed to the *Tower* for High-Treaſon, had, on the 13th of *July* laſt, cut his own Throat, and was, by Inquiſition, taken before the Coroner of the Liberty of the *Tower*, found *Felo de ſe*; the ſaid *Braddon* and *Speak*, to defame the Government, had conſpired together, by writing and otherwiſe, to ſpread a falſe and ſcandalous Report, That the ſaid Earl was murder'd by ſome Perſons about him; and had endeavour'd to ſuborn Witneſſes to teſtifie the ſame." The Tryal was brought on, on the 7th of *February*, and having laſted till three in the Afternoon, the Court roſe, leaving the Jury to give in a private Verdict to one of the Judges, which they deliver'd next Morning, and it was, *That the ſaid* Braddon *was guilty of the whole Matter charg'd in the Information; and that* Speak *was guilty of all the Matter except the Subornation.*

Tryal of *Braddon* and *Speak*.

John Darby, a Printer, had been convicted upon an Information the laſt Term, for a Miſdemeanor, in Printing a Seditious Libel call'd, *My Lord* Ruſſell's *Speech*; and he was now, on *Febr.* 1. brought to the Court of *King's-Bench*, to receive his Judgment. He humbly ſubmitted himſelf to the Court, and begg'd Pardon, with a Promiſe never to commit the like Offence: And therefore the Court gave a milder Sentence, That he ſhould pay twenty Marks for a Fine to the King, and find Sureties for his good Behaviour for a Twelvemonth; and till this was paid and done, he ſhould be committed to the Priſon of the *King's-Bench.*

Conviction of *John Darby* a Printer.

Another Information had been exhibited againſt Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton*, for writing and publiſhing in four *Letters*, to ſeveral Perſons in the Country, moſt ſcandalous and ſeditious Reflections againſt the Government, and concerning the late horrid Conſpiracy: Of which, in a Tryal had at the *Guildhall*, before my Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, on *Febr.* 14. he was found guilty.

Information againſt Sir *Sam. Barnardiſton.*

Another Information had been preferr'd the laſt Term, againſt Mr. *Johnſon*, a Clergyman of good Parts and Character, for writing and publiſhing what they term'd *a very ſcandalous and ſeditious Book*, call'd, *Julian the Apoſtate*; wherein the Author had only confuted thoſe Notions of Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance which ſome Writers, and thoſe eſpecially of his own Order, had carry'd up to a Conſequence of Tyranny and Slavery. He was call'd to his Sentence on *Febr.* 11. when the Court of *King's-Bench* had judg'd, " That he ſhould pay five hundred Marks for a Fine to the King; That he find Sureties for his good Behaviour for a Year; that he ſhould be committed to the Priſon of the *King's-Bench* till this be paid and done, and that the Book be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman.

Againſt Mr. *Sam. Johnſon.*

The Lords in the *Tower*, upon a Parliamentary Impeachment, had often mov'd for Bail, which could never be obtain'd: But the Earl of *Danby* made now another Motion in *Hilary-Term*, and had the Caſe argu'd by learned Councel; and on *February* 12. the Judges deliver'd their Opinions ſeverally, giving their Reaſons, and concluding all in one Judgment, *That his Lordſhip ought to be Bail'd:* And accordingly Bail was taken, his Lordſhip being bound in a Recognizance of twenty thouſand Pounds; and the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Albemarle*, and the Earls of *Oxford* and *Cheſterfield*, his Sureties in five thouſand Pounds a-piece, upon condition,

The Earl of *Danby* Bail'd.

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condition, That the Earl of *Danby* do appear in the Houſe of Lords the next Seſſion of Parliament, and not depart without leave of that Court. This was to be a Precedent for the Liberty of the Popiſh Lords; and therefore, on the ſame Day the Earl of *Powys*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, and the Lord *Bellaſis* (the Lord *Petre* dying in the *Tower*, under Confinement,) were brought from the *Tower*, and the Earl of *Tyrone* from the *Gate-houſe*, to the Court of *King's-Bench*, upon Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, praying, by their Councel, to be admitted to Bail. Mr. Attorney-General declar'd, he had Order from his Majeſty to conſent to any thing that the Court ſhould think fit to be done: Upon which my Lord Chief-Juſtice and the other Judges did agree, *That for the ſame Reaſons they had given in the Earl of* Danby's *Caſe, theſe Lords ought likewiſe to be Bail'd*; and accordingly Recognizances and Sureties were accepted.

The *Popiſh* Lords Bail'd.

The Duke of *Monmouth* had abſconded (or ſeem'd to do ſo) ever ſince the Proclamation for apprehending the Conſpirators; but now, in confidence of the King's Affection, and a Satisfaction in his own dutiful Intentions to the King, he reſolv'd to diſcover himſelf: So he wrote a Letter to his Majeſty, with ſome acknowledgments of his Folly, and promiſing better Obedience for the future. The King, in Anſwer, requir'd him to ſurrender himſelf to the Secretary of State: Which he did not immediately care to venture. He wrote again to the King, and in this *Letter* he aggravates *his ſorrow, and tortures of Mind, for his Failings againſt his Majeſty*; confeſſing, *that being fatally circumvented by the Inchantments of others, he was precipitated into thoſe Evils, the Conſequences whereof he had not expected*. The King, at laſt, granted him an Interview, as appears by the Duke's own Journal taken in his Pocket after *Sedgmore* Fight: "His Majeſty, at their firſt meeting, aſſur'd the "Duke of his not believing he ever knew any "thing of the *Rye-houſe Plot*; *but* (ſays the King) "*as things go, I muſt behave my ſelf as if I did be-*"*lieve it.* The King ſaw him on the 13th of *Octo-*"*ber*, and there was another meeting to have been "on the 2d of *November*; but there being an ex-"traordinary Council, the King did not come." Theſe Interviews were held at one Major *Long*'s Houſe in the City, who has often atteſted the Truth of it. "The 4th of *November* the King "came again, was very kind, and gave the Duke "Directions how to manage his Buſineſs, and what "to ſay, ordering a Perſon to come to him every "Night till Matters were ripe. On the 9th the "Duke was told his Buſineſs ſhould be done to "his Mind the next Week; That Intereſt was "made to the Duke of *York* for him by another "Perſon, which his Majeſty took kindly of that "Perſon. The Meſſenger ſaid at parting, there "ſhould be nothing requir'd of him but what "was ſafe and honourable; adding, ſomething "muſt be done to blind the Duke of *York*. *No-*"*vemb.* 15. the Lord who came between the King "and him, brought the Duke the Copy of the "Letter he was to write to pleaſe his Royal "Highneſs. The Duke was perſuaded to do this, "yet before he parted with the *Letter* he deſir'd "to know in whoſe Hands it was to be depoſited, "for he would truſt it with none but the King. "The Lord told him it ſhould be as he would "have it; though if his Royal Highneſs ask'd a "Copy it could not be refus'd. The Duke ſaid, "he muſt refer himſelf intirely to his Majeſty's "Pleaſure. In this *Letter* he was made to write, "*That his Crimes appear'd to him with ſo terrible* "*an Aſpect, that he would rather Die than be tor-*"*mented with the Stings of them: He therefore im-*"*plor'd the King's Grace and Pardon, which he did* "*not deſire but by the Mediation of his Royal High-*"*neſs.*" The 24th of *November* the ſame Lord came to him, and acquainted him, "That his "Majeſty's Command was, to render himſelf the "next Day; caution'd him to play his Part, to "avoid Queſtions as much as poſſible, and to ſeem "abſolutely converted to his Unkle's Intereſt, bid-"ding him bear with ſome Words that might "ſeem harſh." The way being thus made for the Duke of *Monmouth*'s appearance at Court, and for his formal Reconciliation to the King, a Relation of it was thus given to the Publick, to pleaſe the Duke of *York*, and to deceive the People.

Duke of *Monmouth* ſurrenders himſelf.

The Affection and Arts of the King.

Whitehall, November 25. *His Majeſty having this Afternoon called an extraordinary Council, was pleas'd to acquaint them, That the Duke of* Monmouth *did laſt Night ſurrender himſelf to Mr. Secretary* Jenkins, *having before writ a very ſubmiſſive* Letter *to his Majeſty, intirely reſigning himſelf to his Majeſty's diſpoſal. That his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs went down to Mr. Secretary's Office, where the Duke of* Monmouth *was, who ſhewed himſelf very ſenſible of his Crime in the late Conſpiracy, making a full Declaration of it: And that having ſhew'd an extraordinary Penitence for the ſame, and made a particular Submiſſion to his Royal Highneſs, for his Miſbehaviour towards him; his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs receiv'd ſo much Satisfaction, that, upon his Royal Highneſs's deſire and intreaty, his Majeſty was pleas'd to pardon the ſaid Duke, and thereupon did Order Mr. Attorney-General to ſtop farther Proceedings againſt him: But Order'd he ſhould proceed, notwithſtanding, againſt all the reſt of the Conſpirators.*

The Duke of *Monmouth*, in his own *Journal*, farther obſerves, "That his Majeſty ſeeing him "at Night, could not diſſemble his Satisfaction, "but preſs'd his Hand; which he had not done "ſince his Return from the *French* Service. The "King acted his Part very well, ſo did the Duke; "and his Royal Highneſs was not ill pleaſed. "The next Day his Majeſty took the Duke aſide, "and falling on the Buſineſs of the Lord *Ruſſell*, "ſaid, *He enclin'd to have ſav'd him, but was* "*forc'd to conſent to his Death, otherwiſe he muſt* "*have broke with his Brother.* And when the "Duke was going to remonſtrate how cruelly "that noble Lord had been dealt with, the King "bid him *think no more of it.* At Night, the "Lord, who was the King and the Duke's Con-"fident, told his Grace, He fear'd the Duke of "*York* began to ſmell out his Majeſty's Carriage; "for a Courtier had that Morning told his Royal "Highneſs, *All that was done was but a Sham;* "*and his Royal Highneſs appearing to be the Inſtru-*"*ment of the Reconciliation, was a mere Trick.*" 'Tis certain the Duke of *York* did ſuſpect the Double-dealing; and was ſo far incens'd at it, that he would not be content, till the King demanded of the Duke of *Monmouth* the Publication of his two *Letters*; one of which he had written before his Surrendring, and the other after. In this latter he was brought to ſay, *He was inform'd 'twas reported of him as if he had deſign'd to extenuate the late Conſpiracy, and traduce the Teſtimony againſt them that ſuffer'd. His Majeſty and the Duke knew how ingenuouſly he confeſs'd all things, and that he was not conſcious of the leaſt Evil againſt his Majeſty: It grieved him, however, that he had ſo greatly countenanc'd the ſaid Conſpiracy. He would publiſh this for his Vindication, beſeeching his Majeſty not to look back, but that he would pleaſe to forget thoſe Injuries which he had forgiven: It ſhould be his Care, for the future, to ſin no more, or ſuffer himſelf to be miſled from his Duty. He would ſpend his whole Life, to deſerve that Pardon which he had granted to,*

Duke of *York* diſſatisfy'd.

His Moſt Dutiful *MONMOUTH.*

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To this Motion of the King, the Duke humbly anſwer'd, "That the firſt *Paper* was ſign'd on "Aſſurance it ſhould never be made publick, and "therefore he muſt poſitively refuſe to conſent to "it; and that the laſt was got out of him by "Threats and Promiſes: So he earneſtly addreſs'd "himſelf to his Majeſty to have the firſt *Letter* "deliver'd back to him; and ſaid, he thought "the laſt was a Diminution of his Honour." The King uſed Arguments to perſuade him to conſent that all his *Letters* might be printed, as the only Means to continue him in his Favour, without offending his Royal Highneſs: But the Duke would by no means conſent, and therefore was to fall again under his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, and muſt be baniſh'd from the Court. The Duke makes this Entry in his Journal, *Novemb.* 27. *Several told me of the Storm that was brewing:* Rumſey *was with* 39, (*i. e.* the Duke of *York*) *and was ſeen to come out, crying, That he muſt accuſe a Man he lov'd.* The King gave his ſecret Inſtructions to the Duke of *Monmouth*, that he ſhould, for his own Safety, go out of *England:* And yet his Majeſty wrote a Letter to him on *Decemb.* 19. *bidding him ſtay till he heard farther from him.* But it ſeems the King could not prevail with his Brother to forgive the Duke; and therefore he retir'd to *Holland*, and met with a noble Reception at the *Hague*. His Majeſty was well-pleas'd with the Entertainment he found in another Court; tho', for Reaſons of State, he was oblig'd to forbid him his own: He ſecretly ſupply'd him with Money, and ſometimes writ to him with his own Hand; and could never endure thoſe Courtiers, that (by miſtake) thought it a Complement to ſpeak ill of him, and to aggravate his Diſobedience to his Majeſty.

Duke of *Monmouth* again under the King's Diſpleaſure.

Marriage of the Lady *Anne* and *George* Prince of *Denmark*.

The moſt happy Action in this Year, was the Marriage of the Princeſs *Anne* to a Proteſtant Prince, *George*, Brother to the King of *Denmark*. 'Tis certain that the King, by his own Judgment, or by an over-ruling Providence, had taken Care that his two Nieces ſhould be ſtrictly bred up in the Religion of the Church of *England*, and both marry'd into Proteſtant Families, even againſt the Inclination, and the Deſign and Intereſt of their Father. The preſent Match had this Notice given of it by Authority:

Whitehall, July 28. "His Majeſty having been "pleaſed, upon Inſtance made unto him, in the "Name of the King of *Denmark*, to conſent, "that his Brother, Prince *George*, ſhould come "hither to make his Addreſſes to the Lady *Anne*, "his Majeſty's Niece, in order to Marriage: The "ſame was accordingly celebrated this Evening at "St. *James*'s by the Biſhop of *London*, in the Preſence of their Majeſty's, their Royal Highneſſes, "and the Chiefeſt of the Nobility. And ſince "their Majeſties and their Royal Highneſſes, as "likewiſe the Prince and Princeſs, have upon this "Occaſion received the Complements and Con"gratulations of the Foreign Miniſters reſiding at "this Court.

An Order againſt Printing the *Journals of the* Houſe of Commons.

The King ſeem'd reſolv'd not to be troubled with another Houſe of Commons, and labour'd to ſuppreſs all Accounts of the late Proceedings in Parliament; as appears by this *Order* of Council, dated *Novemb.* 16. *Whereas Mr.* Jodrell, *Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, hath this Day made Oath before his Majeſty in Council, that he is credibly inform'd, and well aſſured, that divers Bookſellers in* London, *and elſewhere, have ſurreptitiouſly obtained ſeveral Books, pretended to be Copies of all the Journals of the ſaid Houſe of Commons ever ſince his Majeſty's moſt happy Reſtauration, and do deſign to print the ſame, by which many Errors and Miſtakes will unavoidably happen therein. His Majeſty was this Day pleas'd to order in Council, that no Perſon whatever do preſume to print, or cauſe to be printed, the ſaid* Journals, *or any part thereof, without his Majeſty's Licenſe in that behalf firſt had and obtained. And it was farther ordered, that Notice of this his Majeſty's Pleaſure be publiſh'd in the next* Gazette, *to the end none may pretend Ignorance thereof.*

Honours and Preferments.

As to *Honours* and *Preferments:* On *Aug.* 14. his Majeſty, as a Mark of his Royal Favour, Knighted *William Halford* of *Welham*, and *Edward Wigley* of *Scraptoft* in the County of *Leiceſter*, Eſq;. On *Sept.* 26. his Majeſty was pleas'd, as a Mark of the gracious Eſteem he had for the great and faithful Services which the Right Honourable Sir *Francis North*, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, had render'd the Crown, to create him a Baron of this Kingdom, by the Name and Style of Baron of *Guilford*, in the County of *Surrey*. About the ſame time, the Place of Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench* being vacant by the Death of Sir *Edmund Sanders*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the ſame upon Sir *George Jeffreys*, Kt. and Bar. Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*; who, on *Michaelmas-Day*, was accordingly ſworn into that Office by the Lord-Keeper. His Majeſty was likewiſe pleas'd to conſtitute Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, in the room of Sir *Francis Pemberton*, who not being able to go into all the new Meaſures of the Court, had now obtain'd his *Quietus*. And Sir *Richard Holloway*, one of his Majeſty's Serjeants at Law, was ſworn one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, in the place of Mr. Juſtice *Raymond*, deceas'd. On *Octob.* 4. Mr. Attorney-General acquainted his Majeſty, that Judgment was entred upon the *Quo-Warranto* againſt the City of *London*, according to his Majeſty's Command: Whereupon the King commanded the late Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs of the City to attend him in Council: Who attended accordingly; and being call'd in, Sir *William Pritchard* was ſworn Lord-Mayor; and *Peter Daniel*, and *Samuel Daſhwood*, Eſq; took the uſual Oaths of Sheriffs; and his Majeſty then deliver'd to them their Commiſſions, under the Great Seal, to hold their reſpective Offices during his Pleaſure. His Majeſty was likewiſe pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *Thomas Jenner* of the *Inner-Temple*, Eſq; and to conſtitute him Recorder of the City of *London:* And on the ſame Day the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys* was ſworn of the Privy-Council. On *New-Year's-Day* Prince *George* of *Denmark* was elected a Knight-Companion of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*, in a Chapter held at *Whitehall*, being firſt Knighted by the Sovereign, and then inveſted with the *George* and *Garter:* And on *Jan.* 10. the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Northumberland* were elected Knights-Companions of the ſame Order. About the middle of *January* his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Style and Dignity of a Duke of this Kingdom upon *Charles* Earl of *Burford*, his Natural Son, by creating him Duke of St. *Albans*. On the firſt Day of *Hilary-Term*, Sir *Thomas Jenner*, Kt. *John Wyndham*, Eſq; *Edwin Wyatt*, Eſq; *Edward Birch*, Eſq; *Henry Bedinfield*, Eſq; Sir *Edward Nevile*, Kt. Sir *Paul Barret*, Kt. *Anthony Farrington*, Eſq; *John Jeffreſon*, Eſq; *Edward Lutwiche*, Eſq; *Richard Heath*, Eſq; *Henry Selby*, Eſq; *John Millington*, Eſq; *Thomas Powell*, Eſq; *Owen Wynne*, Eſq; and Sir *George Pudſey*, Kt. being called, by the King's Writ, to take upon them the State and Degree of Serjeants at Law, appear'd in the Court of *Chancery*, and took their Oaths, and perform'd the uſual Ceremonies of a Proceſſion to *Weſtminſter-Hall*

The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs made by the King's Commiſſion.

Call of Serjeants.

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Hall on *Jan.* 31. when they preſented their Rings with this Servile Motto, *A Deo Rex, à Rege Lex:* Which ſome interpreted to be, a reſolving the Laws of *England* into the King's Will and Pleaſure.

Siege of *Vienna.*

This Year, abroad, was remarkable for the formidable Siege of *Vienna* by the *Turks*, and the raiſing of it by the King of *Poland*, and the Electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria:* And likewiſe for the demoliſhing of *Tangier*, which the King of *England* could hold no longer, without an Expence of Men and Money, greater than he was willing to bear.

Demoliſhing of *Tangier.*

State of Religion.

In Matters of *Religion* the *Diſſenters* bore all the *Odium* of the late Conſpiracy, and were not only branded for expreſs *Rebels and Villains*[a], in multitude of *Addreſſes* preſented to the King, but were likewiſe ſeverely arraign'd by the King himſelf, in a ſolemn Form of *Declaration to all his loving Subjects, concerning the Treaſonable Conſpiracy againſt his ſacred Perſon and Government, lately diſcover'd; appointed to be read in all Churches and Chappels within this Kingdom, as well on* Sunday *the* 2d *of September, as upon a Day of Publick Thankſgiving*, (as followeth:)

Charles R.

The K.'s Declaration.

"IT hath been our Obſervation, That for ſeve-"ral Years laſt paſt, a malevolent Party "hath made it their Buſineſs to promote Sedition "by falſe News, Libellous Pamphlets, and other "wicked Arts, whereby they endeavour'd not only to render our Government odious, and our "moſt faithful Subjects ſuſpected to the People, "but even to incite them to a Diſlike and Hatred "of our Royal Perſon: Whereupon it was evi"dent to us, that the Heads of this Party could "have no other Aim but the Ruin of us and our "Government.

"And whilſt, by our utmoſt Care, we mani"feſted to all our Subjects our Zeal for the Main"tenance of the Proteſtant Religion, and our Re"ſolutions to govern according to Law; it was a "great Trouble to us, to find, that evil Perſons, "by miſrepreſenting our Actions to the People, "ſhould ſo far inſinuate themſelves into the Affe"ctions of the weaker Sort, as that they look'd "upon them as the only Patriots and Aſſertors of "their Religion and Liberties, and gave them"ſelves up intirely to their Conduct.

"As their Numbers encreaſed, ſo did their "Boldneſs, to that height, that by often ſhewing "themſelves in Tumults and Riots, and unlawful "and ſeditious Conventicles, they not only en"gaged, but proclaimed an Impunity to their "own Party, who thought themſelves already too "ſtrong for the Laws; and they ſeemed to be"lieve, that in a ſhort Time they ſhould gain up"on the People, ſo as to perſuade them to a total "Defection from the Government.

"But it pleaſed God, by theſe their violent "Ways, to open the Eyes of our good Subjects, "who eaſily foreſaw what Troubles theſe Me"thods would produce; and thereupon, with "great Courage, as well as Duty and Affection "towards us, upon all Occaſions, did manifeſt "their Reſolution and Readineſs in defence of "our Perſon, and Support of our Government, "and the Religion eſtabliſhed; and did likewiſe "convince the common People of the villainous "Deſigns of their factious Leaders, and the Mi"ſeries that would befall them, in purſuing ſuch "Courſes.

"By theſe Means the Factious Party loſt Ground "daily; and finding that it was impoſſible to keep "up the Spirits of their Followers againſt the "Religion eſtabliſh'd, and the Laws, whilſt we "were ſteady in the Maintenance and Execution "of them, became deſperate, and reſolved not to "truſt any longer to the ſlow Methods of Sedi"tion, but to betake themſelves to Arms; not "doubting, but that they remain'd ſtill ſtrong e"nough, by Force, to overturn the Government "which they could not undermine.

"It is hard to imagine, how Men of ſo many "different Intereſts and Opinions, could join in "any Enterprize; but it is certain they readily "concurr'd in the Reſolution of taking Arms to "deſtroy the Government, even before they had "agreed what to ſet up in the Place of it.

"To which Purpoſe they took ſeveral ways: "For whilſt ſome were contriving a general In"ſurrection in this Kingdom, and likewiſe in *Scot*"*land*; others were conſpiring to aſſaſſinate our "Royal Perſon, and our deareſt Brother, and to "maſſacre the Magiſtrates of our City of *London*, "and our Officers of State, that there might be "no appearance of Government, nor any means "for our Subjects to unite for their Defence.

"In caſe it had pleas'd God to permit theſe "wicked Deſigns to have taken effect, there could "have been nothing in proſpect but Confuſion: "For inſtead of the Reformation they pretended, "their Succeſs would have produc'd Diviſions "and Wars amongſt themſelves; until the pre"dominant Party would have enſlav'd the reſt, "and the whole Kingdom.

"But the divine Providence, which hath pre"ſerv'd us through the whole courſe of our Life, "hath at this time, in an extraordinary manner, "ſhew'd it ſelf, in the wonderful and gracious de"liverance of us, and our deareſt Brother, and all "our loyal Subjects, from this horrid and damna"ble Conſpiracy.

"As it is therefore our deſire, that all our lov"ing Subjects ſhould join with us, in giving "Thanks to Almighty God for this Mercy; ſo "we thought it neceſſary they ſhould be now, in "ſome meaſure, inform'd of the Fact, as it hath "been diſcover'd to us by undoubted Proof, and "the Confeſſion of divers of the Accomplices in "this Conſpiracy; whereof, though we have not "as yet perfectly traced all the particulars, the "principal and main Deſigns of it, nevertheleſs, "have appeared to be as followeth.

"About the Beginning of *October* laſt, when "the Heads of the Faction ſaw the Magiſtracy of "our City of *London* ſettled in Perſons of loyal "Principles, they became impatient, and fell im"mediately to conſult of riſing in Arms; for which "ſome thought their Party ſo well prepared, that "they could not fail of attaining their Ends when"ever they ſhould break out into open Force.

[a] Mr. *Richard Baxter* drew up the State of *Engliſh Non-conformiſts*, and wrote a *Preface*, dated *Sept.* 28. 1683. Wherein he complains —— the Goals are fill'd with Non-conformiſts: Nine Miniſters are now in *Newgate*, and many more in other Places, and almoſt all of them mulct and fined in far more than ever they were worth; their Goods and Books taken by Diſtreſs: They are fain to fly, or abſcond, that are not in Priſon; their Wives and Children in Diſtreſs and Want, &c. As I my ſelf was diſtreined of all my Goods and Books on five Convictions, before ever I heard of any Accuſation, or ſaw a Judge, &c.

A Narrative of the Sufferings of *Thomas De Laune*, for Writing, Printing, and Publiſhing, a late Book, called, *A Plea for the Non-conformiſts*; with ſome modeſt Reflections thereon. Directed to Dr. *Calamy*; in Obedience to whoſe Call that Work was undertaken. Written with his own Hand ſoon after his Sentence of Fine and Impriſonment in *January* 1683. *London*, 1706. 4*to.*

"Where-

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" Whereupon there was a Meeting of ſome of " the principal Conſpirators, to agree about the " beſt Means to maſter our Guards, and to ſeize " our Perſon: But, upon Conſideration, they " found it neceſſary to prepare their Friends in " the ſeveral Counties, as alſo the diſaffected Party " in *Scotland*, to join with them; without which, " any Attempt in our ſaid City, or upon our " Guards, appeared too raſh to be undertaken: " ſo that they laid aſide the Thoughts of a preſent " Riſing, and diſpoſed themſelves to find, by a " Correſpondence with *Scotland*, and with ſeveral " Parts of this our Kingdom, how far they might " be aſſiſted by a general Inſurrection, ſo that " they might not, in human Probability, fail of " Succeſs.

" Whilſt this firſt Deſign was forming, ſome " Villains were likewiſe carrying on that horrid " and execrable Plot, of aſſaſſinating our Royal " Perſon, and our Deareſt Brother, in our com- " ing from *New-Market*, and Money was depo- " ſited for that Purpoſe: But by the Shortneſs of " the Time, (we being then immediately upon " our Return) and for want of neceſſary Prepara- " tions, they were forced to defer the Execution " of it till farther Opportunity.

" It was then propoſed among them, whether " they ſhould attempt the ſame at our next going " to *New-Market* in *March* laſt? But ſome ob- " jected, that our Guards which uſually remain " here for ſome time after our Departure, wou'd " be capable of making a great Oppoſition upon " the Arrival of the News: For which Reaſon, " and becauſe they were not then in a ſufficient " Readineſs, it was agreed to be done at our Re- " turn from *New-Market*.

" The Place appointed, was the Houſe of one " *Richard Rumbold*, a Malſter, call'd the *Rye*, " near *Hoddeſdon* in the County of *Hertford*: " And it was reſolved, That Forty Perſons in " Number, who were to be Actors in this Aſſaſſi- " nation, under the Command of the ſaid *Richard* " *Rumbold*, ſhould hide themſelves in or near the " ſaid Houſe, and when our Coach ſhould come " over againſt them, then three or four were to " ſhoot with Blunderbuſſes at the Poſtilion and " Horſes; and if they ſhould fail in killing the " Horſes, ſome were to be ready in the Way, " who, in the Habit of Labourers, ſhould turn " a Cart croſs the Paſſage, and ſo ſtop our Coach: " Others were appointed to ſhoot into the Coach " where our Royal Perſon and our Deareſt Bro- " ther were to be: Others to fire upon the " Guards that ſhould be then attending us. And " it was farther reſolved, That upon the ſame " Day many Lords, and other Perſons of Quality, " whom they ſuppoſed favourable to their Deſign, " ſhould be invited to dine in our City of *London*, " that they might be the more ready to appear " among the Citizens, upon Arrival of the News. " The Actors in the ſaid Aſſaſſination having con- " triv'd the manner of their Eſcape by a nearer " Paſſage than the uſual Road, by which Means " they hoped to get to *London* as ſoon as the News " could be brought thither.

" They thought it would be eaſy, upon their " perpetrating this horrid Fact, to poſſeſs them- " ſelves of the Government, preſuming upon the " Numbers of the Diſaffected.

" But leſt the Blackneſs of ſuch an Action might " deter others from joining with them, they pre- " pared to palliate it as far as they could, by ſome " Remonſtrance, or *Declaration*, which was rea- " dy to be printed and diſperſed in that Confu- " ſion to amuſe the People. And leſt our Officers " of State, and the Magiſtrates of our ſaid City, " with the Militia thereof, and other our loyal " Subjects, ſhould be able to put ſome Stop to their " Career, they reſolved to follow this Blow with " a Maſſacre; wherein they particularly deſign'd " for immediate Slaughter, our Officers of State, " the preſent Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs, and the " Magiſtracy of our City, and other our Subjects " that had been moſt eminent for their Loyalty.

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" But it pleaſed Almighty God, by his won- " derful Providence, to defeat their Counſels, by " the ſudden Fire at *New-Market*, which neceſ- " ſitated our Return from thence before the Time " we had appointed.

" Yet theſe Villains were not thereby diſcou- " raged from purſuing the ſame bloody Deſign, " but reſolved to take the firſt Opportunity for " effecting the ſame; and propoſed to themſelves, " that it might be done either in our Paſſage from " *Windſor* to *Hampton-Court*, or in our Journey " to *Wincheſter*, or when we ſhould go by Water " in our Barge, or under *Bedford-Garden-Wall*, " as we ſhould paſs that Way, or at the Bull-Feaſt " which was to be in *Red-Lion-Fields*; they be- " ing inform'd, that we and our deareſt Brother " had Intentions of coming thither.

" And that they might be the better prepared, " when there ſhould be Occaſion, by having a cer- " tain Number of Arms lying always ready for " that Purpoſe, Arms for forty Men were beſpoke " in all haſte, (*viz.*) Thirty Carbines with Bells " and Swivels, Thirty Caſes of Piſtols, and Ten " Blunderbuſſes; which were accordingly made, " and paid for.

" And for the more eaſy drawing their Party " together againſt the Time of Execution, they " contrived to divide our Cities of *London* and " *Weſtminſter*, and the Suburbs, into Twenty " Parts; from each of which they expected Five " hundred Men to be ready at the firſt Onſet: " And ſome Agitators were to give an Accouut " of the Men to be furniſh'd in each Diviſion, and " to give out Orders to them as there ſhould be " Occaſion.

" And to the End the Forces they ſhould raiſe " might be the ſooner modell'd into the Form of " an Army, there were one hundred old Officers, " who had been engaged in the late Rebellion, " ready in Town to take the Command of them: " In the Purſuit of which Project they continued, " till they knew that a Diſcovery had been made " unto us.

" During all this Time, the principal Conſpi- " rators were managing their other Deſign for a " general Inſurrection in both Kingdoms.

" The late Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who had at firſt " preſſed them to a ſudden Riſing, which he " would have had before the 17th of *November* " laſt, or upon that Day at the fartheſt, ſent to " the Conſpirators, at a Meeting appointed by " them, to know their Reſolution; and finding " they would not adventure, without farther Pre- " paration, convey'd himſelf ſecretly into *Holland*, " to avoid the Danger he might be in by a Diſ- " covery.

" His withdrawing himſelf from their Counſels " did not diſcourage them from purſuing their " Deſign, only made them more cautious: Where- " upon a new Council was appointed of Six Per- " ſons that were to have the chief Management " of Affairs, in order to a general Inſurrection, " by a Correſpondency with their Party in *Scot-* " *land*, and ſeveral Counties of this our Kingdom. " And becauſe a Correſpondency by *Letters* was " thought dangerous, it was held neceſſary that " ſome Perſon ſhould be ſent into *Scotland*, to " invite the Heads of the Diſaffected Party in " that our Kingdom to come hither, under pre- " tence of purchaſing Lands in *Carolina*; but, in " truth, to concert with them the beſt Means " for carrying on the Deſign jointly in both King-

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“doms: And a Treaty was thereupon had with *Archibald Campbell*, late Earl of *Argyle*, already attainted of Treaſon, who demanded thirty thouſand Pounds at firſt, but afterwards agreed to accept of ten thouſand Pounds for buying of Arms in *Holland*, and making other Proviſions neceſſary for a Rebellion within our Kingdom of *Scotland*.

“In the ſaid Council of Six, it was debated, Whether the Riſing in this Kingdom ſhould be firſt in our City of *London*, where, by reaſon of the vaſt Numbers that might readily unite, they thought they might eaſily maſter the Guards; or rather in ſome remote Parts, whereby we ſhould be under a neceſſity of ſending our Guards to ſuppreſs them, and thereby the Riſing in our ſaid City would become more ſecure and effectual? But at laſt it was reſolved, as moſt convenient, That it ſhould be in all Parts at the ſame Time, leſt our City might be defended by the Militia thereof, without the Help of our Guards, which we might ſend for the ſuppreſſing any Inſurrection in the Country; and they did all diſpoſe themſelves accordingly, for the compaſſing their Deſign, which was very near taking Effect.

“But ſuch was the abundant Mercy of Almighty God, while they were yet meditating their execrable Miſchiefs againſt our Royal Perſon, our Deareſt Brother, and the Government, a Diſcovery was made unto us by one of the Accomplices on the 12th of *June* laſt; ſince which time we have uſed the beſt Means we could for the Detecting and Prevention of ſo Helliſh a Conſpiracy.

“But ſo it has happen'd, that divers of the Conſpirators having Notice of Warrants iſſued out for their Apprehenſion, are fled from Juſtice, *(viz.) James* Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Melvin*, Sir *John Cochrane*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, *Robert Ferguſon*, who was the common Agitator intruſted by all Parties in the ſeveral Conſpiracies, *Richard Goodenough*, *Francis Goodenough*, *Richard Rumbold* the Malſter, *William Rumbold* his Brother, *Richard Nelthorp*, *Nathanael Wade*, *William Thompſon*, *James Burton*, *Joſeph Elby*, *Samuel Gibbs*, *Francis Charleton*, *Joſeph Tyly*, *Caſteers*, *Lobb*, both Nonconformiſt Preachers, *Edward Norton*, *John Row*, *John Ayloffe*, and *John Atherton*.

“*Ford* Lord *Gray* being apprehended, made his Eſcape out of the Hands of a Serjeant at Arms; and *Arthur* late Earl of *Eſſex* being committed to the *Tower* for High-Treaſon, kill'd himſelf.

“Others have been taken and committed to Cuſtody; ſome of whom, *(viz.)* the Lord *William Ruſſell*, *Thomas Walcott*, *William Hone*, and *John Rouſe*, have, upon their Tryals, been convicted, attainted, and executed, according to Law.

“This we thought fit to make known to our loving Subjects; that they being ſenſible (as we are) of the Mercy of God, in this great Deliverance, may chearfully and devoutly join with us in returning ſolemn Thanks to Almighty God for the ſame.

“For which End we do hereby appoint the Ninth Day of *September* next to be obſerved as a Day of *Thankſgiving*, in all Churches and Chapels within this our Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, in ſuch Manner as ſhall be by us directed in a *Form of Prayer, with Thankſgiving*, which we have commanded to be prepared by our Biſhops, and publiſh'd for that Purpoſe.

“And it is our Pleaſure, That this *Declaration* be publickly read in all the ſaid Churches and Chapels, as well on *Sunday* the ſecond of *September* next as upon the Day of *Thankſgiving* aforeſaid.

Given at our Court at Whitehall *the twenty eighth Day of* July 1683, *in the five and thirtieth Year of our Reign.*

As the *Diſſenters* [a] were now mark'd out for Hatred and Proſecution, becauſe of their high Offences given to the Court; ſo the *Church-men* were in much the greater Reputation with the King and his Brother; not for the ſake of the Purity of their Faith and Worſhip, nor indeed for their legal Eſtabliſhment, but purely for the Diſtinction of *Loyalty, i. e.* of Adherence to the Intereſt of the Court, and the Cauſe of the Duke's Succeſſion. Under the Impulſe of this Zeal, they carry'd the Principles of *Prerogative* and *Subjection* to a much higher degree [b] than their Fore-fathers had ever thought of, or than they themſelves could ever practiſe. Sermons and Diſcourſes were full of thoſe flaming Notions; and eſpecially the Univerſity of *Oxford* made a warm *Decree*, drawn up in *Latin* by the Profeſſor of *Divinity*, and paſs'd in the Convocation on *Saturday July* 21, and preſented to his Majeſty in *Engliſh* on the 24th of *July*.

Principles of Loyalty carry'd higher than Law or Reaſon.

[a] It was about this Time began the High-Church in the Name of the *Laudean Church.* King *James* himſelf, while now Duke of *York*, finding his Intereſt ſupported by this Party of the warmer Church-men, he call'd them *the Laudean Church of England Men*; and which, that he might the more confirm to himſelf, he aſſur'd by Dr. *Parker* in this Year 1683, *that as they had been always for him, he would be always for them.* See Mr. *Sam. Johnſon*'s Notes on the Paſt. Letter.

[b] The Word *Fanatick*, or at leaſt *Trimmer*, was now applied to every Church-man of any Moderation, and even the Churches themſelves were call'd *Conventicles*, if the Miniſters did not rigidly obſerve every Letter of the Rubrick. See *Moderation a Virtue*: Or, *A Vindication of the Principles and Practices of the moderate Divines and Laity of the Church of* England, repreſented in ſome late immoderate Diſcourſes under the Nick-names of *Grindalizers* and *Trimmers.* By a Lover of Moderation Reſident upon his Cure. With an Appendix, demonſtrating, that Pariſh-Churches are no Conventicles, particularly for reading the ſecond Service in the Deſk. In Anſwer to a late Pamphlet, entitul'd, *Pariſh-Churches turned into Conventicles.* London, 1683. 4*to.*

The Diſſenters have ſince complain'd, that the Perſecution was now hot againſt them, and that they were commonly accus'd of Treaſon as well as of Separation. *See the Lives of Mr.* Stretton, *Mr.* Roſwell, *&c.*

Many of the Diſſenters conform'd upon the Principles of their own Teachers, and they publiſh'd a Tract, entitul'd, *The Lawfulneſs of hearing the Publick Miniſters of the Church of* England, proved by Mr. *Philip Nye* and Mr. *John Robinſon*, two eminent Congregational Divines; together with the Judgment of Dr. *Goodwin*, Dr. *Owen*, and other Independents, as well ancient as modern, concerning Forms of Prayer, Pariſhes Churches, and Communion with them. Publiſhed as well to ſatisfy thoſe that yet ſcruple Communion with the Church, as to vindicate thoſe that have complied. *London*, 4*to.* 1683.

1683. 35 Car. II. *The Judgment and Decree of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *paſs'd in their Convocation on* July 21. 1683.[a] *againſt certain pernicious Books, and damnable Doctrines, deſtructive to the ſacred Perſons of Princes, their State and Government, and of all humane Society.*

Oxford Decree. " ALthough the barbarous Aſſaſſination, lately " enterpriz'd againſt the Perſon of his " Sacred Majeſty and his Royal Brother, engage " all our Thoughts to reflect with utmoſt Deteſtation and Abhorrence on that execrable Villainy " hateful to God and Man, and pay our due Acknowledgments to the Divine Providence, which " by extraordinary Methods brought it to paſs, " that the Breath of our Noſtrils, the Anointed " of the Lord, is not taken in the Pit which was " prepared for him, and that under his Shadow " we continue to live and enjoy the Bleſſings of " his Government; yet notwithſtanding we find " it to be a neceſſary Duty at this time to ſearch " into, and lay open thoſe impious Doctrines, " which having of late been ſtudiouſly diſſeminated, gave Riſe and Growth to theſe nefarious " Attempts, and paſs upon them our ſolemn publick Cenſure and Decree of Condemnation.

" Therefore, to the Honour of the Holy and " Undivided Trinity, the Preſervation of Catholick Truth in the Church; and that the King's " Majeſty may be ſecured both from the Attempts " of open bloody Enemies, and Machinations of " treacherous Hereticks and Schiſmaticks: We " the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, and " Maſters Regent and not Regent, met in Convocation, in the accuſtomed Manner, Time, and " Place, on *Saturday* the one and twentieth Day " of *July*, in the Year 1683. concerning certain " Propoſitions contained in diverſe Books and " Writings publiſh'd in the *Engliſh*, and alſo the " *Latin* Tongues, repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, Decrees of Councils, Writings of the " Fathers, the Faith and Profeſſion of the Primitive Church, and alſo deſtructive of the Kingly " Government, the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, " the Publick Peace, the Laws of Nature, and " Bonds of humane Society; by our unanimous " Aſſent and Conſent have decreed and determined " in Manner and Form following.

The Firſt Propoſition.

" All Civil Authority is derived originally from " the People.

The Second.

" There is a mutual Compact, Tacit or Expreſs, " between a Prince and his Subjects; and that if " he perform not his Duty, they are diſcharg'd " from theirs.

The Third

" That if Lawful Governors become Tyrants, " or govern otherwiſe than by the Laws of God 1683. 35 Car. II. " and Man they ought to do, they forfeit the " Right they had unto their Government." *Lex Rex. Buchanan, de Jure Regni. Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos. Bellarm. de Conciliis, de Pontifice. Milton. Goodwin. Baxt. H. C.*

The Fourth.

" The Sovereignty of *England* is in the three " Eſtates, *viz.* King, Lords, and Commons. The " King has but a Co-ordinate Power, and may be " over-ruled by the other two." *Lex Rex. Hunton, Of a Limited and Mix'd Monarchy. Baxter's H. C. Polit. Catechiſ.*

The Fifth.

" Birth-right, and Proximity of Blood, give no " Title to Rule or Government; and it is lawful " to preclude the next Heir from his Right and " Succeſſion to the Crown." *Lex Rex. Hunt's Poſtſcript. Dolman's Hiſtory of Succeſſion. Julian the Apoſtate. Mene Tekel.*

The Sixth.

" It is lawful for Subjects, without the Conſent, " and againſt the Command of the Supreme Magiſtrate, to enter into Leagues, Covenants, and " Aſſociations, for Defence of themſelves and " their Religion." *Solemn League and Covenant. Late Aſſociation.*

The Seventh.

" Self-Preſervation, is the fundamental Law of " Nature, and ſuperſedes the Obligation of all " others, whenſoever they ſtand in Competition " with it." *Hobbs, de Civ. Leviathan.*

The Eighth.

" The Doctrine of the Goſpel, concerning Patient ſuffering of Injuries, is not inconſiſtent " with violent reſiſting of the higher Powers, in " caſe of Perſecution for Religion." *Lex Rex. Julian the Apoſtate. Apolog. Relat.*

The Ninth.

" There lies no Obligation upon Chriſtians to " Paſſive[b] Obedience, when the Prince Commands any thing againſt the Laws of our Country; and the Primitive Chriſtians choſe rather " to die than reſiſt, becauſe Chriſtianity was not " ſettled by the Laws of the Empire." *Julian the Apoſtate*[c].

The Tenth.

" Poſſeſſion and Strength, give a Right to govern; and ſucceſs in a Cauſe or Enterprize, proclaims it to be lawful and juſt: To purſue it, is " to comply with the Will of God, becauſe it is " to follow the conduct of his Providence." *Hobbs. Owen's Sermon before the Regicides,* Jan. 31. 1648. *Baxter. Jenkins's Petition,* Octob. 1651.

[a] Copies of this Decree in *Latin* and *Engliſh* were ſent up to Court by the Hands of Dr. *Robert Huntingdon*, and by him read in the Preſence of the King, the Duke of *York*, and prime Miniſters; and the Act ſeem'd to be very grateful to them. *Tho. Smith's Vita D.* Rob. Huntingdoni, 1704. 8*vo.* p. xxviii.——*Quod faventiſſima aure excepit Rex clementiſſimus monſtrando, hanc maximè opportunam profeſſionem fidei illibatæ Academiæ* Oxonienſis *(utpote conſtantiſſimæ & antiquæ, quam in afflictiſſimis ſereniſſimi Regis Patris ſui temporibus integram ſervaverat) ipſi quam maximè placuiſſe.*

[b] There was within this ſame Year publiſh'd at *Oxford the Lives of illuſtrious Men, written in* Latin *by* Cornelius Nepos, *and done into* Engliſh *by ſeveral Hands.* Licens'd by the Vice-Chancellor *Octob.* 9. 1683. with an Epiſtle Dedicatory of the Honourable Mr. *Leopold William Finch* to the Right Honourable *James* Earl of *Abingdon*, wherein the Spirit of the Place and the Times is very eminent and high. He is bitter and witty upon the Word *Fanatick*, worſe than the *Brute, moved by the giddy Impulſe of Enthuſiaſm*, a *Monſter*, &c. He ridicules the Popiſh Plot by the Name of Dr. *Titus's Plot*, and ſeems to juſtify the *Innocence* of thoſe who *dy'd for it*, and rejoices that *now it comes to the Fanaticks Turn to hang.* He complains dreadfully of the *Plague of Republican Principles.* He glories in the Gownſmen's *aſſerting one of the moſt ſacred Eſſentials of the Government, the Lineal Succeſſion, which could neither by the Diſpenſation of a Pope, or the Power of Parliament, be alter'd.*

[c] This Cry againſt *Julian* the Apoſtate brought the Author upon Tryal ſoon after. See *the Tryal and Conviction of the Reverend Mr.* Samuel Johnſon, for writing and publiſhing a very ſcandalous and ſeditious Book, entitul'd, *Julian the Apoſtate, Novemb.* 20, 1683. inſerted in the *Gazette.*

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The Eleventh.

" In the State of Nature, there is no difference " between Good and Evil, Right and Wrong: " The State of Nature, is a State of War, " in which every Man hath a Right to all " things.

The Twelfth.

" The Foundation of Civil Authority, is this " natural Right; which is not given, but left to " the ſupreme Magiſtrate, upon Mens entring in- " to Societies: And not only a Foreign Invader, " but a Domeſtick Rebel, puts himſelf again into " a State of Nature, to be proceeded againſt, not " as a Subject, but an Enemy; and conſequently " acquires, by his Rebellion, the ſame Right over " the Life of his Prince, as the Prince, for the " moſt heinous Crimes, has over the Life of his " own Subjects.

The Thirteenth.

" Every Man, after his entring into a Society, " retains a right of Defending himſelf againſt " Force; and cannot transfer that right to the " Commonwealth, when he conſents to that Uni- " on whereby a Commonwealth is made: And in " caſe a great many Men together have already re- " ſiſted the Commonwealth, for which every one " of them expecteth death, they have liberty then " to join together to aſſiſt and defend one another: " Their bearing of Arms, ſubſequent to the firſt " breach of their Duty, though it be to maintain " what they have done, is no new unjuſt Act; " and if it be only to defend their Perſons, it is " not unjuſt at all.

The Fourteenth.

" An Oath ſuperadds no Obligation to Part, " and a Part obliges no farther than it is credited: " And conſequently, if a Prince gives any Indica- " tion, that he does not believe the Promiſes of " Fealty and Allegiance made by any of his Sub- " jects, they are thereby freed from their Subjecti- " on; and notwithſtanding their Parts and Oaths, " may lawfully rebel againſt, and deſtroy their So- " vereign. *Hobbs, de Civ. Leviathan.*

The Fifteenth.

" If a People, that by Oath and Duty are obli- " ged to a Sovereign, ſhall ſinfully diſpoſſeſs him, " and, contrary to their Covenants, chuſe and Co- " venant with another; they may be obliged by " their latter Covenants, notwithſtanding their " former." *Baxter's H. C.*

The Sixteenth.

" All Oaths are unlawful, and contrary to the " Word of God. *Quakers.*

The Seventeenth.

" An Oath obligeth not in the Senſe of the im- " poſers, but the takers." *Sheriff's Caſe.*

The Eighteenth.

" Dominion is founded in Grace.

The Nineteenth.

" The Powers of this World, are Uſurpations " upon the Prerogative of Jeſus Chriſt; and it is " the Duty of God's People to deſtroy them, in " order to the ſetting Chriſt upon his Throne." *Fifth Monarchy-men.*

The Twentieth.

" The Presbyterian Government is the Sceptre " of Chriſt's Kingdom, to which Kings, as well " as others, are bound to ſubmit: And the King's " Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, aſſerted by " the Church of *England*, is injurious to Chriſt, " the ſole King and Head of his Church." *Altare Damaſcenum. Apolog. Relat. Hiſt. Indulg. Cartwright. Traverſe.*

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The Twenty-firſt.

" It is not lawful for Superiors to impoſe any " thing in the Worſhip of God that is not ante- " cedently neceſſary.

The Twenty-ſecond.

" The Duty of *not offending a weak Brother*, is " inconſiſtent with all humane Authority of ma- " king Laws concerning indifferent Things." *Proteſtant Reconciler.*

The Twenty-third.

" Wicked Kings and Tyrants ought to be put " to death; and if the Judges and inferior Magi- " ſtrates will not do their Office, the Power of " the Sword devolves to the People: If the Ma- " jor part of the People refuſe to exerciſe this " Power, then the Miniſters may Excommunicate " ſuch a King: After which, it is lawful for any " of the Subjects to kill him, as the People did " *Athaliah*, and *Jehu Jezabel.*" *Buchanan. Knox. Goodman. Gilby. Jeſuits.*

The Twenty-fourth.

" After the Sealing of the Scripture Canon, " the People of God, in all Ages, are to expect " new Revelations for a Rule of their Actions *(a)*; " And it is lawful for a private Man, having an " inward motion from God, to kill a Tyrant *(b)*." *(a) Quakers*, and other Enthuſiaſts. *(b) Goodman.*

The Twenty-fifth.

" The Example of *Phinehas*, is, to us, inſtead " of a Command: For what God hath comman- " ded or approved in one Age, muſt needs oblige " in all." *Goodman. Knox. Naphtali.*

The Twenty-ſixth.

" King *Charles* I. was lawfully put to death; " and his Murtherers were the bleſſed Inſtruments " of God's Glory in their Generation." *Milton. Goodwin. Owen.*

The Twenty-ſeventh.

" King *Charles* I. made War upon his Parlia- " ment: And in ſuch a Caſe, the King may not " only be reſiſted, but he ceaſeth to be King." *Baxter.*

" We decree, judge and declare all and every " of theſe Propoſitions to be falſe, ſeditious, and " impious, and moſt of them to be alſo heretical " and blaſphemous, infamous to Chriſtian Religion, " and deſtructive of all Government in Church " and State.

" We further decree, That the Books which " contain the aforeſaid Propoſitions, and impious " Doctrines, are fitted to deprave good Manners, " corrupt the Minds of uneaſie Men, ſtir up Se- " ditions and Tumults, overthrow States and King- " doms, and lead to Rebellion, Murther of Prin- " ces, and Atheiſm it ſelf. And therefore we In- " terdict all Members of the Univerſity from the " reading of the ſaid Books, under the Penalties " in the Statutes expreſs'd. We alſo Order the " before-recited Books to be publickly burnt by " the Hand of our Marſhal, in the Court of our " Schools.

" Likewiſe we Order, That in perpetual Me- " mory hereof, theſe our Decrees ſhall be entred

" into

1683. 35*Car*.II. " into the Regiſtry of our Convocation; And that " Copies of them being communicated to the ſeveral Colleges and Halls within this Univerſity, " they be there publickly affix'd in the Libraries " Refectories, or other fit Places where they may " be ſeen and read of all.

Laſtly, " We Command, and ſtrictly enjoin all " and ſingular the Readers, Tutors, Catechiſts, " and others to whom the Care and Truſt of initiating of Youth is committed, That they diligently inſtruct and Ground their Scholars in " that moſt neceſſary Doctrine, which, in a manner, is the Badge and Character of the Church " of *England*, of *Submitting to every Ordinance of* " *Man, for the Lord's ſake; whether it be to the* " *King, as Supreme; or unto Governors, as unto* " *them that are ſent by him, for the Puniſhment of* " *Evil-doers, and for the Praiſe of them that do* " *Well:* Teaching, That this Submiſſion and Obedience, is to be clear, abſolute, and without " any exception of any State or Order of Men: " Alſo, That they, according to the Apoſtle's " Precept, *Exhort, That firſt of all, Supplications,* " *Prayers, Interceſſions, and giving of Thanks, be* " *made for all Men, for the* KING, *and all that* " *are in Authority*; that we may *lead a quiet and* " *peaceable Life, in all Godlineſs and Honeſty*, for " this is *good and acceptable in the ſight of God our* " *Saviour:* And in eſpecial manner, That they " preſs and oblige them humbly to offer their moſt " ardent and daily Prayers at the Throne of Grace, " for the Preſervation of our Sovereign Lord, " *King* CHARLES, from the attempts of open " Violence, and ſecret Machinations of perfidious " Traytors; That the *Defender of the Faith*, being ſafe under the Defence of the moſt High, " may continue his Reign on Earth, till he exchange it for that of a late and happy Immortality.

Upon whatever Order from a higher Place this *Decree* was drawn up by a ſingle Perſon, and impos'd upon a Convocation in Surprize; whatever excuſe might be given for the making and the paſſing of it: Yet there was this Juſtice due to it at the *Revolution*, that it ſhould then have been openly adher'd to, or as openly retracted and condemn'd. Whereas, the maker and chief Promoters of it did evidently contradict it, in their avow'd Principles, and apparent Practice, without any reverſal of it, or any other ſign of Confeſſion, but only a tacit Condemnation of it, by privately ordering the printed Copies of it to be taken away from the Halls and other publick Places, where they had before hung in Triumph. A way of Proceeding ſo offenſive to ſome of the younger Students, that it occaſion'd ſome Reflections and Pieces of Wit; among others, this Diſtich[a]:

Cum Fronti ſit nulla Fides, ut Carmina dicunt;
Cur Tibi Bifronti JANE *ſit ulla Fides?*

1684. Hard and Arbitrary Judgments. The ſevere Puniſhment of State-offenders went on; for on *April* 19. Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton* (who was convicted the laſt Term, of a high Miſdemeanor, for Writing and publiſhing, in *Letters* to ſeveral Perſons in the Country, moſt ſcandalous and ſeditious Reflections againſt the Government) was brought to the *King's-Bench-Bar*, to receive the Judgment of the Court; which was, That he ſhould pay a Fine of 10000 *l.* to the King, ſhould find Sureties for his good Behaviour during his Life, and ſhould be committed to the *King's-Bench* Priſon till the ſame was paid and done. Mr. *William Wright*, Alderman of *Oxford*, having defended the Privileges of the City, when the Majority of that Corporation, in an *Addreſs*, offer'd them up to the King's Pleaſure, was, on *April* 16. committed to the *King's-Bench* Priſon, for publiſhing ſcandalous Libels; and being brought by Rule, to the Court of *King's-Bench*, on *April* 19. Bail was accepted for him, himſelf being bound in a Recognizance of 10000 *l.* and four Sureties in 5000 *l.* a-piece, for his appearance and abiding his Tryal, upon the Information exhibited againſt him.

On *April* 21. *James Holloway*, (who upon diſcovery of the late *Plot*, had fled to *Nevis* in the *Weſt-Indies*, and being there ſeiz'd, had been ſent a Priſoner hither,) was brought from *Newgate* to the *Kings-Bench-Bar*; and being aſk'd, What he could ſay, why Execution ſhould not be awarded againſt him, he ſtanding Attainted, by Outlawry, upon an Indictment of High-Treaſon? *&c.* He deſired to hear the Indictment read; which being done, Mr. Attorney-General acquainted the Court, That his Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd, in Mercy to the Priſoner, to wave the Outlawry, and to allow him liberty to make his Defence, upon a Tryal, if he were able to make any: But he ſaying nothing for himſelf, and ſeeming to confeſs the Indictment, the Court made a Rule, That he ſhould be Executed at *Tyburn*, on *Wedneſday* ſevennight; which was accordingly done. On the ſame Day Mr. *Lawrence Braddon*, and Mr. *Hugh Speak*, who had been laſt Term found guilty of ſpreading a falſe Report, That the Earl of *Eſſex* was murthered in the *Tower*; were now Fined, the firſt 2000 *l.* the other 1000 *l.* to the King, and to find Sureties for their good Behaviour during their Lives. And poor *Langley Curtis*, who was convicted the laſt Term, for Printing a ſcandalous and ſeditious Pamphlet, call'd, *The Lord Ruſſel's Ghoſt*, or, *The Night-walker of Bloomsbury*; was Fined 500 *l.* and ordered to ſtand in the Pillory on *Saturday* next, in *Bloomsbury-Market*, and the ſaid Libel to be then burnt by the Hands of the common hangman.

On *April* 30. at the *Niſi prius* held for the County of *Middleſex*, before the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, *George Cawdron*, Steward to the Earl of *Clare*, was Tryed upon an Information, for ſpeaking moſt ſcandalous and ſeditious Words againſt his Majeſty and the Government, and was found guilty; and was the next Term Fined 100 *l.* and to ſtand in the Pillory in two ſeveral Places, and to find Sureties for his good Behaviour during his Life. Tryal of *George Cawdron*.

In the Town of *Nottingham*, upon *Michaelmas-Day*, 1682. there had been a great Scuffle, upon the Election of a Mayor, and other Officers for that Corporation, ſome claiming the ancient Cuſtom, and others inſiſting on the new Charter; for which reaſon, thoſe who oppoſed the ſaid Charter, (*viz.*) *William Sacheverell*, *George Gregory*, and *Charles Hutchinſon*, Eſqrs. *William Greeves*, and ſeventeen others, had an Information exhibited againſt them, for a great Riot by them committed, to the great Terror of many of his Majeſty's Loyal Subjects; and at a Tryal at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, on *May* 2. they were all, except one *Barker*, found guilty of the ſaid Riot. Of the *Nottingham* Gentlemen.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, in *Michaelmas* Term laſt, had brought his Action, upon The Duke of *York* brings an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt *John Dutton Colt*, Eſq;

[a] See an Account of Mr. *Parkinſon*'s Expulſion from the Univerſity of *Oxford*, with the Act of Expulſion in the Name of *Timothy Halton*, S. T. P. *pro* Vice-Chancellor, dated, *Oxon. Sept.* 6. 1683. Publiſh'd by Mr. *Parkinſon* in a juſt Complaint of that Arbitrary Power in *Oxford.* 4*to.* 1689.

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the Statute of *Scandalum Magnatum*, againſt *John Dutton Colt*, Eſq; ſometime Bailiff of *Leominſter* in the County of *Hereford*, and Burgeſs for that Borough in the three laſt Parliaments, for theſe Words following, which were, no doubt, aggravated beyond the real expreſſion of them; *The Duke of* York *is a Papiſt, and before any ſuch Papiſt Dog ſhall be Succeſſor to the Crown of* England, *I will be hang'd at my own Door, and I will venture my Life and Fortune to prevent the ſame.*—— *If the King had no worſe Bailiffs nor Mayors in all his Corporations in* England, *and no worſe Parliament Men than my ſelf, we would ſoon rout the Duke of* York, *Lord Marqueſs of* Worceſter, *and Lord* Peterborough, *and all ſuch Popiſh Dogs, out of the Kingdom; for I am ſure they are damn'd ones.*—— *If any of the Members of Parliament come to any Accident, or untimely End, it ſhall preſently be laid on the Papiſts, and from that time, I will begin to cut the Throat of the firſt Papiſt I meet, if it be the Duke of* York *himſelf—If the King follows the Advice of that damn'd Popiſh Dog his Brother, Lord Marquiſs of* Worceſter, *and ſuch like evil Councellors, as I believe he does, in ſo often diſſolving the Parliament, it will in the end be worſe for him.*— *I will be hang'd at my own Door before ſuch a damn'd Popiſh Raſcal as the Duke of* York *ſhall ever inherit the Crown of* England; *and to prevent that, we will firſt take off that damn'd Rogue our Popiſh Lord-Lieutenant, Lord* Peterborough, *Lord* Hallifax, *Sir* Lionel Jenkins, *and ſeveral others, who, I am ſure, are the Imps and Promoters of the Intereſt of that damn'd Popiſh Dog,* York.——— In a Tryal at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, on *May* 3. the Jury brought in their Verdict for his Royal Highneſs, and Aſſeſſed for Damages 100000 Pounds.

Tryal of *Samuel Parker.*

On *May* 12. *Samuel Parker*, Deputy to *Richard Godenough*, when he was under Sheriff of *Middleſex*, having been convicted laſt Term, for publiſhing a ſcandalous and ſeditious Libel, was now Fined 50 Marks, and ordered to ſtand in the Pillory at three ſeveral Places in *Weſtminſter*.

Of *Francis Smith.*

On *June* 11. another Tryal was had at the *Guildhall*, before my Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, upon an Information againſt *Francis Smith*, living at the *Elephant and Caſtle* in *Cornhil*, for Printing and Publiſhing a ſcandalous and ſeditious Libel, call'd, *The Raree Show*; of which he was found guilty, and condemn'd to pay a Fine of 500 *l.* and to ſtand thrice in the Pillory, with the ſaid Libel burnt by the hands of the common Hangman, and to find Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life, and to be committed till all was perform'd.

Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* executed.

Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, who had been named in his Majeſty's Proclamation the 28th of *June*, 1683. was apprehended at *Leyden* in *Holland*, by order of the *States*; and being put on Board one of his Majeſty's Yachts at *Rotterdam*, he was brought to *Greenwich* on the 10th of *June* at Night, and the next Morning committed to *Newgate*, and was brought to the *King's-Bench-Bar* on the 14th of *June*; where being ask'd, What he could ſay for himſelf, why Execution ſhould not be awarded againſt him, he ſtanding Attainted, by Outlawry, upon an Indictment of High-Treaſon? *&c.* He offer'd nothing in his own Defence which the Court thought material; and therefore a Rule was made, That he ſhould be Executed on *Friday* next at *Tyburn*, which was accordingly done.

Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt *Titus Oates.*

Dr. *Titus Oates*, who had been long in diſgrace at Court, and had his Lodgings, his Guard, and a great part of his Penſion taken from him, was now, on *May* 10. publickly Arreſted at the *Amſterdam Coffee-Houſe*, in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, at the Suit of the Duke of *York*, for ſaying, *His Royall Highneſs was a Traytor*; with ſeveral ſuch other Reflections charged to be malicious and ſcandalous: He was carry'd from thence to *Woodſtreet-Compter*, for the greater Ignominy, where he lay in Durance two Days, and then was remov'd by *Habeas Corpus* to the *King's-Bench* Priſon: The next Term he ſuffer'd Judgment to paſs, by default, and on *June* 18. the laſt Day of the Term, a Writ of Enquiry of Damages was exhibited at the *King's-Bench-Bar*; where the Jury, upon hearing the Evidence, gave 100000 Pounds Damages to the Duke.

He is Indicted of Perjury.

In the *Michaelmas* Term following, he was indicted in the *King's-Bench* for Perjury: To which he pleaded *Not guilty*, and had his Tryal deferr'd till the next Term. Soon after he was again indicted at the *Old-Bailey* for Perjury, upon another Matter of Fact, and had his Tryal appointed to be likewiſe the next Term, in the Court of *King's-Bench*.

On *November* 6. a Tryal was had at the *Guildhall*, before my Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, upon an Action brought by Sir *William Pritchard*, formerly Lord Mayor of *London*, againſt Mr. *Papilion*, and Mr. *Dubois* (the latter of which was lately dead) for maliciouſly cauſing him to be Arreſted, and falſely Impriſon'd during his Mayoralty: This Fact was repreſented by the Councel, as *a very evil Deſign, and malicious Practice, contrived with ſeveral of the Traytors lately fled from Juſtice, as well againſt his Majeſty's Government, and the Magiſtracy of the City, as againſt the Perſon of the ſaid Sir* William Pritchard. Upon which the Jury brought in their Verdict for Sir *William*, and gave him 10000 Pounds Damages.

Diſſenting Teacher convicted of Treaſon.

One Mr. *Roſwell*, a Diſſenting Teacher, had been arraign'd on the the 25th of *October*, at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, upon an [a] Indictment of High-Treaſon, for endeavouring to ſtir up his Majeſty's Subjects to Rebellion, by inciting them thereunto in a Sermon at a Conventicle in *Rotherhith*, with ſeditious and traiterous Words againſt his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Government; and being brought to his Tryal on *Novemb.* 18. was found guilty of High-Treaſon.

Elias Beſt, who had ſometime ſince been convicted upon an Information, for *ſpeaking ſcandalous and ſeditious Words againſt the Government*, and fled thereupon; being lately apprehended, was on *Novemb.* 20. brought to the *King's-Bench-Bar*, to receive the Judgment of the Court; which was, That he ſhould pay a Fine of 1000 Pounds, ſhould ſtand thrice in the Pillory, and be bound with Sureties for his good Behaviour.

Oates's Servants convicted.

In the ſame Term *Dalby* and *Nicholſon*, two of *Oates*'s Men, for a farther diſgrace to their Maſter, were convicted; the firſt at the *Niſi prius* for the County of *Middleſex*; the other at the *Niſi prius* held for the City of *London*, at *Guild-hall*, for ſpeaking moſt ſcandalous and ſeditious Words againſt his Majeſty, and the Government.

Mr. *Butler* of *Northamptonſhire*, having been convicted upon an Information for preſenting and reading to the Knights of that Shire (at the laſt Election of Parliament Men) a ſeditious Paper, being an Addreſs to them from ſome of the Freeholders, call'd *Factious Perſons*, was on *Novem.* 28.

[a] See the Arraignment and Tryal of the late Reverend Mr. *Thomas Roſewell*, for High-Treaſon, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jeffreys*, at the Court of *King's-Bench*, *Weſtminſter*, in the Year 1684. And the Arguments offer'd in Arreſt of Judgment by his learned Council, to which is prefix'd an Account of his Life and Death. Publiſh'd by *Sam. Roſewell*, A. M. 1718. 8vo.

brought

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brought to the *King's-Bench-Bar* to receive the Judgment of the Court; which was, That he ſhould pay a Fine of 500 Marks, ſhould find Sureties for his Good Behaviour during Life, and to be committed till all be perform'd.

Delivery of Charters.

And indeed, the whole Hiſtory of this Year ſeems [a] to have little leſs but Proſecutions and Penalties; and what was the Effect of them, the Surrendry of *Charters:* For moſt of the Cities, Towns, and other Corporations, thinking their Liberties could not ſurvive thoſe of the Great Metropolis, and finding the Court reſolute in the Expectance and Demand of them, did generally agree to offer them up a Sacrifice to his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure: And even many of the Courtiers were employ'd to make an Intereſt in thoſe Places where they were moſt concern'd, to obtain and extort the ſaid Surrendry; and the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, in the Mid-land Circuit, made it his great Buſineſs to terrifie the People into this Compliance, and at his Return he waited on his Majeſty at *Windſor*, and deliver'd up to him the Charters of the City of *Lincoln*, and of ſeveral other Corporations within his Circuit, as an Oblation of his own Loyalty, and a Triumph over, the Peoples Liberties.

Duke of *York* Governs.

By theſe Meaſures, the Duke of *York* was known to govern all, and was now reſtored to his Offices of Profit and Honour, without any farther Scruple, that it was againſt the Law to hold them. So, on *May* 12. the King declared, *That he had thought fit to Revoke and Determine the Commiſſion for executing the Office of Lord-High-Admiral of* England, *and to commit thoſe Affairs to the Care of his Royal Highneſs:* And on *May* 28. his Majeſty was pleas'd to declare in Council, *That he thought it fit, and for his Service, that his Royal Highneſs ſhould be preſent at the Meetings of the Council.*

Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, is ſaid to have long pray'd his Majeſty to permit him, by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition, to reſign that Place; and that his Majeſty was at laſt pleas'd to grant it, though with much unwillingneſs, becauſe of the great Satisfaction his Majeſty always had in his Services:

Sidney Godolphin, Eſq; made Secretary of State.

So on *Apr.* 14. at *Windſor*, he deliver'd up the Seals to his Majeſty; who was pleas'd to give them to the Honourable *Sidney Godolphin*, Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's *Treaſury*, who was accordingly Sworn into the Secretary's Office on the 17th of *April*, in the Council held at *Hampton-Court*.

Other Honours and Preferments.

On *July* 11. the Earl of *Murray*, and the Earl of *Middleton*, his Majeſty's Secretaries of State for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, were, by his Majeſty's Command, ſworn of his moſt Honourable Privy-Council here in *England*, and took their Places at the Board in *Hampton-Court*. On *July* 15. his Majeſty was pleas'd to conferr the Honour of Knighthood upon *Simon Taylor*, and *John Turner*, Eſqrs; Aldermen of the Town of *Lynn-Regis*. On *Aug.* 24. his Majeſty was pleas'd to declare in Council, That having given the Earl of *Radnor*, Lord-Preſident of the Council, (with whoſe Services he was very well ſatisfy'd) leave to retire, in conſideration of his great Age; he had reſolved to make the Earl of *Rocheſter* Lord-Preſident, Mr. Secretary *Godolphin* firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and the Earl of *Middleton* Secretary of State, and accordingly the Earl of *Rocheſter* took his Place at the Board, and the Earl of *Middleton* was ſworn one of his Majeſty's Principal-Secretaries of State: And ſoon after, his Majeſty was pleas'd to grant the Title and Dignity of a Baron of this Kingdom, unto the Right Honourable *Sidney Godolphin*, Eſq; by the Name and Style of Baron *Godolphin* of *Rialton* in the County of *Cornwall*. Toward the end of *September*, his Majeſty, by Commiſſion under the Great Seal, appointed Sir *William Goſling*, and Sir *Peter Vandeputt*, to be Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* for the Year enſuing: And in *October*, Sir *James Smyth* was commiſſionated by his Majeſty to be Lord Mayor. About the ſame time, his Majeſty was pleas'd to conferr the Honour of Knighthood upon Doctor *Thomas Weatherly*, one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians in Ordinary, and Preſident of the College of *Phyſicians*. In this *Michaelmas-Term*, his Majeſty was pleas'd, upon the Death of Mr. Juſtice *Wyndham*, to remove Mr. Baron *Street* to the *Common-Pleas*, and to conſtitute in his Place Sir *Robert Wright*, his Majeſty's Serjeant at Law, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*.

On *Decemb.* 1. his Majeſty taking Notice of the Loyalty and good Services of Capt. *John Clark*, Citizen of *London*, was pleas'd to conferr upon him the Honour of Knighthood: And on *Dec.* 15. his Majeſty did the like Honour to *Edmund Warcup*, of *Northmoor* in the County of *Oxford*, Eſq;. And on *Jan.* 1. the ſame Honour of Knighthood was conferr'd upon *William Creagh*, of *New-Caſtle* upon *Tyne*, being preſented by his Royal Highneſs to his Majeſty; who did him this Honour, as a Mark of his gracious Acceptance of the Loyal Zeal he had on ſeveral Occaſions expreſs'd for his Majeſty's Service. On *Jan.* 7. *John Drumond*, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Secretaries of State for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council, and took his Place at the Board in *Whitehall*. On *Jan.* 16. *William Bridgeman*, and *Philip Muſgrave*, Eſqrs; were ſworn Clerks of the Privy-Council, in the room of Sir *Thomas Dolman*, and *Francis Gwynn*, Eſq; to whom his Majeſty had given Leave to reſign. The laſt Honour his Majeſty beſtow'd, was that of Knighthood, on *Jan.* 28. upon [b] *Henry Brabant*, of *New-Caſtle*, Eſq; for his many loyal Services.

Though

[a] The very Lords the Biſhops who did not go roundly in to the Court Meaſures had ſome advantage or other taken againſt them. Dr. *Walter Pope*, in his Life of Dr. *Seth Ward*, Biſhop of *Sarum*, writes thus, *p.* 93. It is notoriouſly known there were Intrigues carry'd on by a Party at Court to introduce the Popiſh Religion, and make the Power of the King unlimited and arbitrary, whereunto all Perſons were to obey *without Reſerve*, which Words were in one of the Proclamations ſent to *Scotland*. But the Biſhop of *Salisbury* not ſwimming with the Stream, he loſt at leaſt one of his great Friends, and with him his Favour at Court, the Effects thereof appeared not long after, the manner thus. The Revenue belonging to the Order of the Garter was uſually receiv'd by the Chancellor, and he paid the Officers and the poor Knights of *Windſor*; the Surplus the King had formerly granted to Sir *Henry de Vic*, and it was quietly poſſeſſed by him till he died; out of which he was to defray the Charges and Fees of Admiſſion of foreign Princes and Noblemen who were elected into that Order. For this alſo the Biſhop of *Salisbury* had the King's Hand, which Grant had been firm and irrevocable, had the Biſhop ſealed it with the Seal of his Order, which he kept in his Poſſeſſion, or caus'd it to paſs the uſual Offices which had been eaſie for him to have done then, being much in Favour at Court. But he made uſe of neither of theſe Corroborations, and afterwards ſmarted for it ſufficiently. In the laſt year of the Reign of King *Charles* II. and the firſt of the precipitous decay of the Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s Intellectuals, ſome ſagacious Courtier found out a flaw in this Grant. Whereupon the Biſhop was ſent for up to *London*, and obliged to refund the uttermoſt Penny, which in ſo many Years amounted to a conſiderable Sum, all which his Majeſty took without any Scruple or Remorſe.

[b] In the State of Religion it might be obſerved, that the Court were taken up with the Proſecution of Diſſenters; and even the Biſhop of *London* employ'd his well deſigned Conferences and Letters to this End. He had ſent a *fourth Letter to the Clergy of his Dioceſe* concerning the Subject of their

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The King enclined to recall the Duke of *Monmouth*.

Though the Duke of *York* had hitherto bore an abſolute Sway at Court; yet it is very certain, the King had now a mind once more to part with him, and to recall his more-beloved Duke of *Monmouth* from his Baniſhment in *Holland*. The Duke, in his *Journal*, has upon this Subject made two remarkable Entries: *Jan.* 5. *I receiv'd a* Letter *from* L. *mark'd by* 29. *(i. e.* the King) *in the Margin, to truſt intirely in* 10. *and that in* Febr. *I ſhould certainly have Leave to return: That Matters were concerting towards it; and that* 39. *(i. e.* the Duke of *York) had no Suſpicion, notwithſtanding of my Reception here.*———Febr. 3. *A* Letter *from* L. *That my Buſineſs was almoſt aſwell as done; but muſt be ſo ſudden, as not to leave room for* 39's *Party to Counterplot: That it is probable, he would chuſe* Scotland *rather than* Flanders *or this Country; which is all one to* 29. But the King was fatally prevented in theſe kind Intentions to his Son, and Reſolution of ſending away his Brother; for on *Monday*, *Febr.* 2. his Majeſty was taken very Ill; and the Report of it was ſo great an Alarm to the Nation, that the Privy-Council thought fit to quiet the Peoply by this Account:

But fatally prevented.

At the Council-Chamber, WHITEHALL, 4. Febr. 1684. *at Five in the Afternoon.*

Account of the King's Illneſs.

"THE Lords of his Majeſty's moſt Honour- " able Privy-Council, have thought fit, " for preventing falſe Reports, to make known, " That his Majeſty, upon *Monday* Morning laſt, " was ſeized with a violent Fit, that gave great " cauſe to fear the Iſſue of it; but after ſome " Hours, an Amendment appeared; which, with " the Bleſſing of God, being Improved by the Ap- " plication of proper and ſeaſonable Remedies, is " ſo now advanced, that the Phyſicians have this " Day, as well as Yeſterday, given this Account " to the Council, *viz.* That they conceive his Ma- " jeſty to be in a Condition of Safety, and that he " will in a few Days be freed from his Diſtemper," But notwithſtanding theſe Hopes, and flattering the World with them, there was this ſad Account given from *Whitehall*, *Febr.* 6. "On *Monday* laſt " in the Morning, our late Gracious Sovereign, " King *Charles* II. was ſeized with a violent *Fit*, " by which his Speech and Senſes were for ſome " time taken from him; but upon the immediate " Application of fitting Remedies, he returned " to ſuch a Condition as gave ſome Hopes of his " Recovery, till *Wedneſday* Night; at which " time the Diſeaſe returning upon him with " greater violence, he expired this Day about " Noon [a].

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As to the Manner and Circumſtances of his Diſtemper, and his Death, it is beſt to deliver them in the very Words of a good Phyſician, and faithful Hiſtorian, who, in his *Memoirs*, writes thus: " It's confeſs'd, few Princes come to die a ſudden " Death, but the World is apt to attribute it to " foul Play; eſpecially if attended with unuſual " Circumſtances in the Time and Manner of it. " King *Charles* had a healthful Conſtitution be- " yond moſt Men, and took great Care to pre- " ſerve it, by Diet and Exerciſe, which naturally " promiſe a long Life: And it was more Extra- " ordinary to ſee ſuch a Man die before Three- " ſcore, than another in the Bloom of Youth. " Now, if he died a natural Death, it's agreed by " all, that it muſt have been an *Apoplexy*. This " Diſeaſe ſeizes all the vital Faculties at once; " and yet, for the moſt part, does not only give " ſome ſhort Warnings of its approach, by unu- " ſual Affections of the Head, but many times is " occaſion'd by ſome evident preceding Cauſe. " In King *Charles*'s Caſe, there appeared no viſi- " ble Cauſe, either *near* or *remote*, to which, with " any certainty of Reaſon, his Diſeaſe could be " aſcribed; and the Fore-runners of it were ra- " ther to be found in the Stomach and Bowels, " than in the Head. For after he was a-Bed, he " was over-heard to Groan moſt part of the Night: " And both then, and next Morning, before he " fell into the *Fit*, he complain'd firſt of a heavy " Oppreſſion in his Stomach, and about his Heart, " and afterwards of a ſharp Pain in thoſe Parts; " all which Symptoms had but little relation to " an *Apoplexy*. That Morning there appear'd to " every-body about him a *Ghaſtlineſs* and *Paleneſs* " in his Looks: And when he ſat down to be " ſhav'd, juſt before the *Fit* took him, he could " not ſit ſtraight, as he us'd to do, but continu'd " in a ſtooping Poſture, with his Hand upon his " Stomach, till the *Fit* came. After he had been " brought out of it, by opening a Vein, he com- " plain'd of a racking Pain in his Stomach, and " of no Indiſpoſition any-where elſe: And during " the whole time of his Sickneſs, and even when " he ſeem'd moſt Inſenſible, he was obſerv'd to " lay his Hand, for the moſt part, upon his Sto- " mach, in a moaning Poſture, and continu'd ſo " till his Death: And ſo violent was the Pain, " that when all Hopes were gone, the Phyſicians " were deſired to uſe all their Art to procure " him an *eaſie Death.*

Account of the King's Sickneſs & Death.

their laſt Conference upon the LIV. Canon, the Licences of Preachers refuſing Conformity to be void, dated *Fulham*, *April* 6. 1683. A fifth Letter from the Right Reverend *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*, to the Clergy of his Dioceſe upon the Subject of the CXVIII. Canon, requiring an impartial Preſentment of all ſorts of Recuſants, dated *Fulham*, *March* 19. 1693-4.— I did not pitch upon this Canon for the Subject of our late Conference with an Intent to preſs the whole Obſervation of it, otherwiſe than to introduce the Conſideration of that Preſentment in particular which relates to the Holy Communion.———

In purſuance of this Deſign were publiſh'd. 1. A Diſcourſe on my Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s and my Lord Biſhop of *London*'s Letters to the Clergy, touching Catechiſing, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, with what is required of Church-Wardens and Miniſters in reference to obſtinate Recuſants. Alſo a Defence of Excommunication as uſed by the Church of *England* againſt ſuch, by *William Baſſet*, Rector of St. *Swithin*'s. *London*, 1685. 4*to.* 2. Advice concerning ſtrict Conformity and frequent Celebration of the Holy Communion, by *Denis Greenhill*, D. D. Archdeacon of *Durham*, dated *Windſor*, *Aſcenſion-day*, 1684. *London*, 4*to.* 3. The Caſe of compelling Men to the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper conſidered; and Authority vindicated in it by the Rules of the Goſpel from the common and Popular Objections againſt it. *London*, 1684. 4*to.*

[a] He is ſaid upon his Death-Bed to have delivered the Key of his ſtrong Box to his Brother, with this particular Advice, Not *to think of introducing the* Romiſh *Religion into* England, *it being a thing both dangerous and impracticable.*

One of his laſt Acts of good Intention was the attempting what King *William* and Queen *Mary* perform'd in the founding an Hoſpital for maimed Soldiers at *Chelſea*. His Majeſty ſent Letters to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, obſerving with grear Grief, that many of his Loyal Subjects who formerly took up Arms for him and his Royal Father to reſiſt that torrent of Rebellion which at laſt overturned the Monarchy and Church, were by old Age or Wounds or other Accidents reduced to extreme Poverty——And therefore declaring his Royal Reſolution to found and erect at *Chelſea* a perpetual Hoſpital, in which more than four hundred aged and otherwiſe diſabled Soldiers may be lodged and ſupplied with the neceſſary Supports of Life.——And hereupon requiring the Archbiſhop to ſend forth his Circular Letters to all the Biſhops of his Province, earneſtly exciting them to deal effectually with all in their Dioceſes to contribute liberally to ſo good a Deſign ſo manifeſtly to the Glory of Almighty God, and the Service of their King and Countrey.—— Given at *Whitehall*, *Nov.* 14. 1684. MSS *Lambeth.*

" So

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“ So much for the Diſtemper it ſelf. There remains ſome Things to be taken Notice of, that fell out before and after his Death.

“ A few Days before he was taken Ill, King *Charles* being in Company where the preſent Poſture of Affairs was diſcours'd of, there eſcap'd him ſome warm Expreſſions, about the uneaſie Circumſtances he was plung'd into, and the ill Meaſures had been given him: And how, in a certain particular Affair, he was pleas'd to mention, *He had been abus'd*; adding, in ſome Paſſion, *That if he liv'd but a Month longer, he wou'd find a way to make himſelf eaſie, for the reſt of his Life.* This Paſſage was whiſper'd abroad next Day; and the Rumour of recalling the Duke of *Monmouth*, and ſending away the Duke of *York*, came to take Air about the ſame time. Indeed, all things were making ready, to put the latter in Execution; and there is reaſon to believe the King had intimated as much to the Duke himſelf; for ſome of his richeſt Furniture was put up, and his chief Servants order'd to be in a readineſs to attend their Maſter upon an Hour's Warning; and Yatchts were waiting, to tranſport ſome Perſon of Quality, without mentioning who it was, and whither bound. The *Romiſh* Party that manag'd about Court, were obſerv'd to be more than ordinary diligent and buſie up and down *Whitehall* and St. *James*'s, as if ſome very important Affair was in Agitation; and a new and unuſual Concern was to be ſeen on their Countenances. Nor was it any wonder; for in this ſuſpected Change, they were like to be the only Loſers, and all their teeming Hopes were in a fair way to be diſappointed. How far the Principles of ſome of that Party might leave them at liberty to puſh on their Revenge for this deſign'd Affront, as well as to prevent the Blow that threaten'd them, though without the Privacy, much leſs the Conſent of the Duke of *York*, is left to the Reader to judge.

“ There was a Foreign *Miniſter*, that ſome Days before the King fell Ill, order'd his Steward to buy a conſiderable Parcel of Black Cloth, which ſerv'd him and his Retinue afterwards for Mourning: And the late Ambaſſador, *Don Pedro Ronquillo*, made it no Secret, That he had a *Letter* from *Flanders* the Week before King *Charles* died, that took Notice of his Death, as the News there. But both theſe might fall out by mere Accident.

“ There remains two things more, that deſerve ſome Conſideration in this Matter. When his Body was open'd, there was not ſufficient time given for taking an exact Obſervation of his Stomach and Bowels; which, one would think, ought chiefly to have been done conſidering the violent Pains he had there: And when a certain Phyſician ſeem'd to be more Inquiſitive than ordinary about the Condition of thoſe Parts, he was taken aſide and reprov'd for his *needleſs Curioſity*. In the next place, his Body ſtunk ſo extremely within a few Hours after his Death, notwithſtanding the coldneſs of the Seaſon, that the People about him were very much offended with the Smell: Which is a thing very Extraordinary in one of his ſtrong and healthful Conſtitution; and is not a proper Conſequent of a mere *Apoplectical* Diſtemper.

“ There was ſome Weight laid upon an Accident that fell out at *Windſor* ſome Years before his Death: For the King drinking more liberally than uſual, after the Fatigue of Riding, he retir'd to the next Room, and wrapping himſelf up in his Cloak, fell aſleep upon a Couch. He was but a little time come back to the Company, when a Servant belonging to one of them lay down upon the ſame Couch, in the King's Cloak, and was found ſtabb'd dead with a Poniard. Nor was it ever known how it happen'd, but the Matter huſh'd up, and no Enquiry made about it.

“ To conclude: Dr. *Short*, who was a Man of great Probity and Learning, and a *Roman Catholick*, made no Scruple to declare his Opinion to ſome of his intimate Friends, That he believ'd King *Charles* had foul Play done him: And when he came to die himſelf, expreſs'd ſome Suſpicion, that he had met with the ſame Treatment, for opening his Mind too freely in that Point.

“ So much for the Circumſtances of King *Charles*'s Death, that ſeem to have an ill Aſpect. There are others, that ſeem to deſtroy all Suſpicions of Treachery in the Matter.

“ As, Firſt, He had liv'd ſo faſt, as might enervate, in a great meaſure, the natural Force of his Conſtitution, and exhauſt his animal Spirits; and therefore he might be more ſubject to an *Apoplexy*, which is a Diſeaſe that weakens and locks up theſe Spirits from performing their uſual Functions: And though, in his later Years, he had given up himſelf more to the Pleaſures of Wine than of Women; that might be rather the Effect of Age than of Choice.

“ Next, It's known, he had been once or twice attack'd before, with *Fits* that much reſembled thoſe of which he afterwards died: And yet, as the manner of them is told, they look rather to have been a *Convulſive Motion*, than an *Apoplexy*; ſeeing they were attended with violent Contorſions of his Face, and Convulſions of the whole Body and Limbs. This is the more confirm'd, by a Paſſage that happened during the heat of the *Popiſh Plot*. King *Charles* had ſome ſecret Matters to manage at that time, by the means of a *Popiſh Prieſt* then beyond Sea, whom he order'd to be privately ſent for: And the Gentleman employ'd between the King and him (from whom I had the Story) was directed to bring him in a Diſguiſe to *Whitehall*. The King and the Prieſt were a conſiderable time together alone in the Cloſet, and the Gentleman attended in the next Room: At laſt the Prieſt came out, with all the Marks of Fright and Aſtoniſhment in his Face; and having recover'd himſelf a little, he told the Gentleman, That he had run the greateſt Riſque ever Man did; for while he was with the King, his Majeſty was ſuddenly ſurprized with a *Fit*, accompany'd with violent *Convulſions* of his Body, and Contorſions of his Face, which laſted for ſome Moments; and when he was going to call out for Help, the King held him by force till it was over, and then bid him not be afraid, for he had been troubled with the like before; the Prieſt adding, what a Condition he ſhould have been in, conſidering his Religion, in the preſent Juncture of Affairs, if the King had died of that *Fit*, and no body in the Room with him beſides himſelf.

“ But leaving this Story to the Credit of the Prieſt; there might be another natural Cauſe aſſign'd for King *Charles*'s falling into ſuch a *Fit* as that of which he died, which is this: He had for ſome time an Iſſue in his Leg, which run much, and conſequently muſt have made a great Revulſion from his Head; upon which Account, it's probable, it was made. A few Weeks before his Death, he had let it be dry'd up; contrary to the Advice of his Phyſicians, who told him it wou'd prejudice his Health. Their Prognoſtick was partly true in this, that there came a painful Tumour upon the Place where the Iſſue had been, which prov'd very

1684. 36*Car*.II. " obſtinate, and was not thoroughly heal'd up when he died.

" In fine, It is agreed on all hands, that King *Charles* expreſs'd no Suſpicion of his being poiſon'd, during all the time of his Sickneſs: Though it muſt be alſo obſerv'd, that his *Fits* were ſo violent, that he could not ſpeak when they were upon him, and ſhew'd an Averſion to ſpeaking during the Intervals. And there was not any thing to be ſeen, upon opening his Body, that could reaſonably be attributed to the Force of Poiſon. Yet, to allow theſe Conſiderations no more Weight than they can well bear, this muſt be acknowledg'd, that there are Poiſons which affect originally the Animal Spirits, and are of ſo ſubtile a Nature, that they leave no concluding Marks upon the Bodies of thoſe they kill.

" Thus reign'd, and thus dy'd King *Charles* II. a Prince endowed with all the Qualities that might juſtly have rendred him the *Delight of Mankind*, and entitled him to the Character of one of the greateſt Genius's that ever ſate upon a Throne, if he had not ſully'd thoſe Excellent Parts with the ſoft Pleaſures of Eaſe; and had not entertain'd a *fatal Friendſhip*, that was *incompatible with the Intereſt of* England.[a] His Religion was that of *Deiſm*, or rather that which is call'd ſo: And if, in his Exile, or at his Death, he went into that of *Rome*; the firſt was imputed to a Complaiſance with the Company he was then oblig'd to keep; and the laſt, to a lazie Diffidence in all other Religions, upon a review of his paſt Life, and the near approach of an uncertain State. His Perſon was Tall and Well-made, his Conſtitution Vigorous and Healthy; and it's hard to determine, whether he took more pains to preſerve it by Diet and Exerciſe, or to impair it by Exceſs in his Pleaſures. In Health, he was a great Pretender to Phyſick, and Encourager of *Quacks*, by whom he was often cheated of conſiderable Sums of Money for their *pretended Secrets*: But whenever he was indiſpos'd, he conſulted his Phyſicians, and depended on their Skill only.

" His Face was compos'd of harſh Features, difficult to be trac'd with the Pencil; yet, in the main, it was agreeable; and he had a *Noble Majeſtick Mein*. In Contradiction to all the common receiv'd Rules of *Phyſiognomy*, he was Merciful, Good-natur'd; and, in the laſt twenty four Years of his Life, Fortunate, if to ſucceed in moſt of his Deſigns, may be call'd ſo. Never Prince lov'd Ceremony leſs, or deſpis'd the Pageantry of a Crown more; yet he was Maſter of ſomething in his Perſon and Aſpect, that commanded both Love and Veneration at once. 1684. 36*Car*.II.

" He was a great votary to *Love*; and yet the eaſieſt and moſt unconcern'd *Rival*. He was, for the moſt part, not very nice in the Choice of his Miſtreſſes, and ſeldom poſſeſs'd of their *firſt Favours*; yet would ſacrifice All to pleaſe them; and upon every Caprice of theirs, deny-ed himſelf the Uſe of his Reaſon, and acted contrary to his Intereſt. He was a reſpectful civil Husband; a fond Father, a kind Brother, an eaſy Enemy; but none of the firmeſt or moſt grateful Friends: Bountiful by Starts; one day laviſh to his Servants; the next leaving them to ſtarve: Glad to win a little Money at Play; and impatient to loſe but the thouſandth Part of what within an Hour after he would throw away in groſs. He ſeem'd to have had nothing of Jealouſy in his Nature, neither in Matters of *Love* nor *Power*: He bore patiently *Rivals* in the one, and *Competitors* in the other; otherwiſe he would not have contributed to a *Foreign Greatneſs at Sea*, nor given his Brother ſo uncontroul'd a Share in the Government.

" Though his Underſtanding was quick and lively, with a vaſt compaſs of Thought; yet he would ſubmit his Judgment, in greateſt Matters, to others of much inferior Parts: And as he had an extraordinary ſhare of Wit himſelf, ſo he lov'd it in others, even when pointed againſt his own Faults and Miſmanagements. He had read but little, yet he had a good taſte of Learning, and would reaſon nicely upon moſt Sciences. The *Mechanicks* were one of his peculiar Talents, eſpecially the *Art of Building and Working of Ships*; which no Body underſtood better, nor, if he had liv'd, would have carry'd it farther. He had a ſtrong *Laconick* way of Expreſſion, and a genteel, eaſy and polite way of Writing: And when he had a mind to lay aſide the *King*, which he often did in ſelect Companies of his own, there were a thouſand irreſiſtible Charms in his Converſation. He lov'd Money only to ſpend it; and would privately accept of a ſmall Sum paid to himſelf, in lieu of a far greater to be paid into the *Exchequer*.

" He lov'd not Buſineſs, and ſought every Occaſion to avoid it; which was one reaſon that he paſs'd ſo much of his Time with his Miſtreſſes: Yet when Neceſſity call'd him, none of his Council could Reaſon more cloſely upon *Matters of State*; and he would often, by fits, out-do his *Miniſters* in Application and Diligence. No Age produced a greater Maſter in the Art of *Diſſimulation*; and yet no Man

[a] In the laſt Sickneſs of King *Charles*, Biſhop *Kenn* well knowing how much had been put off to that laſt Point, and fearing the ſtrength of his Diſtemper would give him but little time, gave a cloſe attendance by the Royal Bed without any Intermiſſion at leaſt for three whole Days and Nights, watching at proper Intervals to ſuggeſt pious and proper Thoughts and Ejaculations on ſo ſerious an Occaſion. In which time the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* coming into the Room, the Biſhop prevail'd with his Majeſty to have her remov'd, and took that Occaſion of repreſenting the Injury and Injuſtice done to his Queen ſo effectually, that his Majeſty was induced to ſend for the Queen, and asking Pardon had the Satisfaction of her Forgiveneſs before he died. The Biſhop having honeſtly urg'd the neceſſity of a full, and prevail'd (as is hop'd) for a ſincere Repentance, ſeveral times propos'd the Adminiſtration of the Holy Sacrament: But altho' it was not abſolutely rejected, it was delay'd from time to time; till (I know not by what Authority) the Biſhop and all others preſent were put out from the Preſence for about the ſpace of half an Hour, during which time it has been ſuggeſted, that Father *Huddleſton* was admitted to give Extreme Uection. And the Interval between this and Death was ſo ſhort, that nothing concerning the Biſhop's Behaviour happen'd worthy of Notice. *Life of Biſhop* Ken, 8*vo*. 1713. *p*. 12.

I heard a great Peer relate, that King *Charles* was in a manner paſt his Senſes, when the Duke ſaid, *Brother, will you have the Prieſt come in?* And without any ſenſible Anſwer given by the King, Father *Huddleſtone* who was ſet to wait at the Chamber-door was call'd in, and did what he pleas'd in his way, without the King's Choice, or any open ſign of Aſſent to it.

Yet the Papiſts publiſh'd a very different Account in the name of Father *Huddleſtone* himſelf, and call'd it a true Relation of the late King's Death, to which are added Copies of two Papers written by the late King *Charles* II. of Bleſſed Memory found in the ſtrong Box. *Huddleſton*'s ſhort and plain way, *&c. London*, 1688. Reprinted in the *Phœnix*, 8vo. 1707. *p*. 566.

Many have reported, that Mr. *William Chaffinch*, Keeper of the King's Cloſet, and privy to all his ſecret Affairs, ſoon after the King's Death, did ſhew to ſome choice Friends a ſmall and moſt private Chapel in *Whitehall*, annex'd to the Cloſet, to which as he declar'd that King in his latter Years was wont to go regularly, tho' ſecretly, to Maſs. See *Eachard*'s Hiſt. of *Engl*. vol. 3. p. 732.

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" was leſs upon his Guard, or ſooner deceiv'd in " the Sincerity of Others. If he had any one " fix'd *Maxim* of Government, it was to Play " one Party againſt another, to be thereby the " more Maſter of both: And no Prince under- " ſtood better how to ſhift Hands upon every " Change of the Scene.

" To ſum up his Character: He was dexterous " in all the Arts of *Inſinuation*; and had acqui- " red ſo great an Aſcendant over the Affections " of his People, in ſpite of all the unhappy Mea- " ſures he had taken, that it may in ſome ſenſe " be ſaid, he died opportunely for *England*; ſince " if he had liv'd, it's probable we might, in com- " pliance with him, have complemented our ſelves " out of all the Remains of *Liberty*, if he had " had but a mind to be Maſter of them: Which " it's but Charity to believe he had not, at leaſt " immediately before his Death.

" There is one thing more, that may help to " make the Character of this Prince; That in the " Lines and Shape of his Face (all but the Teeth) " he had a great Reſemblance of the ancient " *Buſto's* and *Statues* we have of the Emperor " *Tiberius*: Inſomuch that one of the moſt learn- " ed Men of this Age told me, That walking in " the *Farneſian Gardens* at *Rome*, with a *Noble* " *Italian* that had been at the Court of *England*, " he took notice of this Reſemblance in an *An-* " *tique Statue* of *Tiberius*; and asking the *Italian* " if he remember'd any Prince he had ſeen that " reſembled it? The other immediately nam'd " King *Charles*. As there was a great Likeneſs " betwixt theſe two Princes in their *Faces*, there " was likewiſe ſome in their *Maxims of Govern-* " *ment*; *the time of their Age in which they came* " *to govern*; *the length of their Reigns*; *and the* " *Suſpicions about the manner of their Death*. And " indeed, excepting *Tiberius*'s Temper, his *Cru-* " *elty*, *Jealouſy*, and *unnatural Luſts*, any one " that's acquainted with both their Stories, will " eaſily find ſomething of a Parallel betwixt them. " Nor is this any Reflection upon the Memory " of King *Charles*; for, except in what I named, " *Tiberius* may be reckon'd among the wiſeſt and " the braveſt of thoſe that wore the *Imperial* " *Purple*.

Dryden's Converſion. See *Hiſt. Tracts*, p. 178, 201.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF King JAMES the Second.

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AFTER the Death of King *CHARLES*, the Privy-Council immediately aſſembled; and the new King, *JAMES the Second*, appearing in Perſon among them, was graciouſly pleas'd to expreſs himſelf in this Manner:

My Lords,

K. *James* his Speech in Council.

Before I enter upon any other Buſineſs, I think fit to ſay ſomething to you. Since it hath pleas'd Almighty God to place me in this Station, and I am now to ſucceed ſo Good and Gracious a King, as well as ſo very Kind a Brother, I think it fit to declare to you, That I will endeavour to follow his Example, and moſt eſpecially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People. I have been reported to be a Man for Arbitrary Power; but that is not the only Story that has been made of Me: And I ſhall make it my Endeavour to preſerve this Government, both in Church and State, as it is now by Law Eſtabliſh'd. I know the Principles of the Church of England *are for Monarchy, and the Members of it have ſhewn themſelves Good and Loyal Subjects; therefore, I ſhall always take Care to defend and ſupport it. I know too, that the Laws of* England *are ſufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as I can wiſh: And as I ſhall never depart from the juſt Rights and Prerogative of the Crown, ſo I ſhall never invade any Man's Property. I have often heretofore ventur'd my Life in Defence of this Nation* [a]*; and I ſhall ſtill go as far as any Man in preſerving it in all its juſt Rights and Liberties.*

Whereupon the Lords of the Council were humble Suitors to his Majeſty, that theſe his gracious Expreſſions might be made Publick; which his Majeſty did order accordingly. Then a *Proclamation* was drawn up, ſignifying his Majeſty's Pleaſure, "That all Men being in Office of Government at the Deceaſe of the late King, ſhould ſo continue till his Majeſty's farther Direction." And in the Afternoon the King was proclaimed before *Whitehall-Gate*, at *Temple-Bar*, and the *Royal-Exchange*, with the uſual Solemnity: But the Signs of popular *Grief* exceeded thoſe of *Joy*. On *Feb.* 9. the King publiſh'd a *Proclamation* for continuing the Collection of the Cuſtoms and Subſidies of Tonnage and Poundage; declaring, "That he had thought fit to call a Parliament ſpeedily to be aſſembled, in which he made no doubt but Care would be taken for ſettling a ſufficient Revenue on the Crown for the Support of the Government; the Neceſſities of which, in the mean time, requir'd that the Cuſtoms and Subſidies, and other Duties upon Merchandizes, ſhould be continu'd to be collected, as in the Time of his deareſt Brother lately deceas'd." Though this was no extraordinary Stretch of Power, yet it was ſuſpected by ſome wiſe Perſons to be an Eagerneſs of breaking through the Laws of the Land, and the Liberties of the Subject: And it fell under the greater Suſpicion, when the *Addreſs* of the Barriſters and Students of the *Middle-Temple* came to be preſented by Sir *Humphry Mackworth*, with this Expreſſion in it: *We cannot but with the deepeſt Senſe of Gratitude acknowledge your Majeſty's great Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion in your late* Declaration; *and in particular, that your Majeſty hath been graciouſly pleas'd, in purſuance of the ſame, to extend your Royal Care of the Government to the Preſervation of the Cuſtoms; the Inter-*

1684. Proceedings in the New Reign.

[a] The Author of an Anſwer to King *James*'s Declaration 1689, ſaid of this firſt Speech to the Privy-Council. He that can reconcile this Speech with King *James*'s after Actings, is the fitteſt Perſon I know to explain the Popiſh Notion of our Saviour's Body being in a thouſand diſtinct Places at once.

I took it from the Mouth of Archbiſhop *Tenniſon* on *Monday Decemb.* 8. 1712. That he was then in waiting as Chaplain when King *Charles* died; and that the *Sunday* after his Death there was great Expectation whether King *James* would come to the Chapel or not: Upon which, for Satiſfaction, he waited on the Lord Chamberlain *Arlington*; and being admitted in the Morning at his Bed ſide, he aſk'd his Lordſhip whether the King would be at Chapel? No, ſaid my Lord, he will not be there; but however, the Cuſhion, and Bible, and Prayer-Book, ſhall be laid in the Cloſet, as if he were to come. *For indeed* (ſays my Lord) *he ought to be there.* This good Humour of the Lord *Arlington* not agreeing ſo well with the Report of his dying a Papiſt, I aſk'd his Grace whether there was no Truth in that Report? To which his Grace readily anſwered, that he could not believe the Lord *Arlington* liv'd or dy'd a Papiſt, tho' a complete Courtier; that on the very laſt *Sunday* his Lordſhip was abroad, he was brought (ſays he) in a Chair to receive the Sacrament in my Church; but when ſoon after he lay a dying, and was in a manner ſenſleſs, then ſome about him turn'd out his Proteſtant Servants, and brought a *Roman* Prieſt to him, as had been practis'd upon his late Maſter.—— The Archbiſhop was pleas'd at the ſame time to tell us, that his Brother Chaplain, a Dean of the Church, (not mentioning his Name or Title) was much troubled at the Apprehenſions of Popery upon the Throne, but us'd to comfort himſelf much with the *Sunday* Collect, which happen'd to be that on the *Fifth Sunday after Epiphany.* —— *O Lord we beſeech thee to keep thy Church and Houſhold in thy true Religion, that they who do lean only upon the Hope of thy Heavenly Grace, may evermore be defended by thy mighty Power, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen.

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miſſion whereof would not only have diſabled your Majeſty to maintain the Navy in Defence of the Realm, but, by taking away the Balance of Trade, have ruin'd Thouſands of your Majeſty's Subjects that paid Cuſtom in the Life of our late Sovereign; and by an exceſſive Exportation and Importation Cuſtom-free, have rendred that Branch of the Revenue unprofitable for ſome Years to come, notwithſtanding all the Care and Loyalty of the ſucceeding Parliament, &c.

There was another Offence taken at the obſcure and parſimonious *Funeral* of the late King; which was look'd upon to be either a want of Spirit, or a want of Affection in his Royal Succeſſor. This Account was given of it by Authority.

Funeral of King *Charles* II.

Whitehall, Feb. 14. "This Evening was privately ſolemnized the Funeral of his late Majeſty "King *Charles* II. from the *Painted-Chamber* in "the Palace at *Weſtminſter* to the *Abby-Church* "there. The Body was carry'd under a Velvet-"Canopy, borne by Gentlemen of the Privy-"Chamber, ſix Earls ſupporting the Pall. The "Proceeding began with Servants to the Nobi-"lity, their Royal Highneſs's, their preſent Ma-"jeſty's, the Queen Dowager's, and the late King's "Servants, *&c.* After whom follow'd Barons, "Biſhops, and others of the Nobility, according "to their reſpective Degrees, tog-ther with the "great Officers, and the Lord Archbiſhop of "*Canterbury*. His Royal Highneſs the Prince of "*Denmark* was Chief-Mourner, (his Train borne "by the Lord *Cornbury*:) The Supporters to the "Chief-Mourner were the Dukes of *Somerſet* and "*Beaufort*, wearing their Collars of the Order, (as "the other Knights of the *Garter*, then preſent, "*did.*) The Aſſiſtants to the Chief-Mourner "were ſixteen Earls. One of the Kings of Arms "carry'd the Crown and Cuſhion; the reſt of the "Officers of Arms attending and directing the "Ceremony; which was cloſed with his Majeſty's "Band of Gentlemen-Penſioners, and the Yeo-"men of the Guard. At the Entrance into the "Church, the Dean and Prebendaries of *Weſtmin-*"*ſter*, attended with the Choir, met the Body, "and proceeded to King *Henry* VIIth's *Chapel*, "where it was interred in a Vault under the Eaſt-"End of the South-Ile. Service being ended, "and the Officers of his Majeſty's Houſhold hav-"ing broken their Staffs, the Royal Style was pro-"claim'd by another of the Kings of Arms, ac-"cording to Cuſtom.

Honours and Preferments.

On *Feb.* 9. his Royal Highneſs Prince *George*, Hereditary Prince of *Denmark*, was, by his Majeſty's Command, call'd into the Council-Chamber, and took his Place at the Board. Within few Days after, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd to make his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* Lord-Steward; the Earl of *Arlington* Lord-Chamberlain; the Lord *Newport* Lord-Treaſurer; the Lord *Maynard* Comptroller; and *Henry Savil* Eſq; Vice-Chamberlain of his Houſhold; in which Offices they had ſerved the late King. And ſoon after his Majeſty appointed *Henry Bulkley* Eſq; to be Maſter of his Houſhold; Sir *Stephen Fox* eldeſt Clerk of the Green-Cloth; Sir *William Boreman* ſecond Clerk of the ſame; Sir *William Churchill* eldeſt Clerk-Comptroller; and Sir *Richard Maſon* youngeſt Clerk-Comptroller; in which Places they had likewiſe ſerved his late Majeſty. *Laurence* Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord-Preſident of the Council, was now conſtituted Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*; and on *Monday* Morning, *Feb.* 16. his Majeſty gave the White-Staff to his Lordſhip. On *Wedneſday* following, in the Afternoon, his Majeſty was pleas'd in Council to declare the Right Honourable the Marquis of *Hallifax* Lord-Preſident of his Privy-Council; the Earl of *Clarendon* Lord Privy-Seal; the Duke of *Beaufort* Lord Preſident of *Wales*; and the Lord *Godolphin* Lord Chamberlain to the Queen. On *March* 8. his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *Thomas Vernon*, of *London*, Eſq; as a Mark of his Royal Favour for his ſtedfaſt Loyalty: And near the ſame time he did the ſame Honour to *William Haman* Eſq; Mayor of the City of *Briſtol*. And on *March* 22. his Majeſty conferr'd the like Honour on *Marmaduke Dayrel*, Eſq; Son of Sir *Thomas Dayrel*, late of *Comps-Caſtle* in the County of *Cambridge*, Kt.

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Account of Religion.

Diſſenters complain of their Sufferings.

In Matters of *Religion* the *Diſſenters* complain of great Perſecutions, and give this Tragical Account of their Sufferings: "About this time one "Mr. *Robert Mayot*, of *Oxon*, a pious *Conformiſt*, "who had devoted his Eſtate to charitable Uſes, "gave, by his laſt Will, 600 Pounds, to be di-"ſtributed by Mr. *Baxter* to ſixty poor ejected Mi-"niſters; adding, *That he did it not becauſe they* "*were* Noncontormiſts, *but becauſe many ſuch were* "*Poor and Pious* [a]. But the King's Attorney, "Sir *Robert Sawyer*, ſued for it in the *Chancery*; "and the Lord-Keeper *North* gave it all to the "King. It was paid into the *Chancery* by Order, "and, as Providence order'd it, there kept ſafe "till King *William* ſo happily aſcended the "Throne, when the Commiſſioners of the Great-"Seal reſtor'd it to the Uſe for which it was in-"tended by the Deceaſed; and Mr. *Baxter* diſ-"pos'd of it accordingly. This Year, while "Mr. *Baxter* lay in Pain and Languiſhing, the "Juſtices of the Seſſions ſent Warrants to appre-

[a] See *the Judgment of the late Lord Chief Juſtice Sir* Matthew Hale *of the Nature of true Religion, the Cauſes of its Corruption, and the Churches Calamity, by Men's Additions and Violences; with the deſired Cure.* In three Diſcourſes, written by himſelf at ſeveral times. Humbly dedicated to the honourable Judges and learned Lawyers, who knew and honoured the Author, becauſe in their true Sentiments of Religion, and its Depravations, and the Cure, the Welfare of *England* under his Majeſty is eminently concern'd, by the faithful Publiſher *RICHARD BAXTER*. To which is annex'd the Judgment of Sir *Francis Bacon*, Lord *Verulam*, Saint *Albans*, and Chancellor of *England*. And ſomewhat of Dr. *Iſaac Barrow*'s on the ſame Subject. —— A Preface with ſome Notes on theſe Diſcourſes by the Publiſher Mr. *Baxter*, relating, that in his laſt Letter to Judge *Hales* he had told him how much Good the Lord *Bacon*'s Book, call'd *Conſiderations of Matters Eccleſiaſtical*, had done, and had deſir'd him to write his own Judgment briefly and freely of the Cauſe and Cure of our Diviſions: That after the Judges Death theſe Papers were found in a Bag of MSS. directed for Mr. *Baxter*, which he conjectures to have been long before written by him at ſeveral times to the ſame Purpoſe.— *London*, 1684. 4*to*.

See the two Steps of a Nonconformiſt Miniſter, made by him in order to the obtaining his Liberty of Preaching in Publick. Together with an Appendix about coming to Church, in reſpect to the People. Publiſhed for a Teſtimony in his Generation by a Lover of Sincerity and Peace; with a Poſtſcript, or Addition, from the Author. Subſcribed *John Humfrey*. *London*, for *Tho. Parkhurſt*, 1684 4*to*.

As a Proſecution of the Diſſenters had made ſome of the Leaders more moderate; ſo the Zeal of the Court for the Church had made ſome of our Divines more high and rigid. Some would have thrown out the Singing Pſalms, as not authorized by Canon: And ſome would have made it neceſſary for all People to reſort only to their own Pariſh-Churches, and unlawful to communicate, or even to hear Prayers and Sermons in any Neighbouring Church or Chapel. See, 1. A Letter of Dr. Richard *Watſon*, giving an Hiſtorical Account of what he ſuffer'd by not permitting the Singing Pſalms to be uſed in his Church; and his Arguments for excluding of them. *London*, 1684.—2. A Letter from a Country Miniſter to ſome Neighbouring Clergy concerning the uſual Reſort of his Pariſhioners to other Churches in Contempt of their own, dated *March* 27, 1684. *London*, for *Walter Kettleby*.

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" hend him, he being one in a Catalogue which " was ſaid to contain the Names of a Thouſand " Perſons, who were all to be bound to their " good Behaviour. Knowing that their Warrant " was not to break open Doors, he refuſed to o- " pen to them, though they were got into his " Houſe. Whereupon they ſet ſix Officers at his " Study-Door, who kept him from his Bed and " Food, by Watching all Night: And the next " Day he yielded. They carry'd him to the *Seſ-* " *ſions* when he was ſcarce able to ſtand, and " bound him in a Bond of 400 Pounds to his good " Behaviour. He deſired to know his Crimes, " and Accuſers; but was told, 'twas only to ſe- " cure the Government againſt ſuſpected Perſons. " He was ſome time after carry'd again to the *Seſ-* " *ſions-Houſe* in great Pain, and forc'd to continue " Bound. He refuſ'd to ſtand Bound, not know- " ing what they might interpret a Breach of the " Peace: But his Sureties would be Bound, leſt he " ſhould die in Jail. He was carry'd thither a " third time, and ſtill bound, tho', for the moſt " part, he kept his Bed.

" *Sept.* 23. Mr. *Thomas Roſwell*, who was Mi- " niſter of a Diſſenting Congregation in *Rother-* " *hith*, was impriſon'd in the *Gate-houſe* in *Weſt-* " *minſter*, by a Warrant from Sir *George Jeffreys* " for High-Treaſon. A Bill was found againſt him " at the *Quarter-Seſſions* at *Kingſton* in *Surrey:* " Upon which he was arraign'd on *Octob.* 25. and " try'd on *Novemb.* 18. following at the *King's-* " *Bench-Bar* by a *Surrey* Jury before the Lord " Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, and three other Judges " of that Court, *Wythins*, *Holloway* and *Walcot*. " The High-Treaſon, as laid in the Indictment, " and ſworn by the Witneſſes, was, That in a " Sermon which he preach'd on *Sept.* 14. he ſaid " theſe Words; *That the People* (meaning the " Subjects of our Sovereign Lord the King) *make* " *a flocking to the* (ſaid Sovereign Lord the) *King,* " *upon pretence of Healing the King's-Evil*; *which* " *he* (meaning our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King) " *could not do: But that we* (meaning himſelf, and " other traiterous Perſons, Subjects of our ſaid " Lord the King) *are they to whom they* (meaning " the Subjects of our ſaid Lord the King) *ought* " *to flock*; *becauſe we* (meaning himſelf, and the " ſaid other traiterous Perſons) *are Prieſts and Pro-* " *phets, that by our Prayers can heal the Dolours* " *and Griefs of the People. We* (meaning the " Subjects of our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King) " *have had two wicked Kings*, (meaning the moſt " Serene *Charles* I. late King of *England*, and our " ſaid Sovereign Lord the King that now is) *whom* " *we can reſemble to no other Perſon, but to the moſt* " *wicked* Jeroboam: *And that if they* (mean- " ing the ſaid Evil-diſpos'd Perſons then and " there ſo, as aforeſaid, with him unlawfully aſ- " ſembled and gather'd together) *would ſtand to* " *their Principles*, *he* (meaning himſelf) *did not* " *fear but they* (meaning himſelf and the ſaid Evil- " diſpos'd Perſons) *would overcome their Enemies*, " (meaning our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, and " his Subjects) *as in former Times*, *with Rams-* " *horns*, *broken Platters*, *and a Stone in a Sling*. " The Witneſſes were three Women: They " ſwore to the Words as they ſtand without the " *Innuendo*'s. The Tryal laſted about ſeven Hours. " Mr. *Roſwell* made a moſt full and clear Defence " of himſelf; very modeſtly, and yet ſtrenuouſly " vindicating his Innocence, to the ſatisfaction of " thoſe that were preſent, and ſo as to gain the " applauſe of many Gentlemen of the long Robe. " The Jury however, after they had been out a- " bout half an Hour, brought him in guilty. " The Women who were the Witneſſes were In- " famous Perſons, laden with the guilt of many " Perjuries; which had eaſily been prov'd upon " them all, before the Tryals, could Juſtice have " been had: But they were ſkreen'd by the " Recorder, who was the Perſon that laid the " whole Scheme of the Buſineſs, and patcht up " the Indictment in Terms ſuited to his known A- " bilities. But ſuch of them as could be met with, " were afterwards convicted of Perjury, and *Smith* " the chief Witneſs was Pillory'd before the *Ex-* " *change*. Sir *John Talbot*, who was preſent, re- " preſented to King *Charles* the State of the Caſe, " as it appear'd at the Tryal; and he order'd *Jef-* " *freys* to find an Evaſion. Whereupon he aſ- " ſign'd him Council afterwards to plead to the " Inſufficiency of the Indictment in Arreſt of Judg- " ment; and the King gave him his Pardon: Up- " on which he was diſcharg'd. *Jan.* 19. Mr. *Jen-* " *kyns* died in *Newgate*, as did alſo Mr. *Bampfield* " and Mr. *Ralphſon*, and ſeveral others in other " Priſons. And quickly after died King *Charles* " himſelf, *viz.* on *Feb.* 6. 168$\frac{4}{5}$. Though he con- " tinu'd the Proſecution of the poor *Diſſenters*, " yet they held on their Meetings, heartily pray- " ing for his Peace and Proſperity: And at laſt " they were as much concern'd at his Death as any " People in the Kingdom.

1684. 1 *Jac.* II.

Death of many Biſhops.

King *Charles's* death was preceded, if not prog-noſticated by the death of ſeveral Biſhops: Dr. *Edward Rainbow*, who had been conſecrated Bi-ſhop of *Carliſle* on *January* 10. 1664. and had now liv'd to the Age of 76 Years, died in his Palace of *Roſe-Caſtle* on *March* 26. And on the firſt of *April* following his Body was interr'd in the Church-Yard of *Dalſton*, under the Chancel Wall; with a *Funeral Sermon* preach'd by Mr. *Thomas Tulley*, one of his Lordſhip's Chaplains, and Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *Carliſle*, which was afterwards publiſh'd; with the *Life* of the Biſhop, written by *Jonathan Bankes*, School-maſter of *Appleby*. He was ſucceeded by Dr. *Thomas Smith*, ſome-time Fellow of *Queen's-College* in *Oxford*. Doctor *Peter Gunning*, Tranſlated from the See of *Chi-cheſter* to that of *Ely*, on *March* 4. 1674. Died now on *Sunday*, *July* 6. and his Body was ſoon after buried with due ſolemnity in the *Cathedral Church* of *Ely*, and had his great Character and good Works remembred in a *Diſcourſe* deliver'd in *two Sermons preach'd in the* Cathedral *of* Ely, *in* Sept. 1684. *by* Humphry Gower, *D. D. Maſter of* St. John's College *in* Cambridge, *and one of the Prebendaries of* Ely. Upon his death, Dr. *Francis Turner*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, in great favour with the new King, was tranſlated to the good Biſhop-rick of *Ely*,: And on *Sunday Nov.* 2. Dr. *Thomas Spratt*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, another great Favou-rite, was conſecrated Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, aſſiſted by ſeveral other Biſhops, in the Chapel at *Lambeth*. Dr. *George Morley* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, a very learned and exemplary Prelate, after a good old Age of 87 Years, died in *Farnham-Caſtle*, on *October* 29. Whereupon his Body was conveyed to *Wincheſter*, and buried in a little Vault at the foot of the Steps aſcending to the Choir on the *North* ſide. Soon after an Altar-Tomb was erected over his Grave, and a *Latin* Inſcription put upon it, which the Bi-ſhop himſelf had compos'd in the 80th Year of his Age. Dr. *Peter Mew*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was tranſlated to this rich See of *Wincheſter*, and did Homage to his Majeſty on *Novemb.* 24. And Dr. *Thomas Kenn*, Fellow of *Wincheſter-College*, a Man eminent for a devotional and auſtere Life, was on *Sunday January* 25. conſecrated Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, by the Lord Archbiſhop of *Can-terbury*, aſſiſted by ſeveral other Biſhops at his Cha-pel at *Lambeth*.

K. *Charles* ſuppoſed to die a *Papiſt*.

King *Charles* had liv'd in a profeſt Communion with the Church of *England*, but had indulg'd himſelf

himſelf and his Court in ſo many Liberties of Life, and ſuch a Prophaneneſs of Humour, that he was generally thought to be a Prince of little or no Religion: And indeed for that Reaſon he was the fitter to die in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, if he could make himſelf believe that he might in the Boſom of that Church (and of that alone) obtain Salvation, without Repentance. The pious Biſhop *Kenn*, of whom his Majeſty was thought to have the higheſt Opinion, was appointed to attend him, in his laſt Sickneſs; but he was allow'd no Opportunity to talk ſeriouſly with him, being frequently diſmiſs'd, and again induſtriouſly interrupted in the Duties which he offer'd to perform: While Father *Huddleſton* was carefully brought into the Bed-Chamber, and was allow'd to perform all the laſt Duties to his dying Majeſty; but whether ſo much at the King's own Deſire, or at the officious Importunity of others, is not ſo eaſy to determine. But this is certain, that King *James*, who had better have conceal'd this Matter, was very zealous to divulge it: For he publiſh'd *two Papers*, written by the late King, and *left in his ſtrong Box*; where his Royal Brother, King *James*, affirm'd that he found them, and they are as follow:

The Firſt PAPER.

Papers in the Strong Box.

T*HE Diſcourſe we had the other Day, I hope, ſatisfy'd you in the main,* That Chriſt can have but one Church here on Earth; *and I believe, that it is as viſible, as that the* Scripture *is in print, that none can be that* Church, *but that which is call'd the* Rom. Cath. Ch. *I think you need not trouble your ſelf with entring into that Ocean of particular Diſputes, when the main (and in truth, the only) Queſtion is, Where that* Church *is, which we do profeſs to Believe, in the* two Creeds? *We declare there, to believe* one Catholick and Apoſtolick Church: *And it is not left to every fantaſtical Man's Head to believe as he pleaſes, but to the* Church, *to whom Chriſt left the Power upon Earth, to govern us in Matters of Faith, who made the* Creeds *for our Directions. It were a very irrational thing to make Laws for a Country, and leave it to the Inhabitants to be the Interpreters and Judges of theſe Laws. For when every Man will be his own Judge, and by Conſequence no ſuch thing as either Right or Wrong; can we therefore ſuppoſe, that Almighty God would leave us at thoſe Uncertainties, as to give us a Rule to go by, and leave every Man to be his own Judge? I do ask any Ingenuous Man, Whether it be not the ſame thing, to follow our own Fancy, or to interpret the* Scripture *by it? I would have any Man ſhew me, where the Power of deciding of Matters of Faith is given to every particular Man.* Chriſt *left his Power to the* Church, *even to* forgive Sins in Heaven; *and left his Spirit with them, which they exercis'd after his Reſurrection: Firſt, by his* Apoſtles, *in theſe* Creeds; *and many Years after, by the Council at* Nice, *where that* Creed *was made that is call'd by that Name: And by the Power which they had received from* Chriſt, *they were the Judges, even of the* Scripture *it ſelf, many Years after the* Apoſtles, *which Books were Canonical, and which were not. And if they had this Power then, I deſire to know how they came to loſe it; and by what Authority Men ſeparate themſelves from that* Church? *The only Pretence I ever heard of, was, Becauſe the* Church *hath fail'd, in wreſting and interpreting the Scripture, contrary to the true Senſe and Meaning of it; and that they have impos'd Articles of Faith upon us, which are not to be warranted by* God's Word. *I do deſire to know, who is to be Judge of that; whether the whole* Church, *(the Succeſſion whereof has continu'd to this Day, without Interruption,) or particular Men, who have raiſed* Schiſms *for their own advantage?*

This is a true COPY of a PAPER I found in the late King my Brother's *Strong Box*, written by his own Hand.

J. R.

The Second PAPER.

I*T is a ſad thing to conſider what a world of* Hereſies *are crept into this Nation, every Man thinks himſelf as competent a Judge of the* Scriptures, *as the very* Apoſtles *themſelves: And 'tis no wonder that it ſhould be ſo; ſince that Part of the Nation who looks moſt like a Church, dares not bring the true Arguments againſt the other Sects, for fear they ſhould be turned againſt themſelves, and confuted by their own Arguments. The Church of* England *as ('tis call'd) wou'd fain have it thought they are the Judges in Matters Spiritual, and yet dare not ſay poſitively there is no Appeal from them; for either they muſt ſay, that they are Infallible, (which they cannot pretend to;) or confeſs, that what they decide in Matters of Conſcience, is no farther to be follow'd, than it agrees with every Man's private Judgment. If* Chriſt *did leave a* Church *here upon Earth, and we were all once of that Church; how, and by what Authority, did we ſeparate from that Church? If the Power of interpreting Scripture, be in every Man's Brain, what need have we of a Church, or Church-men? To what purpoſe then did our Saviour, after he had given his Apoſtles Power* to bind and looſe in Heaven and Earth, *add to it,* That he would be with them to the end of the World? *Theſe Words were not ſpoken parabolically, or by way of Figure: Chriſt was then aſcending into his Glory, and* left his Power with his Church, even to the end of the World? *We have had, theſe hundred Years paſt, the ſad Effects, of denying to the* Church *that Power in Matters Spiritual, without an Appeal. What Country can ſubſiſt in Peace or Quiet, where there is not a Supreme Judge, from whence there can be no Appeal? Can there be any Juſtice done, where the Offenders are their own Judges, and equal Interpreters of the Law, with thoſe, who are appointed to adminiſter Juſtice? This is our Caſe here in* England, *in Matters Spiritual: For the* Proteſtants *are not of the Church of* England, *as 'tis the true Church from whence there can be no Appeal, but becauſe the Diſcipline of that Church is conformable, at that preſent, to their Fancies; which as ſoon as it ſhall contradict or vary from, they are ready to embrace or join with the next Congregation of People, whoſe Diſcipline or Worſhip agrees with their own Opinion at that time: So that, according to this Doctrine, there is no other Church, nor Interpreter of Scripture, but that which lies in every Man's giddy Brain. I deſire to know therefore of every ſerious Conſiderer of theſe things, Whether the great Work of our Salvation ought to depend upon ſuch a ſandy Foundation as this? Did Chriſt ever ſay to the Civil Magiſtrates, (much leſs to the People)* That he would be with them unto the end of the World? *Or did he give them the Power to forgive Sins? St.* Paul *tells the* Corinthians, Ye are God's Husbandry; ye are God's Buildings; we are Labourers with God. *This ſhews who are the* Labourers, *and who are the* Husbandry *and* Building. *And in this whole Chapter, and in the preceding one, St.* Paul *takes great Pains to ſet forth, That they (the Clergy) have* the Spirit of God; without which, no Man ſearches the deep Things of God: *And he concludes the Chapter, with this Verſe;* For who hath kn

1685. 1 *Jac.* II. Mind of the Lord, that he may inſtruct him? But we have the Mind of Chriſt. *Now, if we but conſider, in humane Probability and Reaſon, the Powers Chriſt leaves to his Church in this Goſpel, and St.* Paul *explains ſo diſtinctly afterwards, we cannot think that our Saviour ſaid all theſe things to no purpoſe. And pray conſider, on the other ſide, That thoſe who reſiſt the Truth, and will not ſubmit to his Church, draw their Arguments from Implications, and far-fetch'd Interpretations, at the ſame time that they deny plain and poſitive Words: Which is ſo great a Diſingenuity, as 'tis not almoſt to be thought that they can believe themſelves. Is there any other Foundation of the* Proteſtant Church, *but that if the Civil Magiſtrate pleaſe, he may call ſuch of the Clergy as he thinks fit for his Turn at that time, and turn the* Church *either to* Presbytery, Independency, *or indeed what he pleaſes? This was the way of our pretended* Reformation *here in* England; *and, by the ſame Rule and Authority, it may be altered into as many more Shapes and Forms, as there are Fancies in Mens Heads.*

This is a True COPY.

1685. Coronation of the King & Queen. The Feſtival of St. *George*, *Apr.* 23. had been appointed for the *Coronation* of the King and Queen, which was perform'd in this manner: Their Majeſties being come from *Whitehall* to the Palace at *Weſtminſter*, (where the Nobility and others who were to go in Proceſſion were aſſembled) came in State from the *Houſe of Lords* into *Weſtminſter-Hall* about Eleven in the Morning, and being ſeated on the Throne there, the Sword of State, the Sword *Curtana*, and the two pointed Swords, together with the golden Spurs, were preſented to his Majeſty, and laid on a Table before him. Then the Dean and Prebends of *Weſtminſter*, having before brought the Crowns and other *Regalia* in ſolemn Proceſſion from the *Collegiate-Church* there, came up the *Hall*, and preſented them ſeverally to His Majeſty; which being likewiſe laid on the Table, were (together with the four Swords and Spurs) delivered to the Lords appointed to carry them in the Proceſſion, (which then began.) Theſe Noblemen bore the King's *Regalia:* The Earl of *Ailesbury* St. *Edward*'s Staff; the Lord *De Gray* the Spurs; the Earl of *Peterborough* the Sceptre with the Croſs; the Earl of *Pembroke* the third Sword: the Earl of *Derby* the ſecond Sword; and between them the Earl of *Shrewsbury* bearing the *Curtana*, or pointleſs Sword; the Earl of *Oxford* the Sword of State; the Duke of *Ormond* St. *Edward*'s Crown; the Duke of *Somerſet* the Orb, and the Duke of *Albemarle* the Sceptre with the Dove.

Three other Noblemen carry'd the Queen's *Regalia:* The Earl of *Dorſet* the Ivory Rod; the Earl of *Rutland* the Sceptre; and the Duke of *Beaufort* the Crown. The Queen's Majeſty was aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *London* and *Wincheſter*, under a rich Canopy ſupported by ſixteen Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*, with her Train born up by the young Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*. The King's Majeſty was aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Bath*, under a rich Canopy born likewiſe by ſixteen Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*, and his Train born up by four Earls eldeſt Sons. 1685. 1 Jac. II.

Their Majeſties being enter'd the *Collegiate-Church*, and the Nobility and others being all duly placed, they aſcended the Theatre raiſed in the Choir, and repaired to their private Devotions on the Eaſt-part thereof, and then ſeated themſelves in their Chairs of State. Then folllow'd the *Recognition*, and after an *Anthem*, [a] the King and Queen came to the Altar, and made their firſt Oblation; and the Lords who carry'd the *Regalia* preſented them at the Altar, to be there depoſited. Then the *Litany* was ſung by two Biſhops: Which ended, the Biſhop of *Ely* began the *Sermon*.

After *Sermon*, the King took the accuſtomed *Oath:* And *Veni Creator* being ſung, and the King diſrobed of his Mantle and Surcoat, he was anointed, and veſted with all the ſacred Habits, in King *Edward*'s Chair; and the Crown being put on by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, juſt at three in the Afternoon, all the People ſhouted, *&c.* Then followed the Coronation of the Queen; at which likewiſe the Ladies put on their Coronets, (as the Lords had done before at the King's:) And her Majeſty having receiv'd into her Hands the Sceptre and Ivory Rod, was conducted to her Royal Seat upon the Throne. Then their Majeſties being enthronized, and after an Anthem was ſung, the Arch-Biſhop ended with the *Benediction*. Their Majeſties and the great Retinue returning to *Weſtminſter-Hall* in the ſame order they came, to a noble Dinner.

The 19th Day of *May* had been appointed for opening of the new Parliament: At which time his Majeſty went from *Whitehall*, by Water, to the Houſe of Peers, and being there ſeated on his Throne, ſent for the Houſe of Commons; and then my Lord-Keeper ſpoke thus: Opening of the New Parliament.

My Lords, and You the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons;

"I Am commanded by his Majeſty to acquaint "you, that there are divers Preliminaries "for you to do, and ſeveral Oaths required by "Act of Parliament for us all to take, before you "can proceed to Buſineſs. It is therefore his "Majeſty's Pleaſure, that you, Gentlemen of the "Houſe of Commons, do go back to your Houſe, "and make Choice of a *Speaker*, and come and "Preſent him to his Majeſty at four of the Clock: "And when you have done that, and taken the "uſual Oaths, his Majeſty will then acquaint "you with the Reaſons why he call'd you together. Lord's Keeper's Speech.

The Commons being return'd to their own Houſe, my Lord *Middleton* named Sir *John Trevor* as a fit Perſon for their *Speaker*, and one that would be acceptable to his Majeſty. Whereupon the Commons unanimouſly made Choice of him, and at four in the Afternoon preſented him to his Majeſty: When the Lord-Keeper, by his Majeſty's

[a] There was an Omiſſion of the Sacrament becauſe the King would not receive, th[illegible] miſſion not to be avoided was charged [illegible] the Archbiſho[illegible] as a wilful departing from the ancien[illegible] [illegible] Form and Cuſtom. But why ſhould he offer what he [illegible] Omiſſio[illegible] knew would be contemptuouſly rejected? This of Arch[illegible] is however ſaid to have lain heavy on the Spirits called [illegible] ſhop *Sancroft*, who was afterward afraid of being th[illegible] into Queſtion for it. It was chiefly to this Default S[illegible] the Lord Chief-Baron *Atkins* alluded in his Speech to [illegible] *William Aſhburſt*, when he was ſworn Lord-Mayor of [illegible] in 1602, when reflecting on the ill Deſign of ſtriking out a part of the ancient Coronation Oath for King *Charles* the Firſt; he added, I could tell you ſomething more of that kind done ſince, at the time of the Coronation of the late King *James*, when there was much more ſtruck out of the Coronation Oath, which might be well worth enquiring how it came about——this Matter was fully open'd to his Majeſty King GEORGE upon adjuſting the Ceremonies of his happy Coronation; and that Omiſſion of the Sacrament was ſuggeſted by a certain Perſon, if his Majeſty thought fit, as a Precedent. But the King was pleas'd to reſolve to communicate, and did ſo in the moſt humble manner.

Command,

1685. 1 *Jac.* II.

Command, ratify'd and confirm'd him *Speaker*, adding, "That his Majeſty was well ſatisfy'd of "his Experience and Ability, and that he was "every way fitted and qualify'd for that Employ-"ment.

Rebellion of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Earl of *Argyle*.

The great Buſineſs of this Parliament, was to ſuppreſs the Rebellions of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Earl of *Argyle*, who were both in *Holland*, with many other diſcontented Perſons, and had agreed the one to invade *England*, and the other *Scotland*, at the ſame time. The Earl of *Argyle* was firſt ready, and ſail'd from the *Ulye*, on the 2[d] of *May*, with three Ships: On the 13th he landed in *Lorn*, and garriſon'd the Caſtle of *Dunſtaſvar*, and began to March through the Counties of *Argyle* and *Lorn*, to encreaſe his Numbers among his own *Clan*. The News of this Invaſion was brought to the King on *Friday* Morning, *May* 22[d]. The King went that Day to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, he made this SPEECH:

My Lords and Gentlemen;

The K's Speech.

"AFTER it pleas'd Almighty God, to take "to his Mercy the late King my deareſt "Brother, and to bring me to the peaceable Poſ-"ſeſſion of the Throne of my Anceſtors; I im-"mediately reſolved to call a Parliament, as the "beſt Means to ſettle every thing upon thoſe "Foundations, as may make my Reign both eaſy "and happy to you: Towards which, I am "diſpoſed to contribute all that is fit for me "to do.

"What I ſaid to my Privy-Council, at my "firſt coming there, I am deſirous to renew to "you; wherein I fully declare my Opinion con-"cerning the Principles of the Church of *Eng-"land*, whoſe Members have ſhew'd themſelves "ſo eminently Loyal in the worſt of Times, in "Defence of my Father, and Support of my Bro-"ther, (of Bleſſed Memory) that I will always "take Care to defend and ſupport it. I will make "it my Endeavour to preſerve this Government, "both in Church and State, as it is by Law "eſtabliſh'd: And as I will never depart from "the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, "ſo I will never invade any Man's Property; "and you may be ſure, that having heretofore "ventur'd my Life in the Defence of this Nation, "I will ſtill go as far as any Man in preſerving it "in all its juſt Rights and Liberties. And having "given this Aſſurance concerning the Care I will "have of your Religion and Property, which I "have choſe to do, in the ſame Words which I "us'd at my firſt coming to the Crown, the "better to evidence to you, that I ſpoke them "not by Chance, and conſequently, that you "may firmly rely upon a Promiſe ſo ſolemnly "made.

"I cannot doubt that I ſhall fail of ſuitable "Returns from you, with all imaginable Duty "and Kindneſs on your Part, and particularly to "what relates to the Settling of my Revenue, and "continuing it, during my Life, as it was in the "Life-time of my Brother. I might uſe many "Arguments to enforce this Demand, for the "Benefit of Trade, the Support of the Navy, the "Neceſſity of the Crown, and the Well-being "of the Government itſelf; which I muſt not "ſuffer to be Precarious: But I am confident, "your own Conſideration of what is Juſt and "Reaſonable, will ſuggeſt to you whatſoever might "be enlarged upon this Occaſion.

"There is one popular Argument, which, I "foreſee, may be uſed againſt what I aſk of you, "from the Inclination Men have for frequent Par-"liaments; which ſome may think would be the "beſt Security, by feeding me, from time to time, "by ſuch Proportions as they ſhall think conve-"nient: And this Argument, it being the firſt "time I ſpeak to you from the Throne, I will "Anſwer once for all, That this would be a very "improper Method to take with me; and that "the beſt way to engage me to meet you often, "is always to Uſe me well.

"I expect therefore, that you will comply with "me in what I have deſired, and that you will do "it ſpeedily; that this may be a ſhort Seſſion, "and that we may meet again to all our Satiſ-"factions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I muſt acquaint you, that I have had News "this Morning from *Scotland*, that *Argyle* is land-"ed in the *Weſt Highlands*, with the Men he "brought with him from *Holland*. That there "are two *Declarations* publiſh'd; one in the Name "of all thoſe in Arms, the other in his own: It "would be too long for me to repeat the Sub-"ſtance of them; it is ſufficient to tell you, I "am charged with Uſurpation and Tyranny. The "ſhorter of them I have directed to be forthwith "communicated to you.

"I will take the beſt Care I can, that this "Declaration of their own Faction and Rebellion "may meet with the Reward it deſerves: And I "will not doubt but you will be the more zealous "to Support the Government, and give me my "Revenue as I have deſired it, without delay.

Proceedings of the Lords and Commons.

Both Houſes immediately reſolved to return their moſt humble and hearty Thanks to his Majeſty, for his moſt gracious Speech and Declaration: The Lords coming to this Reſolution; "His Majeſty having graciouſly imparted to this "Houſe, That he is inform'd that the late Earl "of *Argyle*, attainted of Treaſon, with divers o-"ther Rebels, are landed in *Scotland*, and are in "actual Rebellion; It is ordered, by the Lords "Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, "That this Houſe do wait upon his Majeſty at "five a Clock this Afternoon, in the *Banqueting-"Houſe* at *Whitehall*, to give his Majeſty their "humble Thanks, for having imparted the ſame "to this Houſe; and do humbly offer to aſſiſt "his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes, a-"gainſt the ſaid Rebels, and all other his Ene-"mies whatſoever.

The Commons came to a like Reſolution; "That this Houſe will ſtand by and aſſiſt his "Majeſty, with their Lives and Fortunes, againſt "*Archibald Campbell* the pretended Earl of *Ar-"gyle*, and his Aherents, and all Rebels and Tray-"tors, and all others whatſoever that ſhall aſſiſt "him, or any of them: And that this Houſe "will in a Body attend his Majeſty with this "Vote.

Declaration of the Earl of *Argyle*.

The Firſt *Declaration*, to which the King, in his *Speech*, refers, was thus Entituled, *The Declaration and Apology of the Proteſtant People, that is, of the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes, and Commons of all ſorts, now in Arms within the Kingdom of* Scotland; *with the Concurrence of the true and faithful Paſtors, and of ſeveral Gentlemen of the* Engliſh *Nation, joined with them in the ſame Cauſe*, &c. Herein they complain'd, That having admitted King Charles II. to Reign over them, upon certain Terms and Conditions; he had broken thoſe Terms, and made his Government to be *Ungrate, Illegal, Arbitrary and Tyrannical*. That, by reſcinding of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, all

1685. 1 *Jac.* II. all the Oaths ſince impos'd, were *horrid Perjury*; and the publick Exerciſe of Religion, as eſtabliſhed by the late Laws, was a *continued Apoſtaſy*. They accuſed the Parliament, for reſcinding many wholſom Laws, and for making others on purpoſe to Perſecute and ſhed the Blood of Proteſtants. They charged the Government with the deſolating the Kirk, conniving at Papiſts, and keeping up of ſtanding Forces, which they call the *Bane of Civil Government*; and ſay, all the late Adminiſtration has been *Tyranny and Popery twiſted together*. They therefore declare againſt *James* Duke of *York* his Aſcenſion to the Throne, as being excluded from it by the Commons of *England*; and likewiſe declare againſt the preſent Parliaments in both Kingdoms, as *pack'd and cabal'd, and return'd by Fraud and Injuſtice*. For which Reaſon, they *throw off all Bonds of Subjection*, and take up Arms againſt *James* Duke of *York*, and all his Accomplices, for obtaining theſe Ends. 1. The Reſtoring and Settling the Proteſtant Religion. 2. The Suppreſſion and perpetual Excluſion of Popery and Prelacy. 3. The Reſtoring of all who have been Sufferers for their Adherence to their Religion and Liberties: Concluding with an earneſt Invitation to their Brethren to join with them, and vigorouſly aſſiſt them againſt *a perſecuting Tyrant, and an Apoſtate Party*.

The other *Declaration*, which the King communicated to the two Houſes, runs thus:

The DECLARATION *of* Archibald *Earl of* Argyle, *Lord* Kintyre, Cowall, Campbell, *and* Lorn, *Heritable Sheriff and Lieutenant of the Shires of* Argyle *and* Turbett, *and Heritable Juſtice-General of the ſaid Shires, and of the Weſt-Iſles and others; with his Orders to his Vaſſals and others in the ſaid Shires, and under his Juriſdiction, to concur for Defence of their Religion, Lives, and Liberties.*

Second Declaration of the Earl of *Argyle*. “I Shall not mention my *CASE*, publiſh'd in Print in *Latin* and *Dutch*, and more largely in *Engliſh*; nor mean I to repeat the printed *DECLARATION* emitted by ſeveral Noblemen, Gentlemen and others of both Nations now in Arms: But becauſe the Sufferings of me and my Family are therein mentioned, I have thought it fit for me to declare for my ſelf; That as I go to Arms, with thoſe who have appointed me to conduct them, for no private nor perſonal End, and only for thoſe contained in the ſaid *Declaration*, which I have concerted with them, and approve of; ſo I do claim no Intereſt, but what I had before the pretended Forfeiture of my Family, and have ſufficient Right to.

“And that I do freely (and as a Chriſtian) forgive all perſonal Injuries againſt my Perſon or Family, to all that ſhall not oppoſe, but join and concurr with us in our preſent Undertaking, for the Ends mention'd in the ſaid *Declaration*; and hereby I oblige me, never to purſue them in Judgment, nor out of Judgment. And I do farther declare; That, obtaining the peaceable and quiet Poſſeſſion of what belong'd to my Father, and myſelf, before our pretended Forfeitures, I ſhall ſatisfy all Debts due by my Father, and myſelf, as any Heir or Debtor can be obliged.

“And as my Faithfulneſs to his late Majeſty, and his Government, hath ſufficiently appeared to all unbyas'd Perſons, void of Malice; ſo I do with Grief acknowledge my former too much complying with, and conniving at the Methods that have been taken to bring us to the ſad Condition we are now in, though, God knows, never concurring in the Deſign.

“I have now, with God's Strength, ſuffered patiently my unjuſt Sentence and Baniſhment, three Years and an half, and have never offer'd to make any Uproar, or Defence by Arms, to Diſturb the Peace, upon my private Concern: But the King being now dead, and the Duke of *York* having taken off his Mask, and having abandon'd and invaded our Religion and Liberties, reſolving to enter into the Government, and exerciſe it, contrary to Law; I think it not only juſt, but my duty to God and my Country, to uſe my utmoſt Endeavours to oppoſe and repreſs his Uſurpations and Tyranny.

“And therefore being aſſiſted and furniſh'd very nobly by ſeveral good Proteſtants, and invited and accompany'd by ſeveral of both Nations to lead them; I reſolve, as God ſhall enable me, to uſe their Aſſiſtance of all kinds, towards the Ends expreſs'd in the ſaid *Declaration*.

“And I do hereby earneſtly Invite and Obteſt all honeſt Proteſtants, and particularly all my Friends and Blood-Relations, to concurr with us in the ſaid *Declaration*. And as I have written ſeveral Letters, ſo having no other way fully to intimate my Mind otherwiſe, I do hereby require all my Vaſſals any where, and all within my ſeveral Juriſdictions, with their fencible Men within their Command, to go to Arms, and to join and concurr with us, according to the ſaid *Declaration*, as they will be anſwerable at their Peril; and that they obey the particular Orders they ſhall receive from me, from time to time.

The *Scotch* Presbyterians were very numerous, and had Provocation enough to join with the Earl of *Argyle*: For beſides the late extreme Severities againſt them, there had been two rigorous *Acts* paſſed in the Parliament now ſitting at *Edinburgh*; the one declaring, *That whereas the Obſtinacy of the Fanatical Party, notwithſtanding all the Laws formerly made againſt them, do perſevere to keep their Houſe and Field-Conventicles, which are the Nurſeries and Rendeſvouzes of Rebellion; therefore, his Majeſty, with conſent of his Eſtates in Parliament, doth Statute and Ordain, That all ſuch as ſhall hereafter Preach at ſuch Fanatical Houſe, or Field-Conventicles, as alſo ſuch as ſhall be preſent as Hearers at Field-Conventicles, ſhall be puniſh'd by Death, and Confiſcation of their Goods.*——The other declaring, *That the giving or taking of the National Covenant, as explained in the Year* 1638. *or of the* League and Covenant, *ſo commonly called, or writing in Defence thereof, or owning of them as Lawful or Obligatory on themſelves or others, ſhall infer the Crime and Pains of Treaſon.* Diſcontents and Provocations in *Scotland*.

And indeed, the *Epiſcopal* Party had no great reaſon to be fond of the preſent Adminiſtration; for they were under the Burden of great Taxes, and the Terrors of a Standing Army: Nay, and *Epiſcopacy* it ſelf was made but a ſort of Civil Office, and held, as it were, by Commiſſion, during the Pleaſure of the King, or his Council. But the *Scots* ſeem'd to be of this Diſpoſition, to be moſt quiet under hard Uſage: And therefore very few went in to the Aſſiſtance of *Argyle*, who being purſued by the King's Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Dunbarton*, he was deſerted by many of his Followers, and (as it was then generally believ'd) was betray'd by Sir *John Cochran*, who came over with him: So, on *June* 17. he was forc'd to paſs the River *Clyde*, and to provide Guides to carry him and his remaining Forces ſafe into *Galloway*: But they miſtaking the Way, led them into a Bogg, where they loſt their Horſes and Defeat of the Earl of *Argyle*.

1685. 1 *Jac.* II.

and Baggage, and the Foot were diſpers'd into very ſmall Parties. The Earl of *Argyle* return'd towards *Clyde*, and was fallen upon by two of *Greinock*'s Servants, but would not yield, firing at them when they call'd to him. He receiv'd a Wound in his Head; upon which, not truſting to his Horſe, he alighted, and ran into the Water. The Noiſe brought out a Countryman, who ran into the Water after him: The Earl being almoſt up to the Neck, preſented his Piſtol to the Country Fellow, but it miſ-ſerv'd: Upon which the Fellow gave him a Wound in the Head, which ſtunn'd him ſo, that he ſank down, and, in the ſinking, cry'd out, *Unfortunate Argyle!* Before he recover'd himſelf, they took him, and carry'd him to their Commander, who ſent him to *Glaſcow*, and thence to *Edinburgh*, where he was Beheaded, on the 30th of *June*. There were taken with him, among the Priſoners, Colonel [a] *Ayloffe*, who ſoon after ript up his own Belly with a Penknife; and Mr. *Rumbold* the Maltſter, who was executed, with many others.

He is beheaded.

When the Commons had waited on his Majeſty, with an offer of their Lives and Fortunes, in Defence of his Royal Perſon, againſt the Earl of *Argyle*, &c. His Majeſty made them this Anſwer: *Gentlemen, I could expect no leſs from a Houſe of Commons ſo compos'd as (God be thanked) you are: I rely on the Aſſurances you have given me, which are the natural Effects of* Monarchical Church *of* England-men. *I ſhall ſtand by all ſuch; and ſo ſupported, have no reaſon to fear any Rebels, or Enemies I now have, or may have.*

King's Anſwer to the Commons.

The Commons, in great Loyalty, paſſed *A Bill for ſettling the Revenue of Tonnage and Poundage on his Majeſty for his Life*, as had been ſettled on his late Majeſty for his Life. Which being eaſily agreed to by the Lords, the King gave his Royal Aſſent, on *Saturday May* 30. when Mr. *Speaker* preſented his Majeſty with the ſaid *Money-Bill*, in theſe Words:

May it pleaſe your ſacred Majeſty;

Speaker's Speech upon the Money-Bill.

" THE Commons of *England* have here preſented your Majeſty with the Bill of *Tonnage and Poundage*, with all readineſs and cheerfulneſs, and that without any Security for their *Religion*, though it be dearer to them than their Lives, relying wholly on your Royal Word for the Security of it; and humbly beſeech your Majeſty to accept this their Offer; and pray, that God would bleſs you with a long Life and proſperous Reign over them.

Then his Majeſty paſſed the *Act*, and made the following SPEECH to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen;

The K's Speech.

" I Thank you very heartily for the *Bill* you have preſented me this Day; and I aſſure you, the readineſs and cheerfulneſs that has attended the Diſpatch of it, is as acceptable to me as the Bill itſelf. After ſo happy a Beginning, you may believe I would not call upon you unneceſſarily for an extraordinary Supply: But when I tell you, That the Stores of the Navy and Ordnance are extremely exhauſted; that the Anticipations upon ſeveral Branches of the Revenue are great and burthenſom; that the Debts of the King my Brother, to his Servants and Family, are ſuch as deſerve Compaſſion; that the Rebellion in *Scotland*, without putting more Weight upon it than it really deſerves, muſt oblige me to a conſiderable Expence extraordinary: I am ſure, ſuch Conſiderations will move you to give me an Aid to provide for thoſe things, wherein the Security, the Eaſe and the Happineſs of my Government are ſo much concern'd. But above all, I muſt recommend to you the Care of the Navy, the Strength and Glory of this Nation; that you will put it into ſuch a Condition, as may make us conſider'd and reſpected abroad. I cannot expreſs my Concern, upon this Occaſion, more ſuitable to my own Thoughts of it, than by aſſuring you, I have a true *Engliſh* [b] Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as you can be; and I pleaſe my ſelf with the Hopes, that, by God's Bleſſing, and your Aſſiſtance, I may carry the Reputation of it yet higher in the World, than ever it has been in the time of any of my Anceſtors: And as I will not call upon you for Supplies, but when they are of Publick Uſe and Advantage; ſo I promiſe you, that what you give me upon ſuch Occaſions, ſhall be managed with Good-husbandry; and I will take Care, it ſhall be employ'd to the Uſes for which I ask them.

The forwardneſs of the Commons, in preparing and preſenting this Bill, made ſome People recollect, that it was needleſs at leaſt for the King to levy that Revenue which had legally expired at his Brother's Death; ſince a Parliament was to meet within a few Days, and then the ſame Cuſtoms granted in a Parliamentary-way would have been much more to the King's Service and Honour, than while they were foreſtall'd by a Seizure of them at the King's Command only. The Commons were now liberally diſpos'd; for immediately after taking this laſt *Speech* of his Majeſty into Conſideration, they *Reſolved*, "That a Supply be given to his Majeſty, for repair of the Navy, Ordnance and Stores, and in Defence of the ſame, and for all other Occaſions mention'd in his Majeſty's *Speech*." And when they came to the Ways and Means, they "Agreed upon an Additional Duty of Exciſe upon Wines and Vinegar, and a farther Impoſition upon Sugars and Tobacco." And on *June* 10. received this Meſſage from his Majeſty, by Sir *John Ernſley*, "That his Majeſty did heartily thank the Houſe, for their readineſs in his Supplies; that he deſired no more this Seſſion, than what they were about: That he would make tryal of the Impoſitions on Sugars and Tobacco; but if he ſhould find them injurious to

Commons ready to give Supplies.

The K's Meſſage.

[a] Colonel *Ayloffe* being taken, did in a deſperate fury rip up his own Belly with a Penknife, but recover'd, and was brought into *England*, and hang'd.

[b] This Phraſe of a *true Engliſh Heart* in King James II. paſt into that of a *Heart intirely Engliſh* in a part of the Reign of Queen *Anne*. The King ſoon after explain'd himſelf in a Saying much applauded by the Author of a Diſcourſe for taking off the Penal Laws, 1687. 4*to*. The King (ſays he) has deliver'd this Saying, *That Perſon cannot be a true* Engliſhman *in his Heart, who is not for Liberty of Conſcience*, i. e. For letting in Popery by a diſpenſing Power, or corrupt Legiſlature.

And yet King *James* was already entring into Meaſures with *France* to introduce if poſſible a foreign Religion and Government. It was afterward told to the Prince of *Orange* in the *Memorial of the* Engliſh *Proteſtants*, 1688. The *French* King ſeems not unwilling to have it known, that the Popiſh Deſign in general againſt all Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, eſpecially in *England*. He hath allowed the Biſhop of *Coſnae*'s Speech to him at *Verſailles* in 1685. to be publiſh'd; he magnifies the King for ſuppreſſing the Proteſtants of that Kingdom, and asks what they may not farther expect? *England* (ſays he) is juſt offering to your Majeſty one of the moſt glorious Occaſions you can deſire: The King of *England* by the Need which he will have of Succour, and of the Support of your Arms to maintain him in the Catholick Faith, will make you quickly find Occaſion to give a Protection worthy of your ſelf.

1685. 1 *Jac.* II. “ his Plantations, he would not make Uſe of them, “ but hop'd they would ſupply him ſome other “ Way.

We muſt look back on the Duke of *Monmouth* in *Holland*, who was very averſe to that deſperate Enterprize which his Friends had put him upon; as appears by an original Letter of his own, in anſwer to the Solicitations of ſome one importunate Confident who had been driving upon him that attempt; ſays he, *Judge what we are to expect, in caſe we ſhould venture upon any ſuch Attempt at this time. It's to me a vain Argument,* That our Enemies are ſcarce yet well ſettled: *When you conſider, That Fear in ſome, and Ambition in others, have brought them to comply; and that the Parliament being made up, for the moſt part, of Members that formerly run our Enemies down, they will be ready to make their Peace as ſoon as they can, rather than hazard themſelves upon an uncertain Bottom. I give you but Hints of what, if I had time, I would write you at more length: But that I might not ſeem obſtinate in my own Judgment, or neglect the Advice of my Friends, I will meet you at the Time and Place appointed. But, for God's ſake, think in the mean time of the Improbabilities that lie naturally in our way; and let us not, by ſtruggling with our Chains, make them ſtreighter and heavier. For my part, I'll run the hazard of being thought any thing, rather than a raſh inconſiderate Man. And to tell you my Thoughts without diſguiſe, I am now ſo much in love with a retir'd Life, that I am never like to be fond of making a Buſtle in the World again.*

Duke of *Monmouth* not enclin'd to an Invaſion.

Puſh'd on by others.

But after all this reluctancy his Friends about him, who were weary of their Exile, prevail'd with him to attempt a return into *England*. King *James* was very apprehenſive of this Deſign of the Duke of *Monmouth*; and in order to prevent it he us'd his utmoſt Endeavours, by his Envoy Mr. *Skelton*, to get him ſecur'd by the *States*, and ſent a Priſoner into *England*.

Duty and Reſpect of the Pr. of *Orange* to the King.

The Prince of *Orange*, as became a Nephew and Son-in-Law, ſhew'd a ſincere Friendſhip and reſpect to the King; and offer'd to concert ſuch Meaſures with him as might have preſerv'd the Peace of *England*, and the common Safety of all *Europe*: But he found the King to be rather jealous of his Counſels, and fond of his own ways. And therefore when the Prince ſaw the Vigilance of *Skelton* in hunting after the Duke of *Monmouth*, he not only gave the Duke Notice of the Plot againſt him, by Monſieur *Bentinck* his Favourite, but ſupply'd him with Money to go privately to *Bruſſels*; with a further Aſſurance, that if he would go to the Campaign in *Hungary* he ſhould be maintain'd honourably, with an Equipage ſuitable to his Quality.

The Duke had not been long at *Bruſſels* before the Marquiſs *de Grana*, Governor of the *Netherlands*, receiv'd a Letter from King *James*, charging the Duke with [a] High-Treaſon. Upon which, to comply with the King's Requeſt, he gave him Notice forthwith to depart the *Spaniſh* Dominions. 1685. 1 Jac. II.

Duke of *Monmouth* prepares for an Invaſion.

Under this neceſſity of flying, the Duke liſten'd to his Friends, who had ſolicited his return to *Amſterdam*, and there he comply'd with their urgent Entreaties to head them in an Expedition to *England*. He hired a Man of War of 32 Guns at *Amſterdam* and 3 other ſmall Veſſels, on which he loaded Arms for 5000 Men. *Skelton* had ſome Notice of theſe Preparations, and uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to ſtop the Veſſels in the River: But all he could effect was to detain one ſmall Frigot, and to extort an Order from the *States* to Arreſt the Duke of *Monmouth*; who therefore went the ſooner aboard, accompany'd by *Ford* Lord *Grey*, a *German* Count, Mr. *Joſeph Tyley*, Colonel *Holmes*, Colonel *Matthews*, Major *Perrot*, Captain *Aneſley*, Captain *Hewling*, Mr *Wade*, Dr. *Temple*, Mr. *Ferguſon*; in all about 82 Officers and Gentlemen who had been forc'd to fly to *Holland* for Refuge from Puniſhment or Perſecution, and were deſperately diſpos'd to take any Opportunity of returning to their Native Country.

His Attendants in this Expedition.

Lands at *Lyme*.

On *May* 24. the Duke ſail'd out of the *Texel* with his Man of War and two Tenders; and met with ſuch bad Weather in his Voyage, that he was 19 Days at Sea, and yet was never diſcover'd by the *Engliſh* Ships who lay in the Chanel to intercept him. On *Thurſday* the 11th of *June* he appeared off of *Lyme* in *Dorſetſhire*, and went a-ſhore about eight in the Evening. As ſoon as his Men were landed he commanded Silence, and falling on his Knees he implored the protection of Heaven, in a ſhort Prayer: Then drawing his Sword he led his Men a back way into the Town, and ſet up his Standard in the *Market-place*, without any oppoſition. Then he muſter'd his little Company, who were all well Arm'd, and in good Equipage. Being ask'd, Whom they were for? They declar'd, *For the Proteſtant Religion*; inviting all Perſons to come and join with them. Captain *Lark* and ſeveral of the Townſmen immediately join'd them.

His Reception.

His formal Declaration.

After this a printed DECLARATION was read at the *Market-Croſs*, Intituled, *The Declaration of* James *Duke of* Monmouth, *and the Noblemen, Gentlemen and others now in Arms for the*[b] *Defence and Vindication of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws, Rights and Privileges of* England. Of which the Preface was to this effect; That “ Government was originally inſtituted by God, and “ this or that Form of it choſen and ſubmitted to “ by Men, for the Peace, Happineſs and Security “ of the governed, and not for the private Intereſt and perſonal Greatneſs of thoſe that Rule. “ That the Government of *England* was, above all “ others, happy in its Primitive Form; whereby “ the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Privileges of the Subject were ſo far from juſtling one “ another, that the Rights reſerv'd unto the People tended to render the King Honourable and “ Great; and the Prerogatives ſettled on the “ Prince were in order to the Subjects Protection

[a] Mr. *Echard* recites many remarkable Paſſages out of a Manuſcript written by Mr. *Ferguſon* himſelf, but never yet publiſh'd; among others —— of this precipitous Adventure the Duke of *Monmouth* was very ſenſible, but ſuffer'd himſelf to be over-rul'd contrary to both the dictates of his Judgment, and the Biaſs of his Inclination; for could he have been allow'd to have purſu'd his own Sentiments and Reſolutions, he intended to have ſpent that Summer in the Court of *Swedeland* —— but from this he was diverted by the importunity of the Earl of *Argyle*, and prevail'd upon by the Advice and Intreaty of my Lord *Gray* and Mr. *Wade*, contrary to the deſires of Mr. *Fletcher* and Captain *Matthews*, to haſten into *England*. To which I can ſay, that I had the leaſt Acceſſion of any who were there about him.—— Nor would the Earl, after his own ominous haſte, ſet ſail for *Scotland*, till he forc'd a Promiſe from the Duke of embarking for *England* within ſo many Days after; which the Duke, rather than ſuffer his Honour to be ſtain'd, comply'd with, as far as the Weather would permit; tho' he found the obſerving his Word to interfere with his Intereſt, as well as all the Principles of Prudence and Diſcretion.

[b] This Declaration was ſecretly printed in a private Houſe hir'd for that purpoſe at *Lambeth* by Mr. *W. C.* Stationer in *Pater-noſter-row*; the Paper had been imported by him, and was diſcover'd by the Mark of it, and Entry in his Name. His aſſiſtant at the Preſs was apprehended and ſuffer'd; he himſelf was forc'd to fly into *Holland*, and abſcond in *Germany* till he came over with the Prince of *Orange*, and was made his Stationer when King, a Man of good Senſe and Spirit.

“ and

1685. 1 *Jac.* II. "and Safety: But the Boundaries of the *Engliſh* Government had of late been broken, and nothing left unattempted for turning the limited Monarchy into an abſolute Tyranny."——Then it proceeds to charge upon the Duke of *York* in his Brother's Reign, "his contriving the burning of *London*, his inſtigating a Confederacy with *France*, and a War with *Holland*; his fomenting the Popiſh Plot, and encouraging the Murder of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*; his charging Treaſon againſt Proteſtants, and ſuborning Witneſſes to ſwear the Patriots of our Religion and Liberties out of their Lives; his hiring execrable Villains to Aſſaſſinate the late Earl of *Eſſex*, and cauſing others to be clandeſtinely cut off, in hopes to conceal it; his adviſing and procuring the Prorogation and Diſſolution of the Parliaments, in order to prevent their looking into his Crimes, and that he might eſcape the Juſtice of the Nation."——It goes on, to the "Tyrannies which he had exercis'd ſince he ſnatch'd the Crown from his Brother's Head: For, in defiance of all the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, made for the Security of the Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, he not only began his Reign with a bare-fac'd avowing himſelf of the *Romiſh* Religion, but call'd in multitudes of Prieſts and *Jeſuits*, for whom the Law makes it Treaſon to come into this Kingdom, and hath impower'd them to exerciſe Idolatries: And beſides his being daily preſent at the worſhip of the *Maſs*, he hath publickly aſſiſted at the greateſt Fopperies of their Superſtition. Neither hath he been more tender in trampling upon the Laws which concern our Properties; ſeeing in two *Proclamations*, whereof the one requires the Collecting of the Cuſtoms, and the other the continuing that part of the Exciſe which was to expire at the late King's death; he hath violently, and againſt all the Laws of the Land, broken in upon our Eſtates. Neither is it any Extenuation of his Tyranny, that he is countenanc'd in it, by an Extra-judicial Opinion of ſeven or eight ſuborn'd and forſworn Judges, but rather declaring the greatneſs and extent of the Conſpiracy againſt our Rights; and that there is no Means left for our Relief, but by Force of Arms: For advancing thoſe to the Bench that were the ſcandal of the Bar; and conſtituting thoſe very Men to declare the Laws, who were accuſed and branded in Parliament for perverting of them; we are precluded all hopes of Juſtice in *Weſtminſter-Hall*: And by packing Juries together, by falſe Returns, new illegal Charters, and other corrupt Means, he doth at once deprive us of all expectations of Succour where our Anceſtors were wont to find it: And hopes to render that which ought to be the People's Fence againſt Tyranny, and the Conſervator of their Liberties, the Means of ſubverting all our Laws, and of eſtabliſhing his Arbitrarineſs, and confirming our Thraldom."——Then it lays down the Ways and Means of redreſſing all Grievances, and promiſes to purſue thoſe Ends in a fair and effectual manner: Concluding thus; *We make our appeal unto God, and all Proteſtant Kings, Princes, States and People, concerning the Juſtice of our Cauſe, and the neceſſity we are reduc'd unto, of having our recourſe to Arms. And as we do beſeech, require, and adjure all ſincere Proteſtants and true* Engliſhmen *to be aſſiſting to us, againſt the Enemies of the Goſpel, Rights of the Nation, and Liberties of Mankind; ſo we are confident of obtaining the utmoſt Aid and Succour which they can yield us with their Prayers, Perſons and Eſtates, for dethroning the ſaid Tyrant*, &c. *Nor do we doubt being juſtify'd, countenanc'd, and aſſiſted by all Proteſtant Kings, Princes and Commonwealths who either regard the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, or their own Intereſt. And, above all, our truſt and dependance is upon the* [a] *Lord of Hoſts, in whoſe Name we go forth, and to whom we commit our Cauſe, and refer the deciſion betwixt us and our Enemies in the Day of Battle.* **Now let us play the Men, for our People, and for the Cities of our God; and the Lord do that which ſeemeth good unto him.**

On *Saturday June* 13. his Majeſty received an Account of the Duke's Landing, by an *Expreſs* from the Mayor of *Lyme*; and immediately ſent a Meſſage to the Commons by the Earl of *Middleton*, *That the Duke of* Monmouth, *and ſeveral of his Adherents, were landed at* Lyme *in* Dorſetſhire, *and there ſet up his Standard.* When this Meſſage was deliver'd, Mr. *Thorold* and Mr. *Daſſel*, the one Mayor of *Lyme*, the other an Officer belonging to the Cuſtoms, being in the Lobby of the Houſe, were call'd in, and gave this following account, "That on *Thurſday* Night about ſix or ſeven of the Clock they diſcern'd two Veſſels and a Doggar at Sea, hovering near their Shore. That they ſent a Meſſenger in a Boat to know their meaning, and ſee who they were; but they took the Meſſenger on Board and bound him. That about half an Hour after they ſent another Meſſenger in a Boat, and they kept him likewiſe. That about Nine a Clock at Night they ſail'd into the *Cobb*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* came on Shore, with divers Men all well Arm'd and genteel in their Habit. That the Duke led them on to the *Market-Place* or *Croſs* of the ſaid Town, and there ſet up his Standard, being a blue Flag, and exercis'd the Men himſelf, who were as theſe Informants gueſs, near an hundred and fifty, or thereabouts. That the ſaid Duke of *Monmouth* and his Men being ask'd what they came for? ſaid, *To ſettle the Proteſtant Religion, and to deſtroy Popery*; inviting all Perſons that would to come and join with them. Being told *There were no* Roman Catholicks *there, but* Proteſtants, *and there was no need for them to come there.* That theſe Informants came away from *Lyme* about ten a Clock that Night, and that they met many People on the Road, who ſaid *they were going to join them.*

Conduct of the King upon this News.

After this Relation the Houſe *Reſolved*, "to wait on his Majeſty, and give their Thanks in an *humble Addreſs*, for his favour in imparting the ſaid Intelligence to this Houſe: And do humbly offer to aſſiſt and ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes, againſt *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, and all Rebels and Traitors, and all other his Majeſty's Enemies whatſoever." This *Addreſs* was preſented in the *Banquetting-Houſe* that Evening; with another of like import, from the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, to whom his Majeſty had communicated the ſame Intelligence.

Addreſſes of the two Houſes.

It is obſervable, That the Houſe of Commons were moſt eminently Loyal; and not only call'd the Duke of *Monmouth*, in their *Addreſs*, *That Ingrateful Rebel*; but on the ſame Day, *Reſolved*, "That a Bill be brought in for the Attainder of *James* Duke of *Monmouth* of High-Treaſon; Praying his Majeſty to iſſue out his Royal *Proclamation*, promiſing a Reward of five thouſand Pounds to any that ſhall bring in the Body of

Bill of Attainder.

[a] The whole Air and Style of this Declaration, and eſpecially the concluding Part of it, was a Proof that it was penn'd by *Robert Ferguſon*, who was as effectually pardon'd as if he had been employ'd by King *James*.

"the

1685. 1 *Jac.* II. "the Duke of *Monmouth* dead or alive." This *Bill of Attainder* was in two Days diſpatcht by the Commons, and as ſoon by the Lords, who ſent it back without any alteration on *Tueſday June* 16. And the ſame Day his Majeſty came to the Throne, and gave his Royal aſſent to, (1.) *An Act for granting to his Majeſty an Impoſition upon all Wines and Vinegar imported between the 24th Day of* June, 1685. *and the 24th of* June, 1693. (2.) *An Act for granting to his Majeſty an Impoſition upon all Tobacco and Sugar imported between the 24th Day of* June, 1685. *and the 24th of* June, 1693. (3.) *An Act to attaint* James *Duke of* Monmouth *of High-Treaſon.* And to two private Acts; *one to enable the Earl of* Oſſory *to make a Jointure*; the other *for Naturalization of ſeveral Perſons.*

Proclamations. On the Day before the King had publiſh'd *A Proclamation againſt ſpreading a traiterous* Declaration *publiſh'd by* James *Duke of* Monmouth. And this Day, after paſſing the *Act of Attainder*, the the King publiſh'd another *Proclamation*, *Promiſing a Reward of five thouſand Pounds to ſuch Perſon or* [a] *Perſons who ſhall bring in the Perſon of* James *Duke of* Monmouth *alive or dead.*

The K.'s Meſſage to the Commons. On *Thurſday* the 18th of *June* the Earl of *Middleton* brought this Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons; "That he judges it neceſſary for the Members (on whoſe Loyalty he depends) to be preſent in their reſpective Counties, and therefore deſigns there ſhall be a receſs in a very few Days. But becauſe the Rebellion in the *Weſt* will occaſion an Extraordinary Expence, his Majeſty deſires there may be a good Fund for a preſent Sum of Money, to anſwer the immediate Charge his Majeſty muſt be at: And to the end the *Bills* now depending may not be prejudiced, his Majeſty is pleas'd, this Separation ſhall be an Adjournment, and for for ſome ſhort time only.

After the delivery of which Meſſage the Commons immediately *Reſolved*, *That a Supply not exceeding four hundred thouſand Pounds be given to his Majeſty*, *for his preſent Extraordinary Occaſions.* And the two Houſes were ſo diſpatchful, that on *Saturday* the 27th of *June* his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and gave his Royal aſſent to,
Acts paſſed. (1.) *An Act for granting an Aid to his Majeſty*, *by an Impoſition on all* French *Linens*, *and all* Eaſt-India *Linens*, *and ſeveral other Manufactures of* India, *and on all* French *wrought Silks and Stuffs*, *and all other wrought Silks*, *and on all Brandies imported after the firſt Day of* July, 1685. (2.) *An Act for reviving and continuing two former Acts for Encouragement of Coinage.* (3.) *An Act for the providing neceſſary Carriages for his Majeſty*, *in his Royal Progreſs and Removals.* (4.) *An Act for reviving an Act for providing of Carriages by Land and by Water*, *for the Uſe of his Majeſty's Navy and Ordnance.* (5.) *An Act for conſolidating the Eſtates Taile*, *and Reverſion in Fee*, *which his Majeſty hath in the* Poſt-Office, *and twenty four thouſand Pounds* per Annum *of the Hereditary* Exciſe. (6.) *An Act to enable his Majeſty to make Grants*, *Leaſes*, *and Copies of Offices*, *Lands*, *and Hereditaments*, *parcel of his Highneſs's Dutchy of* Cornwall, *or annexed to the ſame*, *and for Confirmation of Leaſes and Grants already made.* (7.) *An Act againſt the importation of Gun-powder*, *Arms*, *and other Ammunition and Utenſils of War.* (8.) *An Act for repealing certain Clauſes in an Act of Parliament made in the 29th and 30th Years of the Reign of his late Majeſty*, *for prohibiting* French *Commodities.* (9.) *An Act for reviving a former Act for exporting Leather.* (10.) *An Act for continuance of three former Acts for preventing of Theft and Rapine upon the Northern Borders of* England. (11.) *An Act for clearing*, *preſerving*, *maintaining and repairing the Haven and Peers of* Great Yarmouth. (12.) *An Act for rebuilding*, *finiſhing and adorning the* Cathedral Church *of St.* Paul, London. [b] And to ſeven private *Acts.*

The Houſes proceeded with great Unanimity, till on *Thurſday* the 2d of *July* his Majeſty came again to the Houſe of Peers; and the Commons being ſent for to attend, he gave his Royal aſſent to theſe other *Bills*: (1.) *An Act for reviving and continuance of ſeveral Acts of Parliament therein mentioned.* Other Bills enacted. (2.) *An Act to encourage the Building of Ships in* England. (3.) *An additional Act for the Improvement of Tillage.* (4.) *An Act for erecting a new Church*, *to be call'd the Pariſh of St.* James, *within the Liberty of* Weſtminſter. (5.) *An Act for the repair of the* Cathedral Church *of* Bangor, *and for the maintenance of the Choir there*, *and for the augmentation of the Revenue of the Biſhoprick of* Bangor; *and alſo*, *for an augmentation of ſeveral Vicarages within the Corporations of* Laudinum *in the Dioceſe of* Bangor *aforeſaid.* And then my Lord-Keeper ſpoke thus:

My Lords and Gentlemen;

"I Am commanded to let you know, That it *is his Majeſty's Pleaſure*, that both Houſes adjourn forthwith till *Tueſday* the 4th of *Auguſt* next. The Lord Keeper's Speech. Not that his Majeſty intends that then there ſhall be a Seſſion, but that the Members that are about Town ſhall then meet and adjourn themſelves from time to time, as there ſhall be occaſion, till Winter: And when his Majeſty would have a full Houſe, he will give Notice of it by *Proclamation.*

So both Houſes adjourn'd till the 4th of *Auguſt* On which Day the Earl of *Rocheſter* being Commiſſion'd to ſupply the Place of the Lord-Keeper (then indiſpos'd) as Speaker in the Houſe of Lords, expreſs'd his Majeſty's Pleaſure, That they ſhould farther adjourn till the 9th Day of *November* next.

The Duke of *Monmouth*, by the concourſe of the Country People, had ſoon the appearance of an Army, and march'd from *Lyme* to *Taunton*, a populous Town in *Somerſetſhire*, where he was received by Men and Maids with unuſual demonſtrations of Joy; and at the Solicitations of his Friends, he there ſuffered himſelf to be Proclaimed *King*; which loſt him ſome Intereſt in the true [c] old Republicans, and was ſaid to be a Breach of the Progreſs of the D. of *Monmouth* in the *Weſt.*

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[a] In a Book of Accounts for the poor Knights of *Windſor* there is this Entry; On the 19th of *June*, 1685. the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Atchievements were thrown down into the midſt of the Quire, and kick'd out of the *Weſt* door by the Heralds in their Formalities into the Caſtle Ditch, he being before proclaim'd traiterous at the Reading Deſk by Garter King at Arms.

[b] In the Houſe of Peers the moſt diſtinguiſhing Debates were upon the Bill for reverſing the Attainder of the late late Viſcount *Stafford*, and when it paſs'd the Lord *Angleſey* enter'd his diſſent with Reaſons. I. Becauſe the aſſertions in the Bill of its *being now manifeſt that the late Lord Viſcount* Stafford *died innocent*, *and that the Teſtimony was falſe*, are deſtitute of all Proof.—— II. The Record of the *King's-Bench* read at the Committee concerning the conviction of one of the Witneſſes for the Perjury, is no ground to invalidate the Teſtimony, &c. III. That Judgment in the *King's-Bench*, and the whole Proceeding thereupon was unprecedented and illegal; and that the Popiſh Plot ſo condemn'd, purſued and puniſh'd by his late Majeſty and four Parliaments —— was eluded to the Arraignment and Scandal of the Government. ——To which ſubſcrib'd *Stamford*, *Clare*, *R. Evre.*

[c] The Earl of *Argyle* is ſaid to have declar'd, that the Duke of *Monmouth* gave him his Word to pretend to no more than to act as General of the Forces that ſhould join him. *Rumbold*, when he was executed at *Edinburgh*, de-

z clar'd,

1685. 1 *Jac.* II.

the Promiſe he had made in *Holland*. He began his Mock-Reign with three *Proclamations*; the one ſetting a Sum of Money on King *James*'s Head: The ſecond declaring the Parliament of *England* a *Seditious Aſſembly:* And the third, commanding the Duke of *Albemarle* to *lay down his Arms, under the Penalty of ſuffering as a Traytor.* He march'd from *Taunton* in good Order to *Bridgwater*, ſtill encreaſing his Numbers; from thence to *Bath*, where he was denied Entrance, and would not ſtay to force it; the Train-Bands ſtill flying two Days March before him, by Order (as was ſaid) from the Court, to give Pretence to the King to raiſe more Forces. At *Philips-Norton*, by a Surprize, he cut off the beſt part of a Troop of Horſe of the King's Army, the Duke of *Grafton* narrowly eſcaping with his Life. Encouraged by this Succeſs, he march'd within two Miles of *Briſtol*; where a Conſult being held, he was adviſed not to enter that City, but to retreat back to *Bridgwater:* Which Falſe-Step began to diſhearten his Party, and to hinder his Recruits: Whereas, if he had entred *Briſtol*, there being no Force to oppoſe him but the Train-Bands, (and the generality of thoſe for him, not only in their Hearts, but in open Diſcourſes, and publick Healths) he might have furniſh'd himſelf with Men, Arms and Money, and thence marched into *Gloceſterſhire* among the Clothiers, where great Numbers, even of the beſt Eſtates and Degrees, waited to join him.

His Falſe-Step.

Prince of *Orange* offers his Service to K. *James.*

When the Prince of *Orange* heard of the Duke's Landing, and that he began to gather Strength, and was proclaim'd *King*, he thought himſelf ſo far concern'd, that he not only diſpatch'd over the ſix *Engliſh* Regiments recalled from the Service of the *States*, but he likewiſe ſent over Monſ. *Bentinck* to the King, with Orders to acquaint him, *That though he look'd upon the Duke of* Monmouth *to be a Man of no great Parts, yet that he had a Warlike Genius, and was better ſkill'd in the Military Art, than any the King was to employ againſt him; and therefore, if his Majeſty pleas'd, he would not only lend him his Troops, but come in Perſon to Head his Army.* The ſame Offer had been before communicated to *Skelton* at the *Hague*; who was either ſo jealous of the Prince, or ſo malicious to him, that he gave the King Notice of it, with a wrong Turn of Suſpicion and Fear: So that the King put off Monſ. *Bentinck*, with telling him, *He ſhould acquaint his Maſter that their common Intereſt did require the Prince's ſtaying in* Holland: And farther, open'd his Mind to him in ſuch Terms as ſufficiently diſcover'd, *he did not take his Highneſs's Zeal for his Service to be at that time ſeaſonable.*

The King declines the Acceptance of it.

1685. 1 *Jac.* II.

The K.'s Forces.

The firſt Forces which his Majeſty ſent down againſt *Monmouth*, were ſome of the Earl of *Oxford*'s Regiment, under the Command of my Lord *Churchill*, who attended the Motions of the Duke with great Conduct. The Duke of *Albemarle* Headed the Militia of *Devonſhire:* The Duke of *Somerſet* the Militia of that County, at *Bath:* The Duke of *Beaufort* the Militia of *Glouceſterſhire*, at *Briſtol:* The Earl of *Pembroke* the Militia of *Wiltſhire*, at *Chippenham*. And the Militia of other Counties were on their March towards the *Weſt*; tho' the King did not care to confide in them: And therefore the King ſent away all his regular Troops and Guards, to form an Army under the Command of the Earl of *Feverſham*, who in the Beginning of *July* encamp'd at *Sedgmore*.

The Duke of *Monmouth* being at *Bridgwater* near adjoining, thought himſelf beſieged, and ſaw his Men daily deſert in great Numbers, and therefore reſolved to make one deſperate Puſh for all; and ſo, in a Council of War, agreed to attack the Earl of *Feverſham* on the very firſt Night of his Encampment. *Sunday July* 5. the Country People had given the Duke Intelligence that the King's Forces were very remiſs, the Troopers in Bed, and the Foot revelling in their Camp: So that the Duke ſaid, *They ſhould have no more to do than to lock up the Stable Doors, and ſeize the Troopers in their Beds.* The Duke began his March about Eleven at Night, without Drum beating, or Trumpet ſounding, and all were forbid to fire a Piece till they entred the Camp. The Guide that promis'd to lead them thither a Bye-Way, conducted them round by *Chedſey* to that Part of *Sedgmore* where *Dunbarton*'s Regiment was poſted; the moſt old and experienc'd Soldiers, who had agreed that an hundred of them ſhould keep Guard, and lie upon their Arms all Night. And yet they had been caught, with all their Caution, had not the Duke's Guide happen'd to lead his Men above the Ford; and they not having Patience to wait his Motions, ran diſorderly, as faſt as they could, over the Ditch, to come at the Enemy; by which means they loſt their Guide; and a Piſtol accidentally going off, alarm'd thoſe of *Dunbarton*'s Regiment, who immediately put themſelves in Order, and received their Enemy, as if they had not been ſurprized. The Duke's Men began the Engagement with a Volley of Shots and Shouts, and forced the Rear of the King's Foot to retreat into *Weſton*. The Duke ſeeing theſe early Hopes of Succeſs [a], ordered the Lord *Grey* to bring up his Horſe, which were ordinary Marſh-Mares and Colts, that would not ſtand the Noiſe of Drums and Guns. Two of his beſt Troops, commanded

Battle of *Sedgmore.*

clar'd, it was contrary to all their expectations; adding, it was not for a new King they took Arms. A late Writer was aſſur'd by Perſons who were with the Duke, and in his Confidence, that he never thought of aſſuming the Title of King till after he landed, and was put upon it by *Ferguſon*; whoſe treaſonable Practices ſince may very well make us ſuſpect he was a Spy on him, and a ſecret Agent for King *James*. To which may be added, that one Mr. *Hook*, a Diſſenting Teacher, had actually join'd and aſſiſted the Duke of *Monmouth*, and being afterwards apprehended in *London*, was not only pardon'd by King *James*, but admitted to great Familiarity with him, and afterwards attended him into *France*, and came over again into *England* to do him ſecret Service; and I think at laſt turn'd Papiſt for him, much to the grief of his Brother Mr. Serjeant *Hook:* Yet Mr. *Ferguſon*, in a Manuſcript quoted by Mr. *Echard*, ſays he was againſt it.——The Duke had not only Meſſages from ſome Gentlemen, but was told by ſeveral Nonconforming Miniſters that came into the Camp, that unleſs he took the Style of King, none who had Eſtates to loſe would venture themſelves in his Quarrel. This I heard often ſaid by many, and particularly in a Meeting where ſeveral were aſſembled from different Parts of the Country, to adviſe and perſuade him to aſſume the Kingſhip; and where, as Mr. *Hook* the Duke's Chaplain can witneſs, I diſputed againſt the Conveniency of it at that Juncture with all the ſtrength and vigour of Mind that I could.

[a] *Robert Ferguſon*, in his Manuſcript Relation of theſe Matters, tranſcribed by Mr. *Echard*, is very bitter upon my Lord *Grey* for his Ignorance and *Cowardice.*——The Experience we had before of my Lord *Grey* was enough to have diſcourag'd the Duke from putting him at the Head of all the Troops; and it made Colonel *Matthews* adviſe him to divide his Cavalry, that ſo the Charge and Conduct of one Part might be devolved upon ſome Perſon of Courage, anſwerable to the Criticalneſs of the Seaſon and Importance of the Action. But the Duke by a ſtrange Fatality declin'd following this Advice, ſaying, *That he would not affront my Lord, and that what he had given him in Charge was eaſy to be effected.* So that *Grey* having all the Horſe committed to him, the firſt thing he did, after we were drawn up, and in view of the Enemies Fires, was his diſmiſſing the Guide, who was to have directed him in the Ground where to march.——I ſpake with great Warmth to my Lord *Grey*, and conjur'd him to *charge*, and *not* to ſuffer the Victory, which our Foot had in a manner taken hold of, to be raviſh'd from us; but as an unworthy Man, and cowardly Poultrone, he not only deſerted that part of the Field, and forſook his Command, but rode with the utmoſt Speed to the Duke, telling him, *that all was loſt*, and *that it was more than time to ſhift for himſelf.*

by

1685. 36 *Car.* II. by Captain *Hewling*, were the Day before detach'd to bring off ſome Cannon from *Minhead*, and did not return till after the Defeat, to which their Abſence very much contributed.

Lord *Grey* ſuſpected. The Lord *Grey* could never get his Horſe into a right Poſture of Charging[a]; ſo that upon the Advance of Colonel *Oglethorpe* and Sir *Francis Compton* with two Parties of the King's Horſe, his Lordſhip retir'd, and quitted the Field, not without great Suſpicion of Treachery.

The Duke had another Misfortune; that he was not only deſerted by his Horſe, but his Foot wanted Ammunition; becauſe the Baggage, by ſome Default, was not yet brought into the Moor; ſo that the Duke's Foot, in vain crying out for more Powder and Shot, after a brave Reſiſtance, gave Ground, and about four a Clock on *Monday* Morn-

The Duke entirely routed. ing were entirely routed, 300 kill'd on the Spot, 1000 in the Purſuit, and as many taken Priſoners: Thoſe of Note were Colonel *Holmes* and Major *Perrot*, both dangerouſly wounded; Captain *Madders*, the Conſtable of *Crookhorn*, and one *Williams*, a menial Servant of the Duke's, who had his Maſter's Cloak and 200 Guineas.

The Duke's Army were 5000 Horſe and Foot; and the King's did not much exceed in Number, though it did in Strength and Reſolution. This deciſive Battle was a Day or two too ſoon; for immediately after, Capt. *Hewling* return'd with two of the braveſt Troops of Horſe; and the very next Day Mr. *Vaughan* of *Somerſetſhire* would have join'd the Duke with 1000 Men; and Colonel *Danvers* and Sir *Robert Peyton* were juſt ready for a Riſing in *Eſſex*, which would have given Opportunity for Multitudes in and about *London* to have joined with them.

Duke's Flight. The Duke of *Monmouth* had much-ado to preſerve 50 Horſe to ſecure his Retreat, and they were ſoon diſpers'd. The Duke was adviſ'd to make down to *Uphill*, a ſmall Creek on the *Severn* Sea, and from thence to get over into *Wales*; but he himſelf was for going toward *Limington* in *Hampſhire*. The Lord *Feverſham* ſent out ſeveral Parties to purſue him; and on *Tueſday* Morning,

Ld. *Grey* taken. *July* 7. the Lord *Grey* was taken in a Diſguiſe at *Holthridge* in *Dorſetſhire* by the Lord *Lumley*'s Men, who enquiring of the Cottagers, were inform'd, that two Men went over a Hedge into an Encloſure over-grown with Fern. So Guards were ſet on the Avenues, and about five in the Morning next Day the *German* Count was taken, who confeſs'd he parted with the Duke of *Monmouth* about four Hours before. Hence a more diligent Search was made, and at laſt one *Perkin* diſcover'd him hid in a Ditch cover'd over with Fern, and having ſome Peaſe in his Pocket. The Duke at firſt offer'd to make Reſiſtance; but the Fellow crying out for Help, and ſome Soldiers running in to his Aſſiſtance, the Duke was taken, and ſecured by the Lord *Lumley*, who, under a ſtrong Guard, conveyed him, the Lord *Grey*, and the *German* Count, by eaſy Journeys, to *London*. 1685. 1 *Jac.* II.

Duke of *Monmouth* taken.

He writes to the King. The Duke wrote to the King from *Ringwood* on *July* 8. the ſame Day he was taken, to make his Submiſſion to offer ſome Diſcovery, and to deſire earneſtly to ſpeak with the King; concluding thus: *I hope, Sir, God Almighty will ſtrike your Heart with Mercy and Compaſſion for me, as he has done mine with the Abhorrence of what I have done: Wherefore, I hope, Sir, I may live to ſhew you how zealous I ſhall ever be for your Service; and could I ſay but* one Word *in this Letter, you would be convinced of it; but it is of that Conſequence, that I dare not do it. Therefore, Sir, I do beg of you once more to let me ſpeak to you; for then you will be convinc'd how much I ſhall ever be,*

Your Majeſty's Moſt Humble and Dutiful

MONMOUTH.

Brought to the King. This unhappy Captive was brought to *London* on the 13th of *July*, and, by the Interceſſion of the Queen-Dowager, was brought to the King's Preſence, and fell preſently at his Feet, and confeſs'd he deſerv'd to die; but conjur'd him, with Tears in his Eyes, not to uſe him with the Severity of Juſtice, and to grant him a Life, which he would be ever ready to ſacrifice for his Service.

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[a] A brave Captain in the Horſe-Guards now living (1718) was in this Action at *Sedgmore*, and gave me this Account of it: That on *Sunday* Morning, *July* 5. a young Woman came from *Monmouth*'s Quarters to give notice of his Deſign to ſurprize the King's Army that Night; but this young Woman being carried to a chief Officer in a Neighbouring Village, ſhe was led up Stairs, and debauch'd by him; and coming down in a great Fright and Diſorder (as he himſelf ſaw her) ſhe went back, and her Meſſage was not told. So that on *Sunday* Night moſt of the Officers were drunk, and had no manner of Apprehenſion of the Enemy, till, about one a Clock in the Morning, the Horſe of the Lord *Grey* came upon the Out-guard, who, in great Confuſion, aſk'd, *Who is there? Who are you for?* One anſwer'd, *For King* Monmouth. Upon which Sir *Francis Compton* bid fire; and upon that firſt Firing, the Horſe under Lord *Grey* fled, and never rallied. *Monmouth* had ſent his Horſe under the Lord *Grey* to wheel about the Edge of the Moor to get into the Village where the King's Horſe were quarter'd, and to ſet it on fire, and then to fall on the back of the King's Foot, while the Duke of *Monmouth* charg'd them in the Front. And had theſe Orders been executed, the King's Forces not exceeding four Thouſand, muſt have been cut in pieces. *Monmouth* accordingly march'd up very near to the King's Foot; but waiting for the expected Signal of *Firing* the Village, he loſt Time, and gave Leiſure to the King's Forces to put themſelves in order. When the Fight began, *Monmouth*'s Foot, unexperienc'd Men, diſcharg'd their Muſkets too high, and did no Execution; and then *Monmouth*, as if he had been at the Head of regular Forces, kept them in too good Order; for had he ſuffer'd them, after the firſt empty Diſcharge, to fall on with their other Weapons, they would have knock'd all their Enemies on Head, or have puſh'd them into the utmoſt Confuſion: But the Duke oblig'd them to keep their Ranks till the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* brought down the Artillery upon them; and then they run away, and creeping into Hedges and Corn-Fields, were ſtarted, and ſhot, like Game, by the King's Soldiers.—— The next Day the Earl of *Feverſham* march'd away from *Sedgmore* with many poor Priſoners, tied together like Slaves; and making an Halt at the firſt great Sign-Poſt that ſtood croſs the Road, he commanded four or five of the poor Wretches to be hang'd upon it, and would have gone on in that way of Arbitrary Execution, if the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* (as the better Soldier and the better Lawyer too,) had not come up and expoſtulated with him; *My Lord, you don't know what you do: This is Murder in the Law, and your Lordſhip may be call'd to Account for it. Theſe poor Rogues, now the Battel is over, muſt be tried before they can be put to Death.*

The ſame Perſon kept a ſhort Diary of the March of the King's Forces to the Weſt.——*June* 20, 1685. we were ſent againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, and laid the firſt Night at *Maidenhead*; the 21ſt to *Newbury*; 22d to *Chipnam*; 23d to *Briſtol*; 24th to *Bath*; 25th to *Briſtol*: Again, 26th, to *Bath*; 27th to *Philipſnorton*, where we fell in upon his Rear about ten in the Morning. The Buſineſs laſted two Hours, in which we had the worſt. We retir'd about a Muſket-ſhot from the *Cane*, and both Sides play'd their great Guns till about ſix in the Evening, and then we retir'd to *Bradford*; the 29th to *Weſtbury*; 30th to *Frome*; *July* 2d to *Shipton Mallet*; 3d to *Somerſetown*; 5th to *Weſton Sihon*, where we incamp'd in *Brimſel Moor*; 6th about one of the Clock in the Morning, being Full Moon, yet ſo dark, by reaſon of the Miſt, that we could not ſee one another, the Duke of *Monmouth* attack'd us in our Camp. The Buſineſs laſted till broad Day, and then it was a general Rout.

Again the ſame worthy Perſon told me, that there was no Grounds for Suſpicion of Treachery in the Lord *Grey*; nor was it ſo much as ſuſpected, till that Lord had his Life and Pardon, which was really in Favour of the Earl of *Rocheſter*, who found the Eſtate in Entail, and could only enjoy a good part of it during the others Life.

5. He

1685. 1 *Jac.* II.

He mention'd to him the Example of ſeveral great Princes, who had yielded to the Impreſſions of Clemency on the like Occaſions, and who had never afterwards repented of thoſe Acts of Generoſity and Mercy; concluding, in a moſt pathetical manner, *Remember, Sir, I am your Brother's Son, and if you take my Life, it is your own Blood that you will ſhed.* The King ask'd him ſeveral Queſtions, and made him ſign a Declaration, *That his Father told him he was never marry'd to his Mother:* And then ſaid he was ſorry indeed for his Misfortunes; but his Crime was of too great a Conſequence to be left unpuniſh'd, and he muſt of neceſſity ſuffer for it. The Queen is ſaid to have inſulted him in a very arrogant and unmerciful Manner. So that when the Duke ſaw there was nothing deſigned by this Interview but to ſatisfy the Queen's Revenge, he roſe up from his Majeſty's Feet with a new Air of Bravery, and was carry'd back to the *Tower*; from whence, without any farther Hearing, on *Wedneſday July* 15. he was deliver'd to the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, on a Warrant for his Execution, about Ten in the Morning: He was conducted by them to a Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where two eminent Divines exhorted him to repent of his Treaſon and Rebellion. He deſir'd them not to trouble him with any unſeaſonable Diſcourſes: He ſaid, *he repented of all his Sins in general, of the Blood ſpilt on his Account, and fear'd the ill Conſequence of his Enterprize. That he dy'd in the Faith of this, That God would work a Deliverance for his People, and then will be diſcover'd the great, horrid, and ſcarcely to be parallell'd Villanies our Enemies have been guilty of:* Adding, *You ſee my Caſe is deſperate; yet know* I die a MARTYR for the People. *He hop'd King* James *would ſhew himſelf of his Brother's Blood, and extend his Mercy to his Children, even as he was wont to his greateſt Enemies*[a]; *they being not capable to act, and therefore not conſcious of any Offence againſt the Government.* To one of the Divines he expreſs'd himſelf with ſome Indignation againſt the Lord *Shaftsbury*, complaining, he was a *Tricking Man*; and more eſpecially againſt *Ferguſon*, who (ſays he) is a *Bloody Villain.* He ſtay'd on the Scaffold half an Hour, then laid himſelf down to the Block[b]. The Executioner, after the Sign given him, ſtruck him firſt on the Shoulder: He rais'd himſelf a little, and lying down again, his Head was, at two Blows, ſever'd from his Body, which was put in a Black Velvet Coffin, and carry'd in a Velvet Hearſe to the *Tower*, where 'twas bury'd in the Chapel.

Begs his Life in vain.

Inſulted by the Queen.

The Duke of *Monmouth* beheaded.

The Lord *Grey* obtain'd a Pardon from the King, which confirm'd the World very much in their Opinion of his betraying the Duke.

The Lord *Grey* pardoned.

The Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*, with four other Judges his Aſſiſtants, and a Body of Troops commanded by Colonel *Kirk*, was ſent into the *Weſt* of *England*, with a ſpecial Commiſſion, to try the poor Wretches that had been in the Rebellion. At *Wincheſter*, Mrs. *Alicia Lyle*, the Relict of *John Lyle*, one of King *Charles* the Firſt's Judges, a Woman of extreme Age, was try'd for concealing Mr. *Hickes*, a Nonconformiſt Teacher, and *Richard Nelthorpe*, (the latter being a Stranger, and the former in no *Proclamation*) and tho' the Jury brought her in three times *Not Guilty*, yet *Jeffreys* Threats ſo far prevail'd, that ſhe was at laſt found *Guilty* of High-Treaſon, and beheaded for it. A cruel Judgment, that was afterwards reverſ'd by the Convention called by the Prince of *Orange*.

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Inquiſition in the *Weſt.*

Mrs. *Lyle* beheaded.

The Judges went to *Dorcheſter*, where *Jeffreys* finding 30 Perſons return'd by the Grand-Inqueſt, as Aſſiſtants to the late Duke of *Monmouth*, he contriv'd this Stratagem of taking the *ſhorteſt Way* with them: When they came upon their Tryals, he told them, that whoſoever pleaded *Not Guilty*, and was found ſo, ſhould have little Time to live; but if any expected Favour, they muſt plead *Guilty*. But the Priſoners would not truſt him, tho' they might have depended as well on his Mercy as his Juſtice, and a Confeſſion or Denial had been all one: For of thirty pleading *Not Guilty*, twenty nine were found *Guilty*, and ſoon after executed, as were fourſcore more out of two hundred thirty three, who were deluded to plead *Guilty* to their Indictments, by a Promiſe of Pardon. The ſame was done at *Exeter* to near as many, who were alike deluded; as alſo at *Taunton*, and *Wells*, where the Lord *Jeffreys* finiſh'd his *Bloody Aſſizes:* In theſe two laſt Places he condemn'd above five hundred Perſons, whereof two hundred thirty nine were executed, and had their Quarters ſet up in the principal Places and Roads of thoſe Countries, to the Terror of Paſſengers, and the great Annoyance of thoſe Parts.

Cruelty of the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys.*

And yet the Cruelty of the Chief-Juſtice often yielded to the Avarice of the Man, who was not more haſty to hang up thoſe who had no Money, than he was forward to procure Pardons for thoſe that could pay the Purchaſe of them. He had the Conſcience to take above fourteen thouſand Pounds from one Gentleman, to ſave him; with which he bought an Eſtate, that might juſtly be call'd, **The Field of Blood**; and ſeem'd to have a Curſe entail'd upon it of not being enjoy'd by a third Heir. Thoſe poor Wretches who could not purchaſe Pardons at my Lord's Rates, were ſold for Slaves into the *American* Plantations. And when, after this ſatiating of Juſtice, there came

[a] On *Monday Octob.* 14. 1713. Dr. *Teniſon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſuffer'd me to take this Relation from his own Mouth. I being Vicar of St. *Martin*'s, was ſent for to the Duke of *Monmouth* in the *Tower* on the Day of his Execution; the Duke knowing me better than the two Prelates, Biſhop *Ken* and Biſhop *Turner*, He took me aſide to the Window, and held a long Converſation with me too much upon his own Follies. When among other things I mention'd a Report of his Grace's Preaching in the Army: No, ſaid the Duke, I never preach'd; no body preach'd but *Ferguſon*, and he very fooliſhly many times, *that Man*, ſays he, *is a bloody Villain.* When I minded him of being better reconciled to hisDucheſs, he own'd his Heart had been turn'd from her, and he pretended the Cauſe of it to be, that in his Affliction ſhe had gone to Plays, and into Publick Companies; by which, ſaid he, I knew ſhe did not love me. When I charg'd him with his Converſation with Mrs. *Wentworth*, he freely own'd it, and ſaid, he had no Children by her; but he had heard it was lawful to have one Wife in the Eye of the Law, and another before God. I then took a Bible, and labour'd to convince him of the Falſhood and the ill Conſequences of ſuch a Principle. Well, ſays he, but if a Man be bred up in a falſe Notion, what ſhall he do when he has but two Hours to live. The Duke pull'd out a Gold Watch, and preſs'd me to carry it in his Name to Mrs. *Wentworth*, which I poſitively refuſed, and ſaid, I could not be concern'd in any ſuch Meſſage or Token to her. The Duke did not ſeem at all Profane or Atheiſtical, but had rather a Caſt of Enthuſiaſm in him; for he had a ſilly *Charm* in a bit of Paper under the Stone of his Ring, which was pull'd out after his Death, and was ſaid to have been given him by ſome *German*, reputed a Conjurer, which Charm was to ſave him in a Day of Battle, or other imminent Danger.

[b] Mr. *Echard* relates, from a Manuſcript written by Dr. *Lloyd*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, ſeveral Particulars, —— concluding, then undreſſing, and preparing for the Block, the Divines in the mean time us'd theſe and the like Ejaculations; *God accept your Repentance! God accept your imperfect Repentance! God accept your general Repentance!* Having laid himſelf down a ſecond time, and the Sign given, the Executioner gave a light Stroke; at which he look'd him in the Face, and then he laid him down again, when the Executioner gave him two Strokes more, and then threw down his Axe, crying, *He could not finiſh his Work*, till being threatned by the Sheriff and others there preſent, he took up the Axe again, and at two Strokes more cut off his Head.

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out a Genaral Pardon; it was clogg'd with ſo many Exceptions, that it was call'd *Ridiculouſly Cruel:* For not only thoſe were excepted who had made their Eſcape, but all the *Taunton* Maidens who had made Colours and preſented them to the Duke of *Monmouth*, ſome of them but Girls of eight or nine Years old, were all excepted by Name; and no Pardon could be purchas'd for this Piece of Treaſon, till their Parents had paid more for it[a], than would have provided a Marriage-Portion for them. 'Tis ſaid, that after this barbarous Expedition, the Lord *Jeffreys*, a Man of a ſarcaſtick and abuſive Wit, was heard to boaſt with ſome Pleaſure, *That he had hang'd more Men, than all the Judges of* England *ſince* William the Conqueror.

The King ſaid to be diſpleas'd at theſe Proceedings.

Some of the Foreign Popiſh Hiſtorians have affirm'd, That King *James* was no ſooner inform'd of the Cruelties of *Jeffreys*, but he ſhew'd his Indignation at his Unwarrantable Proceedings. But this is hardly to be reconcil'd with the Approbation and Reward which the King gave to him: For it is certain, that his Majeſty writ him a *Letter*, in his Circuit, and bid him *Diſpatch the Buſineſs before him, and come and take the Seals, for he was forc'd in the mean time to be Chancellor himſelf.* And when with greater Haſte and Fury he did expedite his Buſineſs, and return'd to be made Lord Chancellor; it was expreſſly ſaid to be *in Conſideration of the many eminent and faithful Services he had rendred the Crown, as well in the late King's time, as ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne.*

Jeffreys made Ld. Chancellor.

Nor was Judge *Jeffreys* the only Perſon who was thought to execute the King's Orders; but Colonel *Kirk*, a Soldier of Fortune, a Man of Boldneſs and Looſeneſs, did alſo act a conſiderable Part in theſe unhappy Tragedies: After the Duke's Defeat, he cauſed Ninety wounded Men to be hang'd at *Taunton*, not only without permitting their Relations to ſpeak with them, but with Pipes playing, Drums beating, Trumpets ſounding, and all other Military Pomp and Joy. At another Town he invited his Officers to Dinner, near the Place where ſome of the condemn'd Rebels were to be executed, and order'd ten of them to be turn'd off with a Health to the King, ten in a Health to the Queen, and ten more in a Health to the Lord *Jeffreys*. Theſe Cruelties he afterwards endeavour'd to palliate, by pretending, *that he did nothing but by Expreſs Order from the King, and his General.* But he was charg'd with one Action that could proceed only from his own brutal Inclination to Luſt and Blood, and that was, the drawing in a poor Maiden to Proſtitute her ſelf to him, with the Promiſe of ſaving her Brother's Life, and neverthelеſs cauſing him to be hang'd on the Sign-poſt of the ſame Houſe, and out of the Window preſenting the credulous abuſed Damſel with that barbarous Spectacle of Treachery and Cruelty.

Barbarities committed by Colonel *Kirk*.

Suppreſſing of this Rebellion turn'd to ill Uſes.

The ſuppreſſing of this Rebellion, was ſo great an Advantage to the Strength and Intereſt of the King, and to the Peace and Quiet of the Nation, that King *James*, with any Moderation, might have been the happieſt Prince that ever ſway'd the *Engliſh* Sceptre. But his Misfortune was, that inſtead of ſecuring his juſt Prerogative, and encouraging his Loyal Subjects, he fell upon the Reſolution of a Standing Army, for the Support of Popery and Arbitrary Power. He had a Houſe of Commons very pliable to his Deſires in the laſt Seſſion, and very Obſequious in all the Steps of reducing and executing the Duke of *Monmouth*, and as forward in Supplies of Men and Money. The King was willing to miſtake their Zeal in going ſo far, for an Aſſurance of going as much farther as he pleaſed to call them: As if he and his Miniſters were not rightly ſenſible what a Tenderneſs and Affection *Engliſh* Men have for their Laws and Liberties; and how hard a Matter it is for any Prince to make a Houſe of Commons acceſſary to the enſlaving of a Nation. This appear'd in the next Seſſion at *Weſtminſter*, on *Monday* the 9th of *Nov.* when his Majeſty being come to the Houſe of Peers, and ſeated on his Throne, he ſent for the Commons, and made this SPEECH to both Houſes:

Parliament meet.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech.

" AFter the Storm that ſeem'd to be coming
" upon us when we parted laſt, I am glad
" to meet you in ſo great Peace and Quietneſs;
" God Almighty be praiſed, by whoſe Bleſſing
" that Rebellion was ſuppreſs'd. But when I re-
" flect what an inconſiderable Number of Men
" began it, and how long they carry'd it on with-
" out any Oppoſition, I hope every body will be
" convinc'd, that the Militia which have hitherto
" been ſo much depended on, is not ſufficient for
" ſuch Occaſions; and that there is nothing but
" a good Force of well diſciplin'd Troops in con-
" ſtant Pay that can defend us from ſuch as ei-
" ther at Home or Abroad are diſpos'd to diſturb
" us. And in truth, my Concern for the Peace
" and Quiet of my Subjects, as well as for the
" Safety of the Government, made me think it
" neceſſary to encreaſe the Number to the Pro-
" portion I have done, that I owed as well to the
" Honour as the Security of the Nation, whoſe
" Reputation was ſo infinitely expos'd to all our
" Neighbours, by having lain open to this late
" wretched Attempt, that it is not to be repair'd
" without keeping ſuch a Body of Men on foot,
" that none may ever have a Thought of finding
" us again ſo miſerably unprovided. It is for the
" Support of this great Charge, which is now
" more than double to what it was, that I aſk
" your Aſſiſtance, in giving me a Supply anſwer-
" able to the Expences it brings along with it:
" And I cannot doubt, but that what I have begun
" ſo much to the Honour and Defence of the Go-
" vernment, will be continued by you with all
" Chearfulneſs and Readineſs that is requiſite for a
" Work of ſo great Importance.

" Let no Man take Exception, that there are
" ſome Officers in the Army not qualify'd, accord-
" ing to the late *Teſts*[b], for their Employment:
" The Gentlemen, I muſt tell you, are moſt of

[a] Mr. *Ferguſon* in the Manuſcript quoted by Mr. *Echard*, tells us,---Mr. *Hucker*, one of *Monmouth*'s Captains of Horſe, came no ſooner within View of the Camp of the King's, than that he treacherouſly and villainouſly fir'd a Piſtol to give them notice of our Approach, and therefore forſook his Charge and rode off with all the ſpeed he could to take the Benefit of a Proclamation emitted by the King, offering Pardon to all ſuch as ſhould abandon us, and return home within ſuch a time. And this I have been told he pleaded at his Tryal in order to ſave his Life, but was anſwer'd by *Jeffreys*, that *He above above all other Men deſerv'd to be hang'd, and that for his Treachery to* Monmouth, *as well as his Treaſon againſt the King.*

[b] This Violation of the *Teſt-Act* is thus repreſented by Biſhop *Burnet* in a Preface to ſome Sermons, publiſh'd 1713. 8vo. *p.* v. King *James* upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Invaſion gave Commiſſions to many Papiſts to ſerve in the Army, which in ſuch a Juncture was gently cenſur'd. But when that Rebellion was ſoon diſſipated, and the time come limited by Law for their qualifying themſelves, they continued to execute their Commiſſions without any Regard to the Law. Nor had the juſt Senſe that the Houſe of Commons expreſſed upon this open Breach of Law any other effect, than to get the Seſſion diſmiſs'd with a Prorogation. A mock Suit was ſoon after that carried on in the *Kings-Bench* againſt one that had thus neglected to qualify himſelf; and after much Practice on that Court, and many Removes made in it, they came to a Deciſion, that all the Laws were the King's Laws, and that the Execution of the Law was only in the King, who was not accountable to any Perſon for that.

" them

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"them well known to me; and having formerly "ſerved with me on ſeveral Occaſions, and always "approv'd the Loyalty of their Principles by their "Practices, I think them now fit to be employ'd "under me; and will deal plainly with you, That "after having had the Benefit of their Services in "ſuch Time of Need and Danger, I will neither "expoſe them to Diſgrace, nor my ſelf to the "want of them, if there ſhould be another Re-"bellion, to make them neceſſary to me.

"I am afraid ſome Men may be ſo wicked, to "hope and expect that a Difference may happen "between you and me upon this Occaſion: But "when you conſider what Advantages have riſen "to us in a few Months, by the good Underſtand-"ing we have hitherto had; what wonderful Ef-"fects it hath already produced in the Change of "the whole Scene of Affairs Abroad, ſo much "more to the Honour of the Nation, and the "Figure it ought to make in the World; and that "nothing can hinder a further Progreſs in this "Way, to all our Satisfactions, but Fears and Jea-"louſies amongſt our ſelves. I will not appre-"hend that ſuch a Misfortune can befal us, as a "Diviſion, or but a Coldneſs between you and "us; nor that any thing can ſhake you in your "Steadineſs and Loyalty to me, who, by God's "Bleſſing, will ever make you all Returns of Kind-"neſs and Protection, with a Reſolution to ven-"ture even my own Life in Defence of the true "Intereſt of this Kingdom.

The *Speech* was very Offen-ſive.

This *Speech* was immediately underſtood to be the declaring for a *Standing Army*, to be command-ed by *Popiſh Officers*. And therefore, though the Earl of *Middleton* moved, That the [a] Houſe would immediately return their Thanks to his Majeſty for his moſt gracious *Speech*, and alſo proceed to the Conſideration of anſwering the Ends therein men-tioned; the Houſe could not but ſhew their Jea-louſies and Fears, and adjourn the Debate till *Thurſ-day* next; on which Day *Novem.* 12. the Houſe reſolved it ſelf into a Committee of the Whole, to take into Conſideration His Majeſty's *Speech*. Thoſe on the *Court-Side* moved to Vote the *Militia* Inſuf-ficient; and that the new Levies made by the King were juſt, reaſonable and neceſſary; and that a Sup-ply ought to be given for the keeping up of thoſe ſtanding Forces. Thoſe call'd the *Country-Party* were for vindicating the *Militia*, and making them more uſeful; were againſt a Standing Army, and eſpecially againſt diſpenſing with *Popiſh Officers* in it; and Sir *T. C.* ſpoke boldly thus: —— "His "Majeſty on his firſt Entrance on the Throne, "told us, *He had been miſrepreſented, and that he* "*would preſerve the Government in Church and State,* "*now eſtabliſh'd by Law, and maintain us in all* "*our juſt Rights and Privileges.* Over-joy'd at this, "we run haſtily in to him; we gave four Milli-"ons (reckoning what we added to him for Life "was worth) at once. The preſent Revenue is "one Million nine hundred thouſand Pounds, or "two Millions yearly; the Charge of the Govern-"ment (admitting this Army kept up) is but one "Million three hundred thouſand Pounds yearly. "And pray let us not forget that there was a *Bill* "*of Excluſion* debated in this Houſe; I was here, "and ſhew'd my ſelf *againſt* it: The Arguments "*for* it, were, *That we ſhould, in caſe of a* Popiſh "Succeſſor, *have a Popiſh Army.* You ſee the "*Act* of the *Teſt* already broken: But pray remem-"ber what the late Lord Chancellor told you, "when the late King (of bleſſed Memory) paſſed "that *Act*, (the Words were to this Effect) *By* "*this Act, you are provided againſt Popery, that no* "*Papiſt can poſſibly creep into any Employment.* I "am afflicted greatly at this Breach on our Liber-"ties; and ſeeing ſo great Difference betwixt this "*Speech* and thoſe heretofore made, cannot but "believe this was by ſome others Advice. This "ſtruck at here, is our All: And I wonder there "have been any Men ſo deſperate, as to take any "Employment, not qualify'd for it, and would "have therefore the Queſtion, that a *Standing Ar-*"*my* is deſtructive to the Country.

Speeches againſt a Standing Army.

The Reſult of this Debate, was the appointing a Committee to draw up an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty; which, on Monday *Nov.* 16. was read and agreed to in this Form:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

Addreſs of the Com-mons.

"WE your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Faith-"ful Subjects, the Commons in Parliament "aſſembled, do, in the firſt place, (as in Duty "bound) return your Majeſty our moſt humble "and hearty Thanks, for your great Care and "Conduct in ſuppreſſing the late Rebellion, which "threatned the Overthrow of this Government, "both in Church and State, to the Extirpation of "our Religion as by Law eſtabliſh'd, which is "moſt dear unto us, and which your Majeſty has "been pleas'd to give us repeated Aſſurances, you "will always defend and maintain: Which, with "all grateful Hearts, we ſhall ever acknowledge.

"We further crave leave to acquaint your Ma-"jeſty, That we have with all Duty and Readi-"neſs taken into our Conſideration your Majeſty's "*gracious Speech* to us. And as to that Part of it, "relating to the Officers in the Armies not quali-"fy'd for their Employments, according to an Act "of Parliament made in the 25th Year of the "Reign of your Royal Brother, Intituled, *An Act* "*for preventing Dangers which may happen from* "*Popiſh Recuſants.*

"We do, out of our bounden Duty, humbly "repreſent unto your Majeſty,

"That theſe Officers cannot, by Law, be ca-"pable of their Employments; and that the In-"capacities they bring upon themſelves that way, "can no way be taken off but by an Act of Par-"liament:

"Therefore, out of that great Reverence and "Duty we owe unto your Majeſty, who have "been graciouſly pleas'd to take Notice of their "Services to your Majeſty, we are preparing a Bill "to paſs both Houſes, for your Royal Aſſent, to "indemnifie them from the Penalties they have "now incurred. And becauſe the continuing of "them in their Employments, may be taken to "be a diſpenſing with that Law, without an Act "of Parliament, the Conſequence of which is of "the greateſt Concern to the Rights of all your "Majeſty's Subjects, and to all the Laws made for "the Security of their Religion;

"We therefore, the Knights, Citizens and Bur-"geſſes of your Majeſty's Houſe of Commons, do "do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, That "you would be moſt graciouſly pleas'd to give "ſuch Directions therein, that no Apprehenſions

[a] The Subject of the King's Speech had been as little ap-prov'd in Council as it was in Parliament. The Earl of *Sunderland* in his Letter publiſh'd *March* 23, 1689, ſays, the Diſpenſing Power I never heard ſpoken of till the time of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, that the King told ſome of the Coun-cil, of which I was one, that he was reſolved to give Em-ployments to Roman Catholicks, it being fit that all Perſons ſhould ſerve who could be uſeful, and on whom he might depend. I think every Body adviſ'd him againſt it; but with little effect, as was ſoon ſeen. That Party was ſo well pleaſed with what the King had done, that they perſuaded him to mention it in his Speech, at the next meeting of the Parliament, which he did, after many Debates, whether it was proper or not, in all which I oppos'd it.

"or

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“ or Jealouſies may remain in the Hearts of your “ Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects.

This *Addreſs* was preſented by the *Speaker*, attended by the Houſe, to his Majeſty, in the *Banquetting Houſe* at *Whitehall*, on *Tueſday* Nov. 17. When his Majeſty, with ſome Reſentment, gave them this *Anſwer:*

GENTLEMEN,

King's Anſwer,

I *Did not expect ſuch an* Addreſs *from the* Houſe of Commons. *For having ſo lately recommended to your Conſideration the great Advantages a good Underſtanding between us had produced in a very ſhort time, and given you Warning of Fears and Jealouſies amongſt our ſelves; I had reaſon to hope, that the Reputation God had bleſſed me with in the World, would have ſeal'd and confirm'd a good Confidence in you of me, and of all that I ſay to you.*

But however you proceed on your Part, I will be ſteady in all my Promiſes I have made to you; and be juſt to my Word in this, and all my other Speeches.

Not pleaſing.

When this *Anſwer* was read, there was a profound Silence in the Houſe for ſome time after it: At laſt a Member moved, That a Day might be appointed to conſider of his Majeſty's *Anſwer* to their late *Addreſs*; and named *Friday* next. Mr. *C.* ſtood up and ſeconded that Motion, and ſaid, *I hope we are all* Engliſh-men, *and are not to be frighted out of our Duty by a few high Words.* Exception was immediately taken at thoſe Words, as reflecting on the King, and they were writ down by the Clerk, and Mr. *C.* was call'd upon to explain them: And after much debate, it was ordered that Mr. *C.* for his indecent Speech, ſhould be ſent to the *Tower*.

Mr. *Coke.*

Supply Granted.

In the mean time, the Commons had made their *Reſolutions*, to give the King as much Money as could poſſibly ſerve his juſt Occaſions, and be conſiſtent with their own Liberties and Rights. When the Queſtion was put, *That a Supply be given to his Majeſty*; it was carry'd in the Affirmative: But theſe Words, *Towards the Support of the Additional Forces* (which one of the Members moved might be added) were rejected, and inſtead of them, it paſſed, *That the Houſe be moved to bring in a Bill to make the* Militia *Uſeful.* The Sum demanded by the King's Agents, was one million two hundred thouſand Pounds. Which others thinking Exorbitant, ſaid, *That the Meaſure of their Supply was their Security: That the Uſe was to direct the* Quantum. *That four hundred thouſand Pounds was enough to maintain the Additional Forces two Years, till the* Militia *be made ſerviceable. That they muſt not give all at once, but leave the Door open for coming thither another time.* Others proceeded to ſay, *That they had that Seſſion already given Cuſtoms and Exciſes for his Majeſty's Life, which amounted to ſix Millions. That they ought to give little now, to have Opportunity of giving more another time: For if they gave ſo much at one ſitting, they ſhould have nothing left to give: Nay, and if things proceeded thus, what they had wou'd be taken from them.* But nevertheleſs, after a long Debate, the Queſtion was put for ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds, and no more, to be given to his Majeſty; which paſs'd in the Affirmative; and the Houſe were entred upon Ways and Means for the raiſing of it. And to make the King eaſie in his *Roman Catholick* Officers in the Army, they not only offer'd a Bill to indemnifie them from the Penalties they had already incurr'd, but they were willing to capacitate, by Act of Parliament, ſuch a Number of thoſe Officers as his Majeſty ſhould give a Liſt of. But the King would accept of nothing under a profound Submiſſion and Obedience to all his Demands; and therefore he not only gave the Commons his Marks of Diſpleaſure, in his *Anſwer* to their *Addreſs*, Nov. 18. but when they had appointed *Nov.* 20. to conſider of that *Anſwer*, he would not ſuffer them to enter upon any ſuch Debate, but on that very Morning Prorogued the Parliament.

Compliance of the Commons,

Not accepted by the King

The King not pleaſed with the Houſe of Lords.

The King was not much better pleas'd with the *Houſe of Lords*; for when it was there debated, whether they ſhould give the King Thanks for his *Speech*, or not? ſome of the Peers were for it, while others warmly oppos'd it; and the Marquis of *Hallifax*, a Man of ſharp Wit, ſaid by way of Irony, *They had now more reaſon than ever to give Thanks to his Majeſty, ſince he had dealt ſo plainly with them, and had diſcover'd what he before intended.* What he meant for a Jeſt was eagerly laid hold on, by the Courtiers for earneſt; ſo an Addreſs of Thanks was preſented: And his Majeſty made Anſwer, *That he was very well ſatisfy'd that their Lordſhips were well pleas'd with what he ſaid; And that he would never offer any thing to their Houſe, that he ſhould not be convinc'd was for the good and and true Intereſt of the Kingdom.* But the Lords gave greater Offence, by taking Notice of the violent and arbitrary Proſecution of the Lord *Delamere* and the Earl of *Stamford*, wherein they thought the Privileges of Peerage were intrench'd upon. The ſame Day the King made his *Speech*, the Lord *Delamere*, in an *humble Petition* repreſented to their Lordſhips, “ That his Majeſty, by his “ *Proclamation* dated the 19th of *July* laſt, did re“ quire the *Petitioner* to appear before him in “ Council within ten Days, not for any manner “ of Treaſon, but for other leſs Matters therein “ contain'd. That accordingly, within ſeven Days, “ he did render himſelf to my Lord *Sunderland:* “ And that after being brought before his Majeſty “ then ſitting in Council, he was neither Con“ fronted by any Perſon that accuſed him, nor o“ therwiſe charg'd with any manner of Treaſon, “ but only ask'd ſome Queſtions relating to Mat“ ters of a leſſer Nature: And had he been guilty “ of them, yet by Law, he might and ought to “ be bail'd. That yet the Lord *Sunderland*, by “ Warrant bearing Date the 26th of *July* laſt, “ did commit the *Petitioner* to the *Tower* of *Lon*“ *don*, (for High-Treaſon, in levying War againſt “ the King) where he had remained ever ſince, “ under a very cloſe Reſtraint. And as he avow“ ed himſelf to be altogether innocent of any evil “ Practice againſt the King or the Government, “ and had in all things behaved himſelf as became “ a good Subject: So he humbly pray'd their Lord“ ſhips to take his Caſe into their ſerious Conſi“ deration, and to do therein what ſhould ſeem “ meet to their Lordſhips.” After ſome Debate, the Queſtion was put, whether the Lords with white Staffs ſhould wait on his Majeſty to know the reaſon why the Lord *Delamere*, a Member of their Houſe, was abſent from his Attendance there? Which being carry'd in the Affirmative, the Earl of *Rocheſter* Lord High Treaſurer, *reported* the next Day, that he, with the other Lords, having waited on his Majeſty with their Meſſage; his Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer, *That the Lord* Delamere *ſtood*

[a] Nevertheleſs, (ſaith Mr. *Echard*) the Biſhop of *London* couragiouſly mov'd, in the Name of himſelf and all his Brethren, that the Houſe would particularly debate the King's Speech, and the 23d of this Month was accordingly appointed; which as it was extraordinary and unuſual in the Houſe, ſo it was no leſs ſurprizing to the King and Court, which ſhew'd a Jealouſie of theſe Proceedings.

committed

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committed for High Treaſon, teſtified upon Oath; and that his Majeſty had already given Directions that he ſhould be proceeded againſt according to Law. The Lords reſumed this Debate on *Nov.* 16. when the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, by his Majeſty's Command, gave this Account to their Lordſhips of the Proceedings had and intended to be had againſt the Lord *Delamere*; ſays he, *To ſhew your Lordſhips, that the King has given Orders for a ſpeedy Proſecution of him, the Treaſon whereof he is accuſed was committed in* Cheſhire, *and that being a County* Palatine, *the Proſecution muſt be there, and not in the Court of* King's-Bench, *as it might be, if the Treaſon had been committed in any other County: And therefore his Majeſty had given Orders for a Commiſſion of* Oyer and Terminer, *in order to the finding an Indictment againſt him. Which Commiſſion is already paſs'd; and if the Indictment be not found before the end of the* Term, *the Lord* Delamere's *Prayer being entred in the* King's-Bench, *he may be bailed.* This Noble Lord was afterwards try'd by his Peers, the Chancellor *Jeffreys* ſitting as High-Steward, and was honourably acquitted; it manifeſtly appearing that *Thomas Saxon* the Principal Evidence againſt his Lordſhip, was guilty of *Perjury*; for which he ſuffer'd Condign Puniſhment.

Ld. *Delamere* acquitted.

Petition of the E. of *Stamford* to the Lords.

On the 11th of *November* the Earl of *Stamford* did likewiſe put up a *Petition* to the Lords, importing, "That in *July* laſt he was taken in Cu-"ſtody at his own Houſe in *Leiceſterſhire*; and be-"ing brought to *London*, was, by the Earl of "*Sunderland*'s Warrant committed to the *Tower*, "(for High-Treaſon, in conſpiring the Death of "the late King) where he remained ever ſince, "and was now a Cloſe Priſoner, and had not had "the Uſe of Pen, Ink or Paper, except to ſign "*Petitions*, in the Gentleman Porter's or Warden's "Preſence: That he muſt take the liberty to affirm, "that he was innocent of the Crime laid to his "Charge, and had endeavour'd to behave himſelf "with all Duty and Loyalty to the King, and his "Royal Brother of glorious Memory: That ne-"vertheleſs he heard there was an Indictment of "*High-Treaſon*, found againſt him; but where, "when, or how, or upon what Evidence, or up-"on what Matter, he knew not. Wherefore he "humbly prayed, that their Lordſhips, according "to the ancient Courſe of Proceedings of this "moſt honourable Houſe, would be pleas'd to order "him to be brought before them in their Houſe of "Parliament, there to hear the Matter charg'd a-"gainſt him; and that thereupon ſuch farther "Proceedings might be had, as are agreeable to "Juſtice, and the uſual Courſe of Parliamenta-"ry Proceedings in Caſes of the like Nature." Thereupon their Lordſhips order'd the Lord Mayor, and the reſt of the Juſtices for the City of *London*, forthwith to return into that Houſe, by Virtue of his Majeſty's Writ of *Certiorari*, the Indictment found before them againſt the Earl of *Stamford*. On *Nov.* 17. the ſaid Earl, purſuant to their Lordſhips Order, was brought to their Bar, and the *Indictment* found againſt him. And his *Petition* being read, the Lord Chancellor ask'd him, *What he had to ſay to the Houſe?* The Earl anſwered, *he deſired to hear his Charge.* And being ask'd again, *If he had any thing more to ſay?* His Lordſhip reply'd, *That he had been ſtraightly confined by ſixteen Weeks Impriſonment, and not allow'd the Liberty of Pen, Ink and Paper, or of Friends to come to him; and therefore he could ſay no more till he knew his Charge.* Whereupon the Houſe order'd, that the Earl of *Stamford*'s Tryal ſhould be in *Weſtminſter Hall*, on the firſt Day of *December* next: That in the mean time, he ſhould be allow'd the Liberty of Pen, Ink and Paper, and Friends to come to him, in order for his Tryal; and that the Lords with white Staffs ſhould attend the King, to deſire his Majeſty on behalf of this Houſe, that a Place may be appointed in *Weſtminſter Hall*, and that his Majeſty would give Order for a Commiſſion to appoint a Lord High-Steward, in order to the ſaid Tryal. On *November* 18. the Lords were made acquainted, that the King had comply'd with their Deſire: But becauſe the next Day their Lordſhips appointed the 23d of that Month for the *reading and conſidering his Majeſty's* Speech, *in a full Houſe*; the King apprehending the Reſult of their Debates, and fearing the Jealouſies which the Commons had expreſs'd, he came to the Houſe of Peers on *Nov.* 20. and the Commons attending he commanded the Lord Chancellor to let both Houſes know, "That it was his Majeſty's Plea-"ſure, for many weighty Reaſons, that this Par-"liament be prorogued till the 10th Day of *Fe-*"*bruary* next." Soon after the Earl of *Stamford*, upon bringing his *Habeas Corpus*, was admitted to "Bail; and in the beginning of next Year, his Lordſhip, though innocent, was obliged to accept of a Pardon, whereby his Bail was diſcharg'd.

His Lordſhip's Tryal.

1685.
1 *Jac.* II.

Parliament Prorogu'd.

Earl of *Stamford* accepts a Pardon.

And indeed, beſides the Buſineſs in the *Weſt*, this Year was fill'd with Proſecutions and Penalties, for Crimes and Offences againſt the State. On *May* the 8th and 9th, [a] *Titus Oates* was tryed at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, upon two ſeveral Indictments of *Perjury*, ſaid to be *formerly preferr'd againſt him by the Command and Direction of the late King (of ever bleſſed Memory;) which ſhould have been tryed the laſt* Term, *had not his Majeſty's Death prevented it.* He was now convicted of Perjury, on both the ſaid Indictments; and being brought to the *King's-Bench-Bar* on the 16th of *May*, the Court awarded Judgment againſt him, as follows; "That he ſhall be diveſted of his Canonical Habit "for ever: That on *Monday* next he be carry'd "round *Weſtminſter-Hall* with a Paper on his "Head declaring his Offence, in theſe Words, "TITUS OATES, *convicted upon full Evidence* "*for two horrid Perjuries:* And that afterwards he "ſtand in the Pillory before *Weſtminſter-Hall-*"*Gate*, and on *Tueſday* before the *Royal Exchange*; "That on *Wedneſday* he be Whipt from *Aldgate* "to *Newgate* by the common Hang-man, and on "*Friday* following from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; "That he ſtand in the Pillory on every 24th of "*April*, during his Life, before *Tyburn*, on every "9th of *Auguſt* in the *Palace-Yard* at *Weſtminſter*, "on every 10th of *Auguſt* at *Charing Croſs*, on every "11th of *Auguſt* at *Temple-Bar*, and on every ſe-"cond of *September* before the *Royal-Exchange*, "unleſs any of theſe Days happen to be *Sunday*, "and then on the Day following; that he pay a "Fine of a thouſand Marks for each Perjury, and "that he ſuffer Impriſonment during his Life." There was no Remiſſion of any part of this Sentence: That of *Whipping* was executed with the utmoſt Severity, by ſpecial Order from the Court, and with Rewards given before-hand to the Executioner by ſeveral Papiſts. The Stripes of the firſt Whipping were ſo ſore and green upon the ſecond, that it was grievous to the Spectators, and much more to the Sufferer; who had perhaps

Titus Oates Convicted of Perjury.

Severe Sentence.

[a] Mr. *Oates* in his Tryal call'd for ſeveral Perſons of Quality to ſpeak to his former Succeſs and Credit; as the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Earl of *Clare*, the Earl of *Huntingdon*, the Biſhop of *London*, Sir *William Dolben*, Sir *George Treby*, the Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Baron *Gregory*, Mr. *Williams*, and ſeveral others. But as to the ill Teſtimony given by the Earl of *Huntingdon*, it was rather in Judgment againſt himſelf, than againſt Mr. *Oates*, or againſt the *Popiſh-Plot*. Even the printed Trial is not ſo much a Demonſtration of Perjury, or other wilful Miſtakes of Mr. *Oates*, as it is of the furious Reſolution to condemn him; and of the Paſſion and Inſults of the very Judges upon him.

committed

1685. 1 *Jac.* II. committed ſome Miſtakes in the Circumſtances of time and place, but the Subſtance of his Evidence was undoubtedly true; for the main of his *Depoſitions* was demonſtrated by the *Papers* of *Colcman*, and by a Concurrence of many other Acts and Deeds. And it is much to be fear'd, that the truth of his Evidence had given more Offence to the Court than any Miſtakes in it. However, his Puniſhment look'd much the worſe for being inflicted in a *Popiſh* Reign: And many imputed to his Majeſty the Love of Revenge, as if the King of *England* could not forget the Injuries done to the Duke of *York*.

Tryal of *Dangerfield.* On *May* 30. *Thomas Dangerfield* was try'd at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, upon an Information *for Writing and Publiſhing a moſt villainous and ſcandalous Libel, call'd his* Narrative; wherein according to his Depoſitions before the Parliament in 1680. he did reveal, "That he was employ'd by the *Popiſh* "Party, and chiefly by the Lords in the *Tower*, "and the Counteſs of *Powys*, to invent a *Meal-Tub Plot*, which was to have thrown the *Popiſh* "*Plot* upon the *Presbyterians*." This *Narrative* was order'd to be printed by the Houſe of Commons, on *Nov.* 10. 1680. But notwithſtanding that *Order*, their *Speaker* Mr. *Williams* was afterwards Fin'd ten thouſand Pounds, for licenſing it to be printed, and could not get off without paying the greateſt part of it. And Mr. *Dangerfield* being now found *Guilty*, receiv'd Judgment at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, "That he ſhould ſtand twice "in the Pillory; that he ſhould be Whipt from "*Aldgate* to *Newgate*, and from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and ſhould Pay a Fine of Five hundred "Pounds." In his return from *Tyburn* towards *Newgate*, after his Whipping, being in a Coach, he had reproachful Words given him by one [a] *Robert Francis*, a virulent Papiſt, and was run by him into the Eye with a Tuck at the end of a Cane; of which, together with the Pain of his Whipping, he died ſoon after, and *Francis* was juſtly Executed for it.

His *Narrative.*

He is killed by *Robert Francis.*

It was indeed made the Faſhion of the Court, to diſbelieve and ridicule the whole *Popiſh Plot*, and to talk of nothing but the *Plot* of the *Presbyterians*; of which a late Writer ſpeaks thus, "This "was call'd the *Presbyterian* or *Proteſtant Plot*; "which moſt People look'd upon as the Contrivance of the *Jeſuits*, in order to baffle the *Popiſh* "*Plot*, and to Cruſh the Ringleaders of that Party, who for ſeveral Years had ſo warmly endeavour'd to prevent King *James*'s Acceſſion to the "Throne. Many of theſe Conſpirators had already been executed in King *Charles*'s Reign; "and the Court being now reſolv'd to proſecute "the reſt, the Eloquent Pen of Dr. *Sp—t* (not "long before made B——p of *R——ter)* was induſtriouſly ſet to work to varniſh over and palliate the Flaws of *Keeling*, and the other Witneſſes Depoſitions. Accordingly in the beginning of *June* he publiſh'd, *An Account of the* "*horrid Conſpiracy againſt the late King, his preſent Majeſty, and the Government*; adorn'd with "all thoſe Flouriſhes of Oratory, which are ſo far "from perſuading, that they rather give *Truth* an "Air of *Fiction*: but however, as Affairs were "then manag'd, a [b] *Romance* was as fit to ſerve the "Court as a True Hiſtory.

Presbyterian Plot.

1685. 1 *Jac.* II. Tryal of Mr. *Richard Baxter.* Upon the ſame Day with Mr. *Dangerfield*'s Tryal at *Weſtminſter*, in the Afternoon, at the *Niſi prius* held at the *Guild-Hall*, Mr. *Richard Baxter* the eminent Writer and Teacher was Convicted, upon an Information, *for Writing and Publiſhing ſcandalous and ſeditious Notes upon the New Teſtament*, (of which a larger Account ſhall be given in the *State of Religion* for this Year.)

On *June* 25. *William Diſney* Eſq; was try'd by a Special Commiſſion of *Oyer and Terminer* for the County of *Surrey*, before the Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and other his Majeſty's Juſtices, upon an Indictment of High-Treaſon, "For Printing "and Publiſhing a moſt Vile and Traiterous Paper againſt his Majeſty and his Government, Intitled, *The Declaration of* James *Duke of* Monmouth, *&c.*" Of which being found *Guilty*, he had Sentence paſs'd upon him, to be Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd on *Monday* next.

Tryal of Mr. *Corniſh.* On *Octob.* 19. *Henry Corniſh* Eſq; late Sheriff, now Alderman of *London*, was brought to his Tryal at the *Old-Bailey*, (having been a Week before committed Cloſe Priſoner to *Newgate*) and was indicted of High-Treaſon, *for conſpiring with other falſe Traitors to raiſe a Rebellion within this Kingdom, and the late King (of ever bleſſed Memory) to Death and final Deſtruction to bring, and the ancient Government of this Kingdom to alter and ſubvert.* The only Witneſs againſt him was Colonel *Rumſey*, a looſe and wicked Evidence; there was another indeed call'd, one *Goodenough*, but what he depoſed could not affect the Priſoner: However Mr. *Corniſh* was found *Guilty*, Condemn'd and Executed in *Cheapſide*, much lamented by his Fellow Citizens, as a Man unjuſtly ſacrific'd; for they look'd upon the true Reaſon of this Proceeding againſt him to be, That Mr. *Corniſh* when Sheriff of *London*, had been very active againſt the *Popiſh* Conſpirators, ſo that now his Blood muſt expiate his Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion.

Unjuſtly Condemned and Executed.

On the ſame Day were likewiſe tryed *William King*, "For harbouring and concealing *Joſeph* "*Kelloway* and *Henry Lawrence*, who were in the "late Rebellion in the *Weſt*: *John Fernely*, for "harbouring and concealing *James Burton*, a Perſon outlawed for High-Treaſon: And *Elizabeth* "*Gaunt*, for ſuccouring and aſſiſting the ſaid *Burton* with Money, and helping him to a Paſſage "beyond the Seas." And were all three found Guilty of *High-Treaſon*, and had Sentence of Death paſs'd upon them.

On *Octob.* 27. *Richard Nelthorp* and *John Ayloffe* were brought from *Newgate* to the *King's-Bench-Bar*, where being ask'd *what they had to ſay, why Execution ſhould not be awarded againſt them, they ſtanding attainted by Outlawry of High-Treaſon, for conſpiring the Death of the late King, of ever-bleſſed Memory?* &c. They not being able to ſay any thing that could avail them, the Court made a Rule, That they ſhould be executed on *Friday*; and accordingly they were then hang'd, Mr. *Nelthorp* before *Grays-Inn*, and Mr. *Ayloffe* before the *Temple-Gate*.

Execution of *Nelthorp* and *Ayloffe.*

Tryal of Lord *Brandon.* On *Thurſday Nov.* 26. the Lord *Brandon*, by the Name of *Charles Gerrard*, Eſq; was brought to his Trial at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, upon an Indictment of High-Treaſon, *For conſpiring to raiſe a Rebellion, and depoſe the late King*: Of which he

[a] He is ſaid not to have been a Papiſt, or to have been inſtructed to dye in the Profeſſion of being of the Church of *England*, as *by Law Eſtabliſh'd*; a Barriſter of *Grays-Inn*.

[b] A true Account and Declaration of the horrid Conſpiracy againſt the late King, his preſent Majeſty, and the Government, as it was order'd to be publiſh'd by his late Majeſty. In the *Savoy* by *Thomas Newcomb*, fol. With the King's Will and Pleaſure that no other Perſon preſume to print the ſame, with Letters Patents declaring that it was compos'd and ready for the Preſs, when it pleas'd Almighty God to take that excellent Prince [*Ch.* II.] to his Mercy. And whereas it is but too evident that the ſame Helliſh Plot is not entirely extinguiſh'd, but that divers of the wicked Actors in it are ſtill carrying on new Contrivances againſt the happy Peace of our Dominions: We cannot but judge it ſeaſonable in this Juncture of Times to have our Subjects re-minded of the Riſe, Progreſs, and miſchievous Deſigns of that deſperate Confederacy, *&c.* Given 21. *May* 1685.

was found *Guilty*; and being then remanded to the *Tower*, he was on *Nov.* 28. brought again to the *King's-Bench-Bar*, where Sentence of Death paſs'd upon him, as in Caſes of *High-Treaſon*; but he afterwards found means to procure his Pardon.

Tryal of Mr. *Bateman.*

On *Wedneſday Decemb.* 9. *Charles Bateman* was brought to his Tryal at the *Old-Bayley*, upon an Indictment of *High-Treaſon*; of which he was found *Guilty*, and received Sentence of Death, which was executed upon him at *Tyburn* on *December* 18.

Tryal of Mr. *Hambden.*

On *Decemb.* 30. *John Hambden* Eſq; was arraign'd at the *Old-Bailey*, upon an Indictment of High-Treaſon, *for conſpiring to raiſe a Rebellion againſt the late King*, &c. He expecting no Favour from the Court or Jury, pleaded *Guilty*, and caſt himſelf upon the King's Mercy. After which, he was immediately ſentenc'd to die, but did obtain a Pardon [a].

On *Febr.* 10. Mr. *Philibert Vernatti*, who, being attainted by Outlawry, for the Murther of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, had, in the beginning of this *Term*, brought a Writ of Error, and reverſed the ſaid Outlawry, was now tryed upon the Indictment, and acquitted of the ſame. And the ſame Day, the Reverend [b] Dr. *Edes* of *Chicheſter* was tryed, upon an Information of *High Miſdemeanor*, only for ſome Words which he had innocently and freely ſpoken; of which he was found *Guilty*, and thereupon committed to the *King's-Bench* Priſon.

Honours and Preferments.

As to *Honours* and *Preferments*: On *March* 27. *William* Duke of *Queenborough*, Lord Treaſurer (now his Majeſty's High-Commiſſioner,) and *James* Earl of *Perth*, Lord Chancellor of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, were ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council in *England*, and accordingly took their Places at the Board. On *Apr.* 1. *Richard Verney* Eſq; who preſented an *Addreſs* of the County of *Warwick*, receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood from his Majeſty. His Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute the Earl of *Peterborough* Groom of his Stole, and did on *Sunday Apr.* 19. give the golden Key to his Lordſhip, who on *Tueſday* following was ſworn into that Office. About the ſame time, his Majeſty apointed Sir *Tho. Dereham* (who preſented to his Majeſty an *Addreſs* from the Merchants of the *Engliſh* Factory at *Leghorn*) to be his Envoy to the great Duke of *Tuſcany*. On *Apr.* 30. His Majeſty was pleas'd, in his Bed-Chamber, to conferr the Honour of Knighthood upon *Roger L'Eſtrange* Eſq; *in Conſideration of his eminent and unſhaken Loyalty to the Crown in all Extremities, and as a Mark of the ſingular Satisfaction his Majeſty has in his preſent as well as paſt Services, with repeated Declarations of his Royal Grace and Bounty towards him.* On *May* 6. the Duke of *Norfolk* was elected Knight-Companion of the moſt noble Order of the *Garter*, and was inveſted with the Enſigns of that Honour, having been firſt Knighted by the Sovereign. On *May* 15. His Majeſty being deſirous to beſtow a Mark of his Royal Favour upon *Henry Jermyn* of *Cheveley* in the County of *Cambridge*, Eſq; for the conſtant Loyalty of himſelf and his Family, was pleas'd to grant him the Title and Dignity of Baron of *Dover* in the County of *Kent*. His Majeſty was likewiſe pleas'd, in Conſideration of the faithful Services of the Right Honourable *John* Lord *Churchill* of *Eymouth* in *Scotland*, Gentleman of his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber, to grant him the Title and Dignity of a Baron of this Kingdom, by the Name and Style of Baron *Churchill* of *Sandridge* in the County of *Hertford*. And his Majeſty graciouſly conſidering the great Services which the Right Honourable Sir *George Jeffreys* Kt. and Bar. Lord Chief-Juſtice of *England*, had rendred the Crown, and his firm and unſhaken Duty and Fidelity to the late King and his Majeſty, in the time of the greateſt Difficulty, was pleas'd to conferr upon him the Title and Dignity of a Baron, by the Name and Style of Baron *Jeffreys* of *Wem* in the County of *Salop*.

At the beginning of *June*, the Lord *Landſdown* was ſent his Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of *Spain*. On *June* 18. the Earl of *Peterborough* was elected Knight-Companion of the moſt noble Order of the *Garter*, in a Chapter held at *Whitehall*. And on *June* 29. the Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, being Knighted by the Sovereign, was inveſted with the *George* and *Garter*.

In the beginning of *July*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to conferr the Honour of Knighthood upon *John Cotton* of *Botreaux-Caſtle* in the County of *Cornwall*, Eſq; for the conſtant and unſhaken Loyalty of himſelf and Family. And on *Jul.* 20. His Majeſty conferr'd the ſame Honour of Knighthood upon *Henry Shere* Eſq; as a Mark of the great Satisfaction his Majeſty had in his remarkable Behaviour and Services againſt the Rebels, having had the Poſt of Comptroller-General and Commander in Chief of the Artillery. On *July* 24. the Earl of *Mulgrave* was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and took his Place at the Board. And on the laſt of this Month the Earl of *Feverſham*, Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's Forces, was elected Knight-Companion of the moſt noble Order of the *Garter*, and Knighted by the Sovereign. And on the ſame Day, *George* Earl of *Berkeley* was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council. [c] On *Tueſday July* 28. in the Morning, died the Right Honourable *Henry* Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, at *Arlington-Houſe*, in the 67th Year of his Age: Upon which his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute the Earl of *Ailesbury* Lord Chamberlain, and gave the White-Staff to his Lordſhip on *Jul.* 30.

Aug. 29. His Majeſty being well ſatisfy'd with the good and faithful Services of Sir *Richard Bulſtrode*, late his Reſident at *Bruſſels*, was pleas'd, as a particular Mark of his Favour, to ſend him back with the Character of his Envoy to that Court. The Right Honourable *Francis* Lord *Guilford*, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal of *England*, died on *Saturday* Night, *Sept.* 5. in his Houſe at *Rox-* Death of the Lord-Keeper.

[a] Many honeſt People objected it as an Infirmity of Mr. *Hambden* to plead Guilty, or as a neceſſity to bargain for his Life, which he knew would be otherwiſe taken from him. The Tryal is lately publiſh'd.

[b] Several others of the better ſort of the Clergy who had been guilty of any kind of Moderation, were forc'd to write Apologies for their Behaviour and Writings — See 1. An Epiſtle of Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet* to the Right Reverend *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*, in Vindication of himſelf and his Writings from the Aſperſions lately caſt upon them by the Vicar of *Coſmus-Blene*, dated 1 *June*, 1685.— 2. A Letter to the Lord Biſhop of *London*, prefix'd to a Sermon preached by *John Williams*, D. D. publiſh'd in Vindication of that and the Author, from an induſtrious Report, that on the Day of Thankſgiving he only entertained his Auditors with a general Diſcourſe that was not to the Purpoſe of the Day, and Occaſion of it. *London*, 1685. 4*to*.— 3. A Vindication of the Preaching of Dr. *Edward Fowler*, Vicar of St. *Giles's Cripplegate*, &c. 1685. Prefix'd to his Sermon preached *Novemb.* 15. 1685. 4*to*.—— 4. The Defence of Mr. *Smithies* Curate of *Cripplegate*, from the Reflections caſt on him by Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, and by *William Newberry*, and *William Edmunds*, Fol.

[c] *July* 17th 1685. about One after Noon the Earl of *Radnor* departed this Life.

1685. 1 *Jac.* II.

ton in *Oxfordſhire:* Upon which his Majeſty taking into his Royal Conſideration the many eminent and faithful Services which the Right Honourable *George* Lord *Jeffreys* of *Wem*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of *England*, had rendred the Crown, as well in the Reign of the late King, as ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, was pleas'd, on *Monday Sept.* 28. to commit to him the Cuſtody of the Great-Seal of *England*, with the Title of Lord Chancellor. And, upon his Advancement, his Majeſty was pleas'd to make Choice of Sir *Edward Herbert*, Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*, to be Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, who was ſworn a Privy-Counſellor on *Oct.* 16. And of Sir *Edward Luitwich*, one of his Majeſty's Serjeants at Law, to ſucceed him in the Place of Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*. His Majeſty was likewiſe pleas'd to remove Sir *Robert Wright*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, to the Court of *King's-Bench*, in the Place of Sir *Thomas Walcot*, deceas'd; and to name Sir *Edward Nevill* one of his Majeſty's Serjeant's at Law, to be Baron of the *Exchequer*. And *Roger North* and *Oliver Mountague*, Eſqrs; both of his Majeſty's Counſel at Law, were made, the firſt Attorney, and the other Solicitor-General to the Queen.

Other Honours and Preferments.

On *Oct.* 23. his Majeſty was pleas'd to give the White-Staff to the Earl of *Mulgrave*, whom his Majeſty had made Lord Chamberlain of his Houſhold, upon the Death of the Earl of *Ailesbury*, who died on *Tueſday* laſt in his Houſe at *Ampthill* in *Bedfordſhire*. Two Days before, the Lord Viſcount *Preſton* was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council: And ſome few Days after, the Earl of *Plymouth* was ſworn, and took his Place at the ſame Honourable Board. About the ſame time, his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Paul Rycaut*, Eſq; formerly his Majeſty's Conſul at *Smyrna*, and now Chief-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

On *Decemb.* 4. His Majeſty was pleas'd in Council to declare the Earl of *Sunderland* (his Principal Secretary of State) to be Lord Preſident of his Council, and his Lordſhip took his Place at the Board accordingly. About the ſame time, his Majeſty appointed the Earl of *Clarendon* to be Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who began his Journey toward *Cheſter* on *Dec.* 16. And his Majeſty appointed the Lord Viſcount *Tiviot*, Colonel *Robert Philips*, and *John Evelyn* of *Deptford*, Eſq; to execute the Office of Lord Privy-Seal, during the abſence of his Excellency the Earl of *Clarendon*. On *Dec.* 20. his Majeſty, of his Royal Grace and Favour, was pleas'd to conſtitute *Theophilus* Earl of *Huntingdon* Lord Chief-Juſtice and Juſtice in *Eyre* of all his Foreſts, Chaſes, Parks and Warrens on the South-ſide of *Trent*, which Office became vacant by the ſurrendry of the Earl of *Cheſterfield*.

On *Tueſday Febr.* 2. His Majeſty being in his Bed-Chamber, was graciouſly pleas'd, as a Mark of his Royal Favour, to conferr the Honour of Knighthood upon Dr. *Edmund King*, Phyſician in Ordinary to the late King. On *Febr.* 13. the King was pleas'd to conſtitute Sir *Thomas Jenner* (one of his Majeſty's Serjeants at Law, and late Recorder of *London*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, in the Place of Sir *William Gregory:* And Sir *Henry Bedingfield* (his Majeſty's Serjeant at Law) one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, in the Place of Sir *Creſwel Levinz:* And that eminent Pleader *John Holt* of *Grays-Inn*, Eſq; (upon whom his Majeſty had been pleas'd to conferr the Honour of Knighthood) was made Recorder of *London*. On *Febr.* 23. His Majeſty Knighted *John Bucknall* of *Oxlie* in *Hertfordſhire*, Eſq;. And on *Saturday March* 20. His Majeſty was pleas'd to conferr the ſame Honour on Major *Martin Beckman* (his Majeſty's chief Engineer) in Conſideration of his long and good Services. And on the laſt Day of this Year, *March* 24th, was perform'd, at the College of *Arms*, the Ceremony of the Creation of Sir *Thomas St. George*, Kt. *Garter* Principal King of Arms, Sir *John Dugdale*, Kt. *Norroy* King of Arms, *Henry Ball*, Eſq; *Windſor* Herald, and *Charles Mawſon*, Gent. *Rougecroix* Purſivant, after the accuſtomed manner, purſuant to his Majeſty's Warrant to the Earl-Marſhal for that purpoſe.

State of Religion.

Though it was a great Surprize to the People of *England* to ſee the King ſo ſuddenly and ſo openly declare himſelf a *Roman Catholick*, when he had never before publickly profeſs'd that Faith, but had proſecuted thoſe who had call'd him a *Papiſt*, and had obtained exorbitant Fines, for giving him a Name in which he could now Glory: Yet, after all, the King might have enjoy'd his own Religion, if he could have confin'd that Liberty to himſelf and his own Court, without obtruding it upon the reſt of the Nation. Whether it was his own Zeal, or the Importunity of others, that carry'd him to the Arbitrary Meaſures of promoting *Popery*, is not ſo eaſy to determine; becauſe there ſeems to be a Complexion of both; a natural Bigottry in himſelf, and a perpetual Sollicitation of the Queen and the Jeſuits. It is well atteſted, that his Royal Brother had often, and particularly a little before his Death, advis'd him, *Not to think of introducing* Popery *into* England, *it being a thing that was both dangerous and impracticable*. And a very eminent Politician, Don *Pedro Ronquillo* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, at his firſt Audience after the Death of King *Charles*, is ſaid to have ask'd Leave to ſpeak his Thoughts freely to his Majeſty, and then made bold to tell him, *That he ſaw ſeveral Prieſts about him, who he knew would importune him to alter the eſtabliſh'd Religion in* England; *but he greatly fear'd, that if any ſuch Attempt were made, his Majeſty wou'd have reaſon to repent it*. 'Tis reported, that King *James* took this Liberty of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador very ill, and ask'd him in a Paſſion. *Whether in* Spain *the Kings did not adviſe with their Confeſſors? Yes, Sir*, (reply'd the Ambaſſador) *they do, and that's the reaſon our Affairs are ſo badly managed*. Nay, Pope *Innocent* XI. wrote a *Letter* to King *James*, upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, to this effect, *That he was highly pleas'd with his Majeſty's Zeal for the* Catholick Religion, *but he was afraid his Majeſty might puſh it too far; and then, inſtead of contributing to his own Greatneſs, and the Advancement of the Catholick Church, he might come to do the greateſt Prejudice to the Cauſe, and himſelf, by attempting that, which his Holineſs was well aſſur'd, by long Experience, could have no Succeſs*. Theſe things, together with the Dangers ariſing from *Monmouth* and *Argyle*, prevail'd a while with King *James* to contain his immoderate Zeal for the *Romiſh* Religion; and yet there was an early Meaning betray'd of drawing-in the *Church-men* to ſacrifice their *diſſenting* Brethren, and ſo to unite and advance the Strength of *Popery*. [a] It was un-

Surprize, to ſee the King a profeſs'd *Papiſt*.

More eſpecially to ſee him fond of Introducing *Popery*.

Contrary to the Advice of his beſt Friends.

The King contain'd himſelf for ſome time.

[a] Some of the Church Divines were ſo warm on this Occaſion, that they gave great Offence to their ſober Brethren, and help'd only to betray the Court into greater Confidence, and more arbitrary Popiſh Meaſures. They publiſh'd. 1. A Sermon preach'd upon the firſt *Sunday* after the Proclamation of the High and Mighty Prince *JAMES* II. &c. which was made at *Leiceſter February* 10. 1684. by *Benjamin Camfield*, Rector of *Aileſton* near *Leiceſter*. Text 2 *Chron.* xiii. 5.——. Diſcourſing, I. Of the abſolute Supremacy of the King II. The divine Right of that Supremacy. III. The right Claim of Hereditary Succeſſion; and IV. The Unalterableneſs of that Claim. *London*, printed for *Ch. Brome*, 1685. 4*to*.

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Votes of the Commons, for Religion.

der this Management, that on *May* 27. the Committee for *Religion*, in the Houſe of Commons, had drawn up two *Votes*: 1. "That it is the "Opinion of the Committee, That this Houſe "will ſtand by his Majeſty, with their Lives and "Fortunes, according to their bounden Duty "and Allegiance, in Defence of the reformed Re- "ligion of the Church of *England*, as it is now "by Law eſtabliſh'd. 2. That an humble *Ad-* "*dreſs* be preſented to his Majeſty, to deſire him "to Iſſue forth his Royal *Proclamation*, to cauſe "the *Penal Laws* to be put in Execution againſt "all *Diſſenters* from the Church of *England* what- "ſoever." Had the Houſe fell in with this latter *Vote*, the King would have preferr'd the Perſecution of *Diſſenters* before his following Indulgence of them: But the previous Queſtion being, Whether the Queſtion ſhould be then put, for the Houſe to agree with the Committee? It was carry'd in the Negative; and the Houſe, with greater Wiſdom, *Reſolved*, *Nemine Contradicente*, "That this Houſe doth Acquieſce and intirely "rely and reſt wholly ſatisfy'd on his Majeſty's "gracious Word, and repeated Declaration to "ſupport and defend the Religion of the Church "of *England*, as it is now by Law eſtabliſh'd, "which is dearer to us than our Lives.

Attempts toward Popery.

The King made another early Attempt in favour of *Popery*, in the Houſe of Lords, where, within three Days after the King's *Speech*, a *Bill* was brought in, *For reverſing the Attainder of the Lord Viſcount* Stafford. The Lords, in a Grand Committee, made ſome alteration in the Title, a conſiderable amendment in the Preamble, and a ſmall amendment in the enacting Clauſe, and then the Bill was Ingroſs'd: And the Reaſon of the Reverſal was in theſe Words; **Whereas it is now manifeſt, That the ſaid** William **late Viſcount** Stafford **was Innocent of the Treaſon laid to his Charge, and the Teſtimony whereupon he was found Guilty was Falſe; Be it Enacted**, &c. It is remarkable, That before the Queſtion was put, for Ingroſſing the Bill, the Earls of *Angleſey* and *Radnor*, and ſome other Lords, deſired Leave to enter their Diſſents: (1.) "Becauſe "the Aſſertion in the *Bill*, of *its being now ma-* "*nifeſt, that the Lord Viſcount* Stafford *died Inno-* "*cent, and that the Teſtimony by which he was con-* "*victed was Falſe*, which were the ſole Grounds "and Reaſons given to ſupport the Bill, were "deſtitute of all Proof, Warrant, or Teſtimony "of Witneſs, or Matter of Record before them. "(2.) That the Record of the *King's-Bench*, read "at the Committee, concerning the Conviction, "laſt *Term*; of one of the Witneſſes for Perjury, "in collateral Points of the Proof of no affinity "to the Lord *Stafford*'s Tryal, and given ſeveral "Years before, could be no Ground to Invalidate "the Teſtimony upon which the ſaid Viſcount "was convicted; which could never legally be by "one Witneſs, and was in Fact by the Judgment "of his Peers, on the Evidence of at leaſt three. "(3.) Becauſe the ſaid Judgment in the *King's-* "*Bench*, and the whole Proceeding, was unprecedented, Illegal and unwarranted, highly De- "rogatory to the Honour, Judicature and Autho- "rity of this Court, who have Power to queſti- "on and puniſh Perjuries of Witneſſes before "them, and ought not to be impos'd upon by the "Judgment of inferior Courts, or this Attainder "of a Peer invalidiated by Implication: And the "*Popiſh Plot*, ſo confirm'd and puniſh'd by his "late Majeſty and four Parliaments, after publick "ſolemn Devotion through the whole Kingdom, "by the Authority of the Church and State, to "be eluded, to the Arraignment and Scandal of "the Government; and only for the reſtoring "the Family of one *Popiſh* Lord, and all this be-

Reverſing the Attainder of the Ld Stafford.

2. A Sermon preached at St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter*, *May* 29, 1685. before the Honourable Houſe of Commons, by *William Sherlock*. D. D. Maſter of the *Temple*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty. Text *Eccleſ.* x. 17. *Bleſſed art thou, O Land, when thy King is the Son of Nobles*—treating, I. Of the divine Right of kingly Government. II. Of the noble Deſcent and Extraction of our King. III. The Advantages and Right of an Hereditary Monarchy.—— in his Concluſion thus.——Next to having our King of the Communion of the Church of *England*, we can deſire no more than to have a King who will defend it.——Far be it from me and from all loyal Subjects to diſtruſt theſe ſolemn and repeated Aſſurances which our King hath given us of this Matter.—— A Prince whoſe Mind is as great and noble as his Birth, who hates all mean Arts and equivocal Reſerves; and ſcorns either to diſſemble what he believes himſelf, or to ſpeak what he does not think.— III. A Sermon preach'd in the Cathedral Church of *Briſtol*, *June* 21. 1685. by *Richard Thompſon*, D. D. Dean of *Briſtol*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his late Majeſty. Preached before and dedicated to the Duke of *Beaufort*, applauding his Grace's Loyalty for aſſerting his Majeſty's Intereſts; in defiance of the Excluding Bill and all the traiterous Votes and Deſigns of the aſſociated Commoners who promoted it.— Text *Titus* iii. 1. treating the Duty of Subjection, I. In active Obedience. II. In ſuffering patiently under Oppreſſion.—This Obedience not to be limited, neither 1. by a Caſe of Scandal; nor 2. by a ſcrupulous Conſcience; nor 3. by any antecedent or ſubſequent Vow.—— A Defence of his Majeſty's undoubted Right of Blood.——And yet if he had not been born a King worthy to be choſen. For if ever we had a Prince who came to the Throne in the full Ripeneſs and Maturity as well of Royal Virtues as Years, it is our preſent moſt gracious Sovereign King *JAMES*, a Prince whoſe Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Mercy (if Men will be but ſo merciful to themſelves as to do any thing that may deſerve it) a Prince, whoſe Munificence and Magnanimity, whoſe Sobriety and Temperance, whoſe Courage to dare bravely in the greateſt Dangers, equal to his Fortitude in bearing the worſt of Evils from the Hands of a ſort of Men, Devils amongſt us. A Prince whoſe firm Fidelity to his Friends, and whoſe Zeal for the Honour of the *Engliſh* Name and Nation are ſo notoriouſly known both at home and abroad, that even baſe Envy and Detraction have but rendred them the more acknowledged and induſtriouſly conſpicuous. But there is one Qualification which will gild and adorn his Crown, and add a Luſtre to his great Name in Chronicle, and that is his VERACITY; and King *JAMES* II. ſhall be known in the Ages to come by this appellative of KING *JAMES* THE JUST, the PRINCE OF HIS WORD, *&c.* the Application was for the People to make it their only Conteſt within the three Kingdoms, who ſhould be the forwardeſt in Duty to vow their Lives and Eſtates a Sacrifice in Defence of his IMPERIAL HIGHNESS and the PREROGATIVE.—— 4. A Sermon preach'd at *Weſtminſter* Abbey on the 26th Day of *July* 1685. being the Thankſgiving-day, *&c.* by *Edward Pelling*, Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of *Somerſet*. Text. *Pſ.* cxxiv. 6.— It hath been generally believed that a Prince who is in the Communion of another Church, muſt needs endeavour the Alteration of the eſtabliſh'd Religion, if it be different from his own. Men are ready to think it muſt neceſſarily be thus, and that it cannot poſſibly be otherwiſe. But this is a very great Miſtake, and to prove that it is ſo, I appeal, *&c.* —Our Prince has given us ſo many ſolemn Aſſurances— He never yet deceived any part of Mankind, and I am perſuaded never will.— 5. A Sermon preached in his Majeſty's Chapel-Royal upon the 26th Day of *July* 1685. by *Henry Heſketh*, Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty. Printed by Command, *London* 1685. 4to.— In the Application, conſider of what a Church ye call your ſelves Sons. A Church that inſtructs you truly in your Duty to God and *Cæſar* too, and never knew how to diſpenſe with one under the Pretence of the other. A Church that teacheth Subjection and Loyalty WITHOUT ANY RESERVE, *&c.* 6. A Sermon preached on the Anniverſary Solemnity of the happy Inauguration of our dread Sovereign Lord King *James* II. in the Collegiate Church of *Rippon*, *Febr.* 6. 1685. by *Thomas Cartwright*, D. D. Dean of *Rippon*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty. *London*, 4to. 1685. [The whole Deſign of it is to make the Prince Irreſiſtible, and the Exerciſe of his Power unqueſtionable] who queſtioned *Saul* for ſlaying the Prieſts, and revolting to Idolatry? Who queſtioned *Joram* a Parricide, and Murderer of his Nobles? Or *Joaſh* for his Idolatry and ſlaying the High-Prieſt?——The King may make uſe of his PREROGATIVE, as God does of his OMNIPOTENCE upon ſome extraordinary Occaſion, *&c.* [Theſe Doctrines would have undone the People if they had believ'd them; but they only undid the King becauſe in a few Years he alone believed them.]

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“ ing without any Matter judicially appearing be-“ fore their Lordſhips to introduce the ſame; and “ the Records of that Tryal not ſuffered to be read, “ for the Information of the Truth, before the “ paſſing of that Bill. (*Laſtly*,) For many other “ weighty Reaſons offer'd and given by divers “ Peers, in the the two Days Debates of this Bill “ both in the Committees and in the Houſe.

The next Day the Bill was read the third time, and paſs'd; but the foremention'd Lords repeated their Proteſtations againſt it, and were ſeconded by the Earls of *Stamford* and *Clare*, and the Lord *Evre*, “ Becauſe the Preamble of it was not amen-“ ded, and no defect in Point of Law alledged as a “ Reaſon for the reverſal of the Attainder.” A late Author ſays, That *the Court fearing a ſtronger oppoſition to the Bill in the Lower Houſe, did not think fit it ſhould be ſent thither:* But it was certainly ſent down, and on *Friday*, *June* 5. was read a firſt time, and order'd a ſecond reading; and was accordingly the next Day read a ſecond time, and committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, where it dropt, and was heard of no more: To the immortal Honour of the Commons, who, tho' very forward to aſſiſt the King in all his Civil Intereſts, yet would by no means comply with the two firſt Projects of the Court; which were, the Perſecution of the *Diſſenters*, and extinguiſhing the belief of the *Popiſh Plot*.

The King begins to favour Popery with leſs reſerve.

Before the next meeting of the Parliament, the King was elevated with his late Victories, and preſum'd he could now bring the Commons more to his own Will and Pleaſure, and therefore he began to caſt off the Maſk, and to act without diſguiſe, what, till then, he had in ſome meaſure endeavour'd to diſſemble: And therefore, in his *Speech*, he told the Lords and Commons, “ That “ he would diſpenſe with the *Teſt Act*, which “ was the greateſt legal Barrier againſt *Popery*; “ That he would keep up a Standing Army, to “ be commanded by Popiſh Officers, whom he ex-“ preſſly recommended, in *approving the Loyalty of* “ *their Principles by their Practices*.

But the Commons were ſenſible, that theſe Methods were the Counſels of Popery, and were deſign'd to weaken, and, by degrees, alter the eſtabliſh'd Religion; and therefore the majority would by no means comply, and boldly argu'd, “ That to “ employ Officers not taking the *Teſt*, was, in ef-“ fect, a diſpenſing with all the Laws at once; “ That if thoſe Men were Loyal or Good, it muſt “ proceed from their Generoſity more than their “ *Principles*; That they ought to remember, It “ was Treaſon for any Man to be reconciled to the “ Church of *Rome*; and that the Pope, by Law, “ was declared an Enemy to this Kingdom, *&c.*

Courage of the Commons.

Biſhops moſt obſequious to the King.

The Prelates that were moſt in favour with the King, becauſe he thought them moſt obſequious to his Will, were the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Ely*, and *Rocheſter*; and yet hardly one of them would go in to all the following Meaſures of the Court: However, encourag'd and diſtinguiſh'd by the Favours of his Majeſty, on *December* 29. the Lord Biſhop of *Durham* was ſworn Dean of his Majeſty's Chapel-Royal, and within few Days after was admitted into the Privy-Council; and at the ſame time, the Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was ſworn Clerk of the [a] Cloſet to his Majeſty.

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Caſe of the Diſſenters.

The *Diſſenters* thus repreſent their own Caſe; “ That the rigorous Uſage of the *Diſſenters* in the “ foregoing Reign, was owing to Popiſh Counſels “ they themſelves never doubted. —— They little “ expected better Treatment in this Reign, when “ barefac'd Popery lifted up its Head among us. “ But (ſay they) Wiſe is that Providence which “ Governs the World, which ſerves its own Ends, “ even by thoſe very Things whereby poor Mor-“ tals are moſt diſappointed. It is indeed enough “ to amaze any one, to obſerve the Meaſures of “ this Reign, with their Conſequences, whereby “ all Mankind were diſappointed. The *Church* “ Party not only expected to have the *Diſſenters* “ wholly under their Feet, but depended ſo much “ upon their Merits in their adherence to the “ Duke in his diſtreſs, and his poſitive Aſſuran-“ ces, that they were very ſecure, and thought “ the Day their own: But, on a ſudden, found “ their All in ſuch Danger, that without new “ Methods, their Religion and Liberty was “ gone. The *Diſſenters* expected not only grea-“ ter Rigours and Severities than before; but con-“ cluded they ſhould, if it were poſſible, be ex-“ tirpated: Whenas, to their aſtoniſhment, they “ found themſelves eas'd of their foregoing Hard-“ ſhips, and courted and careſs'd by thoſe who “ they knew would rejoice in their Ruin, and had “ left no Method unattempted in order to it. The “ *Papiſts* thought, by raiſing thoſe who had been “ ſo long depreſs'd, to have inflam'd them with “ Revenge againſt their Brethren; to have wi-“ den'd the Animoſities among *Proteſtants*, that “ they might All be thereby rendred the more ſure “ and ſpeedy Sacrifice to their Malice and Cruel-“ ty: And hereby they did but drive the conten-“ ding Parties the nearer to each other, and make “ them at laſt the more vigorous in their united “ Effort, to avert that common Ruin which hung “ over their Heads. So that all Parties were ſur-“ priz'd, and found themſelves miſtaken; but an “ infinitely wiſe GOD over-rul'd All for good.

Some diſingenuity in the Diſſenters.

There is ſome diſingenuity in this way of the *Diſſenters* repreſenting their own Caſe; for they ought to have acknowledged, that the firſt Deſign of Popery was to have ſet the Church upon a vigorous Suppreſſion of all *Conventicles*, and a fierce execution of all the *Penal Laws*. And had the Members of the Church of *England* in the Houſe of Commons fell in with this Advice of the Court, confirm'd by a *Report* from the Committee of *Religion*, the *Diſſenters* had not only been grievouſly oppreſs'd, but intirely deſtroy'd; when the Rebellion of *Monmouth* had generally made them more odious, and the King's Victory had made them more obnoxious to the Court. And even the *Diſſenters*, in the ſame Hiſtory, confeſs the diſpleaſure of the Court againſt them, and a diſpoſition to perſecute them, in this Account of the Proceedings againſt their great Leader, Mr. *Baxter*, (as follows:)

[a] The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was pleas'd afterward to give an Account of the Service he was do do upon this Turn. He had lately been employ'd by Command of K. *Charles* II. to draw up a *Hiſtory of the Conſpiracy*, &c. or what they call'd the *Fanatical Plot*. And this Work (ſays his Lordſhip) ſtood in Preparation for the Preſs when the deplorable Death of that King happen'd. And ſhortly after, King *James* II. calling for the Papers, and having read them, and alter'd divers Paſſages, caus'd them to be printed by his own Authority, as is to be ſeen before the Book. I ſhall aſſure you of my having refus'd to write *A Continuation of the ſame Hiſtory*. For, my Lord, it was ſome time after the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Overthrow and Execution that King *James* II. required one to undertake ſuch another Task, and preſently to ſet about a *Second Part*. To that Purpoſe his Majeſty gave me a Sight of Multitudes of original Papers, together with the Confeſſions of ſeveral Perſons then taken in *England* and *Scotland*. But finding the Innocence of divers Perſons of Worth and Honour touch'd in thoſe Papers, and by that time beginning vehemently to ſuſpect things were running apace towards the endangering our Laws and Religion, I muſt ſay I never could be induc'd by all his Majeſty's reiterated Commands to go on in that Work.

“ In

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1 *Jac.* II.

Proceedings againſt Mr. *Baxter.*

“In the Reign of King *James* II. the ſame Methods were continu'd as had been uſed in his Brother's time. On *February* 28. Mr. *Baxter* was committed to the *King's-Bench* Priſon, by my Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys*'s Warrant, for his *Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament*, printed a little before; which was call'd a ſcandalous and ſeditious Book againſt the Government. On the ſixth of *May*, which was the firſt Day of the *Term*, he appear'd in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and an Information was order'd to be drawn up againſt him. *May* 14. he pleaded *Not Guilty* to the Information. *May* 18. he being much indiſpos'd, mov'd, That he might have farther time given him for his Tryal; but it was deny'd him. He mov'd for it by his Councel: But *Jeffreys* cry'd out in a Paſſion, *I will not give him a Minute's time more to ſave his Life. We have had* (ſays he) *to do with other ſort of Perſons, but now we have a* Saint *to deal with; and I know how to deal with Saints as well as Sinners. Yonder* (ſays he) *ſtands* Oates *in the Pillory,* (as he actually did at that very time in the *new Palace-Yard) and he ſays he ſuffers for the Truth; and ſo ſays* Baxter: *But if* Baxter *did but ſtand on the other ſide of the Pillory with him, I would ſay, two of the greateſt Rogues and Raſcals in the Kingdom ſtood there.* On *May* 30. in the Afternoon he was brought to his Tryal, before the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jeffreys* at *Guildhall.* Sir *Henry Aſhhurſt*, who could not forſake his own and his Father's Friend, ſtood by him all the while. Mr. *Baxter* came firſt into Court, and with all the Marks of ſerenity and compoſure, waited for the coming of the Lord Chief-Juſtice, who appear'd quickly after with great Indignation in his Face. He no ſooner ſate down than a ſhort Cauſe was call'd, and try'd: After which the Clerk began to read the Title of another Cauſe. *You Blockhead you* (ſays *Jeffreys*) *the next Cauſe is between* Richard Baxter *and the* King. Upon which Mr. *Baxter*'s Cauſe was call'd. The Paſſages mention'd in the Information, were his *Paraphraſe* on *Matth.* v. 19. *Mark* iii. 6. *Mark* ix. 39. *Mark* xi. 31. *Mark* 12. 38, 39, 40. *Luke* x. 2. *John* xi. 57. and *Acts* xv. 2. Theſe Paſſages were pick'd out by Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, and ſome of his Companions: And a certain noted Clergyman (who ſhall be nameleſs) put into the Hands of his Enemies ſome Accuſations out of *Rom.* xiii, *&c.* as againſt the King, to touch his Life, but no uſe was made of them. The great Charge was, That in theſe ſeveral Paſſages, he reflected on the Prelates of the Church of *England*, and ſo was guilty of Sedition, *&c.* The King's Councel open'd the Information at large, with its Aggravations. Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Rotheram*, Mr. *Attwood* and Mr. *Phipps* were Mr. *Baxter*'s Councel, and had been Fee'd by Sir *Henry Aſhhurſt*. Mr. *Wallop* ſaid, That he conceiv'd, the the Matter depending being a Point of Doctrine, it ought to be referr'd to the Biſhop his Ordinary: But if not, he humbly conceiv'd the Doctrine was innocent and juſtifiable, ſetting aſide the *Innuendo*'s, for which there was no Colour, there being no Antecedent to refer them to, (*i. e.* no Biſhop or Clergy of the Church of *England* nam'd.) He ſaid, The *Book* accuſed, *i. e.* The *Comment on the New Teſtament*, contain'd many eternal Truths; but they who drew the Information were the Libellers, in applying to the Prelates of the Church of *England*, thoſe ſevere things which were written concerning ſome Prelates who deſerv'd the Character which he gave. My Lord (*ſays he*) I humbly conceive, the Biſhops Mr. *Baxter* ſpeaks of, as your Lordſhip, if you have read Church-Hiſtory, muſt confeſs, were the Plagues of the Church, of the World.——Mr. *Wallop*, (*ſays the Lord Chief-Juſtice*) I obſerve, you are in all theſe dirty Cauſes; and were it not for you Gentlemen of the Long Robe, who ſhould have more Wit and Honeſty, than to ſupport and hold up theſe Factious Knaves by the Chin, we ſhould not be at the Paſs we are.——My Lord, (*ſays Mr.* Wallop) I humbly conceive, that the Paſſages accus'd, are natural deductions from the Text.——*You humbly conceive!* (ſays *Jeffreys*) *and I humbly conceive: Swear him, Swear him.*——My Lord, (*ſays he*) under Favour, I am Councel for the Defendant; and if I underſtand either *Latin* or *Engliſh*, the Information now brought againſt Mr. *Baxter* upon ſo ſlight a Ground, is a greater Reflection upon the Church of *England*, than any thing contain'd in the Book he's accus'd for.——Says *Jeffreys* to him, *Sometimes you humbly conceive! and ſometimes you are very poſitive! You talk of your Skill in* Church-Hiſtory, *and of your Underſtanding* Latin *and* Engliſh: *I think I underſtand ſomething of them as well as you; but, in ſhort, muſt tell you, That if you don't underſtand your Duty better, I ſhall teach it you.*——Upon which Mr. *Wallop* ſate down.

“Mr. *Rotheram* urg'd, That if Mr. *Baxter*'s Book had ſharp Reflections upon the Church of *Rome* by Name, but ſpake well of the Prelates of the Church of *England*, it was to be preſum'd that the ſharp Reflections were intended only againſt the Prelates of the Church of *Rome*.——The Lord Chief-Juſtice ſaid, Baxter *was an Enemy to the Name and Thing, the Office and Perſons of Biſhops.*——*Rotheram* added, That Mr. *Baxter* frequently attended divine Service, went to the Sacrament, and perſuaded others to do ſo too, as was certainly and publickly known; and had, in the very Book ſo charg'd, ſpoken very moderately and honourably of the Biſhops of the Church of *England*.——Mr. *Baxter* added, My Lord, I have been ſo moderate with reſpect to the Church of *England*, that I have incurr'd the Cenſure of many of the *Diſſenters* upon that account.——Baxter *for Biſhops!* (ſays *Jeffreys*) *That's a merry Conceit indeed! Turn to it, turn to it.*——Upon this *Rotheram* turn'd to a Place where 'tis ſaid, *That great Reſpect is due to thoſe truly call'd to be Biſhops among us*; or to that Purpoſe.——*Ay*, (ſaith *Jeffreys*) *this is your* Presbyterian Cant, *Truly call'd to be Biſhops*; that is, *himſelf and ſuch Raſcals, call'd to be Biſhops of* Kidderminſter, *and other ſuch Places; Biſhops ſet apart by ſuch factious, ſnivelling* Presbyterians *as himſelf; a* Kidderminſter *Biſhop he means: According to the Saying of a late learned Author,* [*And every Pariſh ſhall maintain a Tythe-Pig Metropolitan.*]——Mr. *Baxter* beginning to ſpeak again; ſays *Jeffreys* to him, *Richard, Richard, Do'ſt thou think we'll hear thee Poiſon the Court?* &c. Richard, *thou'rt an old Fellow, an old Knave; thou'ſt written Books enough to load a Cart, every one as full of Sedition (I might ſay* Treaſon) *as an Egg is full of Meat: Hadſt thou been whipt out of thy writing Trade forty Years ago it had been happy. Thou pretendeſt to be a preacher of the Goſpel of Peace, and thou haſt one foot in the Grave; 'tis time for thee to begin to think what Account thou intendeſt to give. But leave thee to thy ſelf, and I ſee thou'lt go on as thou haſt begun; but, by the Grace of God, I'll look after thee. I know thou haſt a mighty Party, and I ſee a great many of the Brotherhood in corners, waiting to ſee what will become of their mighty Don; and a Doctor of the Party* (looking

1685. 1 *Jac.* II. " to Dr. *Bates) at your Elbow*; *but, by the Grace* " *of Almighty God, I'll cruſh you all.*

". Mr. *Rotheram* ſitting down, Mr. *Attwood* " began to ſhew, That not one of the Paſſages " mention'd in the Information, ought to be " ſtrain'd to that Senſe which was put upon them " by the *Innuendo's*; they being more natural, " when taken in a milder Senſe: Nor could any " one of them be apply'd to the Prelates of the " Church of *England*, without a very forc'd Con- " ſtruction: To Evidence this, he would have " read ſome of the Text; but *Jeffrsys* cry'd out, " *You ſhan't draw me into a* Conventicle *with your* " Annotations, *nor your ſnivelling Parſon neither.* " ——— My Lord, (*ſays Mr.* Attwood) I con- " ceive this to be expreſſly within *Roſwel*'s Caſe, " lately before your Lordſhip.———*You conceive!* " (ſays *Jeffreys) you conceive amiſs*; *It is not.* " ——My Lord (*ſays Mr.* Attwood) that I may " uſe the beſt Authority, permit me to repeat your " Lordſhip's own Words in that Caſe. ———*No,* " *you ſhan't*, (ſays he,) You need not ſpeak, " for you are an Author already, tho' you ſpeak " and write impertinently.———Says *Attwood*, I " can't help that, my Lord, if my Talent be no " better; but it is my Duty to do my beſt for my " Client. ———*Jeffreys* thereupon went on, in- " veighing againſt what *Attwood* had publiſh'd: " And *Attwood* juſtify'd it to be in defence of the " *Engliſh* Conſtitution; declaring, that he never " diſown'd any thing he had written. *Jeffreys* ſe- " veral times order'd him to ſit down, but he ſtill " went on: My Lord (*ſays he)* I have Matters " of Law to offer for my Client; and he proceed- " ed to cite ſeveral Caſes wherein it had been ad- " judged, that *Words* ought to be taken in the " milder Senſe, and not in the ſtrained, by *Innu-* " *endo*'s. *Well* (ſays *Jeffreys*, when he had done) " *You have had your ſay.*———

" Mr. *Williams* and Mr. *Phipps* ſaid nothing, " for they ſaw it was to no purpoſe. At length " ſays Mr. *Baxter* himſelf, My Lord, I think I " can clearly Anſwer all that is laid to my Charge, " and I ſhall do it briefly: The Sum is contain'd " in theſe few Papers, to which I ſhall add a lit- " tle by Teſtimony.——But he wou'd not hear a " Word. At length the Chief-Juſtice ſumm'd up " the Matter in a long and fulſom Harangue; *'Tis* " *notoriouſly known*, (ſays he) *there has been a De-* " *ſign to ruin the King and Nation: The old Game* " *has been renew'd, and This has been the main In-* " *cendiary: He's as Modeſt now as can be*; *but time* " *was, when no Man was ſo ready at,* **Bind** " **your Kings in Chains, and your Nobles** " **in Fetters of Iron, and, To your Tents,** " **O Iſrael!** *Gentlemen, for God's ſake, don't let* " *us be gull'd twice in an Age, &c.* And when " he concluded, he told the Jury, That if they " in their Conſcience believ'd he meant the Bi- " ſhops and Clergy of the Church of *England*, in " the Paſſages which the Information referr'd to, " they muſt find him guilty; and he could mean

" no Men elſe: If not, they muſt find him *Not* 1686. " *guilty.*——When he had done, ſays Mr. *Baxter* 2 *Jac.* II " to him, Do's your Lordſhip think any Jury will " pretend to paſs a Verdict upon me, upon ſuch a " Tryal?——*I'll warrant you, Mr.* Baxter, (ſays " he) *don't you trouble your ſelf about that.*——— " The Jury immediately laid their Heads together " at the Bar, and found him guilty.

" He had *Subpœna*'d ſeveral Clergymen, who " appear'd in Court, but were of no uſe to him, " through the Violence of the [a] Chief-Juſtice.

" The Tryal being over, Sir *Henry Aſhhurſt* led " Mr. *Baxter* through the Crowd, (I mention it " to his Honour) and convey'd him away in his " Coach. On *June* 29. following he had Judg- " ment given againſt him: He was Fined 500 " Marks, to lie in Priſon till he paid it; and be 1686. " bound to his good Behaviour for ſeven Years.

The King was now deep in the Meaſures of Popery and Arbitrary Power; but he carry'd them on much faſter in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, than he could yet do in *England*. He had laid a good Foundation in *Scotland* while he was Commiſſioner there for his Brother, and had ſettled the Miniſtry to his own Mind; and therefore immediately after his Acceſſion to the Throne he call'd a Parliament at *Edinburgh* on *April* 23. 1685. when the Lord High-Chancellor branded the *Presbyterians* with this Character: *We have a new Sect among us, ſprung up from the Dunghil, the very Dregs of the People, who kill by pretended Inſpiration*; *and inſtead of,* The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, *have nothing in their Mouths but the* Word of God; *wreſting that bleſſed Conveyance of his holy Will to us, to juſtifie a Practice ſuggeſted to them by* him who was a Murderer from the beginning; *who having modell'd themſelves into a Commonwealth, (whoſe Idol is that accurſed Paper the* Covenant, *and whoſe only Rule is to have none at all) have proceeded to declare themſelves no longer his Majeſty's Subjects, to forfeit all of us who have the Honour to ſerve him in any conſiderable Station, and will be ſure e'er long to do ſo by this great and Honourable Court. It is how to rid our ſelves of theſe Men, and of all who incline to their Principles, that we are to offer to his Majeſty our Advice, Concurrence, and utmoſt Aſſiſtance. Theſe Monſters being a publick Reproach upon the Nation, they render us unquiet and unſecure at home*; *they bring reproach upon our Religion, and are our great Plague, &c.* Under this Fervour, the firſt *Act* paſſed was for the *Security of the Proteſtant Religion*; by which they meant an Extirpation of the *Presbyterians*; enforcing it by another *Act concerning Witneſſes*, wherein they *Ordain, That ſuch as being cited to be Witneſſes, in the Caſes of Treaſon, Field, or Houſe Conventicles, or Church Irregularities, do refuſe to depone, they ſhall be liable to be puniſh'd as guilty of theſe Crimes reſpectively in which they refuſe to be Witneſſes.* And in another *Act, containing a tender of Duty, and offer of the Exciſe to his Majeſty*, they do in the Preamble declare,

Parliament in *Scotland.*

Character of the *Presbyterians.*

Severe *Acts* made againſt them.

[a] The learned and ſober Part of the Church Clergy were early apprehenſive of the Danger of the Church and of the Proteſtant Religion, and therefore publiſh'd many excellent Tracts againſt the Idolatry and particular Errors of the Church of *Rome*. Moſt of them by the Clergy of *London* with admirable Strength and Temper. And becauſe ſome might be affected more with Intereſt than for Conſcience ſake; there was publiſh'd a Letter written to Dr. *Burnet*, giving an Account of Cardinal *Pool*'s ſecret Powers, from which it appears, that it was never intended to confirm the Alienation that was made of the *Abbey* Lands, ſubſcribed *W. C.* To which are added two Breves that Cardinal *Pool* brought over, and ſome other of his Letters that were never before printed. Proving that this whole Tranſaction of pretending to confirm the Title of *Abbey* Lands to the new Owners was a publick Cheat put on the Nation, or at leaſt on the Poſſeſſors of thoſe Lands. *London*, 1685. 4*to*. This put the Court upon employing a Hand to draw up the *Aſſurance of Abbey, and other Church Lands in* England *to the Poſſeſſors cleared from the Doubts and Arguments raiſed about the Danger of Reſumption, in Anſwer to a Letter of a Perſon of Quality.* By *Nathaniel Johnſton*, Dr. of Phyſick. Publiſh'd by his Majeſty's Command. Printed by *Henry Hills*, 1686. 8*vo*. Of which Dr. *Gee* in his Notes on the Memorial of Father *Parſon*, writes thus: I could heartily have wiſhed, that thoſe that furniſhed Dr. *Johnſton* with his Materials for writing his little Book about the Aſſurance of *Abbey* Lands to the Poſſeſſors here in *England*, had accommodated him alſo, as they might have done, with Father *Parſon*'s Memorial. I am confident it would have ſav'd the Doctor ſomething elſe beſides his pains. How ridiculous his Attempts were then was ſhewed by an ingenious Hand in a ſingle Sheet of Paper, intitled, *Abbey and other Church Lands not yet aſſured to ſuch Poſſeſſors as are Roman Catholicks.* Father *Parſons* has knock'd their great Argument from the Pope's Confirmation in Queen *Mary*'s Days on the head, when he declares, *&c.* p. 58.

" That

1686. 2 *Jac.* II. " That they owe all their Bleſſings to the ſacred " Race of their glorious Kings, and to the ſolid " abſolute Authority wherewith they were inveſt- " ed by the firſt and fundamental Law of their " Monarchy:——And therefore they again de- " clare to the World, That they abhor and deteſt, " not only the Authors and Actors of all preceding " Rebellions againſt the Sovereign, but alſo all " Principles and Poſitions which are contrary or " derogatory to the King's ſacred, ſupreme, Sove- " reign, abſolute Power and Authority, which " none, whether Perſons or collective Bodies, can " participate of any manner of way, or upon any " pretext, but in dependence of him, and by com- " miſſion from him," *&c.* —— The ſame Parlia- ment paſs'd two other *Acts*: The firſt, " To for- " bid the reſorting to Conventicles, and the Preach- " ing in them, under Pain of Death, and Con- " fiſcation of Goods:"——The other, " Making " it High-Treaſon to give or take the National " *Covenant*, as explained in 1638. or to write in " defence of it.——And the more effectually to introduce a deſpotick Power, they paſſed another *Act*, " To confirm and approve whatever had been " done by his Majeſty's Privy-Council, Juſtice- " Court, and thoſe Commiſſionated by them, in " Baniſhing, Impriſoning, or Fining ſuch as refu- " ſed to take and ſwear the Oath of Allegiance; " and to aſſert the Royal Prerogative in the utmoſt " extent of them.

The King attempts to repeal the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws* in *Scotland.*

The King preſuming from theſe Advances, that the *Scots* would eaſily comply with him in all things; it was amongſt them that he firſt attempted to re- peal the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt* made againſt *Papiſts*: And therefore having ſummon'd the Parliament of that Kingdom to re-aſſemble on the 29th of *April*, 1686. he wrote a *Letter* to them, wherein *he re- commends to their ſpecial Care his innocent* Roman Catholick *Subjects, who had been always aſſiſtant to the Crown, in the worſt of Rebellions and Uſurpati- ons, though they lay under diſcouragements hardly to be named: Theſe he muſt heartily recommend to them, to the End, that as they had given good Experience of their true Loyalty, and peaceable Behaviour; ſo, by their Aſſiſtance, they might have the Protection of his Laws, not ſuffering them to lie under Obligations which their Religion could not admit of; by doing of which they would give a demonſtration of the Duty and Affection they had to him, and do him moſt ac- ceptable Service. And this Love he expected they would ſhew to their Brethren, as they ſaw him an indulgent Father to his People.*

Ld Commiſſioner's *Speech.*

To engage the Parliament to comply with this Deſire of the King, the Earl of *Murray*, who was appointed Lord High-Commiſſioner upon this oc- caſion, made them a *Speech*, with the fineſt Words and Promiſes; " That his Majeſty would open a " free intercourſe of Trade with his Kingdom of " *England*; and had fully inſtructed his Envoy at the " Court of *France*, to recover the Poſſeſſion of the " ſeveral Privileges of the *Scots* Merchants Trading " with that Kingdom. And that his Majeſty would " redreſs the Trouble which the *Scotch* Merchants " met with in the matter of the Staple and Trade " with the *Netherlands*; and that he would remove " the Prejudice which that Kingdom ſuffer'd, by " the Importation of *Iriſh* Horſes, Cattle and Vi- " ctuals. And that the King was willing to grant " them an open Mint; the want of which was a " ſenſible Prejudice to the Traffick of the King- " dom: And that he would not at this time de- " mand any more Supplies or Impoſitions of any " kind: And that he would give his Royal Con- " ſent to all ſuch Laws and Regulations as might " ſecure exact Payment to the Country from all his " Officers and Soldiers in their Quarters. And, " laſtly, that he would graciouſly paſs his full and " ample Indempnity, with ſome few needful and " neceſſary Exceptions, for all paſt Crimes and " Miſdemeanors whatſoever." —— Concluding thus;——" *And now, my Lords and Gentlemen, af- " ter ſo great and excellent Deſigns for promoting the " Honour, the Eaſe and Wealth of this Kingdom; " after his Reſolution to pardon ſo many Enemies, " and to free ſo many of the guilty from farther ſe- " vere, but juſt Proſecutions; his Majeſty believeth " that none will wonder, if he deſire, by the Advice " and Conſent of his great Council, to give Eaſe and " Security to ſome of his good Subjects of the* Ro- " man Catholick *Religion, who have been in all " times firm to the Monarchy, and ready to ſacrifice " their Lives and Fortunes for the Service and Se- " curity of the Crown. So that his Majeſty, who " ſo perfectly underſtands the Loyal and dutiful Tem- " per and Genius of* Scotland, *reſts fully perſuaded " of your ready and chearful Compliance with his " Royal Deſire and Inclination, tending ſo much to " your own Security, and his Satisfaction; and " that you will ſend me back to my Great and Royal " Maſter, with the good tydings of the continued and " dutiful Loyalty of this his ancient Kingdom: By " which you will ſhew your ſelves the beſt and moſt " affectionate Subjects, to the beſt, the incomparable " and moſt heroick Prince in the World.*

As ſoon as the High-Commiſſioner had ended this *Speech*, the Creatures of the Court were for paſſing an *Act* in favour of the *Papiſts*, without looking farther than his Majeſty's deſire. But the wiſer part prevailed to have a Committee appoin- ted to inſpect the Statutes provided againſt the *Ro- man Catholicks*. After a full Examination of thoſe Laws, the Commiteee drew up a Bill, whereby " *Papiſts* were to be allow'd the exerciſe of their " Religion in private, without repealing thoſe for- " mer *Acts* which made them liable to Penalties " for publickly aſſembling together." The King would have been contented with this Step, for the preſent, hoping to have gain'd more by degrees. But however, this Bill being preſented to the Par- liament for their Approbation, they divided upon it, and many warm *Speeches* were made againſt it. The King being inform'd of theſe Debates, and ap- prehending the Miſcarriage of his Hopes, he diſ- patch'd an *Expreſs* to the Earl of *Murray*, with Orders to diſſolve, or at leaſt to prorogue the Par- liament.

Scots Parliament would not comply with the King's Deſire.

The King reſolves to do it by his own Power in an Arbitrary manner.

In *February* following the King was reſolved to accompliſh, by his ſole Power and Authority, what he could not effect with a National Conſent: And And therefore he ſent a Letter, dated *February* 12. to his Privy-Council of *Scotland:*

W*Hereas by our* Letter *of the 21ſt of* Auguſt *laſt paſt, we were graciouſly pleas'd to inform you of our Deſigns, in order to the Eaſe of our* Ro- man Catholick *Subjects, (unto which we had your dutiful* Anſwer *in ſome Days thereafter;) we have now thought fit to publiſh theſe our Royal Intentions, and to give an additional Eaſe to thoſe of tender Con- ſciences: So to convince the World of our Inclinations to Moderation; and to evidence, that thoſe of the Clergy, who have been regular, are our moſt parti- cular Care. And though we have given ſome Eaſe to thoſe whoſe Principles we can with any ſafety truſt; we have at the ſame time expreſſed our higheſt In- dignation againſt thoſe Enemies of Chriſtianity, as well as Government and humane Society, the* Field- Conventiclers, *whom we recommend to you to root out with all the Severity of our Laws, and with the moſt vigorous Proſecution of our Forces; it being equally our and our Peoples Concern to be rid of them,* &c.

With this *Letter* there was ſent a *Proclamation* for *Liberty of Conſcience, and Suſpenſion of the Laws againſt Papiſts*, of the ſame Date, running thus: ——" We have thought fit to grant, and by our

" Sovereign

1686. 2 Jac. II. "Sovereign Authority, Prerogative Royal, and "Abſolute Power, which all our Subjects are to "obſerve, without reſerve, do hereby give and "grant our Royal *Toleration* to the ſeveral Profeſ-"ſors of the Chriſtian Religion after-named, with "and under the ſeveral Conditions, Reſtrictions, "and Limitations after-mentioned. In the firſt "place we allow and tolerate the moderate *Pres-"byterians* to meet in their private Houſes, and "there to hear all ſuch Miniſters as either have or "are willing to accept of our Indulgence *alla-"nerly*, and none other.—— It is our Royal Will "and Pleaſure, That *Field-Conventicles*, and ſuch "as Preach or Exerciſe at them, or ſhall any wiſe "aſſiſt and connive at them, ſhall be Proſecuted "according to the utmoſt Severity of our Laws. "——In like manner, we do hereby tolerate *Qua-"kers* to Meet and Exerciſe in their Form, in any "Place or Places appointed for their Worſhip. "——And conſidering the ſevere and cruel Laws "made againſt *Roman Catholicks* (therein call'd "*Papiſts*) in minority of our Royal Grandfather "(of glorious Memory) without his conſent, and "contrary to the Duty of good Subjects, by his "Regents and other Enemies to their lawful Sove-"reign our Royal Great-Grand-Mother Queen "*Mary* (of bleſſed and pious Memory) wherein, "under pretence of *Religion*, they cloath'd the "worſt of Treaſons, Factions, and Uſurpations; "and made theſe Laws, not as againſt the Ene-"mies of God but their own: Which Laws have "been ſtill continued of courſe, without deſign of "executing them, or any of them, *ad Terrorem*, "only on Suppoſition, That the *Papiſts* relying "on an external Power, were incapable of Duty "and true Allegiance to their natural Sovereigns, "and rightful Monarchs:——We, of our certain "Knowledge, and long Experience, knowing, "That the *Catholicks*, as it is their Principles to "be good Chriſtians, ſo it is to be dutiful Sub-"jects; and that they had likewiſe, on all Occa-"ſions, ſhewn themſelves good and faithful Sub-"jects to us and our Royal Predeceſſors, by ha-"zarding, and many of them actually loſing their "Lives and Fortunes in their Defence (though of "another Religion) and the Maintenance of their "Authority, againſt the Violences and Treaſons of "the moſt violent Abettors of thoſe Laws; do "therefore, with Advice and conſent of our Privy-"Council, by our Sovereign Authority, Preroga-"tive Royal, and Abſolute Power aforeſaid, ſuſ-"pend, ſtop and diſable all Laws or Acts of Parli-"ament, Cuſtoms or Conſtitutions, made or exe-"cuted againſt any of our *Roman Catholick* Sub-"jects in any time paſt, to all intents and purpoſes "making void all Prohibitions therein mentioned, "Pains or Penalties therein ordained to be inflicted: "So that they ſhall in all things be as free in all re-"ſpects, as any of our *Proteſtants* Subjects whatſo-"ever, not only to exerciſe their Religion, but to "enjoy [a] all Offices, Benefices and others which "we ſhall think fit to beſtow upon them in all "time coming, &c.

Moſt Perſons who ſaw this *Proclamation*, could not but obſerve, that this *Toleration* of *Proteſtant Diſſenters* was purely for the ſake of the *Popiſh Recuſants*; and that the moderate *Presbyterians* had not ſo great a Liberty allow'd them as the *Quakers* had; becauſe this laſt Sect bore a nearer Affinity to the *Papiſts*, and were found to be more diſpos'd to the Will of a *Popiſh* Prince: And laſtly, that the much greater Indulgence granted to the *Roman Catholicks*, was not only in tenderneſs to them, but with the higheſt Commendation of them; and the wholſom Laws made againſt them, not only ſuſpended, but cenſur'd and arraign'd as Barbarous and Cruel. And yet the Lords of the Council in *Scotland* were inclin'd to anſwer, "That his Ma-"jeſty's Commands were exactly obey'd; and his "Royal Proclamation Printed and Publiſh'd, by "which his Majeſty had given a further Evidence "of his Favour and Goodneſs to all his Subjects. ——Concluding thus—*We are very willing that your Majeſty's Subjects who are Peaceable and Loyal, may be at Eaſe and Security, notwithſtanding of their Profeſſion and private Worſhip; and do conceive, that ſuch of them as are or ſhall be employ'd by your Majeſty in Offices of Truſt, Civil or Military, are ſufficiently ſecured by your Majeſty's Authority and Commiſſion for their exerciſing the ſame. We return your Majeſty our moſt humble Thanks, for giving us your Royal Word, for maintaining the Church and our Religion as it is now eſtabliſh'd by Law; and reſt ſatisfy'd, believing your Majeſty's Promiſe to be the beſt and greateſt Security we can have.*

The King is more eſpecially intent in promoting Popery in Ireland.

But it was principally in *Ireland*, where the King's Deſigns of eſtabliſhing *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power* appear'd without Diſguiſe, from the very beginning of his Reign. The Duke of *Ormond* was Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom, a Perſon of unſhaken Honour, and true Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the *Engliſh* Intereſt; and therefore he was thought unfit to ſerve the preſent Government: So, about the end of *March* 1685. he receiv'd an Order from the Court, to deliver the Sword of State to the Lord Primate of *Ireland* and to the Earl of *Granard*, appointed by the King to be Lords-Juſtices. But before his Departure, the Duke labour'd with a generous Diligence to ſettle things on ſuch a Foundation, as that it might not be eaſie for the *Papiſts* to make a preſent Change, without a manifeſt Violation of the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom. There is a remarkable Paſſage that ſhews the great Spirit of that excellent Patriot; he appointed a Dinner at the *New Hoſpital* (a ſtately Fabrick by him erected near *Dublin* for poor Soldiers) and invited the Officers of the Army then in and about that City: After Dinner, he took a large Glaſs in his Hand, bid them fill it to the Brim with Wine, then ſtood up and call'd thus to the Company; *Look here, Gentlemen; They ſay at Court, I am become an old doating Fool: You ſee my Hand does not ſhake; nor does my Heart fail; Nor do I doubt that I ſhall make ſome of my Enemies ſee their Miſtake:* —— And ſo drank the King's Health.

The Duke, at his Arrival at the *Engliſh* Court, found himſelf in Diſpleaſure with the King; and had ſuch diſmal Apprehenſions of the Poſture of Affairs in *Ireland*, that it is thought to have broke his Heart, for he died ſoon after, of a great Age indeed; and yet till this very Turn, he had enjoy'd

Death of the Duke of Ormond.

[a] See *ſome Reflections* on his Majeſties Proclamation of the 12th of *February*, 1686. for a Toleration in *Scotland*, together with the ſaid Proclamation, wherein the King challenges an abſolute Power which all our Subjects are to obey without reſerve. 1686. 4*to*.

This Profeſſion of Indulgence and Toleration had come with ſome Grace, and ſome hopes of Sincerity from any Party of Men but the Papiſts, who were well known merely to pretend to it, in order to get the Power of Perſecution in their Hands. Some have thought that the Papiſts were never for Toleration before this Juncture; but indeed they were always ſo when they could ſerve the ſame Deſigns of their own by it. The Papiſts were for it in 1662, and in 1672; and even in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, while under Penal Laws, they ſet up Outcries for a general Toleration, and even complain'd of the Severities of Queen *Mary*; as among many other Teſtimonies appears in the Letter of Mr. *A. C. Anthony Champneys*. See Prieſt againſt the Jeſuites. 1602. 4*to*.

1686. 2 Jac. II. ſuch Health of Body, and Chearfulneſs of Mind, that in the Courſe of Nature he might have liv'd much longer.

Before his Grace left the Government, an Order came for Regulating the Council; which he left for the Juſtices to do: So upon his Departure the Privy-Council was immediately diſſolv'd, and moſt of the *Engliſh* that were active in the *Proteſtant* Cauſe were turn'd out; and though no *Papiſts* were immediately put in, yet it was not long before they made up the Major-part; and thoſe few *Proteſtants* that were left, ſeldom appear'd at the Board, as being unable to bear up againſt the ſtrongeſt Side.

The *Iriſh* [a] began now to appear in a National Body againſt the *Engliſh*, and daily charg'd them with Evil Deſigns againſt the King and Government. They were countenanc'd by the Privy-Council, who preſs'd the Lords Juſtices for Orders to impower *Iriſh* Papiſts, and other Creatures of theirs, to commit, without Bail, any Perſon accuſed. Theſe Proceedings made the Lords-Juſtices ſoon weary of their Government, and the Lord *Granard* wrote to *England* to be diſmiſs'd: But the Papiſts repreſented him as a Man fit to be kept in his Majeſty's Intereſt, being very prevalent in the North among the *Scots* Presbyterians, of which Perſuaſion his Lady was. So that King *James* wrote him a *Letter* with his own Hand, giving him Aſſurance, that nothing ſhould be acted prejudicial to the Proteſtant Intereſt, for which his Lordſhip was at that time reputed to be very zealous.

Monmouth's Rebellion gave a plauſible Opportunity to the *Iriſh*, more than ever, to contrive Plots, and to faſten them upon the Proteſtants; and to make the King ſo jealous of the Proteſtant Intereſt in that Kingdom, that he reſolv'd now to keep a Standing Army of *Iriſh Papiſts*. This could not be well done, without calling in all the Arms from the Hands of *Proteſtants*. To carry on this Deſign, the King and Council wrote over to the Lords-Juſtices, *That there was Reaſon to believe that the Rebellion of* Monmouth *had been of that ſpreading Contagion, as to infect many, and delude more: It was not therefore ſafe for the Kingdom to have the Arms of the* Militia *diſpers'd abroad; but they would be in a greater Readineſs, for the Uſe of the* Militia, *and the Defence of the Country, to have them depoſited in the ſeveral Stores of each County.*

Letter to the Lords Juſtices.

Upon theſe Inſtructions a *Proclamation* was iſſued out; and the Lord-Primate prevailing with the City of *Dublin* to bring in their Arms, that Precedent was ſoon follow'd by all the Country. The Proteſtants being thus diſarm'd, the next Deſign was to new-model the Army, which at that time conſiſted of about 7000 Men, all Proteſtants, zealous and faithful in the King's Service. For this Purpoſe they made uſe of Colonel *Richard Talbot*, a Man of all others moſt odious to the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, and one who had been named by *Oates* in his *Narrative* ſome Years before, as deſign'd for this ill Service: So that many before who believed little of the *Popiſh Plot*, did now give the greater Credit to it, and ſaid, *That if* Oates *was an ill Evidence, he was certainly a good Prophet.*

Riſe of Colonel Talbot.

—*Talbot* began with great Inſolence to purſue a Method, which was ſaid to have been deſign'd immediately before the Death of King *Charles* II. which was to diſplace all Officers that had been in the Parliament or *Oliver*'s Army, and the very Sons of all ſuch. This the Duke of *Ormond* had Directions to proceed in; but he made no Progreſs in it, under pretence of gaining Time to find them out, but in reality, becauſe he foreſaw it was to make room for the Papiſts. *Talbot* having caſhier'd a great part of the Officers, came over into *England*, and brought with him one *Neagle*, a cunning *Iriſh* Lawyer, and inveterate Papiſt, who was conſtantly with Father *Petre*, and the reſt of the High *Cabal*. The Queen was altogether for their furious Counſels, but the King was not ſo violently inclin'd, being every Day adviſ'd by all his Popiſh Peers, not to proceed too faſt in the Revolution of *Ireland*, leſt thereby he ſhould ruin the general Intereſt of the Catholicks. However, *Talbot* was made Earl of *Tyrconnel*, with a Deſign of his immediate Return to *Ireland* in Quality of Lord-Lieutenant: To which Office [b] he had been recommended by Biſhop *Tyrrell*, though with ſome Reſerve, as being a Perſon confeſs'd to be odious to the *Engliſh*, and therefore not proper to be brought upon the Stage till Matters were come to a greater Maturity. The Lord *Bellaſis* was propoſed; but he was Infirm, and excus'd himſelf from what he thought would be a hard Work. At laſt, in *Decemb.* 1685. it was reſolved, that *Tyrconnel* ſhould return Lieutenant-General of the Army, and the Earl of *Clarendon* Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom.

Talbot is made Ld Tyrconnel.

Earl of Clarendon Ld Lieutenant of Ireland.

Tyrconnel executed his Commiſſion with great Fury, not only diſplacing more Officers of the Army, but alſo turning out the private Soldiers. His Will was his Law, and that purely Martial: He brought over Blank Commiſſions, ſign'd by the King, for any Names that he pleas'd to inſert; he did this in an inſulting barbarous Manner, turning off ſome Soldiers ſtript of their very Shirts, ſeizing the Horſes of ſome Officers and Troopers, and giving them Notes and Bills for not above Half their Pay, and commonly loading them with hard Words, and vile Reproaches. The moſt noted Officers that were turn'd out, were the Lord *Shannon*, Capt. *Robert Fitz-Gerald*, Capt. *Richard Coot*, and Sir *George St. George*, &c. In whoſe Places were put one *Kernay*, that would have murder'd King *Charles* II. *Anderſon* an obſcure Fellow, *Sheldon* a virulent Bigot, *Graham*, and others of the ſame Stamp. In ſhort, two or three hundred *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who had laid out their Fortunes in purchaſing their Military Poſts, were now Arbitrarily disbanded, and five or ſix thouſand private Soldiers ſent on Begging.

Tyrconnel in a manner Superior to him.

His Arbitrary and Cruel Proceedings.

However, theſe Diſcouragements of the *Engliſh* were in ſome meaſure alleviated by the Integrity of the Lord-Lieutenant, who was very faithful to the Proteſtants, and endeavour'd to revive their Spirits, by telling them of the great Aſſurances the King had given him of protecting their Religion. But indeed that Noble Earl ſoon found himſelf

The Proteſtants are encourag'd by the Ld Lieutenant.

[a] This Proſpect of Popery in *Ireland* put ſome worthy Perſons upon giving a Tranſlation of the whole Bible into the *Iriſh Tongue*, as the beſt Preſervative from the Deluſions of the Prieſts and Jeſuits. A Verſion of the *Old* Teſtament, to be added to the *New* which had been formerly publiſh'd, was now undertaken by the Care of Biſhop *Marſh* and Dr. *Huntingdon*, and printed at the ſole Charge of *Robert Boyle* Eſq; with an *Engliſh* Preface, by Dr. *Doppin*, Biſhop of *Meath*, at the Beginning of the Year 1686.

[b] See the Copy of a Letter of the Catholick Clergy of *Ireland* to King *James* II. in Favour and Commendation of the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, found among Biſhop *Tyrrel*'s Papers in *London*; dated in *July* 1685, inſerted in the Appendix to the State of *Ireland*, by Dr. *King*, now Archbiſhop of *Dublin*.

While People were murmuring at the Breaches of the King's Promiſe, the Pulpits (ſaith Mr. *Echard*) tho' now more ſparing than ever, were not exempt from Time-Servers; particularly that of *Rippon*, where Dr. *Cartwright*, the Dean, a Man Puritanically educated, took the Liberty to give a right Notion of King *James*'s Promiſes, and in effect tells the World, *That the King's Promiſes were free Donatives, and ought not to be too ſtrictly examin'd, or urg'd; and that they muſt leave his Majeſty to explain his own Meaning in them.* This Gloſs, as Dr. *King* tells us, ſo pleaſed his Majeſty, that he ſoon after rewarded the Author with the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, tho' very unfit for that Character.

1686. 2 *Jac.* II. himſelf not half a Governor, for *Tyrconnel* aſſum'd more than a Share in the Adminiſtration of all Affairs. This Paſſage is remarkable: Upon a *Sunday* Morning his Lordſhip going to Church, perceiv'd an *Iriſh* Officer he never ſaw before commanding his Guard of Battle-Axes, which very much ſurpriz'd him; whereupon he made a ſtop, demanding who he was, and who put him there?— The *Iriſh-man*, as much frighted as the Lord-Lieutenant was diſturb'd, in broken Expreſſions told his Excellency, he was a Captain put in by the Lord *Tyrconnel*.——His Excellency demanding of him, when?—He reply'd, That Morning.— His Excellency bid 'em call the former Captain, and diſmiſs this of *Tyrconnel's*. The next Day the Lord-Lieutenant queſtion'd *Tyrconnel* for this Action:——Who reply'd, He did nothing but by the King's Orders.——To which the Earl of *Clarendon* return'd, That whilſt his Majeſty entruſted him with the Government, he would not be diſpos'd by his Lieutenant-General.——Complaints on both Sides were made to the King, and the mutual Diſcontents grew every Day greater; the Lord-Lieutenant thinking himſelf Supreme, and the Lieutenant-General daring to be Superior, who therefore went over into *England*, and conſulted with his Party how to obtain the ſole Government of *Ireland*. The Queen, Father *Petre*, and the Earl of *S——d* very much importun'd the King in his Favour; but the Popiſh Lords were ſtill againſt it, and thought his Furiouſneſs would ruin all, and yet they were extremely deſirous to have *Ireland* in the Abſolute Power of the Papiſts: For when ſome of the moſt conſiderable of them, upon an Apprehenſion of bringing a Storm upon themſelves in *England*, were for addreſſing the King to have liberty to ſell their Eſtates, and that his Majeſty would intercede with the King of *France* to provide for them in his Dominions;—The King took Occaſion to tell them, *That before their Deſires came to him, he had often thought of them, and had provided a ſure Sanctuary and Retreat for them in* Ireland, *if all thoſe Endeavours ſhould be blaſted in* England, *which he had made for their Security, and of the Succeſs whereof he had not yet reaſon to deſpair.*

Oppreſs'd by *Tyrconnel.*

Deſigns of removing the Earl of *Clarendon.*

The Earl of *Rocheſter* having been by Accident inform'd of what was then in Agitation, he immediately acquainted the King with it, who abſolutely deny'd that there was any Intention of removing his Brother from the Government of *Ireland*; but, on the contrary, aſſur'd him he was very well ſatisfy'd with his Conduct there. Within ſome few Days the Lord-Treaſurer receiv'd from his Brother the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* the ſame Intimations about his Removal. Upon which he again apply'd to his Majeſty, who as poſitively deny'd the whole Matter as he had done before; and to remove the Jealouſies of the Lord-Lieutenant, wrote a *Letter* to him, as was ſaid, with his own Hand, aſſuring him, *He had yet no Thoughts, and he believ'd never ſhould have, whilſt both of them liv'd, to call him away from the Government of* Ireland. However, about *Chriſtmas*, it was by the King in Council reſolved, That the Earl of *Tyrconnel* ſhould be made Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*: And it was ſaid that the Lord-Preſident carry'd it for him againſt a great Oppoſition of the Board.

Reſolved to make *Tyrconnel* Lieutenant.

The Confirmation of this diſmal News ſtruck the Proteſtants in *Ireland* with great Damp and Terror: Many of them that had Patentee-Employments, obtain'd Licenſe, under the Broad-Seal, to come away; and many of the Merchants call'd in their Effects, and left the Kingdom. His Excellency the Earl of *Clarendon* did all he could to aſſiſt the poor Proteſtants in covering them from the impending Storm; and it was interpreted by many as a ſignal Act of Providence, that after *Tyrconnel* was come to *Holyhead*, he was there detain'd full ſixteen Days by contrary Winds: But he at laſt arriv'd at *Dublin* on *Feb.* 6. And though his Appearance was with a ſad Conſternation to the Proteſtants, yet Care was taken to publiſh, by Authority, *That there never was ſeen ſo great a Concourſe of People at any Chief-Governor's Landing as at his, expreſſing their general Satisfaction by loud Acclamations as he paſs'd through the Streets, by Ringing of Bells, and by Bonfires at Night throughout the City, together with all other publick Demonſtrations of Joy.* 1686. 2 *Jac.* II.

A great Damp to the Proteſtants.

On *Feb.* 12. the Earl of *Clarendon* cauſed the Privy-Council to meet at the Palace of the Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and did there deliver up the Sword of State to the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, with a memorable *Speech*; wherein he told him, "That "the Miſunderſtandings and Feuds of that King-"dom were Things much to be lamented, and he "could wiſh the Occaſion of them were remov'd, "which was this; *viz.* That the *Engliſh* of that "Kingdom had been repreſented as a Company "of Diſſaffected and Fanatical People.—That this "was a hard Charge, if it were true: But from "what he had learn'd, both by his own Obſer-"vation, and the Information of others, he be-"liev'd them to be as loyal Subjects, and gene-"rally as true Sons of the Church of *England*, as "any it has. That it is a Church that can make "it her Brags, That in all the Conſpiracies, Plots "and Rebellions, that ever have been againſt the "King, not one Orthodox Member of her Com-"munion has been any way in 'em: That he pro-"feſs'd himſelf to be of that Church, and count-"ed it his greateſt Happineſs that he was ſo. That "as for the *Proteſtants* of that Kingdom in parti-"cular, he could ſay in their favour, That when "the Reſtoration of the King was oppos'd in "*England*, they were the Men that us'd their in-"defatigable Induſtry to effect it. That he de-"ſign'd to tell this to the King, and hop'd, by "his Lordſhip's Prudence, theſe Calumnies and "Aſperſions that had lain upon them would be "removed; and that as they and the *Roman Ca-*"*tholicks* were the Subjects of one Prince, ſo they "would unanimouſly agree in their Love of one "another, and in promoting his Honour and Hap-"pineſs. He clos'd his *Speech*, with telling him, "*That as he received the Sword in Peace, ſo he de-*"*liver'd it up in Peace.*——

Earl of *Clarendon* delivers up the Government of *Ireland.*

Tyrconnel's Anſwer was to this Effect: "That "it was the King's Deſign, and conſequently his "Command to him, to govern that Kingdom ac-"cording to the Laws of it, without any Partia-"lity; and therefore he declar'd that all Men "ſhould enjoy the Exerciſe of their Religion and "Properties according to Law. That he knew "there were great Fears in the Kingdom; ſome "removing their Goods, others calling in their "Money: What the Reaſon of it was, he could "not imagine; but, for his own part, he would "not have any diſtruſt the King's Protection. That "the Lord *Clarendon* had hinted, that he would "have no Diſtinction of Names, or any thing elſe "that might breed Jealouſies among the People.— "Which he would make it his whole Buſineſs to "prevent; for this was the Command of the King, "who was both the Greateſt and Juſteſt Prince "that rul'd theſe Kingdoms, *&c.*"——And further, to ſuppreſs, if poſſible, the general Diſcontent of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, the New Lord-Deputy publiſh'd a *Proclamation* on *Feb.* 21.

"WHereas we are inform'd, that ſeveral diſ-"affected Perſons within this his Ma-"jeſty's Kingdom, have been of late very induſtri-"ous, by falſe Reports and malicious Inſinuations, "to ſuggeſt to many of his Majeſty's Loyal Sub-

Tyrconnel Publiſhes a Proclamation.

S "jects,

1686. 2 *Jac.* II.

" jects, as if we his Majeſty's chief Governor intended to govern, under his Majeſty, here, otherwiſe " than by the known Laws of this Land of *Ireland*; and as if ſome of his Majeſty's Loyal " Subjects ſhould ſtand in hazard of being diſturb'd and diſquieted in their juſt Liberties, " Properties, and other Rights due to them by " Law: Which Calumnies have been heighten'd " and encourag'd by ſome few Fiery Spirits in the " Pulpits, by taking upon them to treat of Matters that do not lie within their Province, *&c.* " We therefore publiſh and declare, That we " will, by the Grace of God, apply all our Care " and Induſtry to yield and exact a perfect Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands, and to take " diligent Care that all his Majeſty's Subjects " within this Kingdom, of what Perſuaſion in " Religion ſoever they be, ſhall be protected in " their juſt Rights and Properties due to them by " Law, and in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, provided they perſevere in their Duty and " Allegiance to his Majeſty, without giving any " Occaſion of Diſturbance to the Peace of the " Kingdom, *&c.*——But as this fair Pretenſion of *Tyrconnel* was not at all believ'd, ſo it was immediately confuted by his own Practice.

Attempts of Arbitrary Power and Popery in *England.*

While Things were thus prepar'd and diſpos'd in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, the like Meaſures were concerted for reducing *England* to an Arbitrary Government. The King was reſolv'd to have no other Sitting Parliament, till he could form this or a new one to his own Mind and Pleaſure. And therefore, as on *Nov.* 20. the Parliament, under the King's Diſpleaſure, had been prorogued to *Feb.* 10. following; ſo it was on that Day, by Commiſſion, farther prorogued to the 10th Day of *May* 1686. and even then again prorogued to the 22d of *Nov.* next; and from that time farther prorogued to *Feb.* 15. and then prorogued till *April* 28. 1687. In the mean time the King reſolv'd to have *Weſtminſter-Hall* entirely at his own Command, and fill'd only with thoſe Judges who ſhould aſſert his diſpenſing Power, *i. e.* ſhould execute, or break, the Laws, when and how his Majeſty pleas'd. To this End, his Majeſty Cloſeted the old Judges; and before he would make any new ones, he entred into a profeſs'd Bargain with them, that they ſhould maintain his Prerogative of Diſpenſing with the *Penal* [a] *Laws* and *Teſt.* The firſt Man the King attempted to perſuade, was Sir *Thomas Jones*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, who ſhew'd a great Averſeneſs, and at laſt told the King plainly, *He could not do it.*—The King anſwer'd, *He would have twelve Judges of his own Opinion.*—To which Sir *Thomas* reply'd, *That poſſibly he might find twelve Judges of his Opinion, but he would ſcarce find twelve Lawyers to be ſo.*——Upon this Reluctancy of the Judges, on *Apr.* 21. Sir *Thomas Jones*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, *William Mountague* Eſq; Lord Chief-Baron of the *Exchequer*, Sir *Job Charlton*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, and Sir *Edward Nevill*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, had all their *Quietus*: And in their Places, Sir *Henry Bedingfield* (one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*) was ſworn Lord Chief-Juſtice of the ſame Court, Sir *Edward Atkyns* (one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*) was ſworn Lord Chief-Baron, Sir *Edward Lutwich* (Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*) was ſworn one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, and *Richard Heath* Eſq; (Serjeant at Law) was made one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*. Yet, upon the humble Petition of Sir *Job Charlton*, ſo diſplac'd, his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute him Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*.

The Old Judges are Cloſeted.

The beſt of them turn'd out.

Call of New Serjeants.

Two Days after, there was a Call of Serjeants at Law: Sir *John Holt* Recorder of *London*, Sir *Ambroſe Philips*, *Chriſtopher Milton* Eſq; *John Powell* Eſq; *John Tate* Eſq; *William Rawlinſon* Eſq; *William Killingworth* Eſq; *Hugh Hodges* Eſq; *Thomas Geers* Eſq; and *George Hutchins* Eſq; who gave Rings with this Motto, *Deus, Rex, Lex:* And to give the Reputation of Law to the Court, Sir *John Holt* and Sir *Ambroſe Phillips* were made the King's Serjeants. But within few Days, *Chriſtopher Milton*, a profeſs'd Papiſt, was knighted, and made one of the Juſtices of the *Exchequer*; Sir *John Powell* one of the Juſtices of the *Common Pleas*, and Sir *Thomas Powys* Sollicitor-General, in the Place of *Heneage Finch* Eſq; on *Octob.* 22. His Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon another Popiſh Lawyer, *Richard Allibone* of *Grays-Inn* Eſq; and to make him one of his Counſel at Law, and ſoon after a Judge.

The Privy Council New modell'd.

His Majeſty was pleas'd to model the Privy-Council, in much the ſame manner as he had the Benches in *Weſtminſter Hall*: For at *Hampton-Court*, on *July* 17. the Earl of *Powys*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Bellaſis*, and the Lord *Dover*, all known and zealous Papiſts, were ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council, and accordingly took their Places at the Board, and on *Octob.* 8. the New Earl of *Tyrconnel* was admitted to the ſame Honour.

Severities on ſome Witneſſes of the Popiſh Plot.

Though the King for Popularity and Protection of the *Papiſts*, had reſolv'd upon indulgence to the *Diſſenters*, and intended to make all Parties quiet, that the Popiſh Party might the more eaſily prevail; yet ſome Severities were exercis'd to create a continual Fear, of not offending the Government. On *May* 14. *Miles Prance* was brought to the *King's Bench*, upon an Information exhibited againſt him, for *willful and malicious Perjury*, in the Evidence he gave at the Tryals of *Green*, *Berry* and *Hill*, relating to the Murther of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*. He was perſuaded to plead *Guilty*: And being brought again to the *King's-Bench* on *June* 15. he was prevail'd on to declare his hearty Sorrow and Repentance for his heinous Offence, and then receiv'd this Judgment; " That he pay a Fine of " an hundred Pounds; That he be brought on " *Monday* next to all the Courts of *Weſtminſter* " with a Paper on his Head declaring his Offence; " and that he ſtand the ſame Day in the Pillory " before *Weſtminſter-Hall Gate*, and on the *Wedneſday* following at the *Royal Exchange*, and on " *Monday* following at *Charing-Croſs*; and that he " be Whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; and committed in Execution until he had paid the Fine.

Mr. *Edward Whitaker* had been Convicted in *Eaſter-term*, 1682. for *juſtifying the Rebellion of*

[a] The great Scandal upon the Benches in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, was the delivering of Judgment by one or two of the Judges, who pretended to a like Opinion of their abſent Brethren, who afterward denied their Concurrence in it. Sir *John Hawles* obſerv'd in his Remarks on Mr. *Wilmer*'s Tryal, when the Judgment againſt the City was given, it was done by two Judges only, and no Reaſon of that Judgment rendred; whereof *Wythens*, who was one, I think heard but one Argument in the Caſe. It is true, they ſaid *Raymond*, when alive, was of the ſame Opinion; and ſaid, *Saunders*, who was then paſt his Senſes, was of the ſame Opinion; tho' I was *told* by one, who was preſent when the two Juſtices came to aſk his Opinion in the Matter, he had only Senſe enough to reproach them for troubling him about the Matter, when they were ſenſible he had loſt his Memory. And to ſay Truth, the delivering the Senſe of an abſent Judge, tho' it hath been ſometimes practis'd, is not allowable; for ſometimes they deliver another Opinion than what the abſent Judge is of. Judge *Wythens* did ſo in ſeveral Caſes, when he deliver'd the Opinion of Sir *Edward Herbert*, which Sir *Edward Herbert* himſelf afterwards in open Court diſown'd. Judge *Holloway* ſerv'd Judge *Powell* the ſame Trick, if the laſt ſaid true.

1686. 1 *Jac.* II.

Forty One, *and the Murther of King* Charles I. *and flying for the ſame, had abſconded ever ſince.* Mr. Attorney-General in *Michaelmas-term*, moved for Judgment againſt him; and the Court adjudged "him, "To pay a Fine of a Thouſand Marks, "and remain in Priſon (when taken) till the ſame "be paid.

Soon after, Mr. Attorney-General moved the Court of *King's-Bench* for Judgment againſt *George Speake* Eſq; Convicted for *a Riot, and for reſcuing* John Trenchard *Eſq; from his Majeſty's Meſſengers*, who had a Warrant to apprehend him for *High Treaſon*. And the Court adjudged him, "To pay "a Fine of two Thouſand Marks.

But it ſeems, the Man who moſt provok'd the Government was Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, a Miniſter of the Church of *England*, who had been Author of a very Rational Treatiſe againſt *Paſſive Obedience*, under the Title of [*Julian the Apoſtate.*[a]] He had now the Courage to write *An Addreſs to the* Engliſh *Proteſtants in King* James's *Army*, (as follows:)

Gentlemen,

Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*'s Addreſs to the *Engliſh* Soldiers.

Next to the Duty we owe to God, *which ought to be the principal Care of Men of your Profeſſion, who carry your Lives in your Hands, and often look Death in the Face, in the Service of your native Country, wherein you drew your firſt Breaths, and breathe a free* Engliſh *Air: Now I deſire you to conſider, how you will comply with theſe two main Points, by engaging in the preſent Service. Is it, in the Name of* God, *for his Service, that you have join'd your ſelves with* Papiſts? *Who indeed muſt fight for the* Maſs-Book, *but will burn the* Bible; *and who ſeek to extirpate the* Proteſtant Religion *with your Swords, becauſe they cannot do it with their own. And will you be aiding and aſſiſting to ſet up* Maſs-Houſes, *to erect that* Kingdom of Darkneſs and Deſolation *amongſt us, and to train up all our Children in* Popery! *How can you do theſe things, and call your ſelves* Proteſtants!

What Service can you do your Country, by being under the Command of French *and* Iriſh Papiſts, *and by bringing the Nation under a foreign Yoke? Will you help them to make forcible Entry into the Houſes of your Country-men, under the name of* Quartering; *contrary to* Magna Charta, *and* Petition of Right? *Will you be aiding and aſſiſting to all the Murther and Outrages which they ſhall commit by their void Commiſſions, which were declared Illegal, and ſufficiently blaſted by both Houſes of Parliament, if there had been any need of it? For it was very well known before, that a* Papiſt *cannot have a Commiſſion, but by Law is utterly diſabled and diſarm'd. Will you exchange your Birthright of* Engliſh *Laws and Liberties, for* Martial *and* Club-Law; *and help to deſtroy all others, only at laſt to be eaten up your ſelves? If I know you well, as you are* Engliſh-men, *you hate and ſcorn theſe things. Therefore be not unequally yok'd with idolatrous and bloody* Papiſts: Be valiant for the Truth, and ſhew your ſelves Men[b].

The ſame Conſiderations are humbly offer'd to all Engliſh Seamen, *who have been the Bulwark of this Nation, againſt* Popery *and* Slavery, *ever ſince* 1588.

Upon this, in *Trinity-Term*, an Information of *High-Miſdemeanor* was brought againſt him in the *King's-Bench*, for *Writing and Publiſhing two moſt ſcandalous and ſeditious Libels, to ſtir up his Majeſty's Subjects to Rebellion.* Of which he was convicted: And in the next *Term* the Court awarded this Judgment againſt him, "That he ſtand in "the Pillory on *Monday* next at *Weſtminſter*, on "*Wedneſday* following at *Charing-Croſs*, and the "*Monday* after at the *Royal-Exchange*; that he "pay a Fine of five hundred Marks; and that he "be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*. Before his Suffering, for a *pretence* of Reſpect to the Gown, he was to be degraded; and accordingly, on *Nov.* 20. he was brought before the Lords the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, and *Peterborough*, Commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty to exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction within the Dioceſe of *London*, during the Suſpenſion of the Lord Biſhop of *London*, who were met, with ſeveral of the [c] City Divines, in the Chapter-Houſe of St. *Paul*'s; where the ſaid Mr. *Johnſon* is ſaid, *According to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, in a full Court, to have receiv'd Sentence of* Degradation, *and to have been degraded and diveſted accordingly; and deliver'd over, as a mere Lay-Perſon, into the Hands*

Severe Sentence on Mr. *Samuel Johnſon.*

[a] See ſome Memorials of the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, prefix'd to a Collection of his Works, *Lond.* 1710. *fol.* He had been Domeſtick Chaplain to the Noble Lord *Ruſſel*, and it was profeſſly to promote the Bill of Excluſion, that he wrote his *Julian the Apoſtate*, with a ſhort Account of his Life; and a Parallel betwixt *Popery and Paganiſm*, 8vo. wherein he expos'd the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, and diſcover'd the want of Sincerity in the Advocates of it, ſhewing the great Difference betwixt the Caſe of the Primitive Chriſtians who had the Laws againſt them, and ours who had the Laws on our Side. Dr. *Hickes* wrote his *Jovian* in Anſwer to it, and Mr. *Johnſon* reply'd in a Book intitled, *Julian's Arts to undermine and extirpate Chriſtianity*; printed in 1683, yet was not publiſh'd. He was examin'd for writing and ſuppreſſing of it; illegally committed *Aug.* 23. 1683. Proſecuted for another Cauſe, the writing his former Book of *Julian*, condemn'd in a Fine of 500 Marks, and to be committed Priſoner till he pay it. During his Confinement, he publiſh'd ſeveral Pieces, which after the Revolution he collected into a Volume, and call'd it, *A Second five Years Struggle againſt Popery and Tyranny.*

[b] Mr. *Johnſon* himſelf gives this Account: When we had a formidable Army in the Bowels of the Kingdom, and no Occaſion for them, I was perſuaded it was neceſſary to make ſome Application to the Proteſtant Soldiers to prevent, if poſſible, any miſchievous Attempt. For this Purpoſe, as they were marching to their firſt Company at *Hounſlow Heath* I drew up a ſhort Memorandum of their Duty to their Religion and Country, call'd *An humble and hearty Addreſs to all the* Engliſh *Proteſtants in the preſent Army.* And after about a Thouſand of them were diſpers'd, both the Impreſſion, as well as my ſelf, fell into their arbitrary and tyrannous Hands, where the Barbarities and intolerable Indignities to an *Engliſh* Freeman, which I then ſuffer'd, are ſufficiently known.

Mr. *Hugh Speke* in a *Secret Hiſtory of the happy Revolution*, 1715. 8vo. ſays that Mr. *Johnſon* was in the ſame Priſon with himſelf, and it was by his Advice that Mr. *Johnſon* penn'd ſeveral Pieces, and particularly upon his ſuggeſtion, this *Advice to the Army*, of which Paper when printed, Mr. *Speke* caus'd twenty thouſand to be diſperſed in one Night amongſt King *James*'s Troops at *Hounſlow*; and as many more all over the Kingdom the very ſame Night.---And that Mr. *Johnſon* was betrayed by one *Bellamy*, then a Hoſier in the *Borough* of *Southwark*.

[c] In the Memorials of Mr. *Johnſon* it is ſaid, that at the Degradation in the Chapter-Houſe of St. *Pauls*, Dr. *Sherlock* and other Clergy-men attended, but Dr. *Stillingfleet* then Dean of St. *Paul*'s, refuſed to have any hand in it.---He told thoſe Divines in the moſt pathetick manner, *It could not but grieve him to think, that ſince all he had writ was deſigned to keep their Gowns on their Backs, they ſhould be made the unhappy Inſtruments to pull off his.* And begg'd them to conſider, *whether they were not making Rods for themſelves.* When they came to the Formality of putting a *Bible* in his hand, and taking it from him again, he was much affected, and parted with it with Difficulty, kiſſing it and ſaying with Tears, that they *could not however deprive him of the Uſe and Benefit of that Sacred Depoſitum.* It happen'd they were guilty of an Omiſſion in not ſtripping him of his Caſſock, which as ſlight a Particular as it might ſeem, render'd his Degradation imperfect, and afterwards ſav'd him his Benefice.

of

of the ſecular Officer, to undergo the Puniſhments adjudged to him.

The King did not only Cloſet his Judges and Officers, upon the Queſtion of the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*, but he ſollicited his Prime-Miniſters to be reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*. His Majeſty firſt undertook to manage the Earl of *Sun——d*, who is ſaid to have been very obſequious to the King's Deſire, and to have bowed low at the *Popiſh* Altar, though he did not care to be *formally reconciled* (as the Term was) *to the Church of Rome*. What the Tenor of that Diſcourſe was which the King had with him, was never known; but however, Father *Petre* is ſaid to have extremely magnfy'd the Earl's Obedience, at a Meeting with the Jeſuits; adding, *That it was neceſſary for him as yet to appear a* Proteſtant, *for weighty Reaſons of State* [a].

The King endeavours to reconcile his Prime Miniſters to his own Religion.

The King's next Sollicitation was to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, for whom the King had a particular Affection and Eſteem, not only as his Brother-in-Law, but as his faithful Servant, on whom he had therefore beſtow'd the Place of Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, upon his firſt advancement to the Throne: Yet it ſeems, nothing could maintain the Earl in this Poſt, without changing his Religion, and embracing the King's, which, by this time, was become almoſt the only Means of gaining or keeping Preferment. His Lordſhip being preſt and fatigu'd by the King's Intreaties, told his Majeſty, "That to let him ſee it was not "through any Prejudice of Education, or Obſtinacy, that he perſevered in his Religion, he "would freely conſent to hear ſome *Proteſtant* "*Divines* diſpute with ſome *Popiſh Prieſts*, and "promis'd to ſide with the Conquerors." Thereupon the King appointed a Conference to be held at *Whitehall*, at which his Majeſty and ſeveral Perſons of Honour were preſent with the Earl of *Rocheſter*. The *Proteſtant* Champions were, Dr. *Simon Patrick* (now Lord Biſhop of *Ely*;) and Dr. *William Jane*, Profeſſor of Divinity in *Oxford*. Thoſe on the *Popiſh* Side, were one *Gifford*, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*; and Mr. *Tilden*, who having turn'd *Roman Catholick* at *Lisbon*, went under the Name of Dr. *Godden*: And the Subject of their Diſpute was, *The Rule of Faith*, and, *The proper Judge in Controverſies*. This Conference was very long; and at laſt the *Romiſh* Doctors were preſs'd with ſo much Strength of Reaſon and Authority againſt them, that they were really put to Silence. Whereupon the Earl of *Rocheſter* openly declared, "That the Victory the *Proteſtant* Di-"vines had gain'd, made no Alteration in his "Mind, being before-hand convinc'd of the Truth "of his Religion, and firmly reſolv'd never to "forſake it.——His Majeſty going off abruptly, was heard to ſay, *He never ſaw a bad Cauſe ſo well, nor a good one ſo ill maintain'd.*——And the Jeſuits were ſo exaſperated againſt the Lord Treaſurer for refuſing to be a Convert, that one of them ſaid, *That that Lord muſt be anathematiz'd; and that the King would never proſper while ſuch a Heretick was near him.*——Within few Days after, the King ſent to the Earl for his Commiſſion of High-Treaſurer; which he preſently reſign'd: And in the beginning of *January* his Majeſty was pleas'd to Conſtitute *John* Lord *Bellaſis*, *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin*, *Henry* Lord *Dover*, Sir *John Ernle* (Chancelor of the *Exchequer*,) and Sir *Stephen Fox*, Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*. But to alleviate the Loſs of the Treaſury, His Majeſty aſſign'd to the Earl of *Rocheſter* an Annuity of five thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* upon the *Poſt-Office*. Which ſo engag'd his Lordſhip, that he afterwards went over to *Holland* to take Care of the King's Intereſt there, and to do him the beſt Service he could. There was leſs Care taken of his Elder Brother the Earl of *Clarendon*, who not only loſt his Government in *Ireland*, but his Privy-Seal *in England*; for on *March* 11. (at the end of this Year) His Majeſty was pleaſed to Conſtitute *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour* Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and he was that Day Sworn in Council.

A Conference, for ſatisfying the Earl of *Rocheſter*.

His Lordſhip's Declaration for the Proteſtant Religion:

And ſo turn'd out of the Treaſury.

New Commiſſioners appointed.

Lord *Clarendon* loſes the Privy-Seal.

As to other *Honours and Preferments*, they were moſt of them conferr'd with a like View upon the *Roman* Intereſt and Religion. On *May* 13. his Majeſty was pleas'd, in Conſideration of the good and faithful Services of *John Lytcott* Eſq; to confer upon him the Honour of Knighthood. And on *May* 28. his Majeſty being in his Camp on *Hounſlow-Heath*, after having declared his great Satisfaction with the Earl of *Bath*'s Regiment of *Corniſh* Men, was pleas'd to confer at the Head of the Regiment the Honour of Knighthood upon Captain *Beville Granvil*, his Lordſhip's Nephew, and Grandſon to Sir *Beville*, who was ſlain in the Battle of *Landſdown*. On *July* 11. his Majeſty in his Bed-Chamher Knighted *Thomas Jeffreys* Eſq; his Conſul at *Alicant*. On *Aug.* 8. his Majeſty conferr'd the ſame Honour of Knighthood upon *Thomas Rawlinſon* Eſq; one of the Aldermen of the City of *London*. Upon the Death of Sir *William Stapleton* (Governor and Captain-General of his Majeſty's *Leeward Iſlands in America*) the King was pleas'd in *Auguſt* to confer that Government upon Sir *Nathanael Johnſon*, in Conſideration of his many faithful Services and approved Loyalty. On *Aug.* 22. at *Windſor*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *Thomas Montgomery* of the *Middle-Temple* Eſq;. On *Sept.* 26. his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Thomas Fowle* Eſq; one of the Aldermen of the City of *London*; and then appointed him and Sir *Thomas Rawlinſon* to be Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* for the Year enſuing.

Other Honours and Preferments.

[a] It would be of good Service to the *Engliſh* World to ſupply a defect in it, by giving a full and perfect Liſt of the Proſelytes to the Church of *Rome*, under the influence of King *James* and his Court; with a true Relation of their Circumſtances and Characters, Services, Rewards, *&c.* by which it would appear, that the Men of no Religion were eaſily made to profeſs the Roman Catholick Religion, when their Neceſſities and their Vices drew them to it. The very Poets were converted by them, and of them the Chief upon the Stage, Mr. *Dryden* and Mr. *Wycherley*. The former after expoſing Popery to the laſt degree, come meanly over to the worſhipping of it, and ſacrific'd his two Sons with himſelf; tho' in his Funeral Pindarique upon K. *Charles* II. he had not a touch of it, nor betray'd any Inclination to go over; though writing to the Height of a Court Paraſite, and commending the Living more than the Dead. However in the Concluſion of that Poem, he was no Prophet, for he ſung thus,

——————With a diſtant View I ſee
Th' amended Vows of Engliſh *Loyalty,*
And all beyond that Object there appears
The long Retinue of a proſperous Reign
A Series of Succeſsful Years,
In orderly Array, a Martial manly Train.

Mr. *Wycherley* found his way out of Priſon by the like way of Worſhip; the late Writer of his Life tells us, that he lay in the Fleet and continued there ſeven Years in a cloſe Impriſonment, almoſt forgot by his old Friends, till in the Reign of King *James* II. Some of them by ſpeaking the *Plain Dealer*, got the King to the Play, who declaring his Approbation of the Poet's Performance, they improv'd his liking ſo far as to get him to deliver him from his long Confinement. But here the Modeſty of the Man did him a conſiderable prejudice, for inſtead of giving in a full Liſt of his Debts, he only mention'd thoſe, the Diſcharge of which would ſet him at Liberty, which was done with this additional Bounty, that the ſame King allow'd him two hundred Pounds a Year as long as he reign'd; and this was the Reaſon that made Mr. *Wycherley* always a Jacobite——and he departed this Life in the Roman Catholick Perſuaſion, in *January* 1715-6.

1686. 2 *Jac.* II.

On *Oct.* 22. *William Bridgman* Eſq; was ſworn one of the Clerks of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, in the Place of Sir *Philip Floyd*, deceas'd. And at the ſame time *William Blaithwaite* Eſq; was ſworn one of the Clerks of the ſaid Council in Ordinary. On *Decemb.* 1. his Majeſty, in his Bed-Chamber, conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Edmund Gardiner* Eſq; Deputy-Recorder of the Town of *Bedford*. And near the ſame time his Majeſty did the like Honour to *Richard Neale* Eſq; High-Sheriff of the County of *Northumberland* for the Year enſuing. *Decemb.* 18. his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute Dr. *Richard Raines* (Judge of the *Prerogative-Court*) Judge of his Majeſty's High-Court of *Admiralty*, and at the ſame time to confer upon him the Honour of Knighthood. Toward the End of the ſame Month, Sir *Charles Cotterell* having humbly petition'd the King for Leave (by reaſon of his Age) to reſign his Office of Maſter of the Ceremonies; his Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd, in Conſideration of his faithful Services to his Royal Father, Brother, and himſelf, to receive his Son *Charles-Lodowick Cotterell* Eſq; into the ſaid Office, and to conſtitute his Grandſon *John Dormer* Eſq; Aſſiſtant-Maſter of the Ceremonies, in his Place. On *Jan.* 21. his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *James Tillie* of *Pillaton*, in the County of *Cornwall*, Eſq;. And about the ſame time was pleas'd to conſtitute, by Commiſſion under the Great-Seal of *England*, Sir *Thomas Jefferys* his Agent and Conſul-General in the Kingdoms of *Valencia* and *Murcia*, and the Iſlands of *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Yvica* and *Sardinia*, in Conſideration of his Loyalty, and the good Services perform'd by him. At the Beginning of *Feb.* his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute the Earl of *Yarmouth* Treaſurer of his Houſhold; and the Lord *Waldegrave* Comptroller; and ſoon after, Colonel *James Porter* Vice-Chamberlain of the ſame.

State of Religion.

It is hard now to ſeparate the Affairs of *Religion* from thoſe of the *State*, becauſe the whole Buſineſs of the King and Court was to purſue the Ways and Means of introducing *Popery*. The Regular Clergy of the Church of *England* thought it their Duty not to be [a] ſilent in the common Danger, and therefore made their Sermons and publick Diſcourſes more expreſſly againſt the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. The King was taught to believe, that whatever was ſaid againſt his Religion, was a Reflection upon his Perſon and his Government: And therefore he was importun'd to reſtrain the Liberty of the Pulpit; and to that Purpoſe he order'd the *Directions concerning Preachers*, publiſh'd in 1662. to be now reprinted, and reinforc'd by a *Letter* of the King, directed to the Lords the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, given at *Whitehall* the 5th of *March* 1685. in the ſecond Year of his Reign, *to prohibit the Preaching upon Controverſial Points.*——

The King intent upon introducing *Popery*.

Would not bear the Clergy to Preach againſt it.

A late Author makes this proper Remark upon it: "An *Order* was directed to the *Proteſtant Biſhops* about *Preaching:* Which was, upon the "Matter, forbidding them to defend their Religion in the Pulpit; when it was at the ſame "time attack'd by the *Popiſh Prieſts* with all the "Vigour they were capable of, both in their Sermons and Books. This *Order* was taken from a "Precedent in Queen *Mary*'s Time; for the firſt "Step ſhe made to introduce *Popery*, (notwithſtanding her Promiſes to the Gentlemen of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* to the contrary, upon their appearing firſt of any, upon the Death of her "Brother) was to iſſue out a *Proclamation*, forbidding the Preaching upon Controverted Points "of Religion, for fear, as was ſaid, of raiſing "Animoſities among the People. But notwithſtanding this enſnaring *Letter* of King *James*, "the Clergy of the Church of *England* were not "wanting in their Duty: For, to their immortal "Honour, they did more to vindicate the Doctrine of their own Church, and expoſe the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, both in their Sermons and Writings, than ever had been done, "either at Home or Abroad, ſince the *Reformation*; and in ſuch a Style, and with ſuch an inimitable Force of Reaſoning, as will be a Standard of Writing to ſucceeding Ages.

Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.

"To haſten on the Project againſt the eſtabliſh'd "Church, a new Court of *Inquiſition* was erected "under the Name of a *Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs:* And, to blind the People, there "were ſome Biſhops of the Church of *England* "named Commiſſioners; whereof one refuſed to "act from the Beginning; and another excus'd "himſelf, after he came to ſee where the Deſign "of it was levell'd. This *Commiſſion* was another manifeſt Violation of the Laws, and againſt "an expreſs Act of Parliament. And, as if that "had not been enough to mortify the Church of "*England*, there were ſome *Roman Catholicks* appointed Commiſſioners; and conſequently the "Enemies of the [b] *Proteſtant* Religion were become the Judges and Directors of a *Proteſtant* "Church, in its Doctrine and Diſcipline. ——

[The *Commiſſion* it ſelf, becauſe it is the laſt of that Kind that we hope will be ever given out, deſerves to be here inſerted.]

JAMES the Second,

By the Grace of God, *King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, &c.

Form of it.

"TO the Moſt Reverend Father in God, our "Right Truſty and Right Well-beloved "Counſellor, *William* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Metropolitan; and to our Right Truſty and Right Well-beloved Counſellor *George* Lord *Jeffreys*, Lord-Chancellor of *England*; and to our Right Truſty "and Right Well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor "*Lawrence* Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*; and to our Right Truſty and "Right Well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland*, Preſident of our Council, and our Principal Secretary of State; and to "the Right Reverend Father in God, and our "Right Truſty and Well-beloved Counſellor "*Nathanael* Lord Biſhop of *Dureſme*; and to the

[a] See the Preſent State of the Controverſy, between the Church of *England* and the Church of *Rome*; or an Account of the Books written on both Sides. In a Letter to a Friend. Licens'd *May* 7. 1686. [Begun by the preſent Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and finiſh'd by Dr. *Clagett*.] *London*, for *Thomas Baſſet*, 4to.

[b] The Papiſts and the worſt of the Diſſenters, were made like Ox and Aſſ to draw together: An Eye-witneſs relates it as *Now a Comical Sight*, to ſee Mr. *Lobb* the Preſbyterian, and Father *Peter* the Jeſuite, caballing and contriving together, and as great Intimado's as if they had been of the very ſame Society: To ſee *Pen* the Quaker, and Mr. *Brent*, Mr. *Alſop* and *Nevil Payne*, ſettling and ſecuring Liberty of Conſcience, and Father *Warner* as obliging to them as can be. But whatever Profeſſions of Love and Sincerity were made to the Nonconformiſts by the Jeſuits, I can aſſure them at the ſame time, Father *Warner* the Jeſuite, the King's Confeſſor, look'd upon all the Diſſenters together as the worſt and vileſt of *Men*. Notes of Dr. *Gee* on *Parſon*'s Memorial p. 46. It has likewiſe been obſerv'd, that the only late Miniſter, who kept up a great Intereſt in the Diſſenters, was *Arthur* Earl of *Angleſey*, who was coming into great Favour with King *James* juſt before he died in this Year 1686.

1686. 2 *Jac.* II.

“Right Reverend Father in God, our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Counſellor *Thomas* Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*[a]; and to our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Counſellor Sir *Edward Herbert* Kt. Chief-Juſtice of the Pleas, before us to be holden aſſigned, *(Greeting.)*

“WE, for divers good, weighty and neceſſary Cauſes and Conſiderations Us hereunto eſpecially moving, of Our mere Motion, and certain Knowledge, by Force and Virtue of our Supreme Authority and Prerogative Royal, do Aſſign, Name, and Authorize by our Letters-Patents under the Great-Seal of *England*, you the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, Lord Preſident of our Council, Lord Biſhop of *Dureſme*, Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and our Chief-Juſtice aforeſaid, or any three or more of you, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, from time to time, and at all times during our Pleaſure, to Exerciſe, Uſe, Occupy and Execute under Us, all manner of Juriſdiction, Privileges and Preheminences in any-wiſe touching or concerning any Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions within this our Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*; and to Viſit, Reform, Redreſs, Order, Correct and Amend all ſuch Abuſes, Offences, Contempts and Enormities whatſoever, which, by the Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm, can or may lawfully be Reformed, Ordered or Redreſſed, Corrected, Reſtrained or Amended, to the Pleaſure of Almighty God, and Encreaſe of Virtue, and the Conſervation of the Peace and Unity of this Realm. AND we do hereby Give and Grant unto you, or any Three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, thus by us named, Aſſigned, Authorized and Appointed, by Force of our Supreme Authority, and Prerogative Royal, full Power and Authority from time to time, and at all times during our Pleaſure, under us, to Exerciſe, Uſe and Execute all the Premiſſes, according to the Tenor and Effect of theſe our Letters-Patents; any Matter or Cauſe to the contrary, in any-wiſe notwithſtanding. AND we do, by theſe Preſents, Give full Power and Authority unto you, or any Three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be One, by all lawful Ways or Means, from time to time hereafter, during Our Pleaſure, to enquire of all Offences, Contempts, Tranſgreſſions and Miſdemeanors done and committed contrary to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Our Realm, in any County, City, Borough, or other Place or Places, exempt or not Exempt, within this Our Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*; and of all and every the Offender and Offenders therein, and them, and every of them, to Order, Correct, Reform, and Puniſh by Cenſure of the Church. AND alſo, We do Give and Grant full Power and Authority unto you, or any Three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be One, in like manner as is aforeſaid, from time to time, and at all times during Our Pleaſure, to Enquire of, Search out, and Call before you, all and every Eccleſiſtical Perſon or Perſons, of what Degree or Dignity ſoever, as ſhall offend in any of theſe Particulars before-mention'd; and them, and every of them, to correct and puniſh, for ſuch their Miſbehaviours and Miſdemeanors, by ſuſpending or depriving them from all Promotions Eccleſiaſtical, and from all Functions in the Church; and to inflict ſuch other Puniſhments or Cenſures upon them, according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm. And further, We do give full Power and Authority unto you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, by Virtue hereof, and in like Manner and Form as is aforeſaid, to enquire, hear, determine and puniſh all Inceſt, Adulteries, Fornications, Outrages, Miſbehaviours and Diſorders in Marriage, and all other Grievances, and great Crimes or Offences, which are puniſhable or reformable by the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this our Realm, committed or done, or hereafter to be committed or done, in any Place, exempt or not exempt, within this our Realm, according to the Tenor of the Eccleſiaſtical Law in that behalf. Granting you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be one, full Power and Authority to order and award ſuch Puniſhment to every ſuch Offender, by Cenſures of the Church, or other lawful Ways, as is abovesaid. And further, We do give full Power and Authority to you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, to call before you, or any three or more of you, as aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, all and every Offender and Offenders in any of the Premiſſes; and alſo, ſuch as by you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall ſeem to be ſuſpected Perſons in any of the Premiſſes which you ſhall object againſt them; and to proceed againſt them, and every of them, as the nature and quality of the Offence, or ſuſpicion in that Behalf ſhall require: And alſo, to call all ſuch Witneſſes, or any other Perſon or Perſons that can inform you concerning any of the Premiſſes, as you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Channcellor to be one, and them and every of them to Examine, upon their Corporal Oaths, for the better Tryal and opening the Truth of the Premiſſes, or any part thereof.

“And if you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall find any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever obſtinate or diſobedient in their Appearance before you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Chancellor to be one, at your Calling and Commandments, or elſe in not obeying, or in not accompliſhing your Orders, Decrees and Commandments, or any thing touching the Premiſſes, or any Part thereof, or any other Branch or Clauſe contained in this Commiſſion; that then you, or any three or more of you, as aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall have full Power and Authority to puniſh the ſame Perſon or Perſons ſo offending, by Excommunication, Suſpenſion, Depri-

[a] The Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter* upon the Revolution, in a Letter to the Earl of *Dorſet*, dated 21 *Feb.* 1688. excuſes himſelf thus.---The Commiſſion was made, and my Name put to it altogether without my Knowledge, when I happened to be at *Salisbury*, holding an Archiepiſcopal Viſitation with the Biſhop of *Cheſter*.----I was ſtartled when I perceived my Lord of *Canterbury* ſcrupled to be preſent with us; whoſe Example it is true, I ought rather to have followed than the greateſt Lawyers in all Matters of Conſcience: Yet I hope his Grace will excuſe me, if I declare that I did not at firſt know he made a Matter of Conſcience of it. Nor did I underſtand his Grace took exception at the Lawfulneſs of the Commiſſion itſelf, till after my Lord of *London* was cited, and had appear'd and anſwer'd, and the unjuſt Sentence was paſs'd againſt him.

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"vation, or other Cenſures Eccleſiaſtical. And "when any Perſons ſhall be convened or proſe"cuted before you, as aforeſaid, for any of the "Cauſes above-expreſſed, at the Inſtance and Suit "of any Perſon proſecuting the Offence in that "behalf; that then you, or any three or more "of you, as aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord "Chancellor to be one, ſhall have full Power and "Authority to award ſuch Coſts and Expences of "the Suit, as well to and againſt the Party as "ſhall preferr or proſecute the ſaid Offence, as to "and againſt the Party or Parties that ſhall be "convened, according as their Cauſes ſhall re"quire, and to you, in Juſtice, ſhall be thought "reaſonable.

"And further, Our Will and Pleaſure is, that "you aſſume our well-beloved Subject *William* "*Bridgman*, Eſq; one of the Clerks of our Coun"cil, or his ſufficient Deputy or Deputies in that "behalf, to be your Regiſter, whom we do, by "theſe Preſents, depute to that effect, for the "regiſtring of all your Acts, Decrees and Pro"ceedings by Virtue of this our Commiſſion. And "that, in like manner, you, or any three or more "of you, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor "to be one, by your Diſcretion ſhall appoint one "or more Meſſenger or Meſſengers, and other "Officer or Officers, neceſſary and convenient to "attend upon you for any Service in this behalf; "our Will and expreſs Commandment alſo is, "that there ſhall be two Paper Books indented "and made, the one to remain with the ſaid Re"giſter, or his ſufficient Deputy or Deputies, the "other with ſuch Perſons and in ſuch Places as "you the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any three or "more of you, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chan"cellor to be one, ſhall in your Diſcretion think "moſt fit and meet; in both which Books ſhall "be fairly entred all the Acts, Decrees and Pro"ceedings made or to be made by Virtue of this "Commiſſion.

"And whereas our Univerſities of *Oxford* and "*Cambridge*, and divers Cathedral and Collegiate"Churches, Colleges, Grammar-Schools, and o"ther Eccleſiaſtical Incorporations, have been e"rected, founded and endowed by ſeveral of our "our Royal Progenitors, Kings and Queens of "this Realm, and ſome others, by the Charity "and Bounty of ſome of their Subjects, as well "within our Univerſities, as other Parts and "Places, the Ordinances, Rules and Statutes "whereof are either imbezell'd, loſt, corrupted, "or altogether imperfected; we do therefore give "a full Power and Authority to you, or any five "or more of you, of whom we Will you the a"fore-named Lord Chancellor always to be one, "to Cauſe and Command in our Name, all and "ſingular the Ordinances, Rules and Statutes of "our Univerſities, and all and every Cathedral "and Collegiate-Churches, Colleges, Grammar"Schools, and other Eccleſiaſtical Incorporati"ons, together with their ſeveral Letters-Patents, "and other Writings touching or in any-wiſe "concerning the ſeveral Erections and Foundati"ons to be brought and exhibited before you, or "any five or more of you, as is aforeſaid, where"of you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one; "willing, commanding and Authorizing you, or "any five or more of you, as aforeſaid, whereof "you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, upon "the exhibiting, and upon diligent and delibe"rate View, Search and Examination of the ſaid "Statutes, Rules and Ordinances, Letters-Pa"tents and Writings, as is aforeſaid, the ſame to "correct, amend, and alter. And alſo, where no "Statutes extant in all or any of the aforeſaid "Caſes, to deviſe and ſet down ſuch good Or"ders and Statutes, as you, or any five or more "of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid "Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall think meet "and convenient to be by us confirmed, ratified, "allowed and ſet forth, for the better Order and "Rule of the ſaid Univerſities, Cathedrals and "Collegiate-Churches, Colleges and Grammar"Schools, Erections and Foundations, and the "Poſſeſſions and Revenues of the ſame, as may "beſt tend to the Honour of Almighty God, "encreaſe of Virtue, Learning and Unity in the "ſaid Places, and the Publick Weal and Tran"quillity of this our Realm.

"Moreover, our Will, Pleaſure and Command"ment is, that our ſaid Commiſſioners, and every "of you, ſhall diligently and faithfully execute "this our Commiſſion, and every Part and Branch "thereof, in Manner and Form aforeſaid, and ac"cording to the true Meaning hereof, notwith"ſtanding any Appellation, Provocation, Privi"lege or Exemption in that behalf to be made, "pretended or alledged by any Perſon or Per"ſons reſident or dwelling in any Place or Places, "exempt or not exempt, within this our Realm; "any Law, Statutes, Proclamations, or Grants, "Privileges or Ordinances, which be, or may "ſeem to be contrary to the Premiſſes notwith"ſtanding.

"And for the better Credit and more manifeſt "Notice of your doing in Execution of this our "Commiſſion, our Pleaſure and Commandment "is, that to your Letters Miſſive, Proceſſes, De"crees, Orders and Judgments, for, or by you, "or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, "to be awarded, ſent forth, had, made, decreed, "given, or pronounced, at ſuch certain publick "Places, as ſhall be appointed by you, or any "three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, for the "due Execution of this our Commiſſion, you, or "ſome three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, "whereof you the ſaid Chancellor to be one, ſhall "cauſe to be put and fixed a Seal, engraven with "the *Roſe* and *Crown*, and the Letter *J.* and fi"gure 2. before, and the Letter *R.* after the "ſame; with a Ring or Circumference about the "ſame Seal, containing as followeth, *Sigillum* "*Commiſſiariorum Regiæ Majeſtatis ad Cauſas Ec*"*cleſiaſticas.*

"Finally, we Will and Command all and ſin"gular other our Miniſters and Subjects in all "and every Place and Places, exempt and not ex"empt, within our Realm of *England*, and Do"minion of *Wales*, upon any Knowledge or Re"queſt from you, or any three or more of you, "as is aforeſaid, to them or any of them given "or made, to be aiding, helping and aſſiſting un"to you, and to your Commandment, in, and for "the due executing your Precepts, Letters, and "other Proceſſes requiſite in, and for the due exe"cuting of this our Commiſſion[a], as they and "every of them tender our Pleaſure and Will, to "anſwer the contrary at their utmoſt Perils.

In Witneſs, &c.

[a] There was a ſecond Commiſſion of the ſame Tenor authorizing and appointing the Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord-Preſident of the Council, *John* Earl of *Mulgrave* then Lord-Chamberlain, the Lords Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Herbert*, or any three or more of which the Lord Chancellor to be one, to examine and judge in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. *T. M. apud Weſtm.* xxii. *Nov. Regni ſecundo*, 1686. And I think another Commiſſion dated the 12th of *January* following, conſtituting and appointing the Lord High Chancellor of *England*, the Lord-Preſident of his Majeſty's Council, the Lord-Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, the Earl of *Huntingdon*, the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, and *Cheſter*, Sir *Robert Wright* Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, Sir *Thomas Jenner* one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*.

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1686.
2 *Jac.* II.

Illegality of this Commiſſion.

[a] It muſt be obſerved, that King *Henry* VIII. by Virtue of a full Supremacy, was enabled not only to Delegate Commiſſioners, but to appoint a Vicar-General to act in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, after a manner too Abſolute for any Prince. And by Virtue of a Branch of an Act in 1 *Eliz.* the Queen was again impower'd to exerciſe the Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, and did ſet up a High-Commiſſion-Court, to reſtrain the growth of *Popery*, and to ſupport the eſtabliſh'd Church of *England.* Now becauſe the Commiſſioners had proceeded in ſuch Cauſes with too much Severity, and, as commonly thought, with too much Arbitrary Power, therefore there was another Act, 17 *Car.* I. cap. 11. *for a Repeal of the Branch of a Stat.* 1 Eliz. *concerning Commiſſioners for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical*; Enacting, That the ſaid Clauſe impowering the Queen to Commiſſion any Perſons to exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, *&c.* ſhall be made void for ever; and that no new Court ſhall be erected with the like Power, Juriſdiction or Authority, as the ſaid High-Commiſſion-Court hath, or pretendeth to have. The High-Commiſſion-Court being thus put down, ſome *Papiſts* and ſome *Diſſenters* would have deny'd that there was any Power remaining in the Church; and did pretend, that all manner of Coercive Juriſdiction was taken from the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and other Ordinaries. To obviate this Objection, there was another Law made, 13 *Car.* II. cap. 12. Intituled, *An Act for Explanation of a Clauſe contained in an Act of Parliament made in the* 17th *Year of the late King* Charles, *&c.* reciting, That upon the ſaid Statute of 17 *Car.* I. ſome Doubt had been made, that all ordinary Power of Coercion and Proceedings in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical were taken away, whereby the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical had been obſtructed; it was therefore enacted, *That neither the ſaid Act, nor any thing therein contained, doth or ſhall take away any ordinary Power or Authority from any of the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, or any other Perſon or Perſons named, as aforeſaid.*—— And further Enacting, *That the afore-recited Act of* Decimo ſeptimo Caroli, *and all the Matters and Clauſes therein contained, (Excepting what concerns the High-Commiſſion-Court, or the Erection of ſome ſuch-like new Court by Commiſſion) ſhall be, and is hereby repealed.*——— Provided always, *That neither this Act, nor any thing therein contained, ſhall extend or be conſtrued to Revive or give Force to the ſaid Branch of the ſaid Statute made in* 1 Eliz. *and mention'd in the Act* 17 Car. I. *but that the ſaid Branch of the ſaid Stat.* 1 Eliz. *ſhall ſtand and be repealed in ſuch ſort as if this Act had never been made.*

This Act 13 *Car.* II. was now interpreted, to reſtore to the Crown a Power of erecting a *High-Commiſſion-Court*, though with leſs Power of Fining, and Impriſoning, *&c.* But it had been formerly thought to extinguiſh all ſuch Extraordinary Courts, and therefore none ſuch had been erected in the Reign of King *Charles* II. So that the very granting of this new Commiſſion, was by many of the beſt Lawyers thought Illegal. And the very Creatures of the Court ſeem'd to be very conſcious of it: For though it was granted in the beginning of *April*, yet it was not open'd till the beginning of *Auguſt* following: And then it was thought ſtrange, that the Power of *Excommunication*, which is a pure Spiritual Act, ſhould be granted to mere Lay-men; for the *Quorum* in the Commiſſion were, the Chancellor and any other two. For theſe Reaſons, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was firſt named, refuſed to act in it; and the Biſhop of *Cheſter* was put in, as a fitter Tool.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* refuſes to act in this Commiſſion.

1686.
2 *Jac.* II.

Suſpenſion of the Biſhop of *London.*

Theſe Commiſſioners thought fit to begin the Exerciſe of their new Power, with the Suſpenſion of Dr. *Compton*, Biſhop of *London* This noble Prelate, by a Conduct worthy of his Birth, and Station in the Church, had acquired the Love and Eſteem of all the Proteſtant Churches at home and abroad; and was, for that Reaſon, the Mark of the Envy and Hatred of the *Romiſh* Party at Court. They had waited for an Occaſion to ennoble their *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* with ſuch an illuſtrious Sacrifice; and ſuch an Occaſion was rather taken than given, in the Buſineſs of Doctor *Sharp* (now Archbiſhop of *York.*)

The Prieſts about the King, knowing how much it was their Intereſt that the Proteſtant Clergy ſhould not have Leave to refute the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, in their Sermons, had adviſ'd him to ſend to the Biſhops the enſnaring *Letter* or *Order* before-mention'd, containing *Directions about Preachers.* The Learn'd Dr. *Sharp*, taking Occaſion, in ſome of his Sermons, to vindicate the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, in Oppoſition to *Popery*; this was, in the *Court Dialect*, underſtood to be, The *endeavouring to beget in the Minds of his Hearers an ill Opinion of the King and his Government, by inſinuating Fears and Jealouſies, to diſpoſe them to Diſcontent, and to lead them into Diſobedience and Rebellion*; and conſequently, a a Contempt of the ſaid *Order* about *Preachers.* Whereupon King *James* ſent a *Letter* to the Biſhop of *London*, which was deliver'd at *Fulham* on *Thurſday* June 17. by Mr. *Atterbury* the Meſſenger, and was as followeth:

Offence given by Dr. *Sharp.*

JAMES R.

The King's Letter for ſuſpending this worthy Preacher.

Right Reverend Father in God, We Greet you well. Whereas we have been inform'd, and are fully ſatisfied, That Dr. John Sharp, *Rector of the Pariſh Church of St.* Giles's *in the* Fields, *in the County of* Middleſex, *and in your Dioceſe, notwithſtanding our late* Letter *to the moſt Reverend Fathers in God, the Arch-Biſhops of* Canterbury *and* York, *and our* Directions *concerning* Preachers; *Given at our Court at* Whitehall *the* 15th *of* March 1685. *in the ſecond Year of our Reign; yet he the ſaid Dr.* John Sharp, *in Contempt of the ſaid* Orders, *hath, in ſome of his* Sermons *ſince preached, preſumed to make unbecoming Reflections, and to utter ſuch Expreſſions as were not fit or proper for him; endeavouring thereby to beget in the Minds of his Hearers, an evil Opinion of us and Our Government, by inſinuating Fears and Jealouſies to diſpoſe them to Diſcontent, and to lead them into Diſobedience and Rebellion. Theſe are therefore to require and command you, immediately upon Receipt hereof, forthwith to ſuſpend him from further Preaching in any Pariſh Church or Chapel in your Dioceſe, until he has given Us Satisfaction, and our further Pleaſure be known herein: And for your ſo doing, this ſhall be your Warrant. And ſo we bid you heartily farewel.*

Given at our Court at *Windſor*, the 14th Day of *June*, 1686. In the Second Year of Our Reign.

By His MAJESTY's Command.

SUNDERLAND.

The Biſhop of *London* perceiv'd that the Deſign of this *Letter* was abſolutely to forbid all Preaching againſt *Popery*, and the Effect of it might be to ſuſpend all the eminent Preachers in *England:* His Lordſhip, however, endeavour'd to divert the

[a] The beſt Exerciſe of this Authority (had the Authority been good) was in reſtraining the ſcandalous Practice of exempt Churches and Chapels wherein by corrupt Uſe and Cuſtom they married all Comers without Banns or Licence, as particularly in *Duke's-Place* and the *Little-Minories.* See an Order at a Court held by his Majeſty's Commiſſioners in the Council Chamber at *Whitehall*, *November* the 4th 1686. Strictly forbidding all Marriages without Banns or Licence; particularly in the pretended exempted Pariſhes of *Trinity Minories*, St. *James Duke's-Place*, and St. *Butolph Aldgate.* Single Sheet printed by *Tho. Newcomb*, 1686.

Storm

1685. 2 *Jac.* II.

Storm that threatned the[a] Church and Clergy, and therefore wrote this ſubmiſſive *Letter* to the Earl of *Sunderland*, to be communicated to the King, and made Dr. *Sharp* himſelf the Bearer of it to *Hampton-Court*, on *Friday* the 18th of *June*.

Anſwer of the Biſhop of *London*.

My Lord,

I Always have, and ſhall count it my Duty to obey the King in whatever Commands he lays upon me, that I can perform with a ſafe Conſcience; but in this, I humbly conceive, I am oblig'd to proceed according to Law, and therefore it is impoſſible for me to comply; becauſe, though His Majeſty commands me only to execute his Pleaſure, yet in the Capacity I am to do it, I muſt act as a Judge: And your Lordſhip knows, No Judge condemns any Man before he has Knowledge of the Cauſe, and has cited the Party. However, I ſent to Mr. Dean, *and acquainted him with his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure; whom I find ſo ready to give all reaſonable Satisfaction, that I have thought fit to make him the Bearer of this* Anſwer: *from him that will never be unfaithful to the King, nor otherwiſe than,*

(My Lord)

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble Servant,

H. LONDON.

No *Anſwer* could be obtained to this *Letter* of the Biſhop; and therefore, on the *Sunday* following, Dr. *Sharp* carry'd this *Petition* to *Windſor*.

To the KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The Humble Petition of *John Sharp*, Clerk,

Sheweth,

Petition of Doctor *Sharp* to the King.

THAT nothing is ſo afflictive to your Petitioner, *as his Unhappineſs to have incurred your Majeſty's Diſpleaſure: Which he is ſo ſenſible of, that ever ſince your Majeſty was pleas'd to give Notice of it, he hath forborn all Publick Exerciſe of his Function, and ſtill continues ſo to do.*

Your Petitioner *can with great Sincerity affirm, That ever ſince he hath been a Preacher, he hath faithfully endeavour'd to do the beſt Service he could in his Place and Station, as well to the late King your Royal Brother, as your Majeſty, both by Preaching and otherwiſe.*

And ſo far he hath always been from venting any thing in the Pulpit tending to Schiſm, or Faction, or any way to the Diſturbance of your Majeſty's Government, that he hath upon all Occaſions, in his Sermons, to the utmoſt of his Power, ſet himſelf againſt all ſorts of Doctrines and Principles that look that way: And this he is ſo well aſſur'd of, that he cannot but apprehend that his Sermons have been very much miſrepreſented to your Majeſty.

But if in any Sermon of his, any Words or Expreſſions have unwarily ſlipt from him, that have been capable of ſuch Conſtructions, as to give your Majeſty Cauſe of Offence; as he ſolemnly profeſſes he had no ill Intention in thoſe Words or Expreſſions, ſo he is very ſorry for them, and reſolves for the future, to be careful in the Dicharge of his Duty; that your Majeſty ſhall have reaſon to believe him to be your moſt faithful Subject.

And therefore he earneſtly prayeth, that your Majeſty out of your Royal Grace and Clemency, wou'd be pleas'd to lay aſide the Diſpleaſure you have conceiv'd againſt your humble Petitioner, *and reſtore him to that Favour which the reſt of the Clergy enjoy, under your Majeſty's Gracious Government;*

So your *Petitioner* ſhall ever pray, &c.

This *Petition* was not admitted to be read; for a Reſolution had been taken to execute the Diſpleaſure of the King upon the Biſhop of *London*: And therefore, on *Tueſday Aug.* 3. the Commiſſioners opened their Commiſſion, and immediately ſent a Citation to the Biſhop of *London*, to appear before them in the *Council-Chamber* at *Whitehall* on *Aug.* 9.

The Biſhop of *London* cited to appear before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. Proceedings.

The Biſhop did accordingly appear: And the Commiſſioners then preſent, were the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Preſident, the Lord Biſhop of *Dureſme*, the Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Herbert*. The Lord Chancellor charg'd the Biſhop with not obſerving his Majeſty's Commands in the Caſe of Dr. *Sharp*.—The Biſhop humbly begg'd a Copy of the Commiſſion, and a Copy of his Charge; and inſiſting upon this Deſire, he was bid to withdraw: And after a ſhort time, being call'd in again, was told thus by the Lord Chancellor; *Their Lordſhips have conſider'd of what your Lordſhip deſired, and are of Opinion, That you ſhall neither have a Copy of, nor ſee the Commiſſion; neither will they give a Copy of the Charge.*——The Biſhop then deſir'd Time to adviſe with Council, and to have them plead.——The Lord Chancellor ask'd what Time his Lordſhip deſir'd? ——His Lordſhip anſwer'd, *Conſidering the Seaſon of the Year, and that there is not one Civilian in the* Commons, *I hope you'll give me till towards the* Term.——But the Commiſſioners would grant but a Week only; and ſo adjourned to *Aug.* 15. on which Day the Biſhop appear'd again, and deſir'd longer time; *for* (ſays he) *I wrote to ſeveral conſiderable Council out of Town, none of which are come up; and thoſe few that are here, the thing is ſo new to them, that they could not thoroughly conſider Matters in ſo ſhort a time.* Then the Biſhop withdrew; and being call'd in again, was told, their Lordſhips were reſolv'd to give no time for pleading to their Juriſdiction, but for any other Anſwer they would grant a Fortnight;——and ſo they adjourn'd till *Aug.* 31. In the mean time the Biſhop ſent his Proctor to their Regiſter, for a Copy of what Orders and other Minutes they had ſet down concerning his Buſineſs. But it was refuſed: Though his Council told him, it was never deny'd in any Court.

The Biſhop's ſecond Appearance.

On the ſaid 31ſt of *Auguſt* the Biſhop appear'd, and begg'd their Lordſhips leave to offer his Plea to their Juriſdiction; *for* (ſays he) *I am told, it is a Right every one has to make uſe of, when he finds it for his Advantage, I wou'd not hazard being ſo impertinent as to offer any thing upon my own head: Your Lordſhip gave me time to adviſe with Council; and they that are learn'd in the Laws of the Land, adviſe me to plead to your Juriſdiction, and will be ready to argue it.*——The Commiſſioners refuſing, the Biſhop proceeded; *I am far from diſowning any part of the King's Supremacy; I acknowledge it, and am ſo bound to do, in its juſt extent over all Perſons, and in all Cauſes: What I have to offer in Plea to your Juriſdiction, is, that I conceive, this Commiſſion you act by is not good, as being contrary to an Act of Parliament: Upon which Point, I beg my Councel may argue.*——The Biſhop being over-rul'd, proteſted his Right to this Plea; which he would have given in, if the Lords Commiſſioners would have ſuffer'd it to be argued.

The Biſhop's third Appearance.

[a] Even Biſhop *Ken* highly incurred the Diſpleaſure of the Court for preſuming to preach againſt Popery: There was publiſh'd by Authority againſt him Animadverſions by way of Anſwer to a Sermon preached by Dr. *Thomas Ken* Lord Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, preached in the Cathedral Church of *Bath* on *Aſcenſion* day laſt being the 5th day of *May*, 1687. With Allowance, 1687, 4*to*. Dedicated to the King, and telling his Majeſty that *He had done more in one Day for God's Glory and the Propagation of the Chriſtian Faith, than moſt of the Chriſtian Kings have done in the whole Courſe of their Lives.* Treating the Biſhop with very grave Reproofs, and concluding with a ſerious Prayer for his Lordſhip's Converſion——The Writer of the Biſhop's Life has ſince obſerv'd that King *James* entertain'd Hopes of Biſhop *Ken*'s abſolute Obedience to his Will and Pleaſure, and altho' many of his Sermons were fram'd againſt the Church of *Rome*, yet it was thought worth while to attempt to gain him over to the Intereſt of that Party at Court; but ſo ineffectually, that upon preaching one of the two Sermons now publiſh'd, and in the King's own Chapel at *Whitehall*, and it being miſrepreſented to the King, who had not been preſent at Divine Service, but ſending for the Biſhop and cloſeting him on the Occaſion, receiv'd nothing in Anſwer, but this fatherly Reprimand, That if *his Majeſty had not neglected his own Duty of being preſent there, his Enemies had miſs'd this Opportunity of accuſing him.*

" I Henry

1686. 2 *Jac.* II.

The Biſhop's Plea againſt their Juriſdiction.

" I HENRY Biſhop of *London* do declare and " acknowledge, That the King's Majeſty is " the only Supreme Head and Governor of this " Realm, and all other his Majeſty's Dominions " and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Eccle- " ſiaſtical Cauſes, as Temporal. Nevertheleſs, I " the ſaid Biſhop, by Proteſtation, not acknow- " ledging any juſt or legal Authority in your Lord- " ſhips (otherwiſe than as by Law I am bound) to " queſtion or cenſure me in any Matter or Thing " Eccleſiaſtical whatſoever; do offer and ſhew to " your Lordſhips, That at the Parliament of King " *Charles* I. (of bleſſed Memory) late King of *Eng-* " *land*, holden on the 3d Day of *November*, in the " Sixteenth Year of his Reign, a certain Act and " Statute was made, Intituled, [*A Repeal of the* " *Branch of a Statute* Primo Elizabethæ, *concern-* " *ing Commiſſioners for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical*;] ſetting " forth, That in the Parliament holden in the Firſt " Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, there " was an Act made and eſtabliſh'd, Intituled, [*An Act* " *Reſtoring to the Crown the Antient Juriſdiction* " *over the State Eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual*;] And " aboliſhing all Foreign Power repugnant to the " ſame. In which *Act*, among other things, there " is contain'd one Clauſe, Branch, Article or Sen- " tence, whereby it was Enacted to this Effect, " namely,---- That the ſaid late Queen's Highneſs, " Her Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings or Queens of " this Realm, ſhould have full Power and Autho- " rity, by virtue of that *Act*, by Letters-Patents un- " der the Great Seal of *England*, to aſſign, name and " authorize, when, and as often as Her Highneſs, " Her Heirs or Succeſſors, ſhould think meet and " convenient, and for ſuch and ſo long Time as " ſhould pleaſe Her Highneſs, Her Heirs or Suc- " ceſſors, ſuch Perſon or Perſons, being Natural- " born Subjects to Her Highneſs, her Heirs or Suc- " ceſſors, as her Majeſty, her Heirs or Succeſſors, " ſhould think mete to exerciſe, uſe, ocupy and exe- " cute, under her Highneſs, her Heirs and Succeſſors, " all manner of Juriſdictions, Privileges, and Pre- " eminences in any-wiſe touching or concerning any " Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction within theſe " her Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, or any other " her Highneſs's Dominions and Countries; and to " viſit, reform, redreſs, order, correct and amend " all ſuch Errors, Hereſies, Schiſms, Abuſes, Offences, " Contempts and Enormities whatſoever, which by " any manner of Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Power, " Authority or Juriſdiction, can or may lawfully be " reformed, ordered, redreſſed, corrected, reſtrained " or amended, to the Pleaſure of Almighty God, " the Increaſe of Virtue, and the Conſervation of " the Peace and Unity of this Realm. And that " ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſo to be named, aſſigned " and appointed by her Highneſs, her Heirs or Suc- " ceſſors, after the ſaid Letters-Patents to him or " them made and deliver'd, as aforeſaid, ſhould " have full Power and Authority, by vertue of that " Act, and of the ſaid Letters-Patents under her " Highneſs, her Heirs or Succeſſors, to exerciſe, uſe " and execute all the Premiſſes, according to the Tenor " and Effect of the ſaid Letters-Patents; any Matter or " Cauſe to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtand- " ing. -------- And ſetting forth likewiſe,---- That, by " the colour of ſome Words in the foreſaid Branch " of the ſaid *Act*, whereby Commiſſioners are au- " thorized to execute their Commiſſion, according " to the Tenor and Effect of the King's Letters- " Patents, and by Letters-Patents grounded there- " upon; the ſaid Commiſſioners have, to the great " and unſufferable Wrong and Oppreſſion of the " King's Subjects, uſed to fine and impriſon them, " and to exerciſe other Authority not belonging to " Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, reſtor'd by that *Act*; " and divers other great Miſchiefs and Inconve- " niences have alſo enſued to the King's Subjects, " by Occaſion of the ſaid Branch; and Commiſſions " iſſued thereupon, and the Executions thereof. " And therefore, for the repreſſing and preventing " of the aforeſaid Abuſes, Miſchiefs and Inconve- " niences in Time to come, it was by the ſaid *Act* " made at the ſaid Parliament of the ſaid King " *Charles* the Firſt, *Enacted*, ---- That the aforeſaid " Branch, Clauſe, Article or Sentence contained in " the ſaid *Act* of *Primo Elizabethæ*, and every " Word, Matter and Thing contain'd in that Branch, " Clauſe, Article or Sentence, ſhould from thence- " forward be repeal'd, annull'd, revok'd, annihila- " ted, and utterly made void for ever; any thing " in the ſaid *Act* to the contrary in any-wiſe not- " withſtanding.------ And it was thereby alſo *Enacted* " by the Authority aforeſaid, That no Archbiſhop, " Biſhop, nor Vicar-General, nor any Ordinary " whatſoever, nor any other Spiritual or Eccleſiaſti- " cal Judge, Officer, or Miniſter of Juſtice, nor any " other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever executing Spi- " ritual or Eccleſiaſtical Power, Authority or Juriſ- " diction, by any Grant, Licenſe or Commiſſion of " the King's Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſſors, or " by any Power or Authority derived from the King, " his Heirs or Succeſſors, or otherwiſe, ſhould from " and after the Firſt Day of *Auguſt*, in the Year of " our Lord, 1641. award, impoſe, or inflict any " Pain, Penalty, Fine, Amerciament or Impriſon- " ment, or other Corporal Puniſhment upon any of " the King's Subjects, for any Contempt, Miſdemea- " nor, Crime, Offence, Matter or Thing whatſoever, " belonging to Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Cogni- " zance or Juriſdiction; or ſhall *ex officio*, or at " the Inſtance or Promotion of any other Perſon " whatſoever, urge, enforce, tender, give, or mini- " ſter unto any Church-warden, Side-man, or other " Perſon whatſoever, any Corporal Oath, whereby " he or ſhe ſhall or may be charg'd or oblig'd to " make any Preſentment of any Crime or Offence, " or to confeſs or accuſe himſelf or herſelf of any " Crime, Offence, Delinquency or Miſdemeanor, " or any other Neglect, Matter or Thing, whereby, " or by reaſon whereof, he or ſhe ſhall or may be " liable or expos'd to any Cenſure or Puniſhment " whatſoever; upon Pain and Penalty, That every " Perſon that ſhall offend, contrary to this Statute, " ſhall forfeit and pay treble Damages to every " Perſon thereby grieved, and the Sum of an Hun- " dred Pounds to him or them who ſhall firſt de- " mand and ſue for the ſame: Which ſaid treble " Damages, and Sum of an Hundred Pounds, ſhall " and may be demanded and receiv'd, and urg'd by " Action of Debt, Bill or Plaint, in any Court of " Record; wherein no Privilege, Eſſoin, Protection " or Wager of Law ſhall be admitted or allowed " to the Defendant. ---- And it was thereby further " *Enacted*, That every Perſon who ſhould once be " convicted of any Act or Offence prohibited by " that Statute, ſhould, for ſuch Act or Offence, be, " from and after ſuch Conviction, utterly diſabled " to be or continue in any Office or Employment in " any Court of Juſtice whatſoever, or to exerciſe " or execute any Power, Authority or Juriſdiction, " by Force of any Commiſſion, or Letters-Patents " of the King, his Heirs or Succeſſors.---- And it " was alſo thereby *Enacted*, That from and after " the Firſt Day of *Auguſt*, no New Court ſhould be " erected, ordain'd or appointed within this Realm " of *England*, or Dominion of *Wales*, which ſhould " or might have the like Power, Juriſdiction or " Authority as the ſaid High-Commiſſion-Court " then had, or pretended to have: But that all " and every ſuch Letters-Patents, Commiſſions and " Grants made or to be made by his Majeſty, his " Heirs or Succeſſors, and all Powers and Authori- " ties granted thereby; and all Acts, Sentences and " Decrees to be made by Vertue or Colour thereof, " ſhould be utterly void and of none Effect.--------- " Which ſaid Act of Parliament, made at the ſaid " Parliament of the ſaid King *Charles* the *Firſt*, I " the

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"the ſaid Biſhop of *London* do plead, and object "to and againſt your Lordſhip's Juriſdiction; and "pray your Lordſhip's Judgment, Whether your "Lordſhips will think it fit, or ought to proceed "any further herein againſt me the ſaid Biſhop of "*London.*

After the rejecting of this Plea, the Biſhop ſpoke thus: *I have another thing to beg your Lordſhips Advice and Judgment in. I have Right, as a Biſhop, by the moſt authentick and univerſal Eccleſiaſtical Laws, to be tried firſt before my Metropolitan precedent to any other Court whatſoever.* ---- The Court ſaid, Still this was to plead againſt their Juriſdiction. ------ And the Biſhop went on thus: *If I am over-rul'd in this, I muſt beg your Lordſhips Patience in one Plea more. Your Lordſhips, in this Commiſſion, after the general Words, are directed to proceed according to the Tenor of the Letters-Patents,* &c. *Now I conceive in the Capacity I am in, you are only warranted to try me for Offences after the Date of the Commiſſion.* ------ But the Court *Reſolved,* That they had Authority to look back. ------ Then the Biſhop put in his *Anſwer* in Writing, which was read by Mr. *Bridgman,* in this Form:

The Biſhop's *Anſwer* to the Charge.

"TO the Queſtion which was propoſed to me "by your Lordſhips *(viz.) Why did you "not Obey the King's Command, in his Letter con"cerning the Suſpending Dr.* Sharp? I *Henry* Bi"ſhop of *London* do anſwer, That immediately "upon Receipt of his Majeſty's *Letter* from my "Lord Preſident, (the Tenor whereof follows, *&c.*) "I took the beſt Advice I could get concerning "Dr. *Sharp*; and was inform'd, That the *Letter* "being directed to me, as Biſhop of *London,* to "ſuſpend a Perſon under my Juriſdiction, I was "therein to act as a Judge, it being a judicial Act; "and that no Perſon could by Law be puniſh'd by "Suſpenſion, before he was call'd, or without be"ing admitted to make his Defence: I thought it "therefore my Duty forthwith humbly to repreſent "ſo much to my Lord Preſident, that ſo I might "receive his Majeſty's further Pleaſure in that Mat"ter. Nevertheleſs, that I might obey his Ma"jeſty's Command, as far as by Law I could, I did "then ſend for Dr. *Sharp,* and acquainted him "with his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, and the Occaſion "of it, by ſhewing him his Majeſty's *Letter.* "But he having never been call'd to anſwer any "ſuch Matter, or make his Defence, and proteſting "his Innocence, and likewiſe declaring himſelf moſt "ready to give his Majeſty full Satisfaction therein: "In order thereto, I adviſ'd him to forbear Preach"ing, till he had apply'd himſelf to his Majeſty; "and, at his Requeſt, I made him the Bearer of my "*Letter* to my Lord Preſident; waiting for his "Majeſty's farther Orders to proceed againſt him "judicially, in caſe he ſhould not at that time give "his Majeſty the Satisfaction required: And the "ſaid Dr. *Sharp* hath not ſince Preach'd within "my Dioceſe.

HENRY LONDON.

The Biſhop's farther Plea.

The Biſhop being then ask'd by the Lord Chancellor, Whether he had any thing more to ſay? ---- He only ſaid, *That the Words of his Majeſty's* Letter *were liable to two Conſtructions, upon a double Senſe of the Word* Suſpend; *either a Suſpenſion* ab Officio, *which was a Judicial Act, and he could not do but in a Judicial Manner. The other Senſe of the Word* Suſpend, *might be taken at large for* Silencing: *And therefore he had adviſ'd the Doctor not to Preach till he knew his Majeſty's farther Pleaſure. Which Advice* (ſays he) *from a Judge, the Learn'd in the Laws tell me,* is Tantamount *to an Admonition; and that if he had not ſubmitted to it, I could have cenſur'd him for his Diſobedience. So that if this laſt was his Majeſty's Meaning, I have, in effect, obey'd the* Letter: *Which is all I ſhall ſay at preſent; and beg my Council may be heard, to clear the Matter in Point of Law.* ------ After this, the Biſhop's Council, who were Dr. *Oldys,* Dr. *Hedges,* Dr. *Brice,* and Dr. *Newton,* Argued ſtrenuouſly in behalf of the Biſhop. And after their learned Pleadings, the Biſhop ſpoke thus: *I have but little more to ſay; I ſuppoſe my Council have ſatisfy'd your Lordſhips, that, in the ſevereſt Conſtruction, Malice or Wilful Diſobedience could not be imputed to me. But, as my Lord Chancellor has now explain'd it to Dr.* Oldys, *That the King's Meaning was, only to* Silence, *they have made plain to your Lordſhips, that I have effectually obey'd his Majeſty's Commands: And if in any Circumſtance I have been wanting, I am ready to make Reparation, by performing that likewiſe, and to beg his Majeſty's Pardon.* ------ After this, the Biſhop was appointed to attend the Commiſſioners on *Monday* Sept. 6. when this Sentence was read againſt him:

By His MAJESTY*'s Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.*

Sentence againſt the Biſhop.

"WHereas *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London* hath "been convened before us, for his Diſobe"dience, and other his Contempts mention'd in "the Proceedings of this Cauſe; and the ſaid Lord "Biſhop of *London* being fully heard hereupon: "We have thought fit, after mature Conſideration "of the Matter, to proceed to this our definitive "Sentence; declaring, decreeing, and pronouncing, "That the ſaid Lord Biſhop ſhall, for the ſaid "Diſobedience and Contempts, be Suſpended du"ring his Majeſty's Pleaſure. And accordingly "We do, by theſe Preſents, ſuſpend him the ſaid "*Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*; peremptorily ad"moniſhing and requiring him hereby to abſtain from "the Function and Execution of his Epiſcopal "Office, and from all Epiſcopal and Eccleſiaſtical "Juriſdiction, during the ſaid Suſpenſion, under "Pain of Deprivation and Removal from his "Biſhoprick. (a)

Given under our Seal, the Sixth Day of September, 1686.

The Biſhop would have ſpoken, before the Sentence was read, to have recapitulated the Heads of his CASE, and to have offer'd full Proof of his Compliance, in *Silencing* Doctor *Sharp*; And to have deſired, Since their Lordſhips had hitherto been his Accuſers and Judges, they would at laſt, according to the uſual Cuſtom, have been his Council, and order'd their Advocate to lay down the Nature of the Crime, the Law it offended, and the Law it was to be puniſh'd by; that he might have given in his Exceptions; But no Speaking was allowed, till the Sentence was read. And when, after the reading, the Biſhop ſaid, *Have your Lordſhips any farther Service to Command me?* - - - - - The Lord Chancellor anſwer'd, *No.* - - - - And im-

(a) The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* did afterward deny his concurring in this Sentence. I gave (ſays he) my poſitive Vote for the Biſhop's Acquittal both the times when his Suſpenſion came in queſtion. ---- After my Lord *London* was ſentenc'd, his Lordſhip knows, I was always upon the Watch to obſtruct all farther Proceedings againſt him; nay, his Lordſhip well remembers, I had once obtain'd to have his Suſpenſion taken off, if he would but have made an ordinary Submiſſion.

mediately

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mediately after, the Biſhops of *Dureſme*, *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough* were appointed Commiſſioners to Exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction within the Dioceſe of *London*, during the Suſpenſion of the Biſhop.

Juriſdiction of the See of *London* committed to others.

Dr. *Sharp* was likewiſe Judicially Suſpended; but, in pretended Mercy, was ſoon after reſtored to the Exerciſe of his Function. *(b)*

Other Attempts of introducing *Popery*.

There were many other violent Attempts in Favour of *Popery*, and in Prejudice to the *Eſtabliſh'd Church*; which are thus well deliver'd in the *Memoirs* of a late Writer. - - - - - " King *James* made " haſte to accompliſh the *Grand Deſign*, which a " headſtrong Party about him puſh'd on, as the " certain way, in their Opinion, to eternize his " Name in this World, and to merit an Eternal " Crown in the other. They foreſaw, that this " was the *Critical Juncture*, and the only one that " happen'd ſince the Days of *Queen Mary*, to re- " ſtore their Religion in *England*: And if they " were wanting to themſelves in making uſe of it, " the Proſpect of a *Proteſtant Succeſſor* would in- " fallibly prevent their having any ſuch Opportu- " nity for the future. King *James* was pretty far " advanc'd in Years; and what was to be done, " requir'd Expedition; for all their Labour would " be loſt, if he ſhould die before the Accompliſh- " ment. If he had been younger, or the next pre- " ſumptive Heir had not been a Proteſtant, there " had been no ſuch abſolute Neceſſity for Diſpatch; " but the Uncertainty of the King's Life call'd for " more than ordinary Diligence, in a Deſign that " depended merely upon it.

" The *Party* being reſolved, for theſe Reaſons, to " bring about, in the Compaſs of one ſingle Life, " (and that already far ſpent) what ſeem'd to be " the Work of an whole Age; they made large " Steps towards it. *Roman-Catholicks* were not on- " ly employ'd in the *Army*, but brought into Pla- " ces of greateſt Truſt in the *State*. The Earl of " *Clarendon* was forthwith remov'd from the Of- " fice of *Privy-Seal* and the Government of *Ire-* " *land*, to make room for the Earl of *Tyrconnel* in " the one, and the Lord *Arundel* in the other. Fa- " ther *Petre*, a *Jeſuit*, was ſworn of the *Privy-* " *Council*. And tho' by the Laws it was *High-* " *Treaſon*, for any to aſſume the Character of the " Pope's *Nuncio*; yet theſe were become too ſlen- " der Cobwebs, to hinder a *Roman Prelate* to ap- " pear publickly at *London* in that Quality: And " one of the greateſt Peers in *England* was diſgrac'd, " for not paying him that Reſpect, which the Laws " of the Land made criminal.

Ambaſſador ſent to the Pope.

" To bear the Publick Character of *Ambaſſador* " to the *Pope*, was likewiſe an open Violation of " the Laws: But ſo fond was the *Governing Party* " about King *James* to ſhew their new-acquir'd " Trophies at *Rome*, that the Earl of *Caſtlemain* " was diſpatch'd thither Extraordinary Ambaſſa- " dor, with a Magnificent Train, and a moſt Sum- " ptuous Equipage. *(c)* What his Secret *Inſtructions* " were, may be partly gueſs'd by his Publick ones; " which were, *To reconcile the Kingdoms of* Eng- " land, Scotland *and* Ireland *to the Holy See*; *from* " *which they had, for more than an Age, fallen off* " *by Hereſy*.

His Reception at *Rome*.

" *Innocent* XI. receiv'd this Embaſſy, as one that " ſaw farther than thoſe who ſent it. The Ambaſ- " ſador had but a cold Reception of the *Holy Fa-* " *ther*; and none of the *Cardinals*, but thoſe of a " *particular Faction*, and the *good-natur'd Cardinal* " of *Norfolk*, took any further Notice of it, than " good Manners oblig'd them. The Court of " *Rome* were too refin'd Politicians, to be impos'd " upon with *Shew* and *Noiſe*; and knew the " World too well, to expect great Matters from " ſuch haſty, ill-tim'd *Advances* as were made to " them. Not only ſo, but *Innocent* having an A- " verſion in his Nature to a *Faction* he knew King " *James* was embark'd in, which he never took " Pains to diſſemble, was not over-fond of an *Em-* " *baſſy* from a Prince, who was in an *Intereſt* he " had long wiſh'd to ſee humbled. King *James* " met with nothing but Mortifications at *Rome*, in " the Perſon of his *Ambaſſador*; which occaſion'd " his making as ſhort a Stay as was poſſible. In " which may be ſeen the vaſt Difference there was " betwixt the *Politicks* of *Italy*, and thoſe of a " headſtrong *Party* in *England*. And however the " World has been impos'd upon, to believe, that " the Pope's *Nuncio* at the *Engliſh* Court, who is " ſince made a *Cardinal*, was an Inſtrument to puſh " on Things to Extremities; yet certain it is, he " had too much good Senſe, to approve of all the " Meaſures that were taken; and therefore deſir'd " often to be recall'd, leſt he ſhould be thought to " have a Hand in them.

" Altho' the Earl of *Caſtlemain* was pleas'd, upon " his Examination before the Parliament, to ſay, " *(d)* That his Embaſſy to *Rome*, was *only ſuch as is* " *between Two Temporal Princes, about Compliment* " *and Commerce*; yet Father *Warner*, in his *Manu-* " *ſcript Hiſtory*, quoted by a Learned Author, gives " us another Account of it, in theſe Words: " *Things being thus ſettled* (ſays he) *within the* " *Realm*; *the next Care His Majeſty had, was to* " *unite his Countries to the Obedience of the Biſhop* " *of* Rome, *and the Apoſtolick See*; *which had been* " *cut off* (*by Hereſy*) *about an Age and an Half* " *before. To try the* Pope's *Inclination, in the Year* " 1685. *he ſent Mr.* Carryl *thither*; *who ſucceed-* " *ing according to his Wiſhes, and being recall'd, the* " *Earl of* Caſtlemain *was ſent the next Year as Ex-* " *traordinary Ambaſſador to the* Pope, *in the Name* " *of the King and the Catholicks of* England, *to make* " *their Submiſſion to the Holy See*.

" *Caſtlemain* had ſeveral *Audiences* of the *Pope*, " but to little Purpoſe; for whenever he began " to talk of Buſineſs, the Pope was ſeaſonably " attack'd with a *Fit of Coughing*, which broke off " the Ambaſſador's Diſcourſe for that Time, and " oblig'd him to retire. Theſe *Audiences* and *Fits* " *of Coughing* continu'd from Time to Time, " while *Caſtlemain* continu'd at *Rome*, and were " the Subject of Diverſion to all but a *particular*

(b) I have heard Archbiſhop *Teniſon* ſay, That He, as Vicar of St. *Martin*'s, us'd ſeveral Endeavours with ſome of the Nobility in vain, to obtain a Liberty of Preaching for his Neighbour, Dr. *Sharp*; till at laſt repreſenting his Caſe to Mr. *Pepys*, as a good-natur'd Man with Wife and Children, Mr. *Pepys* went freely to the King, and prevail'd with his Majeſty to reſtore him to the Exerciſe of his Office; till which Time, he had a Guard, or Centinel to attend his Lodgings.

(c) The Earl of *Caſtlemain*, in his own Printed Account of what was ſaid by him before the Houſe of Commons, in the next Reign, did make his Embaſſy to have been juſt ſuch as is between Two Temporal Princes about Compliment and Commerce; and ſaid he could prove it, but that he had burnt his Papers. I can help him (ſays Dr. Gee, in his Notes on the Memorial of Father *Parſons*) out of Father *Warner*'s Hiſtory, with a Breviate of his Inſtructions for his Embaſſy to *Rome*, which was in the Name of the King and the Catholicks of the Realm, to teſtify their Canonical Obedience, or to make their Submiſſion to the Holy See. That Father, (*Warner*) the King's Confeſſor, expreſs'd himſelf thus, in his *Latin* MS. *Rebus intra Regnum utcunque ſtabili Concordiâ florentibus, proxima Sereniſſimo Regi cura fuit ſuas Ditiones cum Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Capite Romano Pontifice, Sanctaque Sede Apoſtolicâ connectere; à qua Hæreſis eas ante Seſquiſæculum divulſerat. Ad tentandum ergo vadum Anno* 1685. *Romam deſtinat* Joannem Carillum, *&* *ſtirpis Claritudine, & Opulentiâ Illuſtrem. Cui revocato, cunctis ex voto ſervis, Legatus Extraordinarius, eo deſtinatus eſt Anno ſequenti* 1686. *Illuſtriſſimus Comes de* Caſtlemain, *Obedientiam Canonicam* Jacobi *& Catholicorum Regni nomine teſtaturus.*

(d) There was publiſh'd at *London* by the King's Printer, *Henry Hills*, *A Relation of the Journey, Entrance, and Reception at* Rome, *of His Excellency the Earl of* Caſtlemain, *His Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary to His Holineſs.*

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" *Faction* at that Court. At length he was adviſ'd " to come to Threats, and to give out, That he " would be gone, ſince he could not have an Op- " portunity to Treat with the Pope about the Buſi- " neſs he came for. *Innocent* was ſo little concern'd " for the Ambaſſador's Reſentment, that when they " told him of it, he anſwer'd with his ordinary " Coldneſs, *E bene, ſe voul anderſene ditegli adon- " que che ſi levi di buon matino al freſco e che a " mezzo giorno ſi repoſi, per che in queſti paeſi non " biſogna viaggiare al caldo del giorno.* --- i. e. *Well ! " let him go : And tell him, It were fit he riſe early " in the Morning, that he may reſt himſelf at Noon ; " for in this Country, it's dangerous to travel in the " Heat of the Day.* (*e*)

Ambaſſador recall'd from *Rome*.

" In the end, he was recall'd ; being able to ob- " tain of the Pope Two trifling Requeſts only, that " could hardly be deny'd to an ordinary Courier : " The one was, *A Licenſe for the Mareſchal* De " Humier's *Daughter, to marry her Uncle :* And " the other, *A Diſpenſation of the Statutes of the " Jeſuits Order, to Father* Petre, *to enjoy a Bi- " ſhoprick : - - - - The want of which,* (ſays my Au- " thor) *was the Reaſon that the Archbiſhoprick of* " York *was kept ſo long vacant.*

Little reſpected by the Pope,

But only by the Jeſuits.

(*f*) " Tho' the *Pope* carry'd himſelf in this manner " towards the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, yet the *Jeſuits* " paid him the higheſt Reſpect imaginable ; which " did him no Service with the *Old Man*, for *He* " and that *Order* were never hearty Friends. They " entertain'd him in their *Seminary* with the great- " eſt Magnificence ; and nothing was wanting in " Nature or Art, to grace his Reception. All " their Stores of *Sculpture, Painting, Poetry* and *Rhe- " torick*, ſeem to have been exhauſted upon this " Entertainment. And tho' all the *Inſcriptions* and " *Emblems* did centre upon the *Triumph of the* Ro- " miſh *Religion, and the Ruin of Hereſy in* Eng- " land ; yet Care was taken, not to omit ſuch par- " ticular *Trophies* and *Devices*, as were adapted to " their new-acquir'd Liberty of *ſetting up their " Publick Schools at* London. Among a great ma- " ny other *Panegyricks* upon King *James*, the fol- " lowing Diſtich was plac'd below an *Emblem* of " *England :*

Reſtituit Veterem tibi Religionis honorem,

Anglia, Magnanimi Regis aperta fides.

[Thus *Engliſh'd :*]

The open Zeal of this Magnanimous King, has reſtor'd to England *its Ancient Religion.*

" There was alſo this *Inſcription* put round King " *James*'s Picture :

Potentiſſimo & Religioſiſſimo
Magnæ Britanniæ
Regi
JACOBO II.
Generoſa
Catholicæ Fidei Confeſſione
Regnum Auſpicanti ;
ET
INNOCENTIO XI. P. M.
Per Legatum
Nobiliſſimum & Sapientiſſimum
D. Rogerium Palmerium,
Comitem de Caſtlemain ;
Obſequium deferenti
Collegium Romanum
Regia Virtutum Inſignia Dedicat.

[Thus *Engliſh'd :*]

To the Moſt Potent and Moſt Religious JAMES *the* Second, *King of* Great-Britain ; *beginning his Reign with the Generous Confeſſion of the Catholick Faith ;*

AND
Paying his Obedience to Pope
INNOCENT XI.
By the Moſt Noble and Moſt Wiſe (*g*)
Roger Palmer, *Earl of* Caſtlemain :
The Roman *College*
Dedicates
Theſe Royal Emblems of his Virtues.

" In the *Great Hall*, the Ambaſſador was ha- " rangu'd by the *Rector* of the *College*, in a *Latin* " Speech. And it may not be amiſs to mention a " *Device*, that related to King *James*'s having a " Son ; which was, *A Lilly, from whoſe Leaves " there diſtill'd ſome Drops of Water ;* which, as " the *Naturaliſts* ſay, becomes the Seed of New " Lillies ; and the *Motto* was, *Lachrimor in Pro- " lem* - - - i. e. *I weep for Children* : - - - - And un- " derneath was this Diſtich ;

Pro Natis Jacobe ! Gemis, Flos candide Regum ?
Hos Natura Tibi ſi neget, Aſtra dabunt.

[Thus *Engliſh'd :*]

Doſt thou Sigh for Children, O James*! thou Beſt of Kings ? If Nature denies, Heaven will Grant them.*

" There was one *Inſcription* more this Author " takes Notice of ; which being one of the moſt un- " accountable things of that kind, afforded Matter " for the *Wits* of *Rome* to deſcant upon. Though " the Words are ill choſe, and ſtrangely harſh, yet

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(*e*) Father *Porter*, Reader of Divinity in the College of St. *Iſidore*, at *Rome*, contracted a Friendſhip with the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, and dedicated an abominable Book to him, entitled, *Securis Evangelica ;* Licenſed by the Companion of the Maſter of the Sacred Palace, as a Book very uſeful for the *Inſtruction of the Faithful.* Therein the Author makes the Proteſtants God to be the very Devil, and their Heaven to be Hell it ſelf, *p.* 151: *Colligitur Deum Religionis Reformatæ non differre à Diabolo, nec ejus Paradiſum ab Inferno.*—— Nay, he makes the whole Plan of the Reformed Religion to be built upon this horrid Blaſphemy, That Chriſt Jeſus was a Falſe Prophet. *Structura Religionis Reformatæ fundatur in hac horrenda blaſphemia, Chriſtum eſſe falſum Prophetam,* &c.

(*f*) See what Dr. *Burnet* writes in his *Reaſons againſt Repealing the Teſt,* 1687.—— When *Rome* has expreſs'd ſo great a Jealouſy of the Intereſt that the Order of Jeſuits had in our Councils, that Father *Morgan* (who was thought to influence our Ambaſſador) was order'd to leave *Rome*. No Reaſon can be given, why Cardinal *Howard* ſhould be ſhut out of all their Councils, unleſs it be, that the Nobleneſs of his Birth, and the Gentleneſs of his Temper, are too hard even for his Religion and his People, to be maſter'd by them.

(*g*) See an Account of the vain Letters which the Jeſuits write from *England* to *Rome*, of the happy Progreſs of the Catholick Religion by the Zeal of the King, in the *Three Letters of the State of* Italy, 1688. 8*vo*.—— See there likewiſe a remarkable Story of Father *Canne*, a Jeſuit, belonging to the *Engliſh* Houſe at *Rome*, well known in *England* by ſome of his Writings, and in particular, by one againſt the Oath of Allegiance ; now a great Confident of the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, in his Embaſſy to the Pope, *&c.*—— The Reaſon why ſo little Reſpect was had to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and to every Thing he propoſed, *p.* 113.—— The Pope's dry Anſwer to our Ambaſſador, when he threaten'd to leave *Rome*, &c. *p.* 124.

1686. 2 *Jac.* II.

" it's certain the *Fathers* had a peculiar Meaning in " them; and they refer to King *James*'s Influence " upon his Brother to turn *Roman-Catholick* at his " Death. The *Inſcription* runs thus:

JACOBO *Secundo, Angliæ Regi,*
Quod ipſo Vitæ Exemplo præeunte
Et impellente Conſiliis
Carolus *Frater & Rex*
Mortem Obierat admodum piam,
Regnaturus à tergo Frater
Alas Carolo *addidit:*
ET
Ut Cælo dignum,
ET
Dignum ſe Rege Legatum, eligeret,
Fratrem Miſit.

[Thus *Engliſh'd*:]

To King JAMES *the* Second, *King of England; for having, by his Example and his Counſel, prevailed with* Charles *his Brother to Die a Pious Death:*

And being to Succeed him,

He gave Wings to Charles; *And that he might make Choice of an Ambaſſador Worthy of Heaven and Himſelf, he Sent his Brother.*

" I will not pretend to give the nice Senſe of " theſe Words; and though I would, I cannot, " there being ſuch a Perplexity in them.

" But for the Expreſſions that follow, I may " venture to give them in *Engliſh*, though they " ſeem to be as much out of the Ordinary Road " as the former:

Nuncii ex Angliâ Proceres
Retulerunt Regibus aliis Jacobum Regnantem
Cælo
Primus omnium retulit Carolus.
Nec immerito;
Reges alii Legatos ſuſcipiunt
Mittuntque Principes,
Legatos Reges Deum excipere decuit;
Jacobum mittere.

[Thus *Engliſh'd*:]

Engliſh *Noblemen were ſent to other Kings, to acquaint them with King* James's *Acceſſion to the Crown: But* Charles *firſt of all brought the News of it to Heaven.*

It was but reaſonable, (h)
For Kings to ſend and receive Princes as Ambaſſadors:
But
It became God Almighty to receive, and James *to ſend no Ambaſſador but Kings.*

K. *James*, before his Acceſſion to the Throne, had but little Intereſt at *Rome*.

" To ſee King *James* Neglected at *Rome* in the " *Pontificat* of *Innocent* XI. was not ſo ſtrange, " conſidering what has been ſaid of his Antipathy " to a Faction wherein that Prince was concern'd: " But that in the Time of *Innocent*'s Predeceſſor, " and when he was *Duke* of *York*, he ſhould be " deny'd a common Favour, which that Court " ſeldom or never refuſes to any one, was a Thing " altogether unaccountable: Yet ſo it was, That " he having ſent the late Earl of *Peterborough* to " *Italy*, to Eſpouſe the Princeſs of *Modena* in his " Name; all the Intereſt he could make, was not " able to obtain a *Diſpenſation* for the Marriage. " The Account of this Matter being ſo little known, " and that *Earl*'s Book wherein he mentions it, " being ſo rare, and, as I am told, but Twenty-" four *Copies* Printed, I ſhall give it in the *Earl*'s " own Words:----

" But now from *Rome* there was Advice (*ſays he*) " by the Abbot of *Angeo*, of the great Difficulties " that aroſe in the Conſultations of this Affair, " (*meaning the Marriage.*) The *French* Ambaſ-" ſador (the Duke *D'Eſtrees*) favour'd the Mar-" riage, with all the Power of the *French Faction*; " ſo did *Cardinal Barberini*, and all the other " Friends and Allies of the Houſe of *Eſté*. But " His *Holineſs* himſelf was very averſe; and *Car-" dinal Altieri*, who was the *Governing Nephew*, " a profeſs'd and violent Oppoſer. The main " Pretence for this Obſtinacy, was the *Duke* of " *York*'s not Declaring himſelf Publickly of the " *Romiſh Church*, though they knew that he was " of a long time reconcil'd to it.

" But now at laſt (*continues the Earl of* Peter-" borough) came from *Rome* the *Abbot* of *Angeo* " without the *Diſpenſation*, which he could by " no means obtain, by reaſon that *Cardinal Altieri* " was Inflexible; and Threats of *Excommunication* " were Iſſued out againſt any that ſhould undertake " to Perform or Celebrate the Marriage. Whereupon " we were all upon the Fears and Expectations of a " total Rupture. The *Dutcheſs* of *Modena* herſelf, " a Zealous, if not a Bigot Woman, was in great " pain about the Part that might ſeem Offenſive " to His *Holineſs*, or Neglective of his Authority: " And the Young *Princeſs* took Occaſion from " hence to ſupport her Unwillingneſs. But in " truth, *Cardinal Barberini*, upon whom the *Dutcheſs* " had great dependance, and all the other Adhe-" rents and Relations of the Houſe of *Eſté*, being " every day more and more poſſeſs'd of the Honour " and Intereſt they were like to find in this " Alliance, were ſcandaliz'd at the unreaſonable " Obſtinacy of the *Pope* and his *Nephew*; and " did frankly adviſe the Dutcheſs of *Modena* " ſuddenly to Make up and Perfect the Marriage: " The Peace and Excuſe of the Thing being eaſier " to be had after it was done, than any preſent " *Licenſe* to be obtain'd for doing it.

" The Biſhop of *Modena* was then applied to " (*adds the* Earl) for the Performance: But he " refuſing, a poor *Engliſh Jacobine* was found, " Brother to *Jerome White*, that afterwards ſerv'd " the *Dutcheſs*, who having nothing to loſe, and " on whom the Terror of *Excommunication* did " not ſo much prevail, did Undertake it, and ſo " he Perform'd the Ceremony. ---- (*Thus far the Earl of* Peterborough.)

Oppreſſion to the Church, in making New Biſhops.

But perhaps one of the moſt fatal Ways of Oppreſſing the Church of *England*, was by Bringing New Biſhops into it, for an Injury and Reproach to Religion. Thus, upon the Death of Two of the moſt Eminent Prelates of the Church of *England*, who had beſt defended it, and grac'd it with

(*h*) The Earl of *Caſtlemain*, the King's Ambaſſador at *Rome*, preſs'd the Pope and the Cardinal Patron *Cibo* to admit the King of *England* to mediate a Reconciliation between the Courts of *Rome* and *Verſailes*; and ſaid, when that was brought about, the two Kings would effectually ſerve the Cauſe of the Church, and begin with the Deſtruction of *Holland*. This the Pope told to the Head of the *Imperial* Faction at *Rome*, who wrote it to the Emperor, and the Emperor wrote it to the Prince of *Orange*. *Biſhop* Burnet's *Preface to* Serm. 1713. 8*vo*. —— Thus by the wiſe Providence of infatuating wicked Councils, a Popiſh Embaſſy to *Rome* help'd to bring about a Proteſtant Revolution from *Holland*.

Puffendorf informs us, that this Pope *Innocent* XI. writ a Letter to the King upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, to this effect, " That He was highly pleas'd with his Majeſty's Zeal for the " Catholick Religion, but he was afraid his Majeſty might puſh " it too far, and inſtead of contributing to his own Greatneſs, " and to the Advancement of the Catholick Church, he might " come to do both it and himſelf the greateſt Prejudice, by " attempting that which his Holineſs was well aſſur'd, from " long Experience, could not ſucceed.

Piety

1686. 2 *Jac.* II.

Piety and Learning, (*i*) Dr. *Richard Pearſon*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Dr. *John Fell*, Biſhop of *Oxford*; the King was pleas'd to pick out two Succeſſors the moſt remote from the Character of thoſe their Predeceſſors: For about the middle of *Auguſt*, the King nam'd Dr. *Thomas Cartwright*, Dean of *Rippon*, to be Biſhop of *Cheſter*; and Dr. *Samuel Parker*, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, to be Biſhop of *Oxford*. And on *Octob.* 17. they were Conſecrated at *Lambeth*, and ſoon after made the unhappy Tools of Popery and Arbitrary Power; but, as it pleas'd God, to their own Deſtruction, rather than to the intended Ruin of the Church.

Caſe of the *Diſſenters*.

It is very plain, That if King *James* could have got the Biſhops and Clergy and Body of the Church of *England* to have Perſecuted and Extirpated the *Diſſenters*, he would have choſe that Way of utmoſt Severity, much rather than that of Indulgence and Toleration. The *Diſſenters* (by their own Confeſſion) were this Year Proſecuted in the wonted manner. "Their Meetings were frequently "Diſturb'd both in City and Country: Fines "were Levied upon them: The Informers broke in "upon Mr. *Fleetwood*, Sir *John Hartop*, and ſome "others, at *Stoke-Newington*, to Levy Diſtreſſes, "for *Conventiclers*, to Six or Seven hundred "Pounds; and many were Excommunicated, and "had *Capias's* Iſſued out againſt them: But particular Perſons, upon their making Application to "thoſe Above, were more favour'd than had been "uſual.

"*Injunctions* went out from ſeveral of the Biſhops, under the Seal of their Offices, to all Miniſters in their Dioceſes, ſtrictly to Enjoin and Require all Churchwardens to Preſent thoſe that did "not come to Church, or that receiv'd not the Sacrament at *Eaſter*. Theſe *Injunctions* were Publickly "Read in *Hertfordſhire* and *Eſſex*, and many "other Places: And it ſeem'd to be a prevailing "Opinion, That the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* muſt be "Proſecuted, or *Popery* could not be Suppreſſed. "And therefore the Juries in ſome Places at the "Aſſizes this Year, preſented it as their Opinion, "That unleſs the *Diſſenters* were effectually Proſecuted, their Dangers could not be Prevented "or Remedy'd. But the Unſeaſonableneſs of "ſuch Rigors, and the Scandalous Villanies and "Perjuries of many of the moſt Noted *Informers* "both in City and Country too, made Senſible "Men ſoon weary.

1686. 2 *Jac.* II.

"A *Diſpenſation* or *Licenſe Office* was Set up "this Year, where all Comers might have *Diſpenſations*, paying only Fifty Shillings for themſelves "and their Families. Many of thoſe who were Proſecuted as *Conventiclers*, took out *Diſpenſations*; "which not only ſtopt all Proceſſes that were commenc'd, but gave them Liberty to keep Meetings "for the future. Many were Releaſed from their "Impriſonment, and had their Fines remitted, by "the King's Pardon: Among the reſt, Mr. *Baxter* "obtain'd his Pardon, by the Mediation of the Lord "*Powis*: His Fine was Remitted: And on *Wedneſday* Nov. 24. Sir *Samuel Aſtry* ſent his Warrant to "the Keeper of the *King's-Bench* Priſon to Diſcharge "him. But he gave Sureties for his Good-Behaviour: His Majeſty Declaring, (for his Satisfaction) "That it ſhould not, in him, be interpreted a Breach "of the Good-Behaviour, for him to reſide in *London*; which was not allowable, according to the "*Oxford Act*: (*k*) And this was entred upon his Bail-piece, *i. e.* the Parchment in which his Bail was "given. Notwithſtanding this, he continu'd ſome "time after in the *Rules*: And on *Feb.* 28. following, removed to a Houſe he took in *Charter-Houſe-Yard*.

1687. 3 *Jac.* II.

The King reſolv'd to Repeal the Penal Laws and Teſt,

The King was now fully Reſolv'd upon *Repealing*, if poſſible, the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*, and upon *Diſpenſing* with them in the mean time. So that Father *Petre* himſelf was now of the Privy-Council: And moſt of the *Engliſh* Papiſts were put into Offices Military and Civil; Popiſh Sheriffs, Popiſh Juſtices, without Oaths, or any other Qualification but that of the *King's Religion*. (*l*) Some of the Proteſtant Gentlemen, when they found the Laws were to Bind them only, not the Roman Catholicks, they put in for an Exemption

(*i*) To encourage the inferior Clergy to make open Profeſſion of Popery, without danger of incurring the Loſs of their Benefices; a Precedent was given of ſafe Apoſtacy in Mr. *Edward Sclater*, Miniſter of *Putney* near *London*, who declared himſelf a Papiſt, and triumph'd in publiſhing his Reaſons for it: *Conſenſus Veterum, Or the Reaſons of* Edward Sclater, *Miniſter of* Putney, *for his Converſion to the Catholick Faith and Communion.* Permiſſu Superiorum. *London, printed by* Henry Hills, 1686. 4*to.* He tells the World "he had not turn'd out of Intereſt, "for he was eaſily perſuaded to look upon Intereſt as a thing "worth nothing". But ſays his Anſwerer Dr. *Gee*, To be ſerious with you, With what Face can you write this? when almoſt all the Kingdom knows, that you hold both your Livings ſtill, tho' you diſown your being ſo much as a Member of the Church of *England*; and how briskly you hector'd and quarrell'd the Church of *Worceſter* when they only deſir'd to fill the Cure of *Putney* with a Miniſter of the Church of *England*; which you denied any longer to own your ſelf to be.

(*k*) The Proteſtant Intereſt ſuffer'd in all Parts of *Europe*, by Popery getting on the *Engliſh* Throne. 1. In *France*, See Order of the King in Council, on Complaint of the *French* Ambaſſador, that a Book entitled, *Les Plaintes des Proteſtants cruellement opprimes dans le Royaume de* France, tranſlated into *Engliſh* and printed here, be, with the Original, publickly burnt, *&c.* Dated *Whitehall*, *May* 8. 1686. The Author was the eminent Monſieur *Claude*, a Refugee in *Holland*, where he died ſoon after the Writing of this Book. A third Edition of the Tranſlation into *Engliſh* was publiſh'd at *London* in 1708. with a Preface, relating how the Original in *French* was firſt publiſh'd in 1686. and then tranſlated into *Engliſh*, a Copy whereof a Merchant of *London* ſent to one of his Brothers in *France*, and ſome time after acquainted him, that upon the Inſtances of the *French* Ambaſſador at this Court, the ſame had been order'd to be burnt, and the Tranſlator and Printer thereof almoſt ruin'd by Impriſonments and Fines, and that the Papiſts took a great deal of Care to ſuppreſs all the Copies, *&c.* 2. In *Savoy*. See the Hiſtory of the Perſecution of the Vallies of *Piedmont*, containing an Account of what had paſſed in the Diſſipation of the Churches and the Inhabitants of the Valleys, which happened in the Year 1686. *London*, Printed for *Tho. Newborough* 1688. 4*to.* 3. In our *Engliſh* Factories abroad. See a Petition of the *Engliſh* Factory at *Liſbon*, to the Lord Biſhop of *London*, complaining, that their Conſul and Chaplain had been ſummon'd to appear at the Council Board of the Inquiſition, where they were forbid the publick Practice of their Religion, and ſtrictly charg'd not to meet any longer for any Divine Service or Preaching, in *Sept.* 1686. *Dr.* Geddes's *Tracts againſt Popery* 1715. 8*vo.* The good Biſhop could do him no Service, and the Mind of the King was ſo well known, that ſoon after Mr. *Michael Geddes*, the *Engliſh* Chaplain at *Liſbon*, and Mr. *Edward Hinde*, Chaplain at *Oporto*, were both glad to eſcape with their Lives. —— The Publiſher of *Dr. Geddes's* Tracts, 1715. repreſents at large this Caſe of the *Engliſh* Factory at *Liſbon*, when in 1686. the Chaplain was cited with the Conſul of the Merchants to come before the Inquiſition, *&c.*

(*l*) The Progreſs of Popery in *England* is thus repreſented in a Letter of one Jeſuit at *Liege* to another at *Friburgh*, dated *Feb.* 2. 168$\frac{5}{6}$. —— The Biſhop of *Oxford* is a great Favourer of the Catholick Faith, he propos'd to the Council, *Whether it did not ſeem to be expedient, that at leaſt one College ſhould be granted to the Catholicks at* Oxford, *that they might not be forc'd to ſtudy beyond Sea at ſuch great Expenes?* but it is not yet known what Anſwer he had. The ſame Biſhop, having invited two of our Brethren, together with ſome of the Nobility, drank the King's Health to a certain Heretick Lord who was in Company, wiſhing his Majeſty good *Succeſs in all his Undertakings*; adding alſo, *that the Religion of the Proteſtants in* England *did not ſeem to him in a better Condition than* Buda *was before it was taken, and that they were next to Atheiſts who defended that Faith.* Many embrace the true Religion, and four of the moſt conſiderable Earls have lately made publick Profeſſion of it. —— Father *Alexander Keynes*, the Provincial's Nephew, to whom is committed the Care of the Chapel belonging to the Elector *Palatine*'s Envoy, is continually taken up in ſolving and anſwering the *Queſtions of Hereticks*, who doubt of their Faith, of whom you may ſee two or three together walking by the Chapel Door, continually diſputing about ſome Point of Religion. —— We gradually begin to get footing in *England*: We teach Humanity Learning at *Lincoln*, *Norwich*, and *York*, and at *Worceſter* we have a publick Chapel, protected by a Guard of the King's Soldiers; and we are to buy ſome Houſes in the Town of *Wigan* in *Lancaſhire*. The Catholick Intereſt grows very ſtrong; at ſome Churches granted to the Catholicks, upon Holy-Days, there are often counted 1500 preſent at the Sermon. At *London*

as

1687. 3 *Jac.* II.

And to diſpenſe with taking any Oaths.

as well as the others. It was pleaſant enough to read, from *Whitehall*, March 1. 168$\frac{6}{7}$. "The Right "Honourable the Earl of *Craven*, *Cuſtos Rotulorum* "for the County of *Middleſex*, this Day acquainted "His Majeſty, that the Bench of Juſtices of the "Peace for the ſaid County, had deſir'd his Lord-"ſhip (at their General Seſſion of the Peace) in "their Names, humbly to Beſeech His Majeſty "to be Graciouſly Pleaſed to Grant the ſame Diſ-"penſation from taking the Oaths to the Proteſtant "Juſtices, He has been pleas'd to Grant to the Ca-"tholicks; but in ſuch manner as His Majeſty "ſhall think fit. Which Method His Majeſty was "pleas'd to receive very Graciouſly; and was "pleas'd to ſay, *He took kindly their putting their* "*Confidence in Him, and He would certainly take* "*Care of them.*--- And ſo, by this means, the Adminiſtration of Country Juſtice, and the Magiſtracy in Cities and other Corporations, were put into the worſt of Hands, the moſt Bigotted *Papiſts*, and the Fierceſt *Fanaticks*.

The Beginnings of a Diſpenſing Power,

It is ſaid, "King *Charles* II. was the firſt "King of *England* that ever Aim'd at any thing "like a *Diſpenſing Power*.---- In the Year 1662 he was prevail'd upon, for ſome Reaſons of State, to Iſſue out a *Proclamation*, Diſpenſing with ſome few things that related to the *Act of Uniformity*, but without the leaſt Regard to *Roman Catholicks*. And though, in his *Speech* to the Parliament upon that Occaſion, he did in a manner acknowledge that he had no ſuch Power, by ſaying, *That if the* Diſſenters *would Demean themſelves Peaceably and Modeſtly, He could heartily wiſh He had ſuch a Power of Indulgence to uſe upon Occaſion*: Yet the Parliament were ſo jealous of this Innovation, that they Preſented the King with an Addreſs againſt the Proclamation, and plainly told him, *That he had no Power to Diſpenſe with the Laws without an Act of Parliament.*---- Notwithſtanding this Remonſtrance, King *Charles* made another Attempt, in the Year 1672. and in a *Speech* to both Houſes, did mention his Declaration of Indulgence, and acquainted them with the Reaſons that induc'd him to it; telling them withal, how little the *Roman-Catholicks* ſhould be the better for it.---- Upon which the Houſe of Commons made an *Addreſs* to His Majeſty, for Recalling this *Declaration*; wherein they told him, *That in Claiming a Power to Diſpenſe with Penal Laws, His Majeſty had been very much Miſ-inform'd, ſince no ſuch Power was ever Claim'd or Exercis'd by any of his Predeceſſors*: *And if it ſhould be admitted, might tend to the Interrupting of the Free Courſe of the Laws, and Altering the Legiſlative Power, which has always been acknowledged to reſide in his Majeſty, and his Two Houſes of Parliament.* King *Charles* was ſo far ſatisfy'd in the Matter contain'd in this *Addreſs*, That he immediately cancell'd his Declaration of Indulgence, tore off the Seal himſelf, and acquainted both Houſes that he had done ſo; with this further Declaration, which was entred upon Record in the Houſe of Lords, *That it ſhould never be drawn into Example or Conſequence.*

Under K. Charles II.

K. James claims a more Abſolute Diſpenſing Power.

And yet ſuch a *Diſpenſing Power*, and in a far larger Extent, King *James* would arrogate to himſelf; though a very Loyal Houſe of Commons had proteſted againſt it, in their Addreſs about the Popiſh Officers. The King had already carry'd this Point in *Scotland* with a high Hand; and the Privy-Council there had not only obſequiouſly ſubmitted to it, but ſeem'd to rejoice at it. For in a *Letter* to his Majeſty, 14. *Febr.* 168$\frac{6}{7}$ they boaſt to his Majeſty, *That his Commands were exactly obey'd, and that his Royal* Proclamation *for* Liberty of Conſcience *was Printed and Publiſhed*; *And aſſur'd his Majeſty, That they believ'd his Promiſe, to be the beſt and greateſt Security they could have, That he would maintain the Church and their Religion as it was Eſtabliſh'd by Law.*

This ready Compliance of the *Scots*, flatter'd the King into Hopes, that his *Engliſh* Subjects would be as complaiſant to his Will and Power. So on *March* 18. his Majeſty having aſſembled his Privy-Council, did open his Mind to them, by owning, "That he had reſolv'd to iſſue out a *Declaration* for a general *Liberty of Conſcience* to "all Perſons, of what Perſuaſion ſoever: Which "he was moved to do, by having obſerved, That "although an Uniformity in Religious Worſhip "had been endeavour'd to be eſtabliſhed within "this Kingdom, in the ſucceſſive Reigns of Four "of his Predeceſſors, aſſiſted by their reſpective "Parliaments; yet it had prov'd altogether Ineffectual. That the Reſtraint upon the Conſciences "of *Diſſenters*, in order thereunto, had been very "Prejudicial to the Nation, as was ſadly experienc'd by the horrid Rebellion in the Time of his "Majeſty's Father. That the many penal Laws "made againſt *Diſſenters*, had rather increas'd than "leſſen'd the Numbers of them. And that nothing could more conduce to the Peace and Quiet "of this Kingdom, and the Increaſe of the Number as well as of the Trade of his Subjects, than "an entire *Liberty of Conſcience*: It having always "been his Opinion, as moſt ſuitable to the Princi-"ples of Chriſtianity, That no Man ſhould be "perſecuted for Conſcience ſake: For he thought "*Conſcience* could not be forced; and that it could "never be the true Intereſt of a King of *England* to endeavour to do it."---. In purſuance of this *Speech*, the King preſently after publiſh'd this *Declaration*.

The King declares for Liberty of Conſcience.

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His Majeſty's Gracious DECLARATION *to all His Loving Subjects, for* Liberty of Conſcience.

JAMES *R.*

Publick Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

"IT having pleas'd Almighty GOD, not only "to bring Us to the Imperial Crown of theſe "Kingdoms, through the greateſt Difficulties, but "to preſerve us, by a more than ordinary Providence, upon the Throne of our Royal Anceſtors; "there is Nothing now that we ſo earneſtly deſire, "as to eſtabliſh our Government on ſuch a Foundation, as may make our Subjects happy, and "unite them to us, by Inclination as well as Duty; "which, we think, can be done by no Means ſo "effectually, as by granting to them the free Exerciſe of their Religion for the Time to come; "and add that to the perfect Enjoyment of their "Property, which has never been in any Caſe invaded by us, ſince our coming to the Crown: "Which being the Two Things Men value moſt, "ſhall ever be preſerved in theſe Kingdoms, during our Reign over them; as the trueſt Methods "of their Peace, and our Glory. We cannot but "heartily wiſh, as it will eaſily be believ'd, that "all the People of our Dominions were Members

our Buſineſs is carried on with the like good Succeſs; Sermons are preach'd upon every Holy-Day, and there are ſo many that frequent the Chapels, that they are not big enough to hold them. Two of our Society, *Dormer* and *Bertue*, preach continually before the King and the Queen; Father *Edward Neville*, before the Queen Dowager; Father *Alex. Keynes*, in the Chapel aforeſaid, others in other Chapels. There are many Houſes bought in the *Savoy*, near *Somerſet-Houſe*, towards the erecting the firſt College in *London*, for about Eighteen thouſand Florins: And they are hard at work to bring them to the Form of a College, that a School may be open'd before *Eaſter*.

"of

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"of the Catholick Church(*m*); yet we humbly thank Almighty God, it is, and hath of long Time been our conſtant Senſe and Opinion, (which upon divers Occaſions we have declared) That Conſcience ought not to be conſtrained, nor People forced, in Matters of mere Religion: It has ever been directly contrary to our Inclination, as we think it is to the Intereſt of Government, which it deſtroys, by ſpoiling Trade, depopulating Countries, and diſcouraging Strangers; and finally that it never obtain'd the End for which it was employ'd. And in this we are the more confirm'd by the Reflections we have made upon the Conduct of the Four laſt Reigns: For after all the frequent and preſſing Endeavours that were uſed in each of them, to reduce this Kingdom to an exact Conformity in Religion, it is viſible, the Succeſs has not anſwer'd the Deſign, and that the Difficulty is invincible. We therefore, out of our Princely Care and Affection unto all our loving Subjects, that they may live at Eaſe and Quiet, and for the Increaſe of Trade, and Encouragement of Strangers, have thought fit, by Virtue of our Royal Prerogative, to iſſue forth this our *Declaration* of *Indulgence*; making no doubt of the Concurrence of our Two Houſes of Parliament, when we ſhall think it convenient for them to Meet.

"In the firſt Place we do declare, That we will protect and maintain our Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Clergy, and all other our Subjects of the Church of *England*, in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, as by Law Eſtabliſh'd, and in the Quiet and full Enjoyment of all their Poſſeſſions, without any Moleſtation or Diſturbance whatſoever.

"We do likewiſe declare, That it is our Royal Will and Pleaſure, That from henceforth, the Execution of all and all manner of Penal Laws in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, for not coming to Church, or not receiving the Sacrament, or for any other Non-conformity to the Religion Eſtabliſh'd, or for or by reaſon of the Exerciſe of Religion in any Manner whatſoever, be immediately ſuſpended: And the further Execution of the ſaid Penal Laws, and every of them, is hereby ſuſpended.

"And to the End, that by the Liberty hereby granted, the Peace and Security of our Government in the Practice thereof, may not be endangered; we have thought fit, and do hereby ſtraitly charge and command all our loving Subjects, That as we do freely give them leave to meet and ſerve God after their own Way and Manner, be it in private Houſes, or Places purpoſely hired or built for that Uſe; ſo that they take eſpecial Care, That nothing be preach'd or taught amongſt them, which may any ways tend to alienate the Hearts of our People from us or our Government; And that their Meetings and Aſſemblies be peaceably, openly and publickly held, and all Perſons freely admitted to them; and that they do ſignify and make known to ſome one or more of the next Juſtices of the Peace, what Place or Places they ſet apart for thoſe Uſes. 1687. 3 *Jac.* II.

"And that all our Subjects may enjoy ſuch their Religious Aſſemblies with greater Aſſurance and Protection, we have thought it requiſite, and do hereby command, That no Diſturbance of any Kind be made or given unto them, under pain of our Diſpleaſure, and to be further proceeded againſt with the utmoſt Severity.

"And foraſmuch as we are deſirous to have the Benefit of the Service of all our loving Subjects, which, by the Law of Nature, is inſeparably annexed to, and inherent in our Royal Perſon; and that none of our Subjects may, for the future, be under any Diſcouragement or Diſability (who are otherwiſe well inclined, and fit to ſerve us) by Reaſon of ſome Oaths or Teſts, that have been uſually adminiſtred on ſuch Occaſions; we do hereby further declare, That it is our Royal Will and Pleaſure, That the Oaths commonly call'd, *The Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance*, and alſo the ſeveral Teſts and Declarations mention'd in the Acts of Parliament made in the 25th and 30th Years of the Reign of our late Royal Brother, King *Charles* the *Second*; ſhall not at any Time hereafter be required to be taken, declared, or ſubſcribed by any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, who is or ſhall be employed in any Office or Place of Truſt, either Civil or Military, under us, or in our Government.

"And we do farther declare it to be our Pleaſure and Intention, from Time to Time hereafter, to grant our Royal Diſpenſations under our great Seal, to all our loving Subjects ſo to be employed, who ſhall not take the ſaid Oaths, or ſubſcribe or Declare the ſaid Teſts or Declarations in the above-mention'd Acts, and every of them.

"And to the End that all our loving Subjects may receive and enjoy the full Benefit and Advantage of our gracious Indulgence hereby intended, and may be acquitted and diſcharg'd from all Pains, Penalties, Forfeitures and Diſabilities by them, or any of them, incurred or forfeited, or which they ſhall or may at any Time hereafter be liable to, for or by reaſon of their Non-conformity, or the Exerciſe of their Religion, and from all Suits, Troubles or Diſturbances for the ſame (*n*); we do hereby give our free and ample

(*m*) And had this Reign been long, all the People (a few Sufferers excepted) muſt have been Members *of the Catholick Church*; and the very Children of Proteſtants ſhould have been drawn away to it. It was for this Purpoſe, not of training up the Popiſh Youth, but rather of Stealing the Proteſtant Children, that a Free-School under *A. Pulton*, a Jeſuit, was opened at the *Savoy*, aſſiſted by *Thomas Parker*, another Jeſuit. One *Richard Burridge*, ſeveral Times convicted of Blaſphemy, has told the World in his *Religio Libertini*, how inſtead of being entred a Student at *Oxford*, he was ſpirited away into the *Savoy* Seminary, and made a *Latin* Oration to King *James* when he viſited that School. —— Dr. *Teniſon* and Mr. *Creſſener* give Account of Proteſtant Boys that were kidnapp'd into this Foreign Place of Education. And they and ſome other of our Church Divines did all that was poſſible to recover them out of that Snare. The Reverend Mr. *John Poſtlethwait*, Maſter of the School at St. *Martin*'s, heard of a Youth, whom he knew to be of an uncommon Genius and moſt excellent Parts, got into the Jeſuits School at the *Savoy*: This good Man (ſays Dr. *Hancock* in his Funeral Sermon) never left importuning his Parents who were Proteſtants, till he had got him out and under his own Care; and his Parents dying ſoon after, he maintain'd him both at School and in the Univerſity, till his diſtinguiſhing Parts had ſo preferr'd him, that he had no further Occaſion for his Aſſiſtance.

It was very remarkable, that Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, who had employ'd his Pen with great Smoothneſs and Succeſs againſt thoſe who had oppos'd the Meaſures of the Court ever ſince the Reſtoration, and even defended the Diſpenſing Power, and all Arbitrary Steps of King *James*, was ſo much an Enemy to Toleration, that he could not be allur'd or terrified to write in Favour of it: For which Non-Conformity all his paſt Services were nothing, and upon his offer of Excuſe, the King turn'd his Heel upon him with great Anger and Contempt.

(*n*) This was one of the proudeſt Inſults of Popery, not only to relax the Laws, but even to condemn the former Execution of them, and to ſet up a Court of Enquiry, who had been preſented by Law? And what had they ſuffer'd? That Satisfaction might be now made for all their Fines, Impriſonments, and Loſſes whatſoever. In the *Gazette* 2319. Publick Notice was given to all *Roman-Catholicks* and *Diſſenters* in the County of *Eſſex*, that his Majeſty's Commiſſioners for enquiring what Money hath been paid for *Recuſancy* or *Diſſenting* for Ten Years paſt, will meet at *Chelmsford* the 6th Inſtant, dated *London*, *March* 1. 168 7/8. In another *Gazette* Num. 2327. the like Notice was given for the County of *Glouceſter*: And in a Third, Numb. 2331. the ſame for the City of *London*. The true Intent of theſe Proceedings was plainly, 1. To bring Papiſts and Diſſenters into a new Alliance as Fellow Sufferers lately perſecuted by the Church of *England*. 2. To bring a new Teſt upon the Gentry of the Church of *England*, who had been chiefly concerned in putting the Laws in Execution: That they ſhould be now expos'd and puniſh'd for Perſecutors, if they would not take off

"Pardon

1687. 3 *Jac.* II. “ Pardon unto all Nonconformiſts, Recuſants, and “ other our loving Subjects, for all Crimes and “ Things by them committed or done contrary to “ the Penal Laws formerly made, relating to Reli- “ gion, and the Profeſſion or Exerciſe thereof. “ Hereby declaring, That this our Royal Pardon “ and Indemnity ſhall be as good and effectual to “ all Intents and Purpoſes, as if every individual “ Perſon had been therein particularly named, or “ had particular Pardons under our Great Seal; “ which we do likewiſe declare ſhall, from Time “ to Time, be granted unto any Perſon or Perſons “ deſiring the ſame. Willing and requiring our “ Judges, Juſtices, and other Officers, to take No- “ tice of, and obey our Royal Will and Pleaſure “ herein before declared.

“ And although the Freedom and Aſſurance we “ have hereby given, in Relation to religion and “ Property, might be ſufficient to remove from the “ Minds of our loving Subjects all Fears and Jea- “ louſies in relation to either; yet we have thought “ fit further to declare, (*a*) That we will maintain “ them in all their Properties and Poſſeſſions, as “ well of Church and Abbey-Lands, as in any other “ their Lands and Properties whatſoever.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, *the Fourth Day of* April, 1687. *In the Third Year of our Reign.*

The Diſſenters naturally fond of this Indulgence.

The *Diſſenters* were generally fond and proud of this *Declaration*, and caught greedily at the Bait, without diſcerning the Hook in it. They were not content with a ſilent Acceptance of this *Liberty*, but were drawn in to make Inſults of Joy for it; and preſented *Addreſſes of Thanks* ſo flattering and ſo fulſome, that ſome of them were thought offenſive to the very Ears of the King.

Their Addreſſes of Thanks for it.

The *Anabaptiſts* in and about *London* began the officious Courſe of *Addreſſing*, Apr. 14. telling the King; *GREAT SIR! 'Tis the Senſe of this Invaluable Favour and Benefit, deriv'd to us from Your Royal Clemency, that compels us once more to proſtrate our ſelves at Your Majeſty's Feet, with the Tender of our moſt humble Thanks for Peace and Liberty.* - - - - - *Such Demonſtrations as theſe, of Your Majeſty's Tender Care of the Proſperity and Quiet of your Peaceable Subjects, will abſolutely command the Hearts of them all*, &c.

Then came the *Quakers*, and ſaid; *May it pleaſe the KING! Tho' we are not the firſt in this Way, yet we hope we are not the leaſt ſenſible of the great Favours we are come to preſent the King our Humble, Open and Hearty Thanks for.* - - - - - *We rejoice to ſee the Day, that a King of* England *ſhould from His Royal Seat ſo univerſally aſſert this Royal Principle*, “ *That* Conſcience *ought not to be reſtrain'd*, “ *nor People forc'd, for Matters of mere Religion*, &c. 1687. 3 *Jac.* II.

The *Independents* follow'd with a like Harangue: *SIR! The great Calamity we have been a long Time under, through the ſevere Execution of the Laws in Matters of Religion, has made us deeply ſenſible of Your Majeſty's Princely Clemency towards us your* Diſſenting *Subjects; eſpecially, ſince in the Indulgence vouchſafed, there are no Limitations hindring the Enjoyment of it with a good Conſcience*, &c.

(*b*) The *Presbyterians* came not far behind the reſt, and made their grateful Acknowledgments, “ That His Majeſty's Princely Pity had now reſcu- “ ed them from their long Sufferings; and by the “ ſame Royal Act, had reſtored GOD to the Em- “ pire over *Conſcience*; and publiſh'd to the World “ his Royal Chriſtian Judgment, *That* Conſcience “ *may not be forc'd*; And his Reſolution, *That ſuch* “ *Force ſhall not be attempted in His Majeſty's* “ *Kingdoms, during His Majeſty's Reign*; which “ they therefore pray may be long over them, &c.

(*c*) And the *Papiſts*, as it was very proper, fell in with them; and in an *Addreſs* of *May* 28. They *teſtified their Thankfulneſs to Almighty God, and His Majeſty, for ſo Happy an Expedient for the Eaſe and Comfort of all his Subjects: And tho' they were thought not to deſire the leaſt Eaſe or Good to thoſe that differ'd from them in Opinion; yet they did not only rejoice in the Univerſality of His Majeſty's Bounty, but that it flow'd from a Prince of their own Religion.*

A late Author obſerves, “ The *Presbyterians*, “ *Quakers*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other *Diſſenters*, had “ lately been ſo haraſs'd and perſecuted, that 'tis no “ wonder they were ſo eager to lay hold of this “ Opportunity of ſheltring themſelves from Op- “ preſſion. And indeed, 'tis natural for People “ that labour under violent and racking Pains, “ greedily and thankfully to receive any Remedies “ that are offer'd them for preſent Eaſe, without “ conſidering whether it is a friendly, or unfriend- “ ly Hand that adminiſters the quieting Potion: “ But then again, as ſoon as the treacherous Effects “ of a palliative Medicine are over, and the old “ Diſtemper returns with redoubled Fury, Men are “ apt to curſe the Authors of their additional Tor- “ ments, and have recourſe to more effectual, tho' “ perhaps more violent Remedies. Thus the *Preſ-* “ *byterians* being releaſed from their Priſons, and “ allow'd the free and publick Exerciſe of their Re- “ ligion, thought no Praiſes too great to expreſs “ their Gratitude, no Bleſſings ſufficient to reward “ their Deliverer and Benefactor: Nay, ſo extrava- “ gantly thankful were ſome of them, in their *Ad-* “ *dreſſes*, as to fill them with Acknowledgments “ that nearly border'd upon Blaſphemy.

the Penal Laws. But in Truth, the hardeſt Teſt of all was, that People were to be now call'd to account by King *James* II. for putting the Laws in Execution againſt the Diſſenters, when in that Matter they had always acted by Inſtructions from the Court, and more eſpecially by the Counſel and for the Service of *James* Duke of *York*.

(*a*) See a *Letter* containing ſome Reflections on his Majeſty's Declaration for *Liberty of Conſciences*, dated 4. *April*, 1687. By *Gilbert Burnet*, D. D.

(*b*) There is a Printed Sheet of the Humble Addreſs of the *Presbyterians*, preſented to His Majeſty by Mr. *Hurſt*, Mr. *Cheſter*, Mr. *Slater*, Mr. *Cox*, Dr. *Roſwell*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Franklin*, Mr. *Deal* and Mr. *Reynolds*, for His Majeſty's late Gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience; with His Majeſty's moſt Gracious Anſwer.

(*c*) The *Papiſts*, who knew how to work the ſame Ends by contrary Expedients, thought a General Toleration in *Britain* would be as good an Engine for the Time, as an Inquiſition in *Portugal* and *Spain*. They pretended ſuch Indulgence to be their own Principle. They cited the Moderation of the Church-of-*England* Divines for it, and were out of Patience with the Diſſenters, who made any Scruple of addreſſing their Publick Thanks for it.—— See 1. The Judgment and Doctrine of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, concerning One Special Branch of the King's Prerogative, in Diſpenſing with the Penal Laws. *Licenſed*, May 2. 1687. 4to.—— 2. Reaſons why the Church of *England*, as well as *Diſſenters*, ſhould make their Addreſs of Thanks to the King's Majeſty, for his late Gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience. Publiſh'd with Allowance; 1687. by *Henry Hills*, 4to.—— 3. A Letter, in Anſwer to Two Main Queſtions: 1. Whether Proteſtant Diſſenters ought to refuſe the propos'd Legal Toleration, including Catholick Diſſenters? 2. Whether Proteſtant Diſſenters ought to expect the ſaid Toleration, until the next Suggeſtion upon the ſuggeſted Hopes of excluding *Catholicks*? 4*to.* 1687.—— 4. Remarks on the ſeveral Sanguinary and Penal Laws, made in Parliament againſt *Roman-Catholicks*; with ſome Reaſons humbly offer'd, to obtain a Repeal of thoſe Laws, for the better Advancement of His Majeſty's Service, and the Eaſe of many of his moſt Loyal Subjects. Publiſh'd with Allowance. 4*to* 1687.

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3 *Jac.* II.

Diſſenters, by degrees, perceiv'd the ill Deſign,

"But at laſt they open'd their (*a*) Eyes: They perceiv'd the Venom that lay hid in thoſe indulgent *Declarations*; and plainly ſaw, that tho' the King had granted a General Toleration to his Subjects, yet the *Papiſts* only were deſign'd to receive the Benefit of it; and that all the Places of Truſt (both Civil and Military) would ſoon devolve into their Hands. And as the ſudden Favours we receive from an inveterate Enemy, are always ſuſpicious; they likewiſe diſcover'd, that the Reaſon of this ſeeming Kindneſs of the Court, was only, becauſe their Efforts to engage the Church of *England* in their ſiniſtrous Deſigns had prov'd ineffectual. Then reflecting on this Fundamental Maxim of the *Roman Catholicks*, *That they are not bound to keep Faith with Hereticks*, but may uſe all manner of Equivocations and Retractations, either to convert or exterminate them; - - - - leſt they ſhould be acceſſary to their own Ruin, they held private Conferences with the *Epiſcopal* Party, about the moſt proper Means to diſpel the Storm that threaten'd them. To this End, a Reconcilement in Point of Religious Worſhip was chiefly thought neceſſary: And ſome *Presbyterian* Teachers preſs'd it ſo much in their Pulpits, that the *Diſſenters* of *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, and ſome other Places in *Kent*, declared, they were ready to join in Communion with the Church of *England*.

And began to come to a better Underſtanding with the Church of *England*.

Behaviour of the Members of the Church of *England*.

"On the other hand, The Church of *England* ſaw preſently thro' this Jeſuitical Contrivance, and dreaded the Conſequences: They look'd upon it as a juſt Judgment from Heaven, for the Rigor they had exercis'd againſt the *Nonconformiſts* in King *Charles* the IId's Time: They began to blame the over-ſtrain'd and indiſcreet Zeal of ſome of their Ambitious Prelates, which had reduc'd the *Diſſenters* (both in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*) to the Neceſſity not only of accepting of, but even of ſuing for this General Indulgence. In ſhort, They were now made ſenſible, that thoſe who put them upon Executing the *Penal Laws*, did but make them Properties to hinder the *Diſſenters* from Uniting with the Church of *England*, and play them againſt one another; that their Diviſions might add Strength to the *Papiſts*, to deſtroy them both. Thus, by the (*b*) *Liberty of Conſcience*, King *James* loſt his *Epiſcopal* Party, who had ſet the Crown upon his Head, without winning the *Presbyterians*, that had endeavour'd to exclude him: (*c*) And both *Churchmen* and *Diſſenters* perceiving their common Danger, forgot (at leaſt ſuſpended) their old Animoſities, and join'd Counſel to prevent their imminent Ruin.

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3 *Jac.* II.

Diſſenters Apology for themſelves.

The beſt Apology for the Moderate *Nonconformiſts* in the Uſe of this *Liberty*, is thus given by an Author of their own: "The *Diſſenters* were not ſo fond of hard Uſage, as to refuſe a *Liberty* ſo freely offer'd them; nor did they think it good Manners to enquire too narrowly how that Indulgence came about, ſo long as they were ſhelter'd by it from Oppreſſion. A *Letter of Advice* was hereupon publiſh'd, by that accompliſh'd Stateſman, the Marquis of *Halifax*, tho' without his Name. The Letter was written with a great deal of Artifice, with Deſign to inſinuate a Twofold Caution; That their New Friends were to be ſuſpected; and, It would neither be Chriſtianity nor Prudence, to hazard the Publick Safety, either by Deſire of Eaſe, or Revenge. - - - (*d*) His Cautions were regarded by the wiſer Part of them, notwithſtanding the Uncertainty with what Deſign this Application was made to them. As thankful as they were for their Eaſe and Liberty, they were yet fearful of the Iſſue; neither can any Number of them, of any Conſideration, be charged with hazarding the Publick Safety, by falling in with the Meaſures of the Court, of which they had as great a Dread as their Neighbours. And as for Revenge, tho' they had a fair Opportunity for it, yet could they not think it a Thing deſirable, either as Men, or as Chriſtians. If they over-did it in their *Addreſſes*, they thought the High-Church Party, who had been ſo us'd to topping Flights of Compliment, when returning Thanks for Diſſolving one of the beſt Parliaments, had little Reaſon to reflect on them. But they were not many that could be charg'd: Among the reſt, Mr. *Baxter* had no Concern in Addreſſing; but ſet himſelf at *Rutland-Houſe*, in *Charter-Houſe-Yard*, where he exercis'd his Miniſtry, in Conjunction with Mr. *Sylveſter*, to make a Peaceable Improvement of the *Liberty* afforded, ſo as to do all the Good he could, without Offence to any. The like did his Brethren in other Places. And therefore they waited in Expectation of ſeeing the Effects of the Marquis's Declaration on behalf of the *Church* Party; *That all their former Haughtineſs* (they are his own Words) *towards the* Diſſenters, *was for ever extinguiſh'd*; *and that the Spirit of Perſecution was turn'd into a Spirit of Peace, Charity and Condeſcenſion*:

(*a*) When K. *James* granted Liberty, by Proclamation, to Proteſtant Diſſenters, Mr. *Richard Stretton* made uſe of it; but he never did, or would join in any Addreſs of Thanks for it, leſt he ſhould ſeem to give Countenance to the King's aſſuming a Power above Law; and was inſtrumental to prevent ſeveral Addreſſes. *Life of the Rev. Mr.* Stretton, 8*vo*.

(*b*) This Diſpenſing, or (in effect) this Repealing Power in the Crown, was to be aſſerted by thoſe Lawyers who were now call'd to be Serjeants at Law; who gave this Motto in their Rings, *A Rege Lex*; as if our Laws were to be no longer *Acts* of Parliament, but *Declarations* of the King.

(*c*) Yet ſome of the Church-Men were courted to addreſs the King with Thanks, for the Specious Clauſe of *Protecting and Maintaining the Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops and Clergy*, *and all the other Subjects*, *in the Free Exerciſe of their Religion as by Law eſtabliſhed*: And even Five Biſhops, (ſaith Mr. *Echard*) *Crew* of *Durham*, *Barlow* of *Lincoln*, *Cartwright* of *Cheſter*, *Wood* of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, and *Watſon* of St. *David*'s, prevail'd upon ſome of their Clergy to ſign Addreſſes of Thanks for that Part of the *Declaration*.—— Biſhop *Parker* (of *Oxford*) attempted to do the ſame; but upon a Summons of the Clergy of the Dioceſe to St. *Mary*'s Church in *Oxford*, and the producing a Form to that Purpoſe, the Clergy unanimouſly refus'd to comply, among whom was the preſent Writer.

(*d*) It is certain, the Court, by *Toleration*, did not mean the Union or better Agreement of Proteſtants, but rather kept up the Feud between the Church and the Diſſenters, and ſtudied to prevent an Accommodation among the ſeveral Parties of the Diſſenters. It has been ſince confeſs'd, that upon King *James*'s Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, an Expedient for Agreement was ſet on foot again between the Diſſenters. When the Congregational Brethren were beginning to debate among themſelves upon the Articles propoſed for Union, it was ſuggeſted to them, that the Work would not be grateful to King *James*'s Court; and ſo it dropt. *Hiſtory of Union between Presbyt. and Congregat. Miniſters*, 1698. 4to.

Some of the Diſſenting Teachers did afterward honeſtly value themſelves, upon not accepting the illegal Liberty granted by K. *James*. We are told in the Life of Mr. *George Troſſe*, that he neither preach'd in Church-Time during King *James*'s Liberty, leſt it ſhould be conſtrued as if he had favour'd the *Diſpenſing Power*, on which his *Declaration* was founded; nor would he join in any *Addreſs* of Thanks for it, that he might not ſeem acceſſary to the Deſigns of ſuch as were Patrons of Popery and Arbitrary Government —— See the like Boaſtings in the Life of Mr. *Stretton*, &c. And ſome Apologies were made for the *Humble Addreſs* of the *Presbyterians*, preſented to His Majeſty by Mr. *Hurſt*, Mr. *Cheſter*, Mr. *Slater*, Mr. *Cox*, Mr. *Roſwell*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Franklin*, Mr. *Deale*, and Mr *Reynolds*, for His Majeſty's moſt Gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

"*That*

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" *That the Church of* England *was convinc'd of its* " *Error, in being ſevere to them* ; *and all thinking* " *Men were come to a General Agreement, No* " *more to cut our ſelves off from the Proteſtants* " *Abroad* ; *but rather enlarge the Foundations upon* " *which we are to build our Defences againſt the* " *common Enemy.*

Deſigns of getting a Parliament to Repeal the Penal Laws and Teſt.

And yet, after all, this *Declaration*, however founded on an Arbitrary Diſpenſing Power, had kept Things ſoft and ſmooth enough, if the King had gone no farther. But it ſoon appear'd, that this *Liberty* was to ſerve and facilitate a greater Deſign, that of compounding a Parliament, to take off the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*. For this Purpoſe the (*a*) Magiſtrates, Officers and private Gentlemen were meanly Cloſeted by the King himſelf, and were continued in, or diſmiſs'd from their Places, accordingly as they ſhewed a ſordid Compliance, or a generous Reluctancy to the private *Teſt* put by the King. Nay, the Judges in their Circuit, had ſecret Inſtructions from Above, to feel the Pulſe of the Gentry Commiſſion'd in the Militia, or in the Peace, and where they found any averſe to the King's Intentions, to turn them out of all Offices and Employments. And as if it were a Judgment on the King, to court an Oppoſition to this Project of Repealing the Laws, he muſt needs attempt to invite the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to join in it by their Aſſent and Approbation.

And to draw in the Approbation of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*,

On *May* 20. the *Heer Van-Dyckvelt*, an Agent from the *Dutch*, had his Audience of Leave of the King and Queen. The King told him, *That he doubted not but that he ſhould have the Prince of* Orange*'s Approbation for taking off the* Penal Laws, *and* Teſt ; *and would have him acquaint the Prince therewith.* ---- Dyckvelt *Reply'd, That he was bound to acquaint the Prince with his Majeſty's Command, and would do ſo* ; *but he underſtood ſo much of the Prince's Senſe, that he was bold to ſay, His Highneſs was not of that Opinion.* ---- The King would not be ſatisfy'd with the Freedom of *Dyckvelt*'s Reply, but reſolv'd to ſollicit the Prince and Princeſs with the utmoſt Importunity: For they were then Preſumptive Heirs of the Crown, and their Concurrence would look like a Sanction to the Law of Repeal at home and abroad, to the preſent Age, and to Poſterity. But however, the King would not directly write upon this Subject to their Highneſſes, but he employ'd Mr. *James Stewart* a Lawyer (whom he had pardon'd, and receiv'd into Favour, after a long Exile, and who pretended to be intimately acquainted with Monſ. *Fagel*, the Penſionary of *Holland*) in whom the Prince repos'd an entire Confidence. So Mr. *Stewart* wrote to him on this Subject. But the Prince and Princeſs were ſo cautious in meddling with ſo nice an Affair, and ſo unwilling to allow Monſ. *Fagel* to return an Anſwer, which they knew would not be pleaſing, that Mr. *Stewart* was ſeveral times obliged to repeat his preſſing Requeſts, owning in his Letters, That he wrote them by the King's immediate Direction.

By means of Monſ. *Fagel*.

Upon this Demurr, the Papiſts induſtriouſly ſpread it abroad, That the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* had fully agreed with his Majeſty's Deſign of taking off the *Penal Laws*, and *Teſt*: And the Marquis of *Albyville* (the King's Miniſter in *Holland*) ſent over ſeveral Letters, intimating, that the Prince had told him the ſame thing ; and the chief of theſe Letters was alſo made publick.

M. *Fagel*'s Anſwer.

And therefore to diſſipate theſe falſe Reports, their Highneſſes were obliged to direct Monſieur *Fagel* to write to Mr. *Stewart* to this Effect. ---- " That ſince " he earneſtly deſired to know of him, what the " Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*'s Thoughts were " concerning the (*b*) *Repeal of the Penal Laws*, " and more particularly of the *Teſt* ; he would " deal very plainly with him in that Matter, ſince " Mr. *Stewart* had ſaid, in his *Letters*, That they " were written by the King's Knowledge and Allowance. ---- Firſt, He moſt poſitively aſſured " him, That their Highneſſes had often declared, " as they did in a particular Manner to the Marquis " of *Albyville*, That it was their Opinion, that no " Chriſtian ought to be puniſh'd for his *Conſcience*, " or be ill uſed, becauſe he differed from the Publick and Eſtabliſh'd Religion ; and therefore, That " they could conſent, that the *Roman-Catholicks* in " *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* ſhould be ſuffer'd " to continue in their Religion, with as much Liberty as allowed them in the *United Provinces*, " where it could not be denied but that they enjoy'd full *Liberty of Conſcience*. And as to the " *Nonconformiſts*, their Highneſſes did not only " conſent, but heartily approved of their having an " entire *Liberty of Conſcience* for the Exerciſe of " their Religion, without any Trouble, Hindrance " or Moleſtation upon that ſcore. And, That " their Highneſſes were ready to concur at any " time with his Majeſty in the ſettling and confirming that Liberty, and to protect and maintain " it as far as in them lay, according to the Language and uſual Form of Treaties, and likewiſe " to confirm it with their Guarantee, as Mr. *Stewart* " had mention'd in his Letters. And if his Majeſty thought fit to have their Concurrence in Repealing the *Penal Laws*, their Highneſſes were " ready to give it ; provided thoſe Laws ſtill remained in their full Rigor, whereby the *Roman-* " *Catholicks* were ſhut out of both Houſes of Parliament, and out of all Publick Employments " both Civil and Military ; as likewiſe all thoſe " other Laws which confirmed the *Proteſtant* Religion, and ſecured it againſt all the Attempts of " the *Roman-Catholicks*: ---- But their Highneſſes " could by no means agree to the Repeal of the " *Teſt*, and thoſe other *Penal Laws* laſt mention'd, " that tended to the Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion ; ſince the *Roman Catholicks* received no " other Prejudices from theſe, than their being excluded from Parliament, and Publick Employments ; and that by them the *Proteſtant* Religion " was ſheltred from all the Deſigns of the *Roman-*

(*a*) In *April* 1687. the King ſet out a Declaration, in ſhew only ſuſpending the Teſt Act, but in effect repealing it: Theſe Words being a Part of it, *That theſe* [the Teſts] *ſhall not at any Time hereafter be required to be taken or ſubſcribed by any Perſon whatſoever*: Upon this followed an open Violation of that Law. Many, indeed, ſtill took the Teſts ; but all thoſe who intended to merit, and pretended to Favour at Court, went on in this Contempt of the Law. *Biſhop* Burnet's *Pref. to his Sermon.* 1713. 8*vo.*

One of the Court Stratagems was to put in ſome of the moſt rigid Diſſenters into the Commiſſion of Peace ; and then to take their Petitions to be excuſed from Oaths and Sacramental Teſts, to be Partakers of the like Tenderneſs and due Favour ſhewn to the *Roman-Catholicks*. There was an Inſtance of this artful Way of managing put into the *Gazette*, to teach the Country. In the Beginning of *March*, 168$\frac{6}{7}$. A Requeſt of the Juſtices of Peace for the County of *Middleſex*, delivered by the Earl of *Craven* to his Majeſty, That he would be pleaſed to grant the ſame Diſpenſation from taking the Oaths to the Proteſtant Juſtices, he has been pleaſed to grant to the Catholicks ; but in ſuch manner as his Majeſty ſhall think fit.— With his Majeſty's Anſwer, That he *took kindly their putting that Confidence in him, and he would certainly take care of them.*

(*b*) A Letter written by *Myn Heer Fagel*, Penſionary of *Holland* to Mr. *James Stewart*, Advocate ; giving an Account of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*'s Thoughts concerning the Repeal of the *Teſt*, and *Penal Laws*. Dated *November* 4. 1687. Printed 1687. 4*to.*

Six Papers containing Reaſons againſt the Repealing of the Acts of Parliament concerning the *Teſt*, &c. By *Gilbert Burnet*, D. D. Printed in the Year 1687. 4*to.*

Mr. *Stewart* was a *Scotſman*, whom King *James* had pardon'd, and received into Favour, after a long Baniſhment.

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" *Catholicks* againſt it, or againſt the Publick Safety. " That neither the *Teſt*, nor thoſe other Laws, " could be ſaid to carry any Severity in them againſt " the *Roman-Catholicks*, upon account of their Con- " ſciences, being only Proviſions qualifying Men to " be Members of Parliament, or to be capable of " bearing Office; by which they muſt declare be- " fore God and Men, that they were for the *Prote-* " *ſtant* Religion. So that indeed, all this amounted " to no more than a Securing of the *Proteſtant* Re- " ligion from any Prejudice it might receive from " the *Roman-Catholicks*.

" More than this, (*added the* Penſionary) their " Highneſſes have thought, and do ſtill think, it " ought not be ask'd or expected from them; " ſince, by that Means, the *Roman-Catholicks* and " their Poſterity would be for ever ſecured in their " Perſons or Eſtates, or in the Exerciſe of their Re- " ligion. And they thought the *Roman-Catholicks* " ought to be ſatisfy'd with that, and not diſturb " the Quiet of the Kingdom, under Pretence that " they were ſhut out of Parliament and Employ- " ments; and becauſe thoſe Laws wherein the Se- " curity of the *Proteſtant* Religion chiefly conſiſted, " were not repealed, by which they might be put " into a Condition to overturn it.

" As to what Mr. *Stewart* had writ, That the " *Roman-Catholicks* in *Holland* were not excluded " from Employments and Places of Truſt; he was " groſly miſtaken: For their Laws were expreſs in " that Point, excluding *Roman-Catholicks* by Name " from all Share in the Government, and from all " Employments whatſoever. It was true, he did " not know any expreſs Law that excluded them " from Military Employments: That had been hard " indeed; ſince in the firſt Foundation of their " State, they joined with them in aſſerting the " Publick Liberty, and did them eminent Service " during the Wars; therefore they were not excluded " from Military Employments. For the Publick " Safety was no ways endangered by that, both be- " cauſe the Numbers of thoſe of their Religion that " ſerved in their Troops were but ſmall, and be- " cauſe the *States* would eaſily prevent any Incon- " veniency that might ariſe from thence; which " could not have been ſo eaſily done, if the *Roman-* " *Catholicks* had been admitted to a Share in the Go- " vernment, and in the Policy and Juſtice of their " State.

He ſaid, " He was aſſured of this Truth, and " could give undeniable Proof of it, That their " Highneſſes deſired nothing more earneſtly, than " that his Majeſty might Reign happily, and in a " perfect good Intelligence with his Subjects; and " that his Subjects, being perſuaded of His Maje- " ſty's Paternal Affection towards them, might up- " on all Occaſions make ſuitable Returns to his " Goodneſs, by all poſſible Demonſtrations of Du- " ty and Loyalty: But Their Highneſſes were con- " vinc'd in their Conſciences, That both the Pro- " teſtant Religion, and the Safety of the Nation, " would be expoſed to moſt certain Dangers, if " either the *Teſts*, or thoſe other *Penal Laws*, of " which he had made frequent mention, ſhould be " repealed; therefore They could not concur with " His Majeſty in thoſe Matters; for They believ'd " they ſhould have much to anſwer to God, if the " Conſideration of any preſent Advantage ſhould " induce them to conſent to Things which they " believed would not only be very dangerous, but " prejudicial to the *Proteſtant* Religion.

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" Laſtly, (*he concluded*) That their Highneſſes " ever had, and were reſolved ever to preſerve a " profound Submiſſion to his Majeſty, as they " thought themſelves in Duty bound by the Laws " of God and Nature: But ſince the Matter that " was then in hand related not to the making of " new Laws, but to the total Abrogation of thoſe " already made both by King and Parliament; their " Highneſſes did not ſee how it could be expected " of them, that they ſhould conſent to ſuch an " Abrogation, to which they had ſo juſt an Aver- " ſion; as being a thing that was contrary to all the " Laws and Cuſtoms of all Chriſtian States, whe- " ther Proteſtants or Papiſts, who admitted none " to a Share in the Government, or Publick Em- " ployments, but thoſe who profeſs'd the Publick " and Eſtabliſh'd Religion, and endeavour'd to ſe- " cure it againſt all Attempts whatſoever.

(*a*) This *Letter* was communicated by *Stewart* to the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Melfort*, and even to King *James* himſelf; and he alſo let Monſieur *Fagel* know as much, without communicating to him whether the Court deſired it ſhould be kept ſecret, or made publick. In the mean time, it was printed in *England*; and a Pamphlet having been ſoon after publiſh'd in *England*, Entituled, *Parliamentum Pacificum: Or, The Happy Union of King and People in an Healing Parliament*, &c. wherein it was affirmed, That the *Letter* written to Mr. *Stewart*, was not only Suppoſititious, but alſo, that the Author miſrepreſented the Sentiments of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, concerning the Repeal of the *Teſt*, and *Penal Laws*. Monſieur *Fagel* thought himſelf oblig'd to prevent the World's being impos'd upon by that Impoſture, and to that Purpoſe he not only printed ſome of Mr. *Stewart*'s Letters, but wrote alſo to the Marquis of *Albyville* the following Letter; which he likewiſe cauſed to be made Publick.

My LORD,

Monſieur *Fagel's* Letter to M. d' *Albyville*.

" WE have ſeen here a Pamphlet in *Engliſh*, " call'd *Parliamentum Pacificum*, printed " this Year in *London*, with the Earl of *Sunder-* " *land*'s Allowance; of which I cannot forbear " complaining, how averſe ſoever I am to make " Expoſtulations. The Author of it maintains, " That the *Letter* I wrote on the 4th of *November* last,

(*a*) About the Time of this Intercourſe, King *James* did not only ſollicit his Daughter, the Princeſs of *Orange*, to change Politicks, but even to change her Religion. I have heard the late Archbiſhop *Teniſon* give an Account how zealous King *James* was to pervert his Daughter, the Princeſs of *Orange*; and how he ſent over a large Letter by the Hands of one Father *Goffe*, earneſtly deſiring her to conſider of the Unity and Authority of the Catholick Church, and to confer with the ſaid Father upon thoſe Points. The Princeſs upon Receipt of the Letter, retir'd to her Cloſet, and drew up an excellent Anſwer, without any Aſſiſtance; giving the Reaſons of her being a Proteſtant, and of reſolving to continue ſo; and touching at moſt of the unſcriptural and irrational Tenets of Popery. She ſhewed a Copy of this Letter to Dr. *Teniſon*, Biſhop *Burnet*, and others, when ſhe came over to *England*, only declaring ſhe would ſuffer no Tranſcript to be made of it. —— After the Death of Biſhop *Compton*, I heard his Lordſhip's Chaplain Dr. *G.* telling me at *Windſor*, in *November*, 1713. That among the Papers of his Lord, he had ſeen an Original Letter of *Mary* Princeſs of *Orange*, acquainting his Lordſhip, that ſhe had lately received a Letter from her Father the King, brought to her by a *Roman* Prieſt, adviſing her to read and hear what might be ſaid for the Catholick Church of *Rome*, as impartially as he thought he had done on the ſide of the Church of *England*; and then informing his Lordſhip of the Subſtance of her Anſwer to the King, and her firm Judgment and Intentions to perſevere in the Proteſtant Religion.

The Letter from the Jeſuit of *Liege* to his Brother at *Friburg*, dated *Feb.* 2. 168$\frac{6}{7}$, undoubtedly genuine, writes thus— " Not long ſince, ſome of the Catholick Lords objected to " the King, *That they thought he made too much Haſte to eſtabliſh* " *the Faith.*" To whom he anſwered, *I am growing Old, and muſt take large Steps, elſe if I ſhould happen to die, I might perhaps leave you in a worſe Condition than I found you.* When they ask'd him, *Why then he was ſo little concern'd about the Converſion of his Daughters, who were the Heirs of the Kingdom.* He anſwer'd, *God will take care of that; leave the Converſion of my Daughters to me. Do you, by your Example, convert your Tenants and others to the Faith.*

" laſt, relating to the *Teſt*, and *Penal Laws*, is
" either a Forgery, or that I wrote it without the
" Order of their Highneſs, or at leaſt of Her Royal
" Highneſs. Not that I pretend to enter into the
" Particulars of that Pamphlet, with deſign to con-
" fute any thing in it, being little agreeable to my
" Character and Inclination to meddle with Publick
" Diſputes of that nature. But you muſt not think it
" ſtrange if I put you in mind, That it was not of my
" own ſelf that I engaged in writing the ſaid *Letter*;
" but rather, after I had been powerfully preſſed to it
" for ſome Months together, from or in the Name
" of his Majeſty. And when at laſt I was prevail-
" ed upon to write it, I did it with all the Precau-
" tion which ſo nice an Affair ſeem'd to require;
" inſomuch that in all that *Letter*, there is not one
" Period which I ought to fear might diſpleaſe his
" Majeſty. Neverthele, I ſee that in a Writing
" printed by Publick Authority, that *Letter* is
" branded as Suppoſititious; altho' his Majeſty,
" and even all the Court, know the Truth of the
" Buſineſs: And beſides that, I have owned it here
" to your Lordſhip, as the King's Miniſter, and to
" all thoſe that have ſpoken to me of it. But
" what is moſt injurious to me, is, That I am
" charged therein with having abuſed their High-
" neſſes Names, particularly that of her Royal
" Highneſs; as if I were a Perſon capable of ſo in-
" famous a Cheat, and of a Falſity ſo unworthy of
" all Men of Honour, and that too in an Affair of
" the higheſt Importance.

" You will not take it ill, *my Lord*, if in this
" Matter I refer my ſelf to the Knowledge you have
" of it, and to what you have often told me your
" ſelf, to wit, That their Highneſſes, and in par-
" ticular her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs had de-
" clared her Thoughts to you concerning the *Teſt*,
" and *Penal Laws*, in the ſame manner as I had
" repreſented them; that you had acquainted the
" Court with it a long time before I wrote my
" *Letter*; and that you could not conceive what
" Reaſon there was for preſſing me to write to
" Mr. *Stewart*. I do aſſure you, that I would not
" be much offended at that Pamphlet, nor at any
" other of that nature, having already foreſeen I
" ſhould not fail being attack'd on that Score,
" wherein I could eaſily have allow'd every body
" the Liberty of pleaſing themſelves; but that
" Writing being publiſh'd under the Authority of
" the Preſident of the King's Council, and Secre-
" tary of State, my Honour is concern'd to clear my
" ſelf to the World, of ſo unjuſt an Accuſation as
" is laid to my Charge.

" I thought I could not do better than to addreſs
" my ſelf to you, *My* LORD, as being his Ma-
" jeſty's Miniſter, and a Perſon perfectly well in-
" form'd of the Buſineſs in Queſtion, deſiring you
" would be pleas'd to write to the Earl of *Sunder-*
" *land* about it. I believe he has neither ſeen nor
" examin'd the Paſſages of that Pamphlet which
" reflected upon me; and I am alſo perſuaded, that
" if he had, he would not have ſigned the Printing
" Allowance: For the ſaid Earl of *Sunderland*
" knows as well as any body, that the ſaid *Letter*
" of Mr. *Stewart* is no Suppoſition, ſince he has ſeen
" the *Letter* it ſelf, or the *Engliſh* Copy of it,
" which I had ſent along with it. He ought alſo to
" be no leſs aſſured by your Letters, and by what
" you have related by Word of Mouth, that their
" Highneſſes, and particularly her Royal Highneſs
" the Princeſs, have ſeveral Times told you their
" Opinion concerning the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws*, as I
" have expreſs'd it in my Letter to Mr. *Stewart*.
" Therefore I do promiſe my ſelf from the Juſtice
" and Goodneſs of the Earl of *Sunderland*, that he
" will take care that the Allowance which was ſur-
" reptitiouſly gained for the Printing of that Pam-
" phlet may be recalled, and the Author of ſo
" manifeſt and outragious a Calumny brought to
" condign Puniſhment. Neither will I conceal
" from you, that I deſign to publiſh what has paſſed
" in this Affair, as well as what I now take the Li-
" berty to write to you; not with Deſign to engage
" any farther in the main Buſineſs, much leſs to
" gratify any Body, but ſolely to ſhelter my Honour
" from ſo falſe and heinous an Imputation.

Some old Laws reviv'd and executed.

(*a*) The King was not more ready to Annull ſome Laws of preſent Force and Neceſſity, than he was to Reinforce others that were obſolete and dead; and to Revive them with a ſharper Edge than had been at firſt ſet upon them. Hence, becauſe there was found an old Act of Parliament, that made it Death for any Soldier taking Pay in the King's Service, in his Wars abroad, or on the High Sea, or in *Scotland*, to deſert from his Colours; the King would have this Law executed in time of perfect Peace, upon the Soldiers in his Standing Army, for a Terror to *Hounſlow-Heath*. And becauſe the worthy Recorder of *London*, Sir *John Holt*, would not expound that Law according to the King's Deſire, he was put out of his Place; and ſo was Sir *Edward Herbert* from being Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, to make way for Sir *Robert Wright*, who ventur'd to hang two or three poor Soldiers upon that antiquated Statute, that, if in full Force and Virtue, would not have come up to the preſent Caſe.

Sir *J. Holt* turn'd out.

Some New Changes in *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

And though the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall* had been before ſufficiently purg'd of the ſtout Old Lawyers, and fill'd with new Men of Weakneſs or Wilful Compliance; yet a further Regulation was ſtill to be made, that the King and his Judges might be perfectly Unanimous. So in the beginning of this *Eaſter-Term*, His Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute Sir *Robert Wright* (one of the Juſtices of the *King's-Bench*) Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*; and Mr. Juſtice *Powell* was thereupon removed from the Court of *Common Pleas* to the *King's-Bench*; and Mr. Baron *Milton* from the *Exchequer* to the *Common-Pleas*. And in the ſame Term, to ſerve the Deſign before-mention'd, His Majeſty thought fit to remove the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Herbert* to the *Common Pleas*; and the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Wright* to the *King's-Bench*: And Sir *Francis Withens* (one of the Juſtices of the *King's-Bench*) had his *Quietus*. On *April* 28th Sir *Richard Allibone* (one of his Majeſty's Council at Law) an angry Papiſt, and *Charles Ingleby*, Eſq; both of *Grays-Inn*, were call'd by the King's Writ to the State and Degree of Serjeants at Law, and gave Rings with this triumphant Motto, *A Lege Rex*: And the ſame Day, Sir *Richard Allibone* was ſworn before my Lord Chancellor, One of the Juſtices of the *King's-Bench*; and Mr. Serjeant *Powell* One of the Barons of the *Exchequer*. (*b*) So that Legal Innocence might be now a Crime; and what was

Popiſh Judges.

(*a*) One great Art of the Papiſts was to defame the *Reformation* and run down the firſt *Reformers*, to carry back the Church into the former State of Popery. Books for this Purpoſe were printed, not only at *London*, but at *Oxford*, where a Papiſt, *Obadiah Walker*, had the Command of a Preſs: And yet one Jeſt was, That while they were running down the Reformation, they were for reſtoring the firſt *Engliſh* Liturgy of King *Edward* VI. only for a Step to come nearer the Maſs-Book. This Trick has been twice tried, but in Imitation only of the Service now done for introducing Popery and Idol-Maſs. See the *Primitive Rule of Reformation*, according to the firſt Liturgy of King *Edward* VI. 1549. containing an Extract of the ſame, ſo far as it is Popiſhly affected: Together with honourable Teſtimonies thereof from Church and State, of that, and of ſucceeding Ages: As alſo, the Wiſhes of ſeveral Churches and Churchmen of the Reformation, for reſtoring the ſaid Liturgy in Parts. Printed with Allowance; for *Mary Thompſon*, 1688. 4to.

(*b*) The Popiſh Prieſts, under Royal Favour and Protection, were forward to challenge our Learned Divines to Conferences

Treaſon by the Law, might be now a Merit and a Reward.

A *Nuncio* ſent from the Pope.

And therefore, as an Ambaſſador had been the laſt Year humbly ſent to *Rome*; ſo a *Nuncio* from thence was this Year to be gloriouſly receiv'd. (*a*) Signior *Ferdinando d'Adda*, Domeſtick Prelate and Aſſiſtant to the Pope, who was the Queen's Favorite, had follow'd the *Engliſh* Court ever ſince the King's Acceſſion to the Crown: He had been privately commiſſion'd to be *Nuncio* of the Apoſtolick See; and to fill up the Character with more Pomp and Luſtre, he had been Conſecrated Arch-Biſhop of *Amaſia*, in the Royal Chapel at *Whitehall*, by Biſhop *Layburn*, Vicar-Apoſtolical in *England*, aſſiſted by two other *Iriſh* Biſhops. He was now to make his Publick Entry as a Foreign Miniſter, and the Government it ſelf was to glory in the Account of it: "The 3d of "*July*, Monſieur *Ferdinand d' Adda*, Arch-Biſhop "of *Amaſia*, Domeſtick Prelate and Aſſiſtant to "His Holineſs the Pope, and Apoſtolick *Nuncio*, "had Publick Audience of their Majeſties at "*Windſor*, being Conducted by His Grace the "Duke of *Grafton*, and Sir *Charles Cotterell* One "of the Maſters of the Ceremonies, in one of "His Majeſty's Coaches, with all the Honours "and Ceremonies uſually obſerved on the like "Occaſions. And on *July* 5th, he had Audience "of the Queen-Dowager at *Somerſet-Houſe*, being "Conducted by the ſaid Sir *Charles Cotterell* in "one of Her Majeſty's Coaches, in the uſual "Manner.

Account of his Publick Entry.

There having been no ſuch Sight in *England* for about an Hundred and fifty Years before, the Concourſe of People was extraordinary great upon this Occaſion: Yet their Surprize at the Pomp and Magnificence of this Solemnity was much leſs, than their Indignation to behold a Repreſentative of the Pope in all his *Pontificalibus*, preceded by a Croſs-Bearer, and attended by a Flock of Prieſts and Monks in the Habits of their reſpective Orders. This Ceremony occaſion'd the Diſgrace of that Illuſtrious Patriot the Duke of *Somerſet*, Firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the King: For His Grace being then in Waiting, His Majeſty Ordered him to attend the *Nuncio* to his Audience; but he deſir'd His Majeſty to excuſe him from countenancing any Act which the Laws of the Land made Criminal. The King reiterated his Orders; and the Duke was conſtant in his Refuſal of them: Upon which his Majeſty told him (*b*) in a Paſſion, "That he would trouble him "no more with any Commands, and therefore ex"pected he ſhould reſign his Places of Gentleman of "the Bed-Chamber, and Colonel of Dragoons". The Duke immediately did ſo, without the leaſt Concern; as being abundantly ſatisfy'd that he kept his Conſcience and his Honour, while he loſt nothing but his Places. And yet a Biſhop of the Church (or rather of the Court) is ſaid to have made no Scruple in this Matter, but to have made up part of the *Nuncio*'s Train, as if he had been One of the *Roman* Retinue: But however, his Lordſhip's Coach-man was a ſtout *Proteſtant*, and would not drive his Maſter that Way; and if the Man ſuffer'd, no doubt he meant it for his Maſter's Honour.

Duke of *Somerſet* refuſes to Attend.

A Proteſtant Coachman.

The *Nuncio* wanted an Opportunity to appear publickly in *London*; (*c*) and therefore it was contriv'd, that he ſhould be invited to come with the King himſelf to Dine at *Guildhall* on the *Lord-Mayor's-Day*: And he was accordingly receiv'd at *Temple-Bar* by Sir *John Parſons* and Sir *Baſil Firebraſs* the Two Sheriffs; and was complimented by Sir *John Shorter* the Lord-Mayor. And when a Publick Account was given of the City Entertainment, there was ſpecial Care taken to expreſs, that *among the Foreign Miniſters who were invited, there were preſent the Pope's* Nuncio, *and the* French *Ambaſſador.*

The *Nuncio* entertain'd by the City.

Some were of Opinion, that the *Nuncio* was an Inſtrument of puſhing Things to the fatal Extremities that were now upon the Anvil. Others again ſay, "'Tis certain that he had a greater Share in "the Intrigues of the *Ruelle*, than in thoſe of the "*Cabinet*, and had too much Senſe to approve of "all the Meaſures that were taken: And therefore "he often deſir'd to be recall'd, leſt he ſhould be "thought to have a Hand in them.

Character of him.

As to the Parliament now in being, the King intended they ſhould Sit again, if by Cloſeting and Tampering with Favours and Diſgraces, he could have bought up a Majority to be his Servants and Creatures in Repealing the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*: But when His Majeſty ſaw that by all his Endeavours, he made but a ſlow Progreſs in captivating the Judgment and Conſcience of the Chief Members of Both Houſes, he reſolv'd to take a longer Time. So when on *April* 28. the Parliament Met at *Weſtminſter*, in purſuance of their laſt Prorogation; it was, by Commiſſion, further Prorogued till the 22d of *November*. But

The Parliament Prorogued, becauſe the Members would not comply.

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and ſolemn Diſputes in Religion, which our Divines, under the Frowns of the Court, were not afraid to accept. See 1. A Conference between Mr. *Peter Godeau* a ſecular Prieſt, and Dr. *Clagett*, about Tranſubſtantiation, held on *Feb.* 21. 1686-7. Publiſh'd by the Reverend Dr. *Wake*, at the End of Dr. *Clagett*'s Sermons, 1689. *8vo.* 2. A Letter to Mr. *G.* giving a true Account of the late Conference at the D. of P. dated *March* 7. 168 6/7. Subſcribed *E. S.* (i. e. *Edward Stillingfleet.*) *London*, 1687. 4to. 3. A ſecond Letter to Mr. *G.* in anſwer to two Letters lately publiſhed, concerning the Conference at the D. of *P.* Licenſed *Apr.* 22. 1687. *London*, 4to (written by Dr. *Stillingfleet.*) 4. A true and full Account of a Conference held about Religion between Dr. *Thomas Teniſon*, and *A. Pulton*, one of the Maſters in the *Savoy*. Publiſhed by Authority, 1687. *4to.* 5. A true Account of a Conference held about Religion, at *London*, *Sept.* 29. 1687. between *A. Pulton*, a Jeſuit, and *Tho. Teniſon*, D. D. As alſo all which led to it and followed after it, by *Tho. Teniſon*, D. D. 1687. *4to.* 6. A Vindication of *A. Creſner*, School-Maſter in *Long-Acre*, from the Aſperſions of *A. Pulton*, Jeſuit, and School-Maſter in the *Savoy*, together with ſome Account of his Diſcourſe with Mr. *Meredith*, *October* 28. 1687. 7. A Letter from Dr. *Humphrey Prideaux*, in Anſwer to a Paper containing a Relation of the Conferences between Mr. *Earbury* and Mr. *Kipping* of the one Part, and Mr. *Aſton* and Mr. *Brown* on the other, at *Norwich*, concerning the Validity of Orders in the Church of *England*, &c. *Nov.* 11. 1687. *London*, 4to.

(*a*) By Report, He is now Archbiſhop of *Milan*, in *Italy*, and has there ſhewn great Civilities to *Engliſh* Strangers, and alway enquires after his Brother the Biſhop of *Durham*, and drinks his Health, but ſpeaks with great Contempt of the Bigotry of the Jeſuits in *England*, and of their puſhing King *James* to his Ruin.

(*b*) Mr. *Prynne*, upon the Reception of Mr. *Con*, as Popiſh Legate to the Queen, in the Reign of K. *Ch.* I. charged it as Criminal, becauſe done by the King's Privity and Conſent, and was admitted without a cautionary Oath required by the Ancient Law and Cuſtom of the Realm, even in the Times of Popery, not to bring or attempt any Thing, in Word or Deed, to the Prejudice of the Rights, Privileges, Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm: And by later Statutes it was High Treaſon for ſuch a One to enter the Realm, *&c.* Rome's *Maſter-piece*, &c.

(*c*) The Sanguine Hopes of our *Engliſh* Papiſts abroad, are beſt deliver'd in a late Hiſtory of *Doway*-College, 1713. *8vo. p.* 31. Enquiring *how Affairs were now carried on* by the Clergy of *Doway*-College: Both they and the Regulars muſter'd up all the able Men they could, to countenance their riſing Cauſe. The Laity were very free of their Money, in Erecting little Chapels in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. Four Biſhops, *Leybourn*, *Giffard*, *Ellis* and *Smith*, by Orders from the Pope, were immediately conſecrated; and *England* divided into Four Diſtricts, in the Nature of Dioceſes, in which every one reſpectively preſided. The four Biſhops had the Biſhop of *Chalcedon*'s Fate ſtill freſh in their Memory, and how ſignal an Overthrow he had met with in his Conteſt with the Regulars. Now was the Time to prevent the like Diſaſter, which they effectually did by having the Nature of their Power more diſtinctly ſpecified. The Regulars gave no great Diſturbance upon this Head, beſides ſome clandeſtine Murmurs amongſt their own Parties. Here indeed they ſpoke their Minds, and made their Subjection to the Biſhops a Buſineſs of Compliance, for Peace Sake, not an Effect of Duty or Obligation. It was impoſſible to prevent their private Cabals, *&c.*

1687. 3 *Jac.* II.

And then Diſſolved;

before that Day, by *Proclamation* Given at *Hampton-Court*, July 2. (*a*) *The King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, for weighty Reaſons, hath thought fit to Diſſolve this preſent Parliament; And doth, by this His Royal Proclamation, Diſſolve the ſame accordingly.* Nor was any Promiſe made of a New Parliament: This was to be lodg'd in the King's Breaſt, and was to depend on the Succeſs of the ſame Intrigues. Unleſs a Parliament could be form'd to Confirm and Sanctify the Meaſures of the Court, it could be to no purpoſe but to break, or at leaſt to retard thoſe Meaſures. And therefore ſome of the Miniſtry were againſt running the hazard of referring their Proceedings to the Approbation of the Two Houſes; and judg'd it more expedient, to truſt to a Set of Judges, and a Standing Army. "Yet, "(*ſays a late Writer*) as Men who follow wrong "Meaſures, are always fluctuating in their Coun-"ſels, it was not long before they conſider'd, that "the Superſtructure they were erecting upon an Il-"legal Foundation would tumble to the Ground, "as ſoon as the Legal Power ſhould take place: "That the Army and Fleet increaſing every Day, "the King's Neceſſities would at laſt inevitably "oblige him to call a Parliament: And that the "longer the Meetings of that Auguſt Aſſembly were "put off, and their Authority diſregarded, the more "fatal to the King's Deſign their Reſolutions would "prove". Theſe Reflexions made the Popiſh Party ſenſible of the Neceſſity of calling a Parliament; and therefore all the Methods and Artifices imaginable were uſed to procure ſuch a Lower Houſe, as would confirm all the King's Proceedings. In order to that, Writs of *Quo Warranto* were iſſued out againſt Corporations; and the Magiſtrates thereof terrify'd with his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, if they dared to inſiſt upon their Legal Rights, and contend with him at Law. Beſides that, Judges were prepared to over-rule the Pleas of all ſuch Cities and Towns as would ſtand upon their Franchiſes and Privileges; witneſs the Cities of *Oxford* and *Wincheſter*, which were declar'd to be Diſſolv'd at the King's Pleaſure. In ſhort, by a Decree of the Court of *King's-Bench*, moſt Cities and Boroughs were ordered to ſurrender their Charters; which reduced them to that Condition, as to have no Magiſtrates or Officers but at his Majeſty's Will.

And the King to Reign without a Parliament.

Servile Promiſes of chuſing Members grateful to the Court.

To carry on this Servile Humour, many of the Officious *Addreſſes* did expreſly promiſe to chuſe ſuch Repreſentatives as ſhould be ready to obey the King's Deſire. Thus the *Diſſenters* in the County of *Oxon*: —— *When your Sacred Majeſty, in your great Wiſdom, ſhall think fit to ſummon another Parliament, we will uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to elect ſuch Perſons as may abrogate and aboliſh ſuch Laws as have impeded the free Exerciſe of Religion.* And even the High-Sheriff, with the Grand-Jury and Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Hereford*, were ſo pack'd together, as to expreſs their *great Hopes, That whenever your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to call another Parliament, all Places will concur to elect ſuch Members as will be ready and diſpoſed to ſecond your Clement Inclinations to Aboliſh the* Teſt *and* Penal Laws.

1687. 3 *Jac.* II.

The King takes a Progreſs.

It was to ſolicite this Cauſe, that the King took a large Progreſs this Summer; and one of his cloſeſt Attendants was his loyal Friend *William Penn* the reputed *Quaker*. His Majeſty's Intention in this Journey, was given out to be, the taking a View of his Ports and Harbours, and particularly of the Haven and Fortifications of *Portſmouth*; but the ſecret Deſign was plainly, to influence and prepare the Electors of every Corporation through which he paſſed. And as the Preſence of a Sovereign ſtrikes an awful and commanding Veneration on the Minds of thoſe who ſeldom approach Majeſty; it can hardly be expreſs'd with what Joyful Acclamations he was receiv'd, and what dutiful Acknowledgments were paid him at (*b*) *Portſmouth*, *Bath*, *Glouceſter*, *Worceſter*, *Ludlow*, *Shrewsbury*, *Cheſter*, *Newport*, *Litchfield*, *Coventry*, *Banbury*, *Briſtol* and *Wincheſter*. The Univerſity of *Oxford* diſtinguiſh'd themſelves upon this Occaſion, endeavouring by all poſſible Demonſtrations of Duty and Reſpect to remove the King's Prepoſſeſſions againſt them: But all their Elegance of Speeches and Entertainment were not able to attone for the Oppoſition given to the King's Command at *Magdalen College*; ſo that the King left *Oxford* very much diſſatisfied.

The King declares his Reſolution for Repealing the Penal Laws.

After his Majeſty's Return from this elaborate Progreſs, he was reſolv'd to make a more open Declaration, That he would have the *Penal Laws* repealed; and that he would endure none in any Place of Authority, but ſuch as would concur with him. This Reſolution he publickly declar'd in Council at *Whitehall*, on *Sunday Decemb.* 11. and then ſent it Abroad by Authority in theſe Words: "His Maje-"ſty having by his Gracious *Declaration* of the 4th "Day of *April* laſt, granted a *Liberty of Conſcience* "*to all his Subjects*; and reſolving not only to main-"tain the ſame, (*c*) but to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours "that it may paſs into a Law, and become an *Eſta-*"*bliſh'd Security to After-Ages*; hath thought fit to "review the Liſts of the *Deputy-Lieutenants* and "*Juſtices of the Peace* in the ſeveral Counties, that "thoſe may be continued who ſhall be ready to "contribute what in them lies towards the Accom-"pliſhment of ſo *good and neceſſary a Work*; and "ſuch others added to them, from whom his Ma-"jeſty may reaſonably expect the like Concurrence "and Aſſiſtance.

Ways and Arts to Influence Elections.

The Lord Lieutenants, upon this New Model, were order'd by the King, to ſummon, in his Name, the Chief Officers and Gentlemen in their reſpective Counties, and to lay the Caſe before them, ſo as to flatter or terrify them out of their Freedom in the Election of Parliament-Men. Another Sort of People, call'd *Regulators*, were commiſſion'd to the

(*a*) The Earl of *Sunderland* in his Letter of *March* 23. 1689. tells us, The great Trial was to take off the Penal Laws and the Teſts; ſo many having promiſed their Concurrence towards it, that his Majeſty thought it feaſible; but he ſoon found it was not to be done by that Parliament, which made all the Catholicks deſire it might be diſſolved; which I was ſo much againſt, that they complained of me to the King, as a Man who ruin'd all his Deſigns, by oppoſing the only Thing that could carry them on;—Yet I hindred the Diſſolution ſeveral Weeks, &c.

(*b*) Another Deſign of the Progreſs was to preach Popery through the Kingdom in Royal Preſence: See the Sermon preach'd before the King at *Cheſter* by Father *Lewis Sabran Aug.* 24. 1687. Printed by *Henry Hills*, 4*to*. Inſiſting much on the recommending our ſelves to the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*'s Interceſſion. Which ſeemed to direct Prayers to the Virgin for the Conception and ſafe Bearing of the Queen, gone to *Holy-Well*, for the Virtue of St. *Winifred*, &c. —— The Author of an Anſwer to the Compiler of the *Nubes Teſtium*, Octob. 11. 1687. takes notice in a Poſtſcript, of a very great Cheat put upon his Sacred Majeſty, as well as the reſt of the Auditors, by Father *Sabran*, in his late Sermon before the King at *Cheſter*.

Another Uſe of the Progreſs was to draw in People to be *touch'd for the Evil*, according to the Form of a Popiſh Office, pretended to be in Uſe in the Time of King *Henry* VII. and now printed with Rubrick Letter; wherein officiated Father *Warner* as Chaplain and Confeſſor to the King. —— A Third Deſign was to let the Popiſh Biſhops hold their Viſitations and Confirmations with the more Solemnity and greater Safety. See *A Paſtoral Letter from the Four Catholick Biſhops to the Lay Catholicks of* England. Subſcribed, John *Biſhop of* Adramite, *V. A.* Bonaventure *Biſhop of* Madaura, *V. A.* Philip *Biſhop of* Aureliople. *V. A.* James *Biſhop of* Callipoli. *V. A.* *London*, Printed by *Henry Hills*. 1688. 4*to*.

(*c*) The Court thought it would be a good Art to make a Biſhop conſecrate their ill Deſigns; and to help deſtroy the Church in the Name of the Church. For this Purpoſe they encourag'd Dr. *Samuel Parker*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, to put out Reaſons for Abrogating the Teſt impoſed upon all Members of Parliament, *Anno* 1678. *Octob.* 30. Firſt written for the Author's own Satisfaction, and now publiſhed for the Benefit of all others whom it may concern Licenſed, *Whitehall*, *December* 10. 1687. Subſcribed *SA. OXON.* *London.* 4*to*.

ſame

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ſame Purpoſe, (*a*) being ſent over all *England* to delude the People, either by fair Promiſes or Menaces, into a fatal Compliance with the King. But notwithſtanding all theſe Wiles and Weapons, his Majeſty found himſelf diſappointed of his Hopes of having a Parliament at his own Devotion. In ſome Counties almoſt all the Gentry diſappear'd on a ſudden, to avoid the Summons of the Lords Lieutenants. The Gentlemen of *Dorſetſhire* being aſſembled by the Earl of *Briſtol*, were no ſooner acquainted with the King's Intentions, but they anſwer'd, That an Affair of ſo great Importance deſerv'd to be diſcuſs'd in the great Council of the Nation; to which they would ſend their Repreſentatives, when his Majeſty ſhould think fit to call a Free Parliament. The like Anſwer was made in ſeveral other Counties: And in *Cheſter*, of about Seven Hundred Perſons, there were only Seventeen who could be made to promiſe a Conſent to the Repealing of the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*.

Honours and Preferments.

And yet the King had all the Advantage in the World on his Side, by filling his Privy-Council and his Court with Creatures of his own making; and by diſpenſing all his Honours, as ſo many Pledges of Obedience to his Will and Pleaſure. On the Death of *George* Duke of *Buckingham*, who died in a moſt inglorious State of Poverty at a mean Houſe in *Yorkſhire*, on *Apr.* 16. His Majeſty, out of his Royal Favour to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Sunderland* (Lord Preſident of the Council, and his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State) was pleas'd to give him the *Garter*, on *Apr.* 26. and he was inſtall'd at *Windſor* on *May* the 23d. The Duke of *Berwick* (the King's Natural Son) was deſign'd for General of the ſtanding Forces; and to qualify him with more Experience and better Reputation, he was ſent over into *Hungary* to paſs a Campaign in the *Imperial* Army: And his Majeſty Knighted *Edward Vandrey*, Eſq; who was to attend his Grace in that Campaign. Captain *William Phipps* being on *June* 28. preſented to the King by the Duke of *Albermale*, his Majeſty receiv'd him very graciouſly, and was pleas'd to confer upon him the Honour of Knighthood, in Conſideration of his Loyalty and good Services in a late Expedition, having brought home a very conſiderable Treaſure which was taken out of the Sea, after it had lain there Forty Four Years. On *July* 3. his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *John Sparrow*, Eſq; Clerk-Comptroller of his Majeſty's Board of *Green-Cloth*. The Lord *Spencer* was appointed in *Auguſt*, to go over Envoy Extraordinary, to make the Compliments of Condolance, in their Majeſty's Names, with his Highneſs the Duke of *Modena*, upon the Death of the late Dutcheſs of *Modena*, the Queen's Mother. Within the ſame Month, his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer upon Sir *Francis Ratcliff* of *Dilſton* in the County of *Northumberland*, Bar. the Dignity of an Earl of this Kingdom, creating him Baron of *Tindale*, Viſcount *Ratcliff* and *Langley*, and Earl of *Derwentwater*. On *Sept.* 25. *Roger* Earl of *Caſtlemain* (his Majeſty's late Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the *Pope*) was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and took his Place at the Board. On *Octob.* 14. his Grace *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, and Sir *Nicholas Butler* (one of the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms) were ſworn, and took their Places at the ſame Board. On *Octob.* 25. his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood on *Charles Carterett*, Eſq;. And at the Feaſt in *Guildhall*, *Octob.* 30. his Majeſty conferr'd the ſame Honour upon Two of the Aldermen then preſent, *John Boden* and *William Aſhburſt*, Eſqs. On *Nov.* 11. the famous Political Jeſuit, (*b*) under the Title of the Honourable and Reverend Father *Edward Petre* (Clerk of the Cloſet to his Majeſty) was ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council, and accordingly took his Place at the Board. On *March* 6. his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood, as a Mark of his Favour, on *William Hedges*, Eſq;. His Grace the Duke of *Albemarle* was this Year ſent over Governor of *Jamaica*.

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Father *Petre* a Privy-Counceller.

There ſeem'd now to be but one Reſtraint upon the *Papiſts*, which was, a Senſe of the King's declining Age, and the Proſpect of a *Proteſtant* Succeſſor. They had but one Thing therefore for the Subject of their Prayers and their Plots, which was, that the Queen might have a Son. And therefore, at this very Juncture, they began the Whiſpers of the Queen's being with Child. Which was not much credited, till his Majeſty proclaim'd it to all the Nation, *That it had pleas'd Almighty God, (who (in Signal Manner) had bleſs'd his Majeſty and this Kingdom, under his Majeſty's Government, with great Proſperity, Peace and Plenty) to give his Majeſty alſo apparent Hopes and good Aſſurance of having Iſſue by his Royal Conſort the Queen, who, through God's great Goodneſs, was now with Child. Wherefore, his Majeſty appoints, That on the Fifteenth of* January *next, within the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and upon the Twenty Ninth in all other Places,* Publick Thankſgiving *and* Solemn Prayer *ſhould be offer'd up to* GOD, *on this Occaſion, in a* Form of Prayer and Religious Service, (*c*) *to be prepared by the Lords, the Biſhops of* Durham, Rocheſter, *and* Peterborough.

Declaration of the Queen's being with Child.

(*a*) The Earl of *Sunderland* in his Letter *March* 23. 1689. When the Parliament was broke, the Cloſeting went on, and a new one was to be choſen. Who was to get by Cloſeting I need not ſay; but it was certainly not I, nor any of my Friends; many of them ſuffered whom I would fain have ſaved.

There being at *Glouceſter* a Popiſh Recorder, he obtained an Addreſs to be put in the *Gazette*, to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, The Humble Addreſs of the Grand Jury, for the County of *Glouceſter*, at the Aſſizes on *Saturday* 17th of *March*, $168\frac{7}{8}$. Giving Thanks for his Majeſty's *tranſcendent Bounty* in his Royal Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*, and promiſing to elect Members for the *Abrogation of the Penal Laws and Teſt*.

(*b*) See, A Letter from the Reverend Father *Petre*, Jeſuit, Almoner to the King of *England*, written to the Reverend Father *le Cheaſe*, Confeſſor to the moſt Chriſtian King, touching the preſent Affairs of *England*, dated *St. James*, *Febr.* 9. 1687. —— With the Anſwer of the Reverend Father *le Cheaſe*, Confeſſor to the Moſt Chriſtian King, to a Letter of the Reverend Father *Petre*, Jeſuit, and great Almoner to the King of *England*, upon the Method and Rules he muſt obſerve with his Majeſty, for the Converſion of his Proteſtant Subjects. Dated *Paris*, *March* 7. 1688. N. S. Printed in a Third Collection of Papers, 4*to.*

One of the *Roman* Arts was to repreſent the *Engliſh* Clergy as all ready to turn to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. This Winter, 1685, (ſaith the Excellent Writer of the *Miſſionaries Arts diſcovered*) a Report went current through all the Countries in *England*, where there are many *Romaniſts*, that Dr. *Burnet* was at *Rome* become a Papiſt, and that great Preferments were beſtowed upon him. This hath been affirmed to me by ſeveral, for a certain Truth; when I made diligent Enquiry, thoſe Gentlemen affirming that they had it from very good Hands, and had ſeen ſome Letters from Foreign Parts which confirmed it. But more immodeſt was the Pretence of the Dean of *Norwich*'s Converſion about Two Years ſince, which ſeveral Prieſts affirmed to a Servant Maid, whom they knew to be a great Admirer of that Divine. —— There is a certain Secular Prieſt, who not long ſince aſſured me, that he had ſeen an Original Inſtrument under the Hand of the late Archbiſhop of *York*, and other Prelates, with ſeveral Divines, among whom he named Dr. *Wallis* of *Oxford*, approving ſeveral of the *Romiſh* Doctrines, and particularly Prayer to Saints, or for the Dead: But though upon my earneſt Intreaty, he promis'd to procure me the Sight of it, yet he never perform'd it to this Day.

(*c*) The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the proper Perſon, was not employ'd in drawing up this Form, though he was in another Form of Prayers upon the Deſcent of the Prince of *Orange*. The Omiſſion of his Name made People ſuſpect that he did not believe the Thing.

Two Toms *and* Nat
Together ſat,
To hammer a Thankſgiving, &c.

The

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The *Papiſts*, who ſeem'd already to triumph over the *Proteſtants*, were ſtill more elevated upon this News: Nay ſome of them had the Impudence to aſſert, That tho' the Child ſhould prove a Daughter, yet it would cut off the Princeſſes of *Orange* and *Denmark* from the Succeſſion, upon a fooliſh Suppoſal, That a Daughter born ſince the King's Advancement to the Throne, ought to take place before any others born while he was but Duke of *York*: But others of them choſe rather to be confident that it would certainly be a Son. And becauſe the Queen's Breeding was in a manner Miraculous, the Jeſuits gave out, That either it was the Effect of a Petition which the lately deceas'd Dutcheſs of *Modena* had put up Heaven to the Bleſſed *Virgin Mary*; or of a Vow the Queen had made to our Lady of *Loretto*, (*a*) with the Preſent of a Golden Image enrich'd with precious Stones.

The *Papiſts* very confident of a Son.

These fabulous Stories relating to the Queen's Conception, after ſhe had intermitted Breeding for ſeveral Years; the more credible Reports of her Phyſicians and Domeſticks, that they were not yet ſatisfied in the Signs of it; the Impatience of the *Popiſh* Party, in preſuming and propheſying the Birth of a Son; and ſeveral other concurring Reaſons, made the *Proteſtants* ſuſpect a pious Fraud; and they were confirm'd in their Suſpicion, by reflecting, that a like Deceit had been put upon the People in the Reign of Queen *Mary*: For then, to relieve themſelves from the Fears of a *Proteſtant* Princeſs in Succeſſion, the *Romiſh* Prieſts gave it out, That the Queen was with Child; and *Prayers* were order'd for her Safe-Delivery; and a *Popiſh* Preacher at St. *Paul's* pretended to tell of the Birth, and to deſcribe the Boy: When, after all, the Sham was carry'd no farther on, becauſe (as verily believ'd) King *Philip* was too juſt and generous, to conſent to any ſuch Impoſture. The Remembrance of that former Fact, gave now a natural Application of it; and the Story of that *Mock Conception* (as deliver'd by Mr. *Fox* in his *Acts* and *Monuments*) was now reprinted, and diſpers'd with the Title of *Idem Iterum*, or, *Queen* Mary's *Big-Belly*. - - - - - Let this Matter conclude with the Words of a late Writer of *Memoirs*: "The Fears of a *Proteſtant Succeſſor*, had been the only Allay that "render'd the Proſperity of the *Roman Catholicks* "leſs perfect. Now the Happineſs of having an "Heir to the Crown to be bred up in their own "Religion, quaſh'd all thoſe Fears, and atton'd for "the Uncertainty of the King's Life. It was ſo "much their Intereſt to have one, and there were "ſo many Circumſtances that ſeem'd to render his "Birth ſuſpicious, that the Nation in general were "inclinable to believe, that this was the laſt Effort "of the Party to accompliſh our Ruin.

The Proteſtants ſuſpect this Matter.

If this were deſign'd to divert the People of *England* from fixing their Eyes and Hearts upon a *Proteſtant Succeſſor*, it had not that Effect. (*b*) But, on the contrary, the Nation look'd more and more toward the Court in *Holland*, and the Princeſs *Anne* at Home. The King was ſenſible of it, and found the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to be more Popular, for refuſing to approve of the Repeal of the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*. Under this Apprehenſion, the King began to give out Commiſſions for the Raiſing of New Troops, and was preparing a better Fleet with extraordinary Diligence, as foreboding, That on the Birth of a Son, he ſhould have Occaſion to aſſert his Title by Force of Arms. Hence, on *January* 17. His Majeſty wrote a *Letter* to the States of *Holland*, to demand the Six *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments that were in their Service: And on the 2d of *March*, His Majeſty iſſued out a Proclamation, *forbidding his Natural-born Subjects to Enter, or Liſt themſelves in the Service of any Foreign Prince or State, either by Sea or Land*.

The People ſet their Hearts the more on the Pr. of *Orange* and Pr. *Anne*.

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The King begins to increaſe his Army,

And calls back his Forces from *Holland*.

The *States* return'd a Civil *Anſwer* to His Majeſty's *Letter*, but excus'd themſelves for not complying with his Deſire. They declar'd, by a Reſolution taken in their Aſſembly, *Feb.* 2. That having examin'd all the Treaties of Alliance, and all that had paſs'd thereupon, when thoſe Regiments were form'd, they could find no Agreement, or Capitulation, that could oblige them to grant His Majeſty's Demand, eſpecially in that Juncture of Time. They own'd indeed, That by the Treaties concluded between *England* and the *States-General*, it was agreed, That in caſe that Crown ſhould have War with any Neighbouring Prince, or ſuffer under any inteſtine Rebellion, the *States* ſhould be then obliged to ſend back the Six Regiments into *England*, as they did in 1685. upon the Rebellion of *Monmouth*: But that now His *Britannick* Majeſty was in Peace with his Neighbours, and had no Troubles at Home; and therefore they ſaw no Reaſon that could oblige them to ſend back thoſe Troops. However, to preſerve a good Correſpondence with His Majeſty, they offer'd Paſſes to all the Officers of the Six Regiments, that were willing to return Home; which about Forty of them accepted. The Marquis of *Albyville* preſented a *Memorial* to the *States*, to preſs them to comply with His Majeſty's Deſire: But they perſiſting in their Reſolution, a *Proclamation* was iſſued out, commanding a Return of all the King's Subjects, who had taken Arms under, and were then in the Service of the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, either by Sea or Land; though upon no other Allegation, than that the King thought it fit for his Service. This *Proclamation* caus'd a Debate among the *States General*; the Reſult of which ſeem'd to be, an Unwillingneſs to let the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments return; alledging, beſides what has been already mention'd, *That there was nothing ſo agreeable to Nature, as that he who is born free, ſhould have the Right and Liberty to ſettle himſelf whereſoever he ſhall think it moſt advantageous for him; and that it is in his Power to be Naturaliz'd, and become a Subject to them under whoſe Sovereignty he ſubmits his Perſon: And that any Government receiving ſuch, does thereby acquire over him the ſame Right it has over its own proper and natural Subjects*. The Marquis of *Albyville*, by expreſs Orders from his Maſter, deliver'd a Second *Memorial* to the *States*, peremptorily demanding the Diſmiſſion of the ſaid Troops; - - - - *for that pretended Natural Liberty could not ſubſiſt, after that Dominion and Obedience had been introduced; ſo that the Right of Sovereignty and Subjection were now only to be conſider'd: And that by virtue of theſe Rights, it had been the common Opinion, in all Times, That no Natural Subject can withdraw himſelf from the Obedi-*

The *States* refuſe to ſend them.

The King very importunate with the *States*, to no purpoſe.

(*a*) The Papiſts upon their Principle that Miracles were not ceas'd in their Church, were now eſpecially pretending to them, as a Teſtimony on their Side. As is pretty plain in the Stir of the Writer of a true and perfect Narrative of the ſtrange and unexpected finding the Crucifix and Gold Chain of that Pious Prince Saint *Edward* the King and Confeſſor. Preſented to King *James* II. by *Charles Taylor*, Gent. Licens'd *Febr.* 6. 168$\frac{7}{8}$. wherein beſides the Miracle it ſelf of finding them, he brings forth the miraculous Circumſtances, that he found them on that Day whereon the late Rebellion began in the *Weſt*, and much about the ſame Hour in the Afternoon when they landed, the 11th of *June* being *Thurſday* in *Whitſon*-Week; and that he preſented the ſame to his moſt Sacred Majeſty on the ſame Day, within a few Hours after his Majeſty's Forces had gained an entire Victory in the *Weſt*, the 6th of *July* following.

(*b*) Many in *England* ſent over Meſſages to *Holland*, firſt upon Occaſion of the High Commiſſion, and then upon the Buſineſs of *Magdalen*-College; moving the Prince of *Orange* to think of Preſerving the Church and State; affirming, that many Divines thought it Lawful. *Biſhop of* Sarum's *Vindicat.* &c. 8vo. *p.* 34.

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ence he owes to his Lawful Prince; and therefore he inſiſted upon his Demand, as a Right the King would never depart from. But, it ſeems, few or none were willing to return; which juſtify'd the Reſolutions of the *States-General*, and render'd the Inſtances of His Majeſty's Envoy ineffectual.

The States of *Holland* thought the King of *England* in the *French* Intereſt.

Theſe mutual Jealouſies between the King and the States of *Holland* had another Foundation in them. The King was apparently in the Intereſts and Counſels of *France*; which the *States* had Reaſon to hate and oppoſe. A late Author has deliver'd this good Account: "While King *James* "was thus puſh'd on by a headſtrong Party to enſlave his Subjects, the other Princes and States "of *Europe* look'd on with quite different Sentiments, according as their own Intereſts and Safety mov'd them. The greater Part did commiſerate the Fate of theſe Three Kingdoms, and "wiſh'd for their Deliverance. The *Proteſtants* "ſaw, with Regret, that themſelves were within "an immediate Proſpect of loſing the moſt conſiderable Support of their Religion; and both "They and the *Roman-Catholicks* were equally convinc'd, that it was their Common Intereſt to "have *England* continue in a Condition to be the "Arbiter of *Chriſtendom*, eſpecially at a Time "when they ſaw they moſt needed it. On the "other hand, It was the Intereſt of another Prince, "that not only the King of *England* ſhould be his "Friend, but the Kingdom of *England* ſhould become inconſiderable Abroad, which it could not "fail to be when enſlav'd at Home.

"King *James* had been again and again ſollicited, "not only by *Proteſtant* Princes, but thoſe of his "own Religion, to enter into other Meaſures, for "the Common Safety of *Europe*; at leaſt, not to "contribute to its Ruin, by eſpouſing an Intereſt "which they judg'd was oppoſite to it. The Emperor, among others, had (by his *Ambaſſador*) "made repeated Inſtances to him to this Purpoſe; "but with no better Succeſs than the reſt, as appears by a *Letter* he wrote to him after his *Abdication*, which has been printed in ſeveral Languages, and was conceiv'd in elegant *Latin*, as "all the Publick *Diſpatches* of that Court are. "But all theſe Remonſtrances had no Weight with "King *James*; though they had this good Effect "in the End, as to put thoſe Princes and States upon ſuch Meaſures as ſecur'd to them the Friendſhip of *England* in another way.

"The Power of *France* was by this Time become the Terror and Envy of the reſt of *Europe*; and that *Crown* had upon all Sides extended its *Conqueſts*. The *Empire*, *Spain* and *Holland* "ſeem'd to enjoy a *precarious* Peace, while the "*Common Enemy of the Chriſtian Name* was making "War with the *Emperor* and the *State of Venice*, "and was once very near being Maſter of the *Imperial Seat*, whereby he might have carry'd the "War into the Bowels of *Germany*. The main "Strength of the *Empire* being turn'd againſt the "*Turks*, and that with various Succeſs, there was "another War declar'd againſt the Emperor by "*France*: So that it came to be abſolutely neceſſary for *Spain* and *Holland* to interpoſe; not as "Mediators, (for that they were not to hope for) "but as *Allies* and Partners in the War. Theſe "laſt, as well as the other *Princes* and *States* that "lay neareſt the *Rhine*, were expos'd to the Mercy "of a Prince whom they were not able to reſiſt, if "*England* ſhould look on as *Neuters*, or take Part "againſt them; the laſt of which they had Reaſon "to fear.

"Thus it happen'd, that the Fortune of *England*, "and that of the greateſt Part of *Chriſtendom*, "came to be link'd together, and their Common "Liberties muſt of neceſſity have undergone one "and the ſame Fate. The latter, from a Natural "Principle of Self-Preſervation, were reſolved to "make the laſt Effort to break the *Fetters* which "they ſaw were ready to be impos'd upon them; "and the other, animated by the Example of their "*Anceſtors*, and the Conſtitution of their Country, "(which is diametrically oppoſite to *Tyranny*) "were reſolv'd to venture *All*, to retrieve themſelves and their Poſterity from the *Chains* that "were already put upon them.

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"Both the one and the other might have ſtruggled in vain till this Day with the Ruin that "threaten'd them, if Heaven (in Pity to their "Condition) had not provided, in the Perſon of "the Prince of *Orange*, the only Sanctuary that "was left them to ſhelter their ſinking State. This "Prince, by his Mother, was a *Nephew* of *England*, and (in Right of the Princeſs his Wife) "the Preſumptive Heir of the Crown. By his Father's Side, he was Heir of an Illuſtrious Family, that eterniz'd their Name by delivering their "Country from Slavery, and laying the Foundation of a mighty *Commonwealth*, which has ſince "prov'd the greateſt *Bulwark* of the Proteſtant Religion, and the chief *Support* of the Liberty of "*Chriſtendom*. A Family born for the Good of "Mankind, to be the Scourge of Tyrants, and Deliverers of the Oppreſſed.

Perſecution of the *Proteſtants* in *France*.

The Perſecution of the *Proteſtants* in *France*, was as effectual as Wit and Tyranny could make it. Vaſt Numbers of thoſe diſtreſſed People were glad to fly for Refuge to other more merciful States and Kingdoms, till their very Flight was made Criminal, as well as their Profeſſion. Many of them came over into *England*, of whom ſome few brought, or had privately ſent over ſufficient Effects with them; but far greater Numbers came in a true State of Perſecution, empty and naked, to depend on the Hoſpitality and Charity of this good-natur'd Kingdom. And indeed, Divine Providence made Things and Perſons work here together for their Good. (*a*) The King was the more bountiful to them, that he might ſeem to condemn their Perſecution for *Conſcience*; the *Liberty* whereof, He profeſs'd to be his Principle and Practice. And the People of *England* were more eſpecially liberal on this Occaſion; becauſe they began to think, it might be their own Caſe, and muſt be every where the Effect of Popery and Arbitrary Power.

But tho' theſe miſerable *French* Refugees met with a kind Reception from the King and his Subjects, yet their own Monarch purſu'd them, as it were, into *England*; and by his Ambaſſador in our Court, reſtrain'd them from complaining of the Hardſhips they had ſuffer'd. So that here, in their Place of Refuge, they were to undergo another grievous Perſecution; which was, To be afflicted, without daring to bemoan themſelves. An Inſtance of this new Mortification to them, is thus related by Authority.----- *Whitehall*, May 8. 1686. *The* French *Ambaſſador having by a Memorial complained to His Majeſty, That a Book, entitled,* [Les Plaintes des Proteſtants Cruellement Opprimes dans le Royaume de France] *was ſold and diſpers'd in this Kingdom, in which Book are many Falſities and ſcandalous Reflections upon the* Moſt Chriſtian King; *And that the ſaid Book was likewiſe tranſlated into* Engliſh, *and printed here: His Majeſty was pleas'd to order, That diligent Enquiry ſhould be made after the Tranſlator and Printer of the ſame, that they may be proſecuted according to Law. And that a printed Copy of the ſaid Book in* French, *and ano-*

Not ſuffer'd to complain of their Perſecution.

(*a*) See the Order of King in Council, for the more effectual Collecting and Returning the Charitable Contributions, for the Relief of the Neceſſitous *French* Proteſtants. *Whitehall*, April 15. 1687.

1687. 3 *Jac.* II.

ther in Engliſh, *ſhould be publickly burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman: Which was accordingly put in Execution on* Wedneſday *laſt, before the* Royal Exchange.

Generoſity of King *James*, in Relieving them.

It is ſome Juſtice to ſet down what a late Hiſtorian obſerves: (*a*) “ At the ſame Time that K. *James* advanced *Popery*, it cannot be denied but that his Generoſity extended in a particular manner to the diſtreſſed *Proteſtants*, who had lately fled from *France* upon Account of Religion; for he not only granted them *Briefs*, but gave them alſo large Sums out of his Privy Purſe, to excite the Charity of his Subjects by his Royal Example. Nevertheleſs, thoſe *Briefs* had not all the good Effect which was intended by His Majeſty: Many People refuſing to contribute towards thoſe Charitable Collections, upon an ill-grounded Suſpicion, That they were deſign'd by the Court for the Maintenance of *French Papiſts*, that were invited over to ſerve the King's Deſigns. ---- Others endeavour'd to leſſen King *James*'s Bounty, by ſaying, It was but a Piece of Policy, in order to curry Favour with his own *Proteſtant* Subjects. ---- All that an Hiſtorian can ſay in this Matter, is, That where the Benefit is real, 'tis a kind of Ingratitude too nicely to enquire into the Motive of it.

“ Some of the *French* Refugees had a better Senſe of the King's Favours: For Monſ. *Dallon*, one of their Miniſters, to compliment the Court upon their beloved Project of *Liberty of Conſcience*, ſollicited a *Patent* for the erecting a *Nonconforming* and *Independent* French *Church* in *Soho-Fields*; which was readily granted: And from hence it is, that the *French* call that Meeting-Houſe *La Patente* to this very Day.

“ The Miniſters of the *French* Church in the *Savoy* were not wanting in expreſſing their Gratitude to his Majeſty, but yet they did it with more Reſerve and Circumſpection; as appear'd upon the following Occaſion: The *Jeſuits*, ever ſince their Settlement in the *Savoy*, had a Deſign upon the *French* Chapel there; and Mr. *Pulton*, their Rector or Principal, tamper'd with Dr. *Dubourdieu*, in order to engage him to reſign that Church; promiſing, as from the King, to build them another on any Ground they ſhould think moſt convenient between *Whitehall* and *Temple-Bar*, with a large Sum of Money into the Bargain. —— Monſieur *Dubourdieu* made Anſwer, That being but one, he deſir'd Time to communicate his Propoſal to the other Miniſters and Church-Wardens of the *Savoy*. —— Theſe being met upon this Critical Affair, it was agreed, That before they ſhould give the Jeſuits a poſitive Anſwer, they ſhould conſult with ſuch Lords who were moſt conſpicuous for their Wiſdom, and their Affection to the Proteſtant Intereſt. — Accordingly Monſieur *Dubourdieu* waited upon the Lords *Hallifax*, *Danby*, *Nottingham*, and ſome few others; who all, as it were by Conſent, adviſ'd 'em after this Manner: *Never hearken to any Terms with the* Jeſuits: *Let them purſue their violent Meaſures. Suffer not your ſelves to be thruſt out of your Church; for by that Means you'll do your own Buſineſs, and the Nations.*

The State of *Ireland*.

The State of *Ireland*, under King *James*, is fully and juſtly deliver'd by Dr. *King*, at the Time of writing it, Biſhop of *London-Derry*; and a later Author has thus abridg'd his Lordſhip's Account: (*b*) —— “ *Ireland* was the inexhauſtible Source whence *England* was to be furniſh'd with a *Romiſh* Army; and an *Iriſh Roman-Catholick* was the moſt welcome Gueſt at *Whitehall*. They came over in Shoals to take Poſſeſſion of the *Promis'd Land*; and had already ſwallow'd up, in their Hopes, the beſt Eſtates of the Hereticks in *England*. Over and above compleat *Regiments* of them, there was ſcarce a *Troop* or *Company* wherein ſome of them were not plac'd by expreſs Order from Court. Several *Proteſtants* that had ſerv'd well and long, were turn'd out, to make Room for them; and Seven conſiderable Officers were caſhier'd in one Day, merely for refuſing to admit them. The chief *Forts*, and particularly *Portſmouth* and *Hull*, the Two Keys of *England*, were put into Popiſh Hands; and the Gariſons ſo modell'd, that the Majority were Papiſts.

“ As *Ireland* was remarkable for having furniſh'd King *James* with *Romiſh* Troops ſent into *England*, ſo was it much more for the bare-fac'd and open Invaſions that were made there, upon the Liberties and Rights of the *Proteſtants*. That Kingdom was the moſt proper Field to ripen their Projects in; conſidering, that the Proteſtants were much out-numbred by the Papiſts, and had been for ſome Ages the conſtant Object of their Rancour and Envy; which had been more than once expreſs'd in Letters of Blood.

“ King *James* did recall the Earl of *Clarendon* from the Government of *Ireland*, ſoon after he was ſent thither; and appointed the Earl of *Tyrconnel* to ſucceed him, who was a Gentleman had ſignaliz'd himſelf for his Bigottry to the Church of *Rome*, and his Hatred to the *Proteſtants*. The *Roman-Catholicks* had recommended him to King *James* for that Poſt, in a Letter, *As one that did firſt eſpouſe, and chiefly maintain the Cauſe of the Catholick Clergy, againſt their many and powerful Enemies for the laſt Five and Twenty Years; and was then the only Perſon under whoſe Fortitude and Popularity in that Kingdom, they durſt with Chearfulneſs and Aſſurance own their Loyalty, and aſſert his Majeſty's Intereſt.* Making it therefore their humble Requeſt, *That his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to lodge his Authority in his Hands, to the Terror of the Factious, and Encouragement of his Majeſty's moſt faithful Subjects in* Ireland; *promiſing to receive him with ſuch Acclamations as the long captiv'd* Jews *did their Redeemer* Mordecai. —— Which *Letter* ſhew'd they were no leſs miſtaken in their Hiſtory of the *Bible*, than in their Advice to the King; for it does not appear by the Story of *Mordecai* in the Scripture, that he was ever ſent to the *Jews*, or remov'd from the City of *Suſa*, after he came into Favour with *Ahaſuerus*.

(*a*) It is too evident, that the Royal Favours extended to the *French* Refugees, were chiefly to engage them to eſpouſe and abet the King's Power of Diſpenſing with all Penal Laws in Religion, and then taking them off in Parliament. —— See a Letter of ſeveral *French* Miniſters, fled into *Germany* upon the Account of the Perſecution in *France*, to ſuch of their Brethren in *England* as approved the King's Declaration touching Liberty of Conſcience. Tranſlated from the Original *French*. 4*to*. 1689.

(*b*) The Earl of *Sunderland* in his Letter *March* 23. 1689. writes thus; As to *Ireland*, my Lord *Tyrconnel* has been ſo abſolute there, that I never had the Credit to make an Enſign, or keep one in, nor to preſerve ſome of my Friends, for whom I was much concerned, from the laſt Oppreſſion and Injuſtice; but yet with Care and Diligence, being upon the Place, and he abſent, I diverted the calling a Parliament there, which was deſigned to alter the Acts of Settlement. Chief Juſtice *Nugent* and Baron *Rice* were ſent over with the Draught of an Act for that Purpoſe, furniſhed with all the preſſing Arguments that could be thought on to perſuade the King, and I was offered Forty Thouſand Pounds for my Concurrence; which I told to the King, and ſhewed him at the ſame Time the Injuſtice of what was propoſed to him, and the Prejudice it would be to that Countrey, with ſo good Succeſs, that he reſolved not to think of it that Year, and perhaps never. This I was helped in by ſome Friends, particularly my Lord *Godolphin*, who knows it to be true, and ſo do the Judges before-named, and ſeveral others.

1687. 3 *Jac.* II. “However, *Tyrconnel* fully anſwer'd the Hopes and Expectations of the *Papiſts*, and the Fears of the *Proteſtants* of *Ireland*; for by the Miniſtry of this Rigid Man, was the Ruin of the Proteſtant *Engliſh* Intereſt in that Kingdom, in a great Meaſure compleated.

“At King *James*'s Acceſſion to the Crown, the *Army* of *Ireland* conſiſted of above *Seven thouſand Men*, all *Proteſtants*, and zealous to the Service: Theſe were in a little Time all turn'd-out, and the whole Army made up of *Papiſts*, moſt of them the Sons, or Deſcendants, or near Relations of thoſe that were attainted for the *Rebellion* in 1641. or others that had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves ſince that Time, by their notorious Villanies, and implacable Hatred to the *Engliſh* and *Proteſtant* Intereſt.

“Though in King *Charles*'s Time, by the Influence of the Duke of *York*, there had been Grounds of Complaint againſt ſome of the Judges in *Ireland*, upon the Account of their Partiality to the Papiſts; yet when King *James* came to the Crown, theſe very Judges were not thought fit enough for the Work that was deſign'd. It was judg'd neceſſary to employ the moſt Zealous of the Party, thoſe that from Intereſt and Inclination were the moſt deeply engag'd to deſtroy the Proteſtant Intereſt; and accordingly ſuch were pick'd out to ſit in every Court of Juſtice.

“The Cuſtody of the King's Conſcience and *Great Seal*, was given to Sir *Alexander Fitton*, a Perſon convicted of *Forgery*, not only at *Weſtminſter-Hall* and at *Cheſter*, but fined for it by the Lords in Parliament. This Man was taken out of Gaol, to diſcharge the Truſt of Lord *High-Chancellor*; and had no other Qualities to recommend him, beſides his being a *Convert* to the *Romiſh* Church, and a *Renegado* to his Religion and Country. To him were added, as Maſters of *Chancery*, one *Stafford* a Popiſh Prieſt, and *O-Neal* the Son of one of the moſt notorious Murtherers in the *Maſſacre* in 1641.

“In the *King's-Bench*, care was taken to place one *Nugent*, whoſe Father had loſt his Honour and Eſtate, for being a principal Actor in the ſame Rebellion: This Man, who had never made any Figure at the Bar, was pitch'd upon to judge whether the *Outlawries* againſt his Father and Fellow-Rebels ought to be revers'd; and whether the Settlements that were made in *Ireland* upon theſe Outlawries, ought to ſtand good.

“The next Court is that of *Exchequer*, from which only, of all the Courts in *Ireland*, there lies no Appeal, or Writ of Error, in *England*. It was thought fit, that one *Rice*, a profligate Fellow, and noted for nothing but Gaming, and a mortal Inveteracy againſt the Proteſtants, ſhould fill the Place of the Lord *Chief Baron*: This Man was often heard to ſay, before he came to be a Judge, *That he would drive a Coach and Six Horſes through the Act of Settlement.* And before that Law was actually repeal'd in King *James*'s Parliament, he declar'd upon the Bench, *That it was againſt Natural Equity, and did not oblige.* It was before him, that all the *Charters* in the Kingdom were damn'd in the Space of a *Term* or Two; ſo much was he for Diſpatch. A Learned Prelate (from whoſe Book all the Things that here relate to that Country are taken) does obſerve, That if this Judge had been left alone, 'twas believ'd, in a few Years, he would by ſome Contrivance or other, have given away moſt of the Proteſtants Eſtates in *Ireland*, without troubling a Parliament to *Attaint* them.

“In the Court of *Common-Pleas*, it was thought adviſeable, that a Proteſtant *Chief-Juſtice* ſhould continue; yet ſo, as to pinion him with Two of their own Sort, that might Out-Vote him, upon Occaſion. 1687. 3 *Jac.* II.

“The Adminiſtration of Juſtice and the Laws being in ſuch Hands, it was no wonder that the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* wiſh'd rather to have had no Laws at all, and be left to their Natural Defence, than be cheated into the Neceſſity of ſubmitting to Laws that were executed only to puniſh, and not to protect them. Under ſuch Judges the *Roman Catholicks* had a glorious Time; and be their Cauſe never ſo unjuſt, they were ſure to carry it: When the Lord Chancellor did not ſtick on all Occaſions, and ſometimes upon the Bench, to declare, *That the* Proteſtants *were all Rogues! And that among Forty Thouſand of them, there was not one that was not a Traitor, a Rebel, and a Villain!*

“The Supreme Courts being thus fill'd up, it was but reaſonable all other Courts ſhould keep pace with them. In the Year 1687, there was not a Proteſtant *Sheriff* in the whole Kingdom, except one, and he put in by Miſtake, for another of the ſame Name that was a *Roman-Catholick*. Some few Proteſtants were continu'd in the *Commiſſion of the Peace*; but they were render'd uſeleſs and inſignificant, being over-power'd in every Thing by the great Number of *Papiſts* join'd in Commiſſion with them, and thoſe, for the moſt Part, of the very Scum of the People, and a great many whoſe Fathers had been executed for Theft, Robbery, or Murther.

“The *Privy-Council* of *Ireland* is a great Part of the *Conſtitution*, and has conſiderable Privileges and Powers annexed to it: This was likewiſe ſo modell'd, that the Papiſts made the Majority; and thoſe few that were Proteſtants choſe for the moſt Part to decline appearing at the *Board*, ſince they could do thoſe of their Religion no Service.

“The great *Barrier* of the People's Liberties, both in *England* and *Ireland*, being their Right to chuſe their own *Repreſentatives* in Parliament, which being once taken away, they become Slaves to the Will of their Prince: The Proteſtants in *Ireland* finding a Neceſſity of ſecuring this Right in their own Hands, had procured many *Corporations* to be founded, and had built many Corporate Towns at their own Charges; from all which, the *Roman-Catholicks* were by their *Charters* excluded. This *Barrier* was broken through at one Stroke, by diſſolving all the *Corporations* in the Kingdom, upon *Quo Warranto*'s brought into the *Exchequer-Court*, and that without ſo much as the leaſt Shadow of Law. Hereupon new *Charters* were granted, and fill'd up chiefly with Papiſts, and Men of deſperate or no Fortunes: And a Clauſe was inſerted in every one of them, which ſubjected them to the abſolute Will of the King; by which it was put in the Power of the Chief Governor to turn out and put in whom he pleas'd, without ſhewing a Reaſon, or any formal Trial at Law.

“The Proteſtant Clergy felt, upon all Occaſions, the Weight of *Tyrconnel*'s Wrath. The Prieſts began to declare openly, That the *Tythes* belong'd to them, and forbad their People, under Pain of Damnation, to pay them to the Proteſtant Incumbents. This paſs'd afterwards into an Act of Parliament; by which not only all Tythes payable by Papiſts were given to their own Prieſts, but likewiſe a Way was found out to make the Popiſh Clergy capable of enjoying the Proteſtants Tythes: Which was thus, If a Proteſtant happen'd to be poſſeſs'd of a Biſhoprick, a Dignity, or other Living, he might not by this new Act demand any Tythes or Eccleſiaſtical Dues from any *Roman Catholick*; and aſſoon as his Preferment became void by Death, Ceſſion, or

“Ab-

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"Abſence, a Popiſh Biſhop or Clergyman was put "into his Place. And the *Act* was ſo expreſs, that "there needed no more to oblige all Men to repute "and deem a Man to be a *Roman-Catholick* Biſhop "or Dean of any Place, but the King's ſignifying him "to be ſo, under his Privy-Signet, or Sign-Manual. "Aſſoon as any one came to be thus Entitled to a "Biſhoprick, Deanery, or Living, immediately all "the Tythes as well of Proteſtants as Papiſts, be"come due to him, with all the Glebes and Eccle"ſiaſtical Dues.

"The only great Nurſery of Learning in *Ireland*, "is the *Univerſity of Dublin*, conſiſting of a Pro"voſt, Seven Senior, and Nine Junior *Fellows*, and "Seventy *Scholars*, who are partly maintain'd by a "Yearly Salary out of the *Exchequer*. This Sala"ry the Earl of *Tyrconnel* ſtopt, merely for their "not admitting into a vacant *Fellowſhip*, contrary "to their Statutes and Oaths, a vicious ignorant "Perſon, who was a new Convert. Nor could he "be prevail'd with, by any Interceſſion or Intreaty, "to remove the Stop; by which, in Effect, he "diſſolv'd the *Foundation*, and ſhut up the Foun"tain of Learning and Religion. This appear'd "more plainly afterwards to have been his Deſign: "For it was not thought enough, upon King "*James*'s Arrival, to take away their Maintenance, "but they were further proceeded againſt, and the "Vice-Preſident, Fellows and Scholars all turn'd "out, their Furniture, Library, and Communion "Plate ſeiz'd, and every Thing that belong'd to the "College, and to the private Fellows and Scho"lars taken away. All this was done, notwith"ſtanding that when they waited upon King *James* "at his firſt Arrival at *Dublin*, he was pleas'd to "promiſe them, *That he would preſerve them in* "*their Liberties and Properties, and rather aug*"*ment than diminiſh the Privileges and Immunities* "*that had been granted them by his Predeceſſors*. "In the *Houſe* they plac'd a Gariſon, and turn'd "the *Chapel* into a Magazine, and the Chambers "into Priſons for the Proteſtants. One *Moore*, a "Popiſh Prieſt, was made *Provoſt*; and one *Mac*"*karty*, alſo a Prieſt, was made *Library-Keeper*; "and the whole deſign'd for them and their *Fra*"*ternity*.

"One *Archbiſhoprick*, and ſeveral *Biſhopricks*, "and a great many other Dignities and Livings of "the Church, were deſignedly kept vacant, and "the Revenues firſt paid into the *Exchequer*, and "afterwards diſpos'd of to *Titular* Biſhops and "Prieſts, while in the mean Time the Cures lay "neglected; ſo that it appear'd plainly, that the "Deſign was to deſtroy the Succeſſion of Proteſtant "Clergymen. At length Things came to that "Height, after King *James* was in *Ireland*, that "moſt of the Churches in and about *Dublin* were "ſeiz'd upon by the Government; and at laſt *Lut*"*terell*, Governor of *Dublin*, iſſued out his Order, "*Forbidding more than Five* Proteſtants *to meet to*"*gether, under Pain of Death*. Being ask'd, Whe"ther this was deſign'd to hinder Meeting in "Churches? He anſwer'd, It was deſign'd to hinder "their Meeting there, as well as in other Places: "And accordingly all the Churches were ſhut up, "and all Religious Aſſemblies, through the whole "Kingdom forbidden, under Pain of Death.

"It were endleſs to enumerate all the Miſeries "that Reverend *Author* mentions, which the Pro"teſtants of *Ireland* ſuffer'd in the Reign of King "*James*: But to give a Deciſive Blow, there was "an *Act* of *Attainder* paſs'd in Parliament; in or"der to which, every Member of the Houſe of "Commons return'd the Names of all ſuch Prote"ſtant Gentlemen as liv'd near them, or in the "County or Borough for which he ſerv'd; and if "he was a Stranger to any of them, he ſent to the "Country for Information about them. When this "*Bill* was preſented to the King, for his *Aſſent*, the "Speaker of the Houſe of Commons told him, "*That many were Attainted in that* Act, *upon ſuch* "*Evidence as ſatisfy'd the Houſe; and the reſt upon* "*common Fame*.

"In this Act there were no fewer Attainted than "Two *Archbiſhops*, One *Duke*, Seventeen *Earls*, "Seven *Counteſſes*, Twenty eight *Viſcounts*, Two "*Viſcounteſſes*, Seven *Biſhops*, Eighteen *Barons*, "Thirty three *Baronets*, Fifty one *Knights*, Eighty "three *Clergymen*. Two thouſand one hundred "eighty two *Eſquires* and *Gentlemen*: And all of "them (unheard) *delared and adjudged Traytors*, "*convicted and attainted of High-Treaſon, and ad*"*judged to ſuffer the Pains of Death, and Forfei*"*ture*. The famous *Proſcription of Rome*, during "the laſt *Triumvirate*, came not up, in ſome Re"ſpects, to the Horror of this; for there were "condemn'd in this little Kingdom, more than "double the Number that were *proſcrib'd* through "the vaſt Bounds of the *Roman* Empire. And to "make this of *Ireland* yet the more terrible, and "to put the Perſons attainted out of a Poſſibi"lity of Eſcaping, the Act it ſelf was conceal'd, "and no Proteſtant allow'd a Copy of it till four "Months after it was paſs'd. Whereas in that of "*Rome*, the Names of the Perſons *proſcrib'd* were "affix'd upon all the Publick Places of the City, "the very Day the *Proſcription* was concerted; "and thereby Opportunity was given to many of "the nobleſt Families in *Rome* to preſerve them"ſelves, by a ſpeedy Flight, for better Times.

The State of Religion.

The Proceedings of the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners* this Year, are thus faithfully abridg'd by a late Writer: (*a*) "The Thunderbolts of the *Eccleſiaſtical* "*Commiſſion* fell next on both the Univerſities, and "firſt of all upon Dr. *Peachey*, the Vice-Chancellor "of *Cambridge*, for *refuſing to admit one* Alban "Francis *a* Benedictine *Monk, to the Degree of* "Maſter of Arts, *without taking the Oaths, accord*"*ing to the King's Mandate, wherein his Majeſty* "*diſpens'd with* Francis, *though not having that ne*"*ceſſary Qualification*. This *Mandate* (*b*) being read "in the Conſiſtory, it was unanimouſly agreed, "That they could not admit the *Monk* to a Degree, "without taking the uſual Oaths, unleſs they broke "their own; and thereupon appointed Two of

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(*a*) There was much other Work cut out for the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, if it had held much longer, even to humble the whole Bench of Biſhops, and the whole Body of the Clergy. They were often threatned with the King's Power, to bring them to the King's Will. Particularly the Popiſh Writer of a *Reply* to the Reaſons of the *Oxford* Clergy againſt Addreſſing, Publiſh'd with Allowance, By *Henry Hills*, 1687. 4*to*. gives out theſe Menaces too ſoon. "Will any ſay, that though the Diſ"penſation, by which any of our Clergy hold their Plurali"ties, is deriv'd from the King, yet the King cannot revoke "them? Or, May not his Majeſty's Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſi"oners make Enquiry after thoſe who have about 8 *l. per An*"*num*, and by a Diſpenſation hold a Second Benefice, and "judge of the firſt Benefice, not according to the Value in the "King's Books, but according to the very Value of the Church, "as has been formerly adjudged? Or, May not the Treaſury "demand a Review of the firſt Fruits, according to the full "Value? In a word, may not the King ſend out a *Quo Warran*"*to* againſt the Biſhops, and demand by what Power they hold "Courts in their own Names, and finding nothing but Pre"ſcription to be their Plea, which can be no Bar againſt the "King, ſufficiently humble our Clergy? —— Should a ſtrict "Enquiry be made into our Clergy, it's to be fear'd, that too "many of them would be found ſo very Guilty, as to deſerve "not only a Suſpenſion, but alſo a Deprivation, if they pro"voke the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners* to make a cloſe Search "after their Miſcarriages, eſpecially ſeeing Deprivations have "been anciently for *Dilapidations*, and ſuch like Offences.

(*b*) The King's Mandatory Letters requiring *Anthony Farmer*, A. M. to be elected and admitted Preſident of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*. Given at *Whitehall*, 5. *Apr*. 1687. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Letter on that Account, dat. *Apr*. 8. 1687. &c. the Earl of *Sunderland* a Commiſſioner endeavour'd to ſoften Matters; he declares in his Letter, *March* 23. 1689. I can moſt

"their

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“ their Body to wait upon his Majeſty, and ac-
“ quaint him, how ready they were to obey all his
“ Commands, where their Compliance did not
“ claſh with their Conſciences: Humbly hoping
“ his Majeſty would not force them to *Wilful Per-*
“ *jury*; of which, by the Statutes of the Univer-
“ ſity, they muſt be guilty, if they ſhould admit
“ *Alban Francis*, thus unqualify'd, to that Degree.
“ When the Two *Fellows* came to *London*, they firſt
“ made their Application to the Duke of *Albemarle*
“ their Chancellor, who us'd his Intereſt to ſerve
“ them, though to little Purpoſe; for at length
“ they received this Anſwer from the Secretary of
“ State, *That his Majeſty had ſeen the Vice-Chan-*
“ *cellor's Letter; was offended at the Proceedings*
“ *of the Univerſity; and would take Order, ſhortly,*
“ *to give them a further Anſwer.* What this An-
“ ſwer was, appear'd in a little Time; for *Atter-*
“ *bury* the Meſſenger came to *Cambridge*, to ſum-
“ mon the Vice-Chancellor to appear before the *Ec-*
“ *cleſiaſtical Commiſſioners*, and anſwer to ſuch
“ Things as ſhould be objected againſt him, on his
“ Majeſty's Behalf. —— The Vice-Chancellor, and
“ Eight more of that Body, appear'd, and put in
“ their Anſwer in Writing, in the Name of the
“ Univerſity; alledging Three Acts of Parliament
“ in their Juſtification, with many unanſwerable
“ Arguments againſt the Illegallity of this new
“ Court: Which being read, the Court took ſome
“ Time to conſider of the Matter, and adjourn'd
“ till *Saturday* the 7th of *May*, 1687. That Day
“ being come, and the Vice-Chancellor and Dele-
“ gates appearing, after ſome trifling Queſtions
“ propounded by Chancellor *Jeffreys*, they were
“ commanded to withdraw; and being call'd in
“ again, *Jeffreys* told the Vice-Chancellor of *Cam-*
“ *bridge*, That he being guilty of great Diſobedi-
“ ence to the King's Commands, and other Crimes
“ and Contempts, the Court had ſentenc'd him,
“ *To be depriv'd of his Office of Vice-Chancellor, and*
“ *ſuſpended him* ab Officio & Beneficio *of his Head-*
“ *ſhip of* Magdalen-College, *and that he ſhould not*
“ *preſume to meddle in any publick Buſineſs relating*
“ *to the Univerſity.*

“ The Storm which ſoon after broke out upon
“ the whole College of St. *Mary Magdalen* in *Ox-*
“ *ford*, as it was a longer Time a gathering, ſo it
“ prov'd more furious and diſmal in its Effects.
“ And becauſe the boldeſt Strokes of that arbitrary
“ Spirit, by which King *James*'s Counſels were ani-
“ mated, were ſeen in a particular manner through
“ the Courſe of this Affair, a full Relation of the
“ whole cannot be thought foreign to this Hiſtory.
“ ——— St. *Mary Magdalen*'s College is one of
“ the nobleſt Foundations that perhaps was ever
“ erected for Learning in the World; and 'twas no
“ wonder the *Popiſh* Clergy look'd with an envious
“ and greedy Eye upon this rich Prize, and made
“ their utmoſt Efforts to ſnatch it from the Hands
“ of thoſe they call'd Hereticks. This Illuſtrious
“ Society, from repeated Grants of Kings, confirm'd
“ by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and from their
“ own Statutes, were in an uninterrupted, as well
“ as unconteſted Poſſeſſion of a Right to elect their
“ own Preſident. That Place being vacant, by the
“ Death of Dr. *Clarke*; the Vice-Preſident, Dr. *Ald-*
“ *worth*, gave notice to all the Fellows preſent in
“ the Chapel to proceed to the Election of another,
“ on the 13th of *April* following, to fill up the Va-
“ cancy. But before the Day of Election, be-
“ ing inform'd that his Majeſty had granted his
“ Letters-Mandatory in Behalf of Mr. *Anthony*
“ *Farmer*, a Man of an ill Reputation, who had
“ who had promis'd to declare himſelf a Papiſt; 1687. 3 *Jac.* II.
“ They moſt humbly repreſented to his Majeſty, in
“ their Petition, *That the ſaid Mr.* Farmer *was a*
“ *Perſon in ſeveral Reſpects incapable of that Cha-*
“ *racter, according to their Founder's Statutes; and*
“ *did moſt earneſtly beſeech his Majeſty, either to*
“ *leave them to their Duty and Conſciences, accord-*
“ *ing to his Majeſty's late moſt gracious* Toleration,
“ *and their Founder's Statutes, or to recommend*
“ *ſuch a Perſon, who might be more ſerviceable to*
“ *his Majeſty and to this College.* The Petition was
“ deliver'd to the Earl of *S*   *d*, Preſident of
“ the Council, by Dr. *Thomas Smith*, and Captain
“ *Bagſhaw*; and lay Four Days in his Lordſhip's
“ Hands, with a Promiſe of his Favour; but at
“ laſt his Anſwer was, *That the King muſt be obey'd.*
“ On *Monday*, *April* 11. his Majeſty's Mandate
“ was deliver'd by Mr. *Robert Charnock*, Maſter of
“ Arts, Fellow of the ſaid College, a New Con-
“ vert, and a Man wholly devoted to the Court,
“ directed to the Vice-Preſident and Fellows, re-
“ quiring them forthwith to elect the ſaid Mr. *Far-*
“ *mer*, and admit him Preſident. This *Mandate*
“ the Vice-Preſident read, with decent Reſpect, in
“ the Chapel of the College, before the Fellows
“ there preſent, and ask'd them, Whether they, in
“ Obedience to his Majeſty's Letters, would forth-
“ with Elect Mr. *Farmer* Preſident? They all agreed
“ to defer their Anſwers till *Wedneſday* following.
“ All the Fellows being then met, the Vice-Preſi-
“ dent read the Statute concerning the Choice of a
“ Preſident; and another againſt corrupt and irre-
“ gular Elections: Then he read the King's Letter
“ in Behalf of Mr. *Farmer*, and a ſecond Time de-
“ manded their Anſwer, which was to this Effect;
“ *That having a Petition lying at that Time before*
“ *his Majeſty, they ought not to proceed to Election,*
“ *till they had receiv'd his Majeſty's Anſwer to the*
“ *ſame.* And thereupon they all agreed, (except
“ Mr. *Charnock*) That the Election ſhould be de-
“ ferr'd till the next Day. On *Thurſday* in the
“ Morning, the Vice-Preſident told them, That the
“ Choice of a Preſident had been put off upon Ac-
“ count of their Petition to his Majeſty; in Anſwer
“ to which, They had not then receiv'd his Maje-
“ ſty's Pleaſure: That the next Day was the utmoſt
“ Time they had Power to prorogue the Election
“ to, by the Statutes, and therefore it was neceſſary
“ they ſhould come to ſome Reſolution. He told
“ them further, That the King had commanded
“ them to elect Mr. *Farmer*; and ask'd their Senſe
“ therein? Which was unanimous, (except Mr.
“ *Charnock*) That the Election ſhould be deferr'd
“ till the next Morning. Accordingly, *Friday*, *A-*
“ *pril* 15. at Eight a Clock in the Morning, the
“ Vice-Preſident and Fellows being met, Dr. *Thomas*
“ *Smith* and Captain *Bagſhaw*, Two of the Fellows,
“ acquainted the reſt, from the Lord Preſident of
“ the Council, That in Anſwer to their Petition,
“ *His Majeſty having ſent his Letter to the College,*
“ *expected to be obey'd.* After which, the Vice-
“ Preſident read again the King's *Mandate*, and
“ ask'd them whether they would comply with it?
“ They deſired they might proceed to an Election.
“ And the Vice-Preſident having propos'd, whe-
“ ther they would make any further Addreſs to his
“ Majeſty: The Vice-Preſident Dr. *Fairfax*, Dr.
“ *Pudſey*, and Dr. *Thomas Smith* were for a ſecond
“ Addreſs, but all the reſt declar'd immediately for
“ proceeding to an Election. Then the Vice-Preſi-
“ dent propos'd, Whether they would go to an Ele-
“ ction *Viva Voce*, or by Scrutiny? The Vice-Preſi-
“ dent, Mr. *Thompſon*, and Mr. *Charnock* were for

truly ſay, and it is well known, that for a good while I defended *Magdalen* Colledge, purely by Care and Induſtry, and have Hundreds of Times begg'd of the King never to grant Mandates, or to change any Thing in the regular Courſe of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; which he often thought reaſonable, and then by perpetual Importunities was prevailed upon againſt his own Senſe; which was the very Caſe of *Magdalen College*, as of ſome others.

“ pro-

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proceeding in it *Viva Voce*; but all the reſt were for a Scrutiny, (except Doctor *Thomas Smith*, who was for deferring the Election till they had once more petition'd the King.) Therefore it being the Senſe of the Majority, That they ought to proceed to the Election of a Preſident, according to the Statutes, and this the laſt Day limited; in order to it, the Holy Sacrament was ſolemnly taken by all, (except *Charnock*.) Then the Statutes relating to the Choice of a Preſident, and againſt corrupt Elections, were read by the Vice-Preſident. Every one took the Oath preſcribed in the Statutes, (except Mr. *Thompſon* and Mr. *Charnock*, who refus'd it;) and the Two Senior Fellows were ſworn *Scrutators* in the Scrutiny of the whole Society. For the Nomination of a Preſident, Dr. *Hough* and Mr. *Maynard* had each of them the Major Part of the Voices. And then the Thirteen Senior Fellows being met to elect one of theſe two, Dr. *Hough* had Eleven Voices, and was accordingly pronounc'd *Preſident* by the Senior *Scrutator*; and Mr. *Maynard* was appointed by the Thirteen Senior Fellows, to preſent him as *Preſident-Elect* to the *Viſitor*, in order to his Admiſſion. After this, Mr. *Charnock* and Mr. *Thompſon* declar'd *viva Voce* for Mr. *Farmer*, according to His Majeſty's Letter. The next Day, Dr. *Hough* being preſented to the *Viſitor*, was ſworn, and admitted Preſident by his Lordſhip, according to the Statutes; and on the *Sunday* next following, he took the ſame Oath again before the Society; and afterwards, as Preſident, took his Seat in the Chapel.

(*a*) "The King being inform'd of it, order'd the Lord *Sunderland* to write to the Fellows; which he did in the following Terms: *Gentlemen, The King being inform'd, that notwithſtanding his late* Mandate, *ſent to you for Electing Mr.* Farmer *to be Preſident of your College, you have made Choice of another Perſon; His Majeſty commands me to let you know, He is much ſurprized at theſe Proceedings, and expects you ſhould ſend me an Account of what paſs'd on that Occaſion, and whether you did receive His Majeſty's ſaid* Mandate, *before you choſe* Dr. Hough.

"Thereupon the Vice-Preſident and Fellows drew up their *Caſe* relating to the late Election of a Preſident; which was preſented to the Duke of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, with a *Letter*, wherein they humbly *begg'd His Grace to interpoſe with His Moſt Sacred Majeſty for them, that they might not lie under the Weight of his Diſpleaſure, for not being in a Capacity of obeying his Commands.* This Submiſſion not being ſatisfactory, and the Duke of *Ormond*'s Interpoſition little regarded, the Vice-Preſident and Fellows were cited to appear before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners at *Whitehall*.

"On *June* 6. the Vice-Preſident and Dr. *Fairfax*, Dr. *J. Smith*, Mr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Dobſon*, and Mr. *Farrer*, deputed Fellows, appear'd before the Lords Commiſſioners, according to the abovemention'd Citation: And it being demanded of them, *Why they refus'd to obey the King's Mandate?* They deſir'd Time to conſider of it; which was granted to the 13th; at which Time appearing, the Vice-Preſident deliver'd in their Anſwer, which was read by Mr. *Bridgman*, and wherein they alledg'd, *That the College of St.* Mary Magdalen *in* Oxon *is a Body Corporate, govern'd by Loyal Statutes, granted and confirm'd to them by His Majeſty's Predeceſſors. That by the ſaid Statutes of the College, (to the Obſervation of which each Fellow is ſworn) it is order'd, That the Perſon elected Preſident thereof, ſhall be a Man of good Life and Reputation, of approv'd Underſtanding, and good Temper, diſcreet, provident and circumſpect, both in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs. That at the Time of Election of a Preſident, the ſaid Fellows are bound by the ſaid Statutes to take an Oath, That they ſhall nominate none to that Office, but ſuch as are, or have been Fellows of the ſaid College, or of* New-College *in* Oxon; *or if they are not actually Fellows at the Time of Election, that they be ſuch as have left their Fellowſhips in their reſpective Colleges upon creditable Accounts. And when Two qualified Perſons ſhall be nominated at the Time of Election, by the greater Number of all the Fellows, to the ſaid Office of Preſident, the Thirteen Seniors alſo ſwear, That they will elect one of them, whom (in their Conſciences) they think moſt proper and ſufficient, moſt diſcreet, moſt uſeful, and beſt qualified for the Place; without any Regard to Love, Hatred, Favour or Fear. That every Fellow, when he is admitted into his Fellowſhip in the ſaid College, ſwears, that he will inviolably keep and obſerve all the Statutes and Ordinances of the College; and that he will not procure any Diſpenſation, contrary to his aforeſaid Oath, or any Part thereof, nor contrary to the Statutes and Ordinances to which it relates: And if it ſhall happen that any Diſpenſation of this ſort, of whatſoever Authority it ſhall be, be granted; that he will neither make uſe of it, nor in any ſort conſent thereunto. That on the* 11th *of* April, *they receiv'd His Majeſty's Letters Mandatory, to elect and admit Mr.* Anthony Farmer *Preſident of the ſaid College: But foraſmuch as the Vice-Preſident and Fellows apprehended the Right of Election to be in them, and believ'd His Majeſty never intended to diſpoſſeſs them of their Rights; and foraſmuch as the ſaid Mr.* Farmer *had never been Fellow either of* Magdalen *or* New-College *in* Oxon, *and had not thoſe Qualifications which by the ſaid Statutes of the College are requir'd in the Character of a Preſident; and in regard that they could not comply with His Majeſty's Letter, without the Violation of their Oaths, and Hazard of their Legal Intereſt and Property, wherewith they were by their Statutes poſſeſs'd, and which by their Oaths they are bound to maintain; They repreſented the ſame, by their humble Petition, to His Majeſty: And that having deferr'd the Election to the laſt Day limited by their Statutes, then they had made Choice of the Reverend Mr.* John Hough, *B. D. one of the Fellows of their College, and a Perſon every way qualified to be Preſident; who had been ſince confirm'd by the Biſhop of* Winton *their Viſitor, as the Statutes of the ſaid College direct. And that they might not lie under His Majeſty's Diſpleaſure by their Proceedings, they did make an humble Repreſentation*

(*a*) In the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, (as before obſerv'd) there was a like Attempt of breaking in upon the Statutes and the very Laws of the Kingdom. A Royal Mandate was ſent to that Univerſity, to admit one *Alban Francis*, a *Benedictine* Monk, to the Degree of Maſter of Arts, without taking any Oaths. Upon which they ſent Two of their Body to wait on His Majeſty, to repreſent that they could not in Conſcience comply; and humbly hoping, that His Majeſty would not force them into wilful Perjury, *&c.* They applied to the Duke of *Albemarle*, their Chancellor, to little Purpoſe; and afterwards receiv'd this Anſwer from the Secretary of State; 'That His Majeſty had ſeen 'the Vice-Chancellor's Letter, was offended at the Proceedings of the Univerſity, and would take Order ſhortly to give 'them a further Anſwer.'——The Anſwer was, To proceed againſt them in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion Court. There the Vice-Chancellor appear'd, and Eight more of that Body, and put in their Anſwer in Writing, alledging Three Acts of Parliament in their Juſtification, with many unanſwerable Arguments againſt the Legality of that Court. But on *Saturday, May* 7. 1687. Sentence was given againſt Dr. *Peachey*, Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, That He being guilty of great Diſobedience to the King's Commands, and other Crimes and Contempt of the Court, was hereby ſuſpended *ab Officio & Beneficio* of his Headſhip of *Magdalen-College*; and that he ſhould not preſume to meddle with any Publick Buſineſs relating to the Univerſity.

" *there-*

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" *thereof to His Majeſty, by his Grace the Duke of* Ormond, *Chancellor of the Univerſity of* Oxon, *ſetting forth their indiſpenſible Obligations to obſerve their Founder's Statutes. All which Matters they humbly offer'd to their Lordſhips, and pray'd to be diſmiſs'd with their Lordſhips Favour.*

" This *Anſwer* was ſign'd but by Five of the Delegates, Dr. *Fairfax* not conſenting to it; and therefore he deſir'd their Lordſhips to hear him apart, and take his Reaſons why he could not ſubſcribe. After the reading of the *Anſwer*, the Lord Chancellor *Jefferies* being in hopes he would ſubmit, gave him Leave to ſpeak, ſaying; *Ay, this looks like a Man of Senſe, and a good Subject; Let's hear what he will ſay:* --- But finding his Miſtake, and that Dr. *Fairfax* chiefly inſiſted, *That in Eccleſiaſtical Courts there ſhould be a Libel given to the Party appeal'd, that he may know what he is accus'd of; that he deſir'd that Libel, and did not know what he was call'd there for; and that the Matter did not lie in that Court, but in* Weſtminſter-Hall. The Chancellor endeavour'd to baffle his Plea, by telling him, *He was a Doctor of Divinity, but not of Law.* To this the Doctor reply'd, *That he deſir'd to know by what Commiſſion and Authority they ſat?* Which put *Jefferies* into ſuch exceſſive Paſſion, as made him cry out; Pray, what Commiſſion have you to be ſo impudent in Court? ---- This Man ought to keep in a dark Room; Why do you ſuffer him without a Guardian? ---- Why did you not bring him to me, to beg him? ---- Pray let the Officers ſeize him. ----- Then the Delegates were order'd to withdraw; and after a whole Hour's Debate, the Vice-Preſident was call'd in alone, and order'd to attend the Court, with the reſt of the deputed Fellows, on *Wedneſday* the 22d of the ſame Month.

" On the appointed Day the Delegates appear'd again, according to the Commiſſioners Order, and gave in their Allegations againſt Mr. *Farmer*; the moſt material of which were, That he had miſ-behav'd himſelf in *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, and had there receiv'd Admonition from the Maſter, in order to his Expulſion: ---- That having left *Cambridge*, he taught School at *Chippenham* in *Wiltſhire*, under a Nonconformiſt Miniſter, without Licenſe. ---- That in *September* 1683. he was admitted of St. *Mary Magdalen Hall* in *Oxon*; where ſuch frequent Complaints were brought againſt him to the Principal, for his troubleſome Humour, and unquiet Temper, that, to preſerve the Peace of the Society, he was deſir'd to leave the ſaid *Hall*. ---- That after his leaving *Magdalen-Hall*, he was admitted into *Magdalen-College*; where diſcourſing about Religion, he declar'd, *That there was no Proteſtant but would cut the King's Throat:* ---- Tho' at other Times he ſaid, *That whatſoever he pretended, he was really a Member of the Church of* England; *and that he made an Intereſt with ſome* Roman-Catholicks, *only to get Preferment by their Means, and for that reaſon was willing to be thought of their Religion.* ----- And that, in general, The ſaid Mr. *Farmer* had had the Unhappineſs to lie under an ill Fame, as to his Life and Converſation. ----- Theſe Allegations were confirm'd by ſeveral *Letters* and *Certificates*, produced in Court; which Mr. *Farmer* vainly endeavour'd to confute. But nevertheleſs, the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners* depriv'd Dr. *Hough* of his Preſidentſhip, and ſuſpended Dr. *Aldworth* and Dr. *Fairfax*; and order'd the Fellows of the College to cauſe their Sentence to be executed, and affixed to the Gates of their College: Which they neglecting to do, they were cited to appear before the *Commiſſioners* at *Whitehall*, upon the 29th of *June*, to anſwer the ſaid Contempt.

1687. 3 *Jac.* II.

" The Court, by this Time, finding that *Farmer* was a Man of ſo profligate a Life, that tho' he had promis'd to advance the Intereſt of the *Papiſts*, and even to declare himſelf one of them, upon his Promotion to that Place; yet they began to be aſham'd of him: And therefore, inſtead of inſiſting on the former *Mandate* in his Favour, the King granted another, in Behalf of Dr. *Parker*, then Biſhop of *Oxford*, and one of the Court Creatures. The Place of Preſident being already, in a legal manner, fill'd up by Dr. *Hough*, (which tho' it had not been, yet the Biſhop of *Oxford* was likewiſe incapable, by the Statutes of the College, of being choſen) the Fellows did not think themſelves oblig'd to proceed to a Second Election.

" The King was ſo incens'd at this freſh Contempt of his Orders, that he came to *Oxford* in Perſon; and having commanded the Fellows of *Magdalen College* to attend him at *Chriſt-Church*, he ask'd Dr. *Pudſey*, the Senior of the Fellows that appear'd before him, *Whether they did receive his Letter?* When the Doctor anſwer'd, *They did*; the King, in an angry Tone, reply'd, *Then you have done very Uncivily by Me, and Undutifully.* ----- Here they all kneel'd; and Dr. *Pudſey* offer'd a *Petition*, wherein they humbly ſhew'd, *It was an inexpreſſible Affliction to them, to find themſelves reduced to ſuch an Extremity, that either they muſt diſobey His Majeſty's Command, contrary to their Inclinations, and that conſtant Courſe of Loyalty which they had ſhewn upon all Occaſions; or elſe break their Founder's Statutes, and deliberately perjure themſelves.* ---- Then they mention'd the Statutes, and the Oaths that every one of them had taken at their Admiſſion to their Fellowſhips; and concluded with an humble Prayer to His Majeſty, *To give them Leave to lay their Caſe and Themſelves at His Majeſty's Feet; earneſtly beſeeching him, to extend to them that Grace and Tenderneſs which he vouchſafed to all his other Subjects.* But their ſubmiſſive Poſture did not appeaſe the King, who refuſing to receive their Petition, vented his Reſentment in theſe paſſionate Words: *Ye have been a Stubborn, Turbulent College; I have known you to be ſo this Six and twenty Years: You have affronted Me in this.* --- *Is this your Church of* England *Loyalty? One wou'd wonder to find ſo many Church of* England *Men in ſuch a Buſineſs. Go home, and ſhew your ſelves good Members of the Church of* England. --- *Get you gone!* --- *Know, I am your King!* --- *I will be obey'd; and I command you to be gone!* --- *Go, and admit the Biſhop of* Oxon *Head, Principal, What d'ye call it of your College*; (One that ſtood by, ſaid, *Preſident*;) *I mean, Preſident of the College. Let them that refuſe it, look to it; They ſhall feel the Weight of their Sovereign's Diſpleaſure!* The Fellows offering again their *Petition* on their Knees, the King ſaid to them; *Get you gone! I will receive nothing from you, till you have obey'd Me, and admitted the Biſhop of* Oxon. Thereupon they immediately went to *their Chapel*; and Dr. *Pudſey* propoſing, *Whether they would obey the King?* They anſwer'd, They were as ready to obey His Majeſty in all Things that lay in their Power, as any of the reſt of His Subjects; but the Electing the Biſhop of *Oxon* being directly contrary to their Statutes, and the poſitive Oaths they had taken, they could not apprehend it in their Power to obey him in this Matter.

" Whereupon they drew up an *Addreſs*, expreſſing in moſt ſubmiſſive Terms the ſaid Reſolutions; which they gave to the Lord *Sunderland*, Preſident of the Council, and which was afterwards deliver'd to His Majeſty at *Bath*. Whereever His Majeſty came, he work'd a *miraculous Con-*

1687. “ *verſion*, (as his Flatterers expreſs'd it) except in
3 *Jac.* II. “ *Oxford* ; and therefore this being the only Oppo-
“ ſition he receiv'd in his Progreſs, it could not
“ but provoke a Monarch, who expected to be
“ obey'd in every Thing. Yet before he made
“ *Magdalen College* feel the Weight of his Diſplea-
“ ſure, *William Penn*, the Head of the *Quakers*,
“ or, as ſome then thought, an ambitious crafty
“ *Jeſuit*, who (under a Fanatical Outſide) pro-
“ moted King *James*'s Deſigns, was induſtriouſly
“ employ'd ; *not to trepan them*, (as he pretended
“ in his Letter to Dr. *Bailey*, one of the Fellows)
“ *but out of a paſſionate Concern for their Intereſt,*
“ *to perſuade 'em either to a Compliance with His*
“ *Majeſty's Letter, or to think among themſelves of*
“ *ſome Expedient, to prevent the Ruin of their*
“ *College and Themſelves ; and to offer it to His*
“ *Majeſty's Conſideration, that the Order for the*
“ Quo Warranto *againſt the Colleges might be re-*
“ *call'd, before it was too late ; for they could not*
“ *but be ſenſible, how highly His Majeſty was in-*
“ *cens'd againſt them. Every Mechanick* (adds
“ *Penn*) *knows the Temper of His preſent Majeſty,*
“ *who never will receive a Baffle in any Thing that*
“ *he heartily eſpouſes ; and that he does this, your*
“ *ſelves have had too late and manifeſt an Inſtance*
“ *to doubt of his Zeal in the Affair. Where there*
“ *are ſo many Statutes to be obſerv'd, 'tis impoſſible*
“ *but ſome muſt be broken at one Time or other ;*
“ *and I am inform'd by the Learned in the Law,*
“ *That a Failure in any One Point, forfeits your*
“ *Grant, and lays your College open to the Royal*
“ *Diſpleaſure. I could* (ſays he in the Concluſion)
“ *give many other prudent Arguments, that might*
“ *poſſibly incline you to put an End to your Troubles,*
“ *almoſt at any rate ; but I ſhall only ſuggeſt this*
“ *one Thing to you, That your fatal Overthrow would*
“ *be a fair Beginning of the ſo much aim'd at Re-*
“ *formation, firſt of the Univerſity, then of the*
“ *Church ; and adminiſter ſuch an Opportunity to*
“ *the Enemy, as may not perhaps occur in His Ma-*
“ *jeſty's Reign.*

“ To this *Letter* the College return'd an *Anſwer*,
“ wherein, amongſt other Things, they declare,
“ *They are not conſcious of ever having given His*
“ *Majeſty any ſuch Offence, and therefore have no*
“ *Reaſon to fear the iſſuing out of a* Quo Warranto
“ *againſt them : And as for the reſt, they believe no In-*
“ *ſtance can be given of a* Quo Warranto *brought*
“ *againſt a College or Hall in the Univerſities, or any*
“ *other Eccleſiaſtical Corporation, for the Abuſes of*
“ *ſome of the Conſtitutions and Franchiſes in them.*
“ *That the Miſdemeanors of particular Perſons, will*
“ *not deſtroy a College ; and that if the Corporation*
“ *of a College ſhould be diſſolv'd, the Revenues there-*
“ *of will return to the Founder's Heirs, and not de-*
“ *volve to the Crown. That if their College muſt be*
“ *the firſt Example of that kind, they ſhall be better*
“ *juſtify'd by the Obſervation of their Statutes, at*
“ *leaſt to God and their own Conſciences, than they*
“ *could have been by a voluntary and deliberate*
“ *Breach of them.* They conclude, with mention-
“ ing *their Loyalty to the Crown, particularly in*
“ Monmouth's *Rebellion, when they rais'd a Company*
“ *at their own Charges, and, under Command of*
“ *their Fellows, engag'd againſt him.*

“ Several other Perſons uſed their Endeavours to
“ bring the Fellows to a Compliance ; which pro-
“ ving ſtill ineffectual, they were cited before the
“ Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Sir *Robert Wright*, Chief-Ju- 1687.
“ ſtice of the *King's-Bench*, and Sir *Tho. Jenner*, 3 *Jac.* II.
“ one of the Barons of the *Exchequer* ; theſe Three
“ being added to the other *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſi-*
“ *oners*, and particularly empower'd to Viſit *Mag-*
“ *dalen-College* only. On *Friday* Morning, the Pre-
“ ſident (Dr. *Hough*) and the Fellows appearing,
“ the Biſhop of *Cheſter* made a Speech, and began
“ with *ſevere Reflections upon Diſloyalty and Diſ-*
“ *obedience, particularly on their Undutiful Behavi-*
“ *our to His Majeſty when at* Oxon, *in denying*
“ *Compliance with his juſt and reaſonable Requeſt.*
“ He urged, *That the Church of* England *taught*
“ **an Unconditional and Unlimited Obedience :**
“ Then enlarged upon *His Majeſty's Gracious Tem-*
“ *per, That would have no Man oppreſſed in*
“ *Things againſt his Conſcience, but would ſuffer all*
“ *Men to worſhip God in their own way. In the*
“ *mean time,* (continu'd he) *we cannot but ſuppoſe*
“ *that His Majeſty will make uſe of all Prudent and*
“ *Lawful Methods, to encourage thoſe of his own*
“ *Religion, without injuring the Church of* England,
“ *which is at preſent the Religion by Law Eſtabliſh'd :*
“ *For His Majeſty will maintain that Altar, at*
“ *which he himſelf does not worſhip ; but at preſent*
“ *we are in more Danger of Prophaneneſs, than Po-*
“ *pery.* He told them, *That their Corporation, as*
“ *others, was a Creature of the Crown ; and that it*
“ *was Inſolence in their Local Statutes, to ſpurn*
“ *againſt their Maker : - - - - That their Diſtem-*
“ *pers had brought this Viſitation upon them ; the*
“ *Conſequences of which, might be ill to the Church*
“ *and Univerſities.* He *exhorted them, by the Bow-*
“ *els of Chriſt, to conſider theſe Things :* He told
“ them, *That the Eyes of the World were upon*
“ *them ; and they ought to take care, that their Pra-*
“ *ctices might not influence their deluded Admirers.*
“ In ſhort, The whole Deſign of this *Speech* ſeem'd,
“ by Promiſes and Threats, to aim at the inducing
“ them to comply.

“ In the Afternoon, the *Commiſſioners* being ſat,
“ the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ask'd Dr. *Hough*, Whether
“ they would ſubmit to this Viſitation ? To which
“ the Doctor anſwer'd, in the Name of himſelf,
“ and the greater Part of the Fellows, That they
“ ſubmitted to it, as far as it was conſiſtent with
“ the Laws of the Land, and the Statutes of the
“ College, and no farther : And deſir'd their Lord-
“ ſhips, that this Declaration might be recorded.
“ The next Queſtion the Biſhop put to him,
“ was, Whether they obſerv'd all thoſe Statutes ?
“ - - - And the Preſident anſwering, He hop'd they
“ did : - - - *You have a Statute there for* Maſs, (re-
“ ply'd he) *Why don't you read* Maſs ? - - - - This
“ Queſtion from a Biſhop was a little ſurprizing ;
“ but the Preſident ſoon ſatisfy'd it, by telling him,
“ *That the Matter of that Oath was unlawful ; and*
“ *in ſuch a Caſe, no Man was oblig'd to obſerve an*
“ *Oath : And beſides, that that Statute was taken*
“ *away by the Laws of the Land.* - - - - After ſeve-
“ ral other frivolous Expoſtulations, the Biſhop of
“ *Cheſter* demanded, Firſt, (*a*) *All their Regiſters* :
“ Secondly, *The Revenues of their College, with an*
“ *Account of their Benefactors ; to what Uſe the*
“ *Money was aſſign'd, how employ'd*, and *how far*
“ *converted to other Uſes ; or, in plain* Engliſh,
“ *how far it was deſign'd for Hoſpitality ?* And,
“ Thirdly, *A Copy of all the Leaſes they had Let*
“ *for Two Years laſt paſt.*

(*a*) When the Revenues of Colleges were thus ſeiz'd for the Uſe of the Papiſts, the Proteſtant Nobility and Gentry began to be more jealous of their Church-Lands ; and tho' Dr. *Johnſton* was employ'd as a Tool to write *The Aſſurance of Abby and other Church-Lands in* England *to the Poſſeſſors, cleared from the Doubts and Arguments raiſed about the Danger of Reſumption. In Anſwer to a Letter of a Perſon of Quality. By* Nathaniel Johnſton, *Doctor in Phyſick. Publiſh'd by His Majeſty's Special Command* ; for *Henry Hills*, 1687. —— To which a Reply was given, entitled, *Abby, and other Church-Lands, not yet aſſured to ſuch Poſſeſſors as are* Roman-Catholicks. *Dedicated to the Nobility and Gentry of that Religion.* 1687. 4to. ——— The Writer of *Reflexions upon the Petition of the Common-Council of* London, in 1691. affirms it as a known Matter, That in King *James*'s Reign, there were Four or Five Prieſts buſily every Day employ'd, in the Augmentation-Office, to take an exact Account of all the Lands and Livings in the Kingdom.

1687. 3 *Jac.* II.

"On *Saturday* Morning, Dr. *Hough* was ſeveral times requir'd to deliver up the Keys, and quiet Poſſeſſion of the Lodgings, to the Perſon whom His Majeſty had appointed *Preſident*: Which the Doctor refuſing to obey, alledging the Legality of his Election, the King's Proctor ſtood up, and accus'd him of Contumacy: And then the Biſhop of *Cheſter* admoniſh'd him Three times, *To depart peaceably out of the Lodgings; and to act no longer as Preſident, or pretended Preſident of his College.* The ſame Day in the Afternoon, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ask'd the Fellows, *Whether they would admit the Biſhop of* Oxon *Preſident, ſince Dr.* Hough's *Place was declar'd void?* To which the greater Part anſwer'd, They could not do it without premeditated Perjury, and therefore would not do it.

"During this Examination, Dr. *Hough* came into Court, without any Attendance; and having waited till it was ended, (*a*) and the *Commiſſioners* at a Pauſe, he deſir'd Leave to ſpeak a few Words: Which being granted, he ſaid, *That they having been pleas'd to deprive him of his Place of Preſident of that College, he did proteſt againſt all their Proceedings in Prejudice of him and his Right, as Illegal, Unjuſt, and Null; And therefore he appeal'd to his Sovereign Lord the King, in his Courts of Juſtice.* Upon which the Strangers and Young Scholars in the Room gave a *Humm* - - - - Which ſo incens'd their Lordſhips, that notwithſtanding all the Proteſtations the Preſident and Fellows could make, (the Preſident, in particular, offering to purge himſelf by Oath, that he was no ways acceſſary to it) yet the Lord Chief-Juſtice was not to be pacify'd; but charging it upon Dr. *Hough*, bound him in a Bond of a Thouſand Pounds, and Security to the like Value, to make his Appearance at the *King's-Bench-Bar* the *Term* following. Moreover, the Lord Chief-Juſtice ſaid, They had met with nothing but Affronts from the College: That as for himſelf, he valu'd not what People ſaid of him, but was reſolv'd to vindicate the Honour of his Maſter, to the laſt Drop of his Blood; And *if the Civil Power could not keep 'em in Order, the Military ſhould.* - - - - Baron *Jenner* likewiſe ſhew'd his Reſentment upon this Occaſion, by punning on the late Preſident's Name, and ſaying to him, *Sir, You muſt not think to Huff* (Hough) *us.* About which Time, ſeveral Officers (then in Town) came into the Room.

"On *Tueſday*, the Court being met, Dr. *Stafford*, one of the Fellows, offer'd a Paper in Anſwer to what was objected the *Friday* before, *That the King's* Mandate *in favour of Mr.* Farmer, *implied an Inhibition*: Which their Lordſhips having peruſed, would not ſuffer to be read publickly; but ask'd the Fellows whether they would ſign it? bidding them do it at their Peril. The Fellows being withdrawn, and not thinking it was neceſſary to ſign a Plea which the *Commiſſioners* refus'd to have argu'd, they return'd the Paper into the Court, ſubſcrib'd only by Dr. *Fairfax* and Dr. *Stafford*. Their Lordſhips taking no further notice of that Paper, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ask'd the Fellows, Whether they would Inſtall the Biſhop of *Oxford* Preſident, or aſſiſt at the Inſtalling of him? - - - To this they anſwer'd, as before, That as they could not do it without deliberate Perjury, ſo it was not in their Power to do it. - - - - Thereupon Mr. *Wiggins*, Chaplain to the Biſhop of *Oxford*, empower'd as a Proxy to be inſtall'd Preſident for his Lord, (then confin'd to his Chamber by ſome Indiſpoſition) was put into the Preſident's Stall by the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, none of the Fellows being preſent but Mr. *Charnock*, and took the Oaths which the Statutes enjoin the Preſident at his Admiſſion, and the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. Then their Lordſhips conducted him to the Preſident's Lodgings; where knocking Three times, and the Door not being open'd, a Smith was ſent for to force it open, and Mr. *Wiggins* took Poſſeſſion of the Lodgings. 1687. 3 *Jac.* II.

"Immediately after, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ask'd the Fellows, Whether they would obey the Biſhop of *Oxon*, as now inſtall'd Preſident, by Virtue of the King's Mandate? - - - Doctor *Fairfax* anſwer'd, He neither cou'd nor wou'd obey him, having already a Lawful and Statutable Preſident. - - - Others comply'd with His Majeſty's Pleaſure; and others again deſir'd Time to conſider on ſo weighty a Queſtion; which was granted; the Biſhop of *Cheſter* bidding them go and conſult about it among themſelves. In the Afternoon, this Anſwer was given in by the Society, (except Dr. *Fairfax*) *That whereas His Majeſty had been pleas'd, by his Royal Authority, to cauſe the Biſhop of* Oxon *to be Inſtall'd Preſident; they did ſubmit, as far as was lawful, and agreeable to the Statutes of the College, and no way prejudicial to the Right and Title of Dr.* Hough - - - This Anſwer was accepted, except the laſt Clauſe, which the Lord Chief-Juſtice and Baron *Jenner* declar'd (as Judges) to be inſignificant; ſince nothing they could do, could any way invalidate Doctor *Hough*'s Title, but left them ſtill at Liberty to be Witneſſes for him, or to be any other way ſerviceable to him in the Recovery of his Right: And upon this Aſſurance, the Society was prevail'd with to leave out the laſt Clauſe. Dr. *Fairfax* perſiſting in his former Anſwer, receiv'd Sentence of *Expulſion*; againſt which he proteſted, as null, unjuſt and unlawful. This Proteſtation was over-rul'd by the *Commiſſioners*; and a Copy of the Sentence deny'd, tho' moſt earneſtly deſir'd at the Inſtance of Dr. *Hedges* and Mr. Vice-Chancellor. Two Days after, their Lordſhips thinking they had gain'd their Point, declar'd, That they were well ſatisfy'd with the Anſwer the Society had given them; and tho' before they had laid a Libel to their Charge, yet that Night they declar'd they had met with nothing but Civility, and that they ſhould receive the ſame from them: That they had ſhewn themſelves Men of Excellent Tempers; and that they would repreſent it faithfully Above, to their Advantage; - - - and immediately diſpatch'd an *Expreſs* to Court, with an Account of their Proceedings.

"On *Wedneſday* Morning, the Fellows having been order'd the Day before to bring in their Anſwer to the following Queſtions; 1. *What Gifts and Proviſions they had, for the Entertainment of Strangers?* 2. *What was the Value of them?* 3. *How they were apply'd?* 4. *And where was the Place of Entertainment?* They made it appear very ſatisfactorily, That one Year with another, they gave almoſt a Hundred Pounds in Charity-Money, over and above what by their Statutes they were obliged to give. Upon which their Lordſhips expatiated upon their Generous Bounty and Liberality, ſaying, The Complaint on this Account was groundleſs; and that it would induce His Majeſty to entertain better Thoughts of them in all other Matters.

(*a*) See the King's Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters truly ſtated; beginning, 'His Majeſty having erected an High-Commiſſion-Court, to enquire of, and make Redreſs in Eccleſiaſtical Matters; *Qu.* Whether ſuch a Commiſſion, as the Law now ſtands, be good or not? And I hold, that the Commiſſion is not good. 4*to*. 1687.

"On

1687. 3 *Jac.* II.

“ On *Thurſday* (*a*), the Fellows having preſented to the *Commiſſioners* a Liſt of Leaſes, which had been renew'd for Two Years laſt paſs'd; Mr. *Charnock* (the new Convert) ask'd their Lordſhips, whether theſe Leaſes ſtood good, which had been ſeal'd ſince Dr. *Hough*'s Election? The Lord Chief-Juſtice anſwer'd, *Yes; for Corporations always ſpeak by their Seals.* Then their Lordſhips perus'd the College Regiſters; and finding nothing in them to object againſt, they were return'd, and the Court adjourn'd.

“ On *Friday* Morning, the *Commiſſioners* acquainted the Fellows, They had repreſented them fairly to the King, but that his Majeſty expected ſome farther Submiſſion; which they adviſ'd them to make, *by acknowledging their Contempt to his Sacred Majeſty in Perſon, and to his Letters; That they ſhould promiſe to behave themſelves Loyally for the future; That they ſhould own the Proceedings and Legality of the Court, implore his Majeſty's Pardon, and lay themſelves at his Feet; And that they ſhould declare their entire Submiſſion to the Biſhop of* Oxon *as their Preſident.* The Fellows anſwer'd in Writing, *That they had endeavour'd, in all their Actions, to expreſs their Duty to his Majeſty; and being conſcious to themſelves, that in the whole Conduct of the Buſineſs before their Lordſhips, they had done nothing but what their Oaths and Statutes had indiſpenſibly oblig'd them to; they could not make any Declaration, whereby to acknowledge they had done any Thing amiſs; having acted according to the Principles, of Loyalty and Obedience, ſo far as they cou'd, without doing Violence to their Conſciences or Prejudice to their Rights, (one of which, they conceiv'd the electing a Preſident to be) from which they were ſworn upon no Account to depart.* ---- Upon the Peruſal of this Anſwer, their Lordſhips expreſs'd their Diſlike of it, ſaying, It did not come up to the Addreſs ſent to his Majeſty at *Bath*, nor to the Paper they deliver'd in on *Tueſday*. Whereupon a freſh Queſtion being put to the Fellows, Whether they wou'd obey the Biſhop of *Oxford* as their Preſident? All, except one or two, anſwer'd, They cou'd not do it. --- Then Mr. *Fulham* being particularly interrogated; he alledg'd, *That the Biſhop of* Oxford *had not Poſſeſſion in due Form of Law, nor by proper Officers: And that he was inform'd, that the proper Officers to give Poſſeſſion of a Freehold, was the Sheriff, with a* Poſſe Comitatus. ---- To this the Lord Chief-Juſtice reply'd, in a Paſſion, *Pray, who's the beſt Lawyer, you or I? Your* Oxford *Law is no better than your* Oxford *Divinity: If you've a mind to a* Poſſe Comitatus, *you may have one ſoon enough.* --- Mr. *Fulham* endeavour'd to make an Excuſe for what he had ſaid: Which their Lordſhips rejected; and having thought fit to ſuſpend him from the Profits of his Fellowſhip, for his *Contempt and Opprobious Language*, they adjourn'd till the 16th of *November*, and immediately went for *London*.

“ The King having ſeen an Account of the Proceedings of the Viſitors, his Majeſty order'd them, That at their Return to the College, they ſhould ſummon all the Fellows to appear before them, and endeavour to make them ſenſible of their Offences; and if they ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe the above-mention'd Submiſſion, immediately to expel them, for their Obſtinacy. Purſuant to theſe Inſtructions, the Lords Commiſſioners return'd to *Oxford*; and being Sate, the firſt Thing they did, was to ſend for the *Buttery-Book*; then they call'd for Mr. *Joyner* and Mr. *Allibone*, Two *Roman-Catholicks*, whom they entred actual Fellows; all Oaths being diſpens'd with, beſides that of the College. That done, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* made a *Speech* to the Fellows, wherein he told them, *That their many Contempts and wilful Diſobedience had occaſion'd this Viſitation, which wou'd end at laſt in their Ruin: That their Society had been long exercis'd in the Methods of Quarelling; had always been troubled with Factious Spirits, and teſty Mutineers, ever ſince the Reſtoration of the late King: That they had encourag'd Quarrels, among themſelves; Quarrels, between themſelves and Preſident; Quarrels, at length, between themſelves and Viſitor. That by theſe Steps, from quarrelling with the Preſident and Viſitor, they had at laſt advanc'd to the higheſt Pitch of Inſolence, to quarrel with their Prince, and affront His Sacred Majeſty.* Then he endeavour'd to make them ſenſible of their irregular Conduct, and heinous Offences, from their firſt diſobeying the King's *Mandate*, to that Day: He told them, *They urg'd the Obſervance of their Statutes; of which they had not been ſo conſtant Obſervers, when their own Humour prompted them to a Diſpenſation; Witneſs* (ſaid he) *that of being ſerv'd* per Maſculos;

(*a*) The Proceedings in this Commiſſion were ſo arbitrary and ſevere, that one of the Commiſſioners themſelves liv'd to value himſelf upon having the leaſt to do in them. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* wrote thus to the Earl of *Dorſet*. I perſiſted immoveable in my Diſſent from every Vote that paſs'd againſt *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, from their very firſt Citation before that Court, to the cruel incapacitating of the Preſident and Fellows. ———— I could mention many other Particulars, wherein I ſucceſsfully labour'd to relieve divers of the inferior and greater Clergy from Oppreſſion; to prevent ſome from being called before us at all; to preſerve others after they were accus'd by malicious Sycophants and Informers, that ſwarm'd then every where: Some in the Caſe of Tythes; ſome for preſſing Church-Wardens to take illegal Oaths; ſome for not reading, ſome for Preaching againſt the King's Declaration. But there are Two eminent Inſtances which I cannot omit; the one, that when the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was petition'd againſt by his Archdeacon; and there was at that Time Inclination enough in the Court to purſue him to Extremity; yet my Lord Biſhop of *Peterborough* by interceding for him with the King, and I with the Commiſſioners, ſo effectually wrought, that the Proſecution againſt him was diſcountenanc'd and fell to the Ground. The other Inſtance concerns my Lord of *Canterbury*; and I am confident his Grace will readily give me his Teſtimony, that I ſerv'd him honeſtly and induſtriouſly on ſome Occaſions, wherein he was like to be embroil'd with the Commiſſion: Which muſt inevitably have ended in his Grace's Suſpenſion at leaſt, ſince he was reſolv'd whenever he ſhould be brought before them, whatever the Pretence had been, to deny the whole Power and Juriſdiction of the Court.

It will not much contradict his Lordſhip's Account to add upon undoubted Information; that in the Caſe of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Thomas Barlow*, he was indeed obnoxious to the Court for his Writings againſt Popery, and there were ſeveral Attempts to bring his Lordſhip under Proſecution; but that which ſav'd him from the Anger of the Court was really this, He was prevail'd upon to aſſert and vindicate the Regal Power of diſpenſing with Penal Laws, in an elaborate Tract with numerous Quotations, from Canoniſts, Civilians, and Divines. Whether he began to diſtruſt his own Arguments, or was check'd by the better Judgment of ſome of his Brethren, I know not; but the bare attempting it was a Protection to him. And he liv'd afterwards to be aſham'd of that Attempt, and to apprehend no Danger ſo great as that of his *Amanuenſis* offering to produce a Copy of thoſe Papers. Enquire of the Reverend Mr. *William Oſley*.

The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* oppos'd his Fellow-Commiſſioners in many other Particulars. “ I was zealous for *Exeter* College, in their Defence againſt Father *Petre*, in a Buſineſs of ſo great Importance, that if the College had been overcome in the Suit, the whole Society muſt have been ſoon abandon'd to Popery. I did my utmoſt to oppoſe the violent Perſecution upon the whole Univerſity of *Cambridge*, when the Vice-Chancellor was ſuſpended his Office, and his Maſterſhip of *Magdalen* College, becauſe a Popiſh Prieſt, who was one of the Miſſionaries to pervert the Scholars, was deny'd a Degree in their Convocation. I faithfully aſſiſted and ſerv'd *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, when they were in Danger of having new Statutes impos'd upon them; which would infallibly have laid open that Royal College to the Ruins of their good Learning and Religion. I abſolutely reſiſted all the Alterations in the Statutes of *Sidney* College, and all other Changes and Abrogations of Oaths, *&c.*

1687. 3 *Jac.* II.

“ *by which great Scandals have come to this Society,*
“ *by reaſon of Baſtards.* (a) ---- *His Majeſty* (added
“ he) *was extremely amaz'd, that his Clemency*
“ *ſhould be deſpis'd; but yet, to your Comforts be it*
“ *ſpoken, his Patience and Goodneſs extend as far*
“ *as your Provocations can: But if you ſtill perſiſt*
“ *in your Obſtinancy, thoſe that are too Tall to Stand,*
“ *and too Stubborn to Bend, deſerve to be Broken.*
“ *And now I think I have ſaid enough to let you*
“ *know, That the Fig-Leaves you have ſo artificially*
“ *ſtitch'd together, are not ſufficient to cover your*
“ *Nakedneſs. I wiſh to God you had the ſame Ten-*
“ *derneſs for your own Concern, as his Majeſty's*
“ *Commiſſioners have for you. But if you ſtill per-*
“ *ſiſt to oppoſe the Royal Power of the King; We,*
“ *who are come to vindicate the Right and Honour*
“ *of his Majeſty, reſolve to diſcharge our Conſci-*
“ *ences, and Duties to God and the King, without*
“ *any Reſpect of Popularity; that's but the Para-*
“ *diſe of Fools, and Scorn of wiſe Men; and there-*
“ *fore, as for us, We have no more Regard to Peo-*
“ *ple's Diſlike, than what they Dream. By reaſon*
“ *therefore of your late Hypocritical Submiſſion, the*
“ Commiſſioners *have thought fit to draw up an* In-
“ ſtrument; *to which if you ſhall immediately Sub-*
“ *ſcribe, before you leave the Room, We ſhall leave*
“ *you to his Majeſty's Pardon: And this We expect*
“ *from you all, except Mr.* Thomas Smith *and Mr.*
“ Charnock, *with whoſe Behaviour the King is ſo*
“ *well ſatisfy'd, that he expects no more from them.*
“ The above-mention'd *Submiſſion* being read to
“ the Fellows; all (except Dr. *Thomas Smith* and
“ Mr. *Charnock)* refus'd to ſign it. Mr. *Thompſon*
“ being call'd in his Turn, alledg'd, He had always
“ been Obedient to the King's Commands; that he
“ was not concern'd in the Election of Dr. *Hough*;
“ that he voted for Mr. *Farmer*, and was ready to
“ ſubmit to the Biſhop of *Oxon*; and ſo he was ex-
“ cus'd. After a ſhort Time, all who refus'd to
“ ſign the Submiſſion, being Twenty Five in Num-
“ ber, were call'd in, and by Sentence of their
“ Lordſhips were depriv'd, and expell'd from their
“ Fellowſhips, for their Diſobedience to his Maje-
“ ſty's Command, and obſtinately contemning his
“ Royal Authority; againſt which they all proteſt-
“ ed, declaring they would uſe all juſt and legal
“ Ways of being relieved. This Sentence was con-
“ firm'd by a Decree made at *Whitehall* by the Ec-
“ cleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, declaring, *That Dr.*
“ Hough, *who had been depriv'd before, and the ſaid*
“ *Twenty Five Fellows ſhould be incapable of recei-*
“ *ving, or being admitted into any Eccleſiaſtical* Dig-
“ *nity, Benefice or Promotion; and ſuch of them*
“ *who are not yet in Holy Orders, they adjudged in-*
“ *capable of receiving, or being admitted into the*
“ *ſame.* Thus by a Sentence of an Illegal Court
“ were a Society of Learned and Worthy Proteſtants
“ turn'd out of their Freeholds, to make Room for
“ a *Popiſh* Seminary; and thus was King *James* 1687. 3 *Jac.* II.
“ prevailed with by his Evil Miniſters to aſſume a
“ Power, not only to diſpenſe with *Laws*, but with
“ *Oaths* alſo. After the Expulſion (b) of the Fellows,
“ moſt of the *Demy's* were likewiſe turn'd out of
“ *Magdalen-College* by the Biſhop of *Oxford*, and
“ Mr. *Charnock* his Vice-Preſident, and *Roman Ca-*
“ *tholicks* put in their Places. To acknowledge the
“ King's Favours, the Biſhop of (c) *Oxford* publiſh'd
“ a Book containing Reaſons for abrogating the *Teſt*
“ and *Penal Laws*, and his Majeſty commanded the
“ *Stationers* not to print any Anſwer to the ſame.

Not only the Church-of-*England*-Men were abundantly ſatisfied that the King's *Declaration of Indulgence* (d) was to prepare the Way to Popery, but the very Diſſenters themſelves began to be convinc'd that this alone was the Deſign of it. Nay, the King himſelf was now conſcious that his Proteſtant Subjects generally underſtood his Meaning, and expected no Liberty, either to the Church or to ſeparate Congregations, any longer than till the Papiſts were able to exerciſe their full and abſolute Will and Power. To take away this Jealouſy of the People, the King repeated and confirm'd his former Declaration in a manner that did but increaſe the Fears of Popery. This New Declaration was in this Form. 1688. 4 *Jac.* II.

JAMES R.

New Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

“ OUR Conduct has been ſuch in all Times as
“ ought to have perſuaded the World, That
“ we are firm and conſtant in our Reſolutions: Yet
“ that eaſy People may not be abus'd by the Malice
“ of crafty wicked Men, We think fit to declare, That
“ our Intentions are not changed ſince the 4th of
“ *April*, 1687. when we iſſued out our Declaration
“ for *Liberty of Conſcience* in the following Terms.
[*Here the* Declaration *was recited, and then it follows:*] “ Ever ſince we granted this *Indulgence* we
“ have made it our principal Care to ſee it preſerv'd
“ without Diſtinction, as we are encourag'd to do
“ daily by Multitudes of Addreſſes, and many
“ other Aſſurances we receive from our Subjects of
“ all Perſuaſions, as Teſtimonies of their Satisfa-
“ ction and Duty; the Effects of which we doubt
“ not, but the next Parliament will plainly ſhew;
“ and that it will not be in vain, That we have re-
“ ſolved to uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to eſtabliſh
“ *Liberty of Conſcience*, on ſuch juſt and equal
“ Foundations as will render it unalterable, and ſe-
“ cure to all People the free Exerciſe of their Reli-
“ gion for ever; by which future Ages may reap the
“ Benefit of what is ſo undoubtedly for the gene-
“ ral Good of the whole Kingdom. It is ſuch a Se-
“ curity we deſire without the Burthen of Oaths
“ and Teſts, which have been unhappily made by

(a) See a *Programma* by the Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, Dr. *Gilbert Ironſide*, againſt *Humming* or *Hiſſing*, &c. occaſion'd by the Diſturbance given to the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners at *Magdalen* College, dated *Octob.* 24. 1687.

(b) Dr. *Samuel Parker*, Lord Biſhop of *Oxford*, in a Sort of broken Heart, died in his new Lodgings at *Magdalen* College, on the 20th of *March* 168 7/8; and *Bonaventure* Giffard, a *Sorbon* Doctor, and Secular Prieſt, Biſhop Elect of *Madaura*, was by Royal Nomination inſtall'd Preſident of the ſaid College by Proxy, on the 31ſt of *March*, 1688. And in the See of *Oxford* was put Mr. *Timothy Hall*, an obſcure Divine in the City of *London*, diſtinguiſh'd for the Merit of Reading the King's Declaration when his Brethren refus'd it.

(c) There were ſeveral other Arbitrary Acts of the diſpenſing and over-ruling Power of the King, in Favour of Popery, againſt Law and Conſtitution. See, 1. A Letter ſign'd by Eight Governors of the *Charter-Houſe*, directed to one of the Secretaries of State, to repreſent to his Majeſty the Reaſons why they could not comply with his Royal Pleaſure of requiring and commanding the Admiſſion of *Andrew Popham*, a Papiſt, into that Hoſpital, without taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. ——— The King's Reſentment and declaring Reſolution to proceed againſt the Governors, and particularly againſt the Maſter for ſuch Contempt of his Authority, *June* 24. 1687. Enquire after the Proceedings in this Commiſſion by a Complaint of Father *Petre* againſt *Exeter* College in *Oxford.* By an Attempt of giving Statutes of Royal Will and Pleaſure to *Chriſt-Church*, with a Popiſh Dean Mr. *Maſſey*, &c. By the Encouragement given to Mr. *Obadiah Walker*, a Popiſh Maſter and his Creatures, in Univerſity College; and to other Apoſtates in other Houſes, *Brazen-Noſe*, *Trinity*, &c.

(d) It ſhould be remembred, that as good Laws ariſe out of ill Manners, ſo many excellent Deſigns owe their Foundation to Dangers and melancholy Proſpects. The Opening a Jeſuit's School at the *Savoy*, gave Occaſion to the moſt active and exemplary Divine Dr. *Teniſon* to found a Grammar School and Proteſtant Library at St. *Martin's*. And the very Original of Charity Schools in *London* was now laid upon the ſame Foundation. The very firſt Charity School at *Norton Falgate*, and the Blue-Coat School in St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter*, were open'd *Lady-Day*, 1688, to help keep out Ignorance the Mother of Popiſh Devotion.

2 “ ſome

1688. 4 *Jac.* II.

" ſome Governments, but could never ſupport any: " Nor ſhould Men be advanced by ſuch Means to " Offices and Employments, which ought to be the " Reward of Services, Fidelity and Merit: We " muſt conclude, That not only good Chriſtians " will join in this, but whoever is concerned for the " Increaſe of the Wealth and Power of the Nation. " It would perhaps prejudice ſome of our Neigh- " bours, who might loſe Part of thoſe Advantages " they now enjoy, if *Liberty of Conſcience* were " ſettled in theſe Kingdoms, which are above all o- " thers moſt capable of Improvements, and of " commanding the Trade of the World. In Pur- " ſuance of this great Work, we have been forced " to make many Changes both of Civil and Milita- " ry Officers throughout our Dominions, not think- " ing any ought to be employ'd in our Service who " will not contribute towards the eſtabliſhing the " Peace and Greatneſs of their Country, which we " moſt earneſtly deſire, as unbyaſs'd Men may ſee " by the whole Conduct of our Government; and " by the Condition of our Fleet and Armies, which " with good Management, ſhall be conſtantly the " ſame, and greater if the Safety or Honour " of the Nation require it. We recommend theſe " Conſiderations to all our Subjects, and that they " will reflect on their preſent Eaſe and Happineſs, " how for above Three Years that it has pleaſed " God to permit us to reign over theſe Kingdoms, " we have not appeared to be that Prince our Ene- " mies would have made the World afraid of; our " chief Aim having been, not to be the Oppreſſor, " but the Father of our People; of which we can " give no better Evidence, than by conjuring them " to lay aſide all private Animoſities, as well as " groundleſs Jealouſies, and to chuſe ſuch Members " of Parliament as may do their Parts to finiſh " what we have begun for the Advantage of " the Monarchy, over which Almighty God " hath placed us, being reſolv'd to call a Parlia- " ment that ſhall meet in *November* next at far- " theſt.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, *the Twenty-Seventh Day of* April, 1688. *In the Fourth Year of our Reign.*

This Declaration ordered to be Read in all Churches. The Biſhops and Clergy generally refuſe to do it.

The King was not contented to have this *Declaration* publiſh'd in the uſual Manner, but he was reſolv'd to have it ſolemnly read in all Churches, as the Political Goſpel of his Reign. The Biſhops and Clergy were of all others the moſt averſe to the Subject-Matter of the Declaration, as being moſt ſenſible of the ill Deſign and ill Effects of it; and therefore the Court ſeem'd the more willing to mortify theſe their Enemies, and make them become acceſſary to their own Ruin; and *even to eat their own Dung*, as Father *Petre* proudly threatned; and therefore this Order of Council was made and publiſh'd at the Court at *Whitehall*, the 4th of *May*, 1688.

1688. 4 *Jac.* II.

By the KING's *moſt Excellent Majeſty, and the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council.* (*a*)

Order of Council for it.

" IT is this Day order'd by his Majeſty in " Council, That his Majeſty's late Gracious " Declaration, bearing Date the 27th of *April* laſt, " be read at the uſual Time of Divine Service, up- " on the 20th and 27th of this Month, in all " Churches and Chapels within the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Ten Miles thereabouts: " And upon the 3d and 10th of *June* next in all " other Churches and Chapels throughout this " Kingdom. And it is hereby further order'd, That " the Right Reverend the Biſhops, cauſe the ſaid " Declaration to be ſent and diſtributed throughout " their ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſes, to be read " accordingly. (*b*)

W. BRIDGMAN.

The Biſhops meet at *Lambeth* to conſider; And agree to refuſe.

The Biſhops and whole Clergy of the Church of *England* were not ſo much ſurpriz'd, as they were troubled at this imperious Order, which they had reaſon to take as the greateſt Hardſhip and Oppreſſion that could be put upon them (*c*.) On this Occaſion there was a Meeting in the Archbiſhop's Palace at *Lambeth*, to conſult what ought to be done upon ſuch an extraordinary Juncture. After Prayers and mature Deliberation, it was agreed, That the " Matter of the " Declaration was altogether illegal, the Foot upon " which it ſtood being a Power not only to diſpenſe " in contingent and particular Caſes, which, if the " Lawgivers could have foreſeen, they would have " provided a Diſpenſation for them, but it was to " diſpenſe with all Sorts of Laws in Caſes contrary " to the very Deſign and End of making them: " That this was not properly a *Diſpenſing* but a *Diſannulling Power*, highly prejudicial to the King " himſelf, becauſe it took away that Faith and " Truſt, which the People repoſe in him when a " Law is made; which they look upon as their Se- " curity: That 'twas true, each Biſhop or Mini- " ſter was not a capable Judge in ſuch Caſes; but " however he was a Judge for his own private Con- " ſcience, againſt which he muſt not go: That this " Caſe was publickly adjudg'd in Parliament, 1672; " That the general Forbearance of Addreſſes, " grounded upon the Illegality of that *Diſpenſing* " *Power*, ſhew'd this to have been the Judgment " of the greateſt Part of the Clergy and others: " That the Declaration of the preſent Judges, went " no farther than the particular Military Caſe of " Sir *Edward Hales*, which, in whatſoever Words " it was expreſs'd, yet never came legally to the " Cognizance of the Subject: That an unlawful " Matter was not to be publiſh'd, if he, who pub- " liſh'd it, thought the Matter unlawful; for it " cannot come to him, being illegal, by any Au- " thority, for the King can do no illegal Thing;

(*a*) Biſhop *Burnet* in a Preface to the Sermons he publiſh'd in 8*vo*, 1713. ſays thus of this Juncture: " So inflexibly did " the King purſue this Point of repealing the Teſt Act, that " he now renew'd his Declaration with this Addition of re- " quiring all the Clergy to read it in their Churches. —— Till " this came out, I thought particular illegal Proceedings were " to be ſubmitted to, rather than that he ſhould venture on " an open Breach. But the Declaration when twice repeated, " ſo that it appear'd the Court was reſolved to purſue it, " ſeem'd to me to ſtrike at all, and to alter our whole Conſti- " tution.

The Earl of *Sunderland* in his Letter *March* 23. 1689, ſays; " In the Midſt of Preparations for a new Parliament, and " whilſt the Corporations were regulating, the King thought " fit to order his Declarations to be read in all Churchrs, of " which I moſt ſolemnly proteſt, *I never heard one Word*, till " the King directed it in Council.

(*b*) Upon this Occaſion his Majeſty was numbring the People of *England*, and had deliver'd to him what was afterward publiſh'd in a ſingle Sheet by *David Edwards*. *A Liſt of the exact Number of Church-Men, Diſſenters, and* Romans, *as they were given in to King* James *on the Third of* May, 1688.

(*c*) And yet the Biſhop of *Durham* went on to the ſeveral Penalties upon the Clergy of his Dioceſe for refuſing or neglecting to read the illegal Declaration. In the *Memorial of the* Engliſh *Proteſtants to the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, there is in the Notes an Inſtance given of Arbitrary Proceſs, *&c.* the Suſpenſion of near Two Hundred Miniſters in the County of *Durham*, for refuſing to read to their People the King's Declaration for diſpenſing with our Laws.

" and

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"and if his Officers do it, they do it not by the King's Authority, and therefore the refuſing of it is no Diſobedience, being no illegal Refuſal: That if then, the Biſhops publiſh'd the Declaration, they did it voluntarily as their own Act, and conſequently publiſh'd an illegal Thing without legal Authority, and were puniſhable for it: That many and great were the ill Conſequences of Reading the Declaration: *Firſt*, That many would juſtly judge the Clergy either Cowards or Hypocritical Time-ſervers, in publiſhing what they thought illegal, and illegally ſent to them. *Secondly*, That many who had Votes for Parliament-Men, would take this for the Conſent of the Publiſhers, and be ſtrengthened in the chuſing ſuch Men, as ſhould be Friends not only to the *Indulgence*, but to the Foundation of it, the *Diſpenſing Power*. *Thirdly*, That the World would have Reaſon to take this Publication for an Approbation, becauſe there could be no other Intention in ordering it to be publiſhed, but to make the Clergy Parties to it; for it was as much known before it was read, as it would be after the Reading of it; and therefore the making it known was not the only Thing intended. And, *Fourthly*, That after this they muſt expect further Things to be publiſh'd by them, at which they muſt make a Stand; and their making a Stand when they had loſt their Reputation would be of no Force: That therefore in Prudence as well as Conſcience, they ought not to publiſh a Declaration, which they knew to be againſt Law, and which in its Nature and Deſign was levell'd againſt their own Intereſt, and that of their Religion. Some objected, That their Refuſal would be interpreted by the Papiſts, as a Failure in the great Principles of Loyalty, to which the Church of *England* made Pretence; others ſaid, That Diſſenters would conſtrue it, as a Declaration againſt all Tenderneſs to them; and others again, That Suſpenſion or Deprivation of the Refuſers might follow, whereby the People of their Church might be left as Sheep without a Shepherd. To the Firſt Objection it was anſwer'd, That their Non-Addreſſing had been reflected on in Books as well as Diſcourſes, but had no Effect to blaſt their Loyalty, tho' the Clergy refus'd to addreſs even in a Branch that made for themſelves, becauſe of that one Foundation, on which that Clauſe ſtood with the reſt, of the *Diſpenſing Power*: That Loyalty being Obedience according to Law, they were the Loyal Men who acted not contrary thereunto: That the beſt Friends to the Crown are thoſe who ſupport the Law, and that they ſtill maintain'd the Principle of Suffering without any unchriſtian Oppoſition. To the Second, (*a*) That the Diſſenters had never ſuch Aſſurances from Church-Men of their Inclination to Tenderneſs to them, as they then receiv'd; That they could not but ſee, that this Refuſal was not to hinder any Favours to them by this *Indulgence*, but the *Diſpenſing Power*; which, if it took place, they could not but diſcern, that a new *Magna Charta* for *Liberty of Conſcience* would be of no Validity to them, for a new Declaration might diſpenſe with it at Pleaſure: And that the wiſeſt and beſt of them would look upon their Refuſal as a Teſtimony of their Sincerity to the Proteſtant Religion, and not of any Diſaffection to them. To the laſt Objection it was anſwer'd, That the Church and their Religion would ſuffer leſs by the Conſciouſneſs of their Suſpended Prelates or Miniſters, than it would by their illegal Compliance in ſo Great and Fundamental a Point: That they have better Thoughts of the King's Clemency and Juſtice, when he ſhould be inform'd by Men of Conſcience, againſt the Counſels of Men of Intereſt; for how could the King, at the very Time he proclaim'd entire *Liberty of Conſcience* to all (*b*), even thoſe who formerly were look'd upon as his Enemies, do an open Violence to the Conſciences of thoſe who had ever been acknowledg'd to be his Friends? And in ſhort, That they ought to perform their Duty, and leave the Event to God; and that a certain Evil muſt not be done to avoid a contingent one."

Upon this Conſultation the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, conſidering how great a Penalty was falling upon the whole Clergy of *England* (*c*), if they ſhould be ſuſpended for not Reading the Declaration, and being unwilling to lay them under ſo great a Temptation, as to ſave themſelves from Ruin by a ſinful Compliance, choſe rather to take the Blame and the Puniſhment upon themſelves, in refuſing to ſend the Declaration to their Clergy. An Heroical Act becoming the Character of Biſhops of the Church of *England*, who dar'd to be Confeſſors, as their Predeceſſors had been Martyrs, for the Proteſtant

Their Lordſhips reſolve not to ſend the *Declaration* to their Clergy.

(*a*) The Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits were very familiar and gracious with thoſe diſſenting Teachers, who would come into Court Meaſures. Dr. *Gee* in his *Notes upon Father* Parſon's *Memorial*, 8*vo.* writes thus. It was now a comical Sight to ſee Mr. *Lobb* the Presbyterian, and Father *Petre* the Jeſuit, caballing and contriving together, and as great *Intimado's* as if they had been of the very ſame Society. To ſee *Penn* the Quaker and *Brent*, Mr. *Alſop* and *Nevil Payne*, ſettling and ſecuring Liberty of Conſcience, and Father *Warner* as obliging to them as can be. But whatever Profeſſions of Love and Sincerity were made to the Non-Conformiſts by the Jeſuits, I can aſſure them, that at the ſame Time Father *Warner* the Jeſuit, the King's Confeſſor, look'd upon all the Diſſenters together as the worſt and *vileſt of Men.*

(*b*) The wiſeſt of the Diſſenting Teachers were very ſenſible, that this Act of Grace was not for their Sake; and many of them declin'd the making uſe of a Liberty founded on the King's diſpenſing Power intended for the Benefit of Popery. Yet too many accepted the Favour againſt the Laws in being, and addreſs'd and applauded the King for it; the Presbyterians were in this, as in all other Steps, the moſt moderate. A late Writer ſays, There were but Two Presbyterian Parſons of the whole Sect that kept any Correſpondence with the Court, and thoſe were *Lobb* and *Alſop*, who had great Obligations to the King; the one having been himſelf pardon'd by him, for Practices againſt him; and the other having got a Pardon for his Son. The former kept cloſe to that King, to his laſt Hour at *Whitehall*, and was the only Fanatick *Jacobite* that I ever heard of. He ſaid himſelf, that he offered the King, as he was going off, to attend him, and that his Majeſty told him he ſhould ſtay, that he might do more Service to him. And accordingly he us'd, as long as he liv'd, to ſpeak reſpectfully of that Prince; and has been thought to have kept a Correſpondence with the Enemies of the Government.

(*c*) There were about the ſame Time ſeveral Conſults of the Clergy of *London*, how to act under the Difficulties put upon them. They met and conſulted (as one Preſent tells us) about Reading or not Reading the Declaration. Dr. *Stillingfleet* declar'd it his Opinion, and that of eminent Lawyers, that the Reading was againſt Law, becauſe it was the publiſhing of an illegal Act. Others profeſs'd it was againſt their Conſcience to read in the Church a Licenſe to ſeparate from the Church. They came at laſt to the drawing up a Form of Reſolution not to read it. But when they came to ſubſcribe, Dr. *Stillingfleet* refus'd to ſet his Name, becauſe he ſhould be mark'd out for the Leader by the Papiſts, who deſign'd to make him the firſt Sacrifice. At laſt Dr. *Patrick* offered to ſubſcribe firſt, if any one would follow. Dr. *Fowler* promiſed to be the next; and then the Paper being left with Mr. *Chiſhull*, it had ſoon above Twenty Hands of the Chief of the City Clergy.

See, 1. A Letter from a Clergyman in the City to his Friend in the Countrey, containing his Reaſons for not Reading the Declaration, dated *May* 22. 1688. 4*to.* ——— 2. A Letter from a Clergyman in the Countrey to a Clergyman in the City, ſhewing the Inſufficiency of his Reaſons therein contained for not reading the Declaration. Licens'd *Aug.* 15. 1688. 4*to.* ——— 3. The Miniſters Reaſons for his not Reading the King's Declaration, friendly debated, by a Diſſenter. Allow'd to be publiſh'd *June* 21. 1688. ——— 4. A Reply to an Anſwer to the City Miniſter's Letter. Allowed *June* 27. 1688. 4*to.* ——— 5. The Reaſons of the *Oxford* Clergy againſt Addreſſing the King for his Declaration of Indulgence. ——— 6. A Reply to the Reaſons of the *Oxford* Clergy againſt Addreſſing. Publiſh'd with Allowance. 1687.

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They draw up a Petition to the King.

Religion. And therefore before they parted they drew up an humble Petition, agreed to and ſubſcrib'd by all the Prelates who were then preſent, Dr. *Sancroft*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; Dr. *Lloyd*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*; Dr. *Kenn*, Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*; Dr. *Turner*, Biſhop of *Ely*; Dr. *Lake*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; Dr. *White*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*; and Sir *Jonathan Trelawney*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, in this Form.

To the KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The Humble PETITION *of* William, *Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *and divers of the Suffragan-Biſhops of that Province (now preſent with him) in Behalf of themſelves, and others of their abſent Brethren, and of the Inferior Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſes,*

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

" THAT the great Averſeneſs they find in " themſelves to the diſtributing and publiſh- " ing in all their Churches your Majeſty's late *De-* " *claration* for *Liberty of Conſcience*, proceeds nei- " ther from any Want of Duty and Obedience to " your Majeſty (our Holy Mother, the Church of " *England*, being both in her Principles and in her " conſtant Practice unqueſtionably Loyal, and ha- " ving to her great Honour been more than once " publickly acknowledged to be ſo, by your Graci- " ous Majeſty;) Nor yet from any Want of Ten- " derneſs to Diſſenters, in Relation to whom we " are willing to come to ſuch a Temper as ſhall be " thought fit, when the Matter ſhall be conſidered " and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation: But " among many other Conſiderations, from this " eſpecially, becauſe that *Declaration* is founded " upon ſuch a *Diſpenſing Power*, as hath been often " declared Illegal in Parliament, and particularly in " the Years 1662, and 1672, and in the Beginning " of your Majeſty's Reign; And is a Matter of ſo " great Moment and Conſequence to the whole Na- " tion, both in Church and State, that your Petitio- " ners cannot in Prudence, Honour or Conſcience, " ſo far make themſelves Parties to it, as the Di- " ſtribution of it all over the Nation, and the Solemn " Publication of it once and again, even in God's " Houſe, and in the Time of his Divine Service, " muſt amount to in common and reaſonable Con- " ſtruction. (*a*)

" Your *Petitioners* therefore moſt humbly and " earneſtly beſeech your Majeſty, That you will be " pleaſed not to inſiſt upon their diſtributing and " reading your Majeſty's ſaid *Declaration*;

And your Petitioners, *as in Duty bound, ſhall ever Pray*, &c.

Will. Cant.	*Tho. Bathon. & Wellen.*
Will. Aſaph.	*Tho. Peterburgen.*
Fr. Ely.	*Jonath. Briſtol.*
Jo. Ciceſtr.	

The Biſhops deliver their Petition.

The ſame Evening, *May* 18th, the Six Suffragan-Biſhops went over directly to *Whitehall*, and being introduc'd by the Earl of *Sunderland*, deliver'd their *Petition* to the King, none but themſelves and their Metropolitan being privy to it. Upon the Reading of it the King ſtartled, and ſhew'd himſelf to be very much incens'd, and made this Anſwer in a very angry Manner:

The King's Anſwer.

I have heard of this before, but did not believe it. I did not expect this from the Church of England, *eſpecially from ſome of you. If I change my Mind, you ſhall hear from me; If not, I expect my Command ſhall be obey'd.* The Biſhops reply'd, *We reſign our ſelves to the Will of God*; and then immediately retir'd.

The King's Threatning Anſwer could not but ſtrike a Kind of Terror into the Minds of thoſe Reverend Prelates; yet it was not able to make them forget their Duty, or to depart from their worthy Reſolution. Indeed the New Biſhops made by King *James*, and Two or Three other of his Creatures and Commiſſioners, did for Love or Fear diſperſe the Declaration, and yet even in thoſe Dioceſes few of the Clergy would ſubmit to the Reading of it: Nay, and in thoſe Pariſh-Churches where the Miniſters comply'd with the Orders of their Superiors, the greateſt Part of their Congregation run out as ſoon as they began to read the ſaid Declaration. (*b*)

Some few Biſhops comply.

This Affair of the Biſhops made a great deal of Noiſe throughout the Kingdom: The Church of *England* was alarm'd, and upon the Ferment; The Diſſenters ſtood gazing at a Diſtance, and the Court was both uneaſy and unreſolv'd what Courſe to ſteer in ſo Critical a Juncture. Some thought the King would now exert his Arbitrary Power, and deprive thoſe Prelates of their Dignities, by his ſole *Diſpenſing Authority*; others, That he would be contented to deliver them to the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners and cauſe them to be Suſpended: And others again, That he would refer the Matter to the Enſuing Parliament: But the Popiſh Party had other Methods in View.

The Archbiſhop and Biſhops brought before the Council.

And therefore the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Six Biſhops were ſummon'd before the Council on *June* 8. and having made their Appearance, they were asked, *Whether they own'd the Petition?* They immediately anſwer'd, *They humbly hop'd*, (*c*) *That if they ſtood there as Criminals, His Majeſty would not take Advantage againſt them, for they were always ready to obey his juſt Commands.* Thereupon they were order'd to withdraw; and being call'd in a Second Time, they made the ſame Anſwer to the ſame Queſtion: But the Chancellor preſſing them to own or diſown the Paper at the Third Coming in, the Archbiſhop confeſs'd, *That it was written with his own Hand; and the reſt acknowledg'd, that They had ſign'd it, and deliver'd it*; adding withal, *That they had done nothing, but what they were ready to juſtify.* The Lord Chancellor fell into Anger and Reproaches, and pretended to endeavour to make them ſenſible of the ill Conſequences of their Diſobedience, which tended to diminiſh the King's Authority, and to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom: And then at laſt ask'd them, *Whether they would give their Recognizances to appear before the Court of* King's-Bench, *to anſwer this High Miſdemeanor?* This they all refus'd to do, inſiſting on the *Privilege of their Peerage, which they were reſolved to maintain, as well as the Rights of the Church; being equally bound by their Callings to oppoſe all Innovations, both in Government and Religion.* This bold Anſwer put the whole Council into

(*a*) The Earl of *Sunderland* in his Letter *March* 23. 1689. tells us, what drew on the Petition of my Lord the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other Lords the Biſhops, and their Proſecution, which I was ſo openly againſt, that by arguing continually to ſhew the Injuſtice and Imprudence of it, I brought the Fury of the *Roman-Catholicks* upon me to ſuch a Degree, that I was juſt ſinking, and I wiſh I had then ſunk: But whatever I did fooliſhly to preſerve my ſelf, I continued ſtill to be the Object of their Hatred; and I reſolv'd to ſerve the Publick as well as I could, which I am ſure moſt of the conſiderable Proteſtants then at Court can teſtify.

(*b*) Eſpecially in *London*, within the Churches of Mr. *Hall*, Dr. *Thompſon*, and Mr. *Ellyot*.

(*c*) Some few of the Biſhops diſſented from their Metropolitan and Brethren, upon an Opinion that the *Rubrick* would juſtify the Reading, though not approving of any Thing to

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ſome Amazement; and the Chancellor *Jefferies* threaten'd to ſend them to the *Tower*, unleſs they did immediately recant, and withdraw their Petition. They unanimouſly anſwer'd, *That they were ready to go whitherſoever His Majeſty would pleaſe to ſend them; They hop'd the King of Kings would be their Protector, and their Judge: They fear'd Nothing from Men; for having acted according to Law, and their own Conſciences, no Puniſhment ſhould ever be able to ſhake their Reſolutions.* Thereupon a Warrant was drawn, and ſubſcrib'd by Chancellor *Jefferies*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Lord *Arundel*, the Marquis of *Powis*, and others, to commit them to the *Tower*. 'Tis ſaid, ſome of the Judges there preſent, refus'd to ſet their Hands to that Warrant: But however, it was immediately put in Execution; but for fear the People ſhould be too much affected with ſuch a moving Sight, they were ſent away by Water. And yet for all this Caution, the Notice of their Commitment flew about the Town, and the People flock'd in Shoals to the River-ſide, and with loud Acclamations extoll'd the Conſtancy and Courage of the Biſhops, and crav'd their Benedictions. They were no ſooner landed at the *Tower*, but moſt of the Officers and Soldiers fell on their Knees, to beg their Bleſſings. Their Lordſhips were ſuffer'd to go immediately to the Chapel, to Evening-Prayer, where the Second Leſſon was (by the Courſe of the Church) extremely well adapted to their Condition; 2 *Cor.* vi. *Giving no Offence in any thing, that the Miniſtry be not blamed: But in all things approving our ſelves as the Miniſters of God, in much Patience, in Afflictions, in Diſtreſſes, in Stripes, in Impriſonments*, &c.

The Bi-ſhops ſent to the *Tower*.

Repreſentation of this Matter, in the Language of the Court.

The Court, to put a Colour upon this Arbitrary Action, thus repreſented it to the World. "*Whitehall*, June 8. The Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Chicheſter*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough* and *Briſtol*, "being ſummon'd to appear before His Majeſty in "Council, to anſwer to ſuch Matters of Miſdemeanor as ſhould be objected againſt them; they "accordingly appear'd this Day: And the Petition "they lately preſented to His Majeſty being owned "by them, they were required to enter into Recognizance for their Appearance at the *King's Bench*, "the Firſt Day of the next *Term*. Which they refuſing to do, they were, by Warrant ſigned by the "Lords of the Council, committed to the *Tower*, "for *Contriving, Making and Publiſhing a Seditious "Libel againſt His Majeſty and His Government.* "And Mr. Attorney and Sollicitor-General were order'd to proſecute them for the ſame the next "*Term*.

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Preparations for the Birth of a Prince of *Wales*.

It was now high Time for the Jeſuit's Prophecy of the Birth of a Prince of *Wales* to be accompliſh'd. It had been for ſome Months uncertain, whether *Windſor*, *Hampton-Court* or *Whitehall*, was to be the Place where the Queen deſign'd to Lie in: But on the ſudden, (*a*) Her Majeſty had this Week given Orders for the Fitting up of an Apartment for that Purpoſe in St. *James's-Houſe*; and ſent many repeated Commands, That it muſt be finiſh'd by *Saturday-Night*. Accordingly Her Majeſty, on *Saturday* June 9. was carry'd in a Chair to St. *James's*, after ſhe had play'd at Cards at *Whitehall* till Eleven a Clock at Night: And the next Morning, between the Hours of Nine and Ten, People were not a little ſurpriz'd, to hear that ſhe was brought to Bed of a Prince. (*b*) Nay, the News was told with as much Confidence before the Delivery, as after it: As if it were a Secret committed to ſome People, who could not keep it. An Eminent Citizen, now living, Sir *S. E.* is ready to atteſt it upon Oath, That he was call'd up early that Morning, to come to an *Iriſh* Agent of the King's; and while he was with him, a Meſſenger came to him from the Court, in very great Haſte and Joy, and told him in a great Rapture, That they had got a Prince of *Wales*; which was ſome Hours before the Time that was afterwards given out. In ſhort, The former Suſpicions concerning Her Majeſty's big Belly, were now ſtrengthen'd by the Circumſtances of her Delivery, at a Time when moſt Proteſtant Ladies were at Church, the Biſhops impriſon'd, the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark* at *Bath*, and the *Dutch* Amballador never call'd to be a Witneſs in Behalf of the Princeſs of *Orange*. However, this Account was publiſh'd by Authority:

Suſpicions in this Matter.

be publiſh'd in the King's Name, not expreſly ſinful; not conſidering that the *Proclaiming, or Publiſhing in the Church during the Time of Divine Service, what is enjoin'd by the King or by the Ordinary*, could be meant only of Regular and Lawful Injunctions, not of any Arbitrary and Illegal Acts. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* indeed had truſted to that Argument, but did afterward renounce it, by ſaying, 'I muſt frankly confeſs, I had 'then a Doubt in my Mind, ariſing from a Rubrick in the 'Common-Prayer, (which is, as much as any other, a Law of 'the Land) whether a Biſhop could lawfully deny the Reading of whatever the King ſhould ordain to be read in 'Churches: And it was merely upon that miſtaken Scruple of 'Conſcience, *&c.*—— Dr. *Thomas Barlow*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, ſeem'd to be in earneſt with his Clergy for Reading the *Declaration*, and ſuffer'd his Officers to be very officious in it: But it was ſuppos'd owing to the timerous Old Age of the Biſhop, who liv'd to fear the Court which he had never lov'd. But the Prelate, who went in moſt roundly upon the Notion of Obedience to the King's Commandment, was one who had been a Papiſt, and had afterward been the Author of *Naked Truth*; *Herbert Crofts*, Biſhop of *Hereford*; who ſent up to the Court his Papers, to be *publiſh'd by Authority*, bearing the Name of, *A Short Diſcourſe concerning the Reading His Majeſty's late Declaration in the Churches: Set forth by the Right Reverend Father in God*, Herbert *Lord Biſhop of* Hereford.

(*a*) I have heard old Mr. *Bulſtrode*, who then belong'd to the Bed-Chamber, give ſuch an Account of the Hurry and paſſionate Orders of the Queen on *Saturday* Night, that ſeem'd perfectly to have made him conclude, it was then determin'd to ſtay no longer for a Son than till the next Morning.

A late Writer, after repreſenting the principal Allegations on both Sides, (*i. e.* of a Real Birth, and a Sham Impoſture) is pleas'd to obſerve, That notwithſtanding all Arguments to the contrary, the Belief of the Impoſture ſo ſpread in a ſhort Time, that among Proteſtants it became almoſt univerſal. And this Belief, tho' for the moſt part *crudely and ſtupidly* entertain'd, ſeems to have been the juſt Judgment of Heaven, for ſo many Violations and Breaches of Solemn and Publick Faith. There is a natural Puniſhment attends thoſe who are given often to deceive; which is, Not to be believ'd when they deliver the moſt important *Truths*. This way of wording has offended ſome People, as declaring too expreſly for the *Truth* of what will ever be a *Queſtion* at leaſt; and not mentioning the Impoſture depending upon the Change or Subſtitution of a Son, as well as upon the Suppoſititious Birth. The ſame Author tells us, *We are aſſur'd, that the moſt perfect Account of this Matter, is in a Manuſcript written by the late Biſhop of* Worceſter, *and quoted by Dr.* Burnet, *which ('tis to be hop'd) will ſhortly ſee the Light.* Echard's *Hiſt.* Vol. III. *p.* 864. Others think, that the Subſtance of that Manuſcript has been already printed, under the Direction of Biſhop *Burnet*; and that the main Drift of it was to prove, That beſides the Improbabilities of Birth, there was a double *Shifting* of Children; and the moſt apparent was that at *Richmond*, where the Phyſicians themſelves acknowledg'd the mighty Change; and many others thought, that from that Day, the *Pretender* was literally King *James* the *Third*.

The oddeſt Thing of all, was in the End of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, when the *Jacobites* had again ſo far advanc'd the Belief of their *Chevalier*'s Royal Birth, that the *Whigs* were content to ſay, That ſuppoſing his Birth true, he had ſtill no Title againſt Law and Settlement; The *Tories*, who would be then thought not *Jacobites*, were ſo angry at this giving up Hereditary Right, that they accus'd the *Whigs* of believing the *Pretender*; and made as if they themſelves were the only Party who dropp'd him, and believ'd nothing of him.

(*b*) It was Matter of Queſtion and Scruple Abroad, as well as at Home. 'I have read (ſays a late Writer) in ſome Foreign Papers, printed in *Auguſt* 1688. that Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Denmark* was ill us'd at Court, for being 'a little too curious, and offering to feel the Queen's Breaſts 'after the pretended Delivery.' *La Princeſſe*, ſays the *French* Author, *a recû quelque chagrin pour s'atro montre un peu trop curieuſe l'on dit qu'aiant voulu later le Sein de la Reine peu de jours apres les couches, l'on tourne en mal ce qu'elle avoit fait comme ſi elle aut douté de ſon Acoouchement.*

"*White-*

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Publick Account given of it.

Whitehall, June 10. 1688. "This Day, between "Nine and Ten in the Morning, the Queen was "ſafely deliver'd of a Prince at St. *James's*; His "Majeſty, the Queen-Dowager, moſt of the *Lords* "*of the Privy-Council*, and divers *Ladies of Qua*-"*lity* being preſent: And about Noon, the Coun-"cil being met, it was order'd, That there ſhould "be a *General Thankſgiving*, to be obſerv'd within "the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Parts "adjacent, on *Sunday* the 17th Inſtant; and Four-"teen Days after, in all other Parts of this King-"dom: And that Notice ſhould be given of the "Birth of the Prince, to the *Lord-Mayor* of *Lon-*"*don*, that *Bonfires* and *Publick Rejoicings* might "be made. Which was accordingly perform'd, af-"ter Firing of the Cannon of the *Tower*, with all "the Demonſtrations of the Extraordinary Joy, with "which ſo great a *Bleſſing* beſtow'd upon Their Ma-"jeſties, and all His Majeſty's Dominions, has "fill'd the Hearts of all his Subjects." On the ſame Day, His Majeſty publiſh'd a *Proclamation*, "That it having pleas'd Almighty God, of his "great and continu'd Mercy to His Majeſty and "his Kingdoms, to bleſs Him and his Royal Con-"ſort the Queen with a Son, and theſe his King-"doms and Dominions with a Prince; His Maje-"ſty thought fit to appoint a Time of *Publick* "*Thankſgiving* for ſo great a Bleſſing, on *Sunday* "*June* 17. within the Cities of *London* and *Weſt-*"*minſter*; and on *July* 1. in all other Places. And "for this Purpoſe, His Majeſty had ſignified his "Royal Pleaſure (*a*) to *Thomas* Lord Biſhop of "*Rocheſter*, to prepare a Form of Religious Ser-"vice and Publick Thankſgiving, ſuitable to this "Occaſion, *&c.*" Theſe Days were ſolemniz'd with extraordinary Rejoicings by the Popiſh Party; but the Proteſtants were generally ſilent and re-ſerv'd, as doubting the Fact, and dreading the Con-ſequence. His Majeſty, to expreſs his Satisfaction, was pleas'd, by the Queen's Bed-ſide, ſoon after her Delivery, to confer the Honour of Knighthood up-on Doctor *William Waldgrave*, Her Majeſty's Phyſi-cian, for his Skill and particular Services to Her Majeſty: And the King, farther to ſhow his Exul-tation, beſtow'd great Preſents upon ſeveral of his Miniſters, and gave conſiderable Charities to the Poor.

Biſhops Tryal.

On *June* 15. came on the (*b*) Biſhops Tryal, the moſt important, perhaps, that was ever known before in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; not only Seven Prelates contending for the Rights of the *Anglican* Church, but Seven Peers of the Realm ſtanding up for the Liberties of *England*. The Court of *King's-Bench* being ſat, His Majeſty's Attorney-General mov'd for a *Habeas Corpus*, directed to Sir *Edward Hales*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to bring up His Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Six Biſhops; which was granted, and the Priſoners were accordingly brought up by Water. At their Landing, they were receiv'd by ſeveral Divines and Perſons of Quality, and by a vaſt Concourſe of People, who (with repeated Acclamations) utter'd Wiſhes for their Deliverance. On the Bench ſat Sir *Robert Wright*, Lord Chief-Juſtice, and Mr. Ju-ſtice *Holloway*, Two of the King's Creatures, Mr. Juſtice *Powell*, a Proteſtant of great Integrity, and Mr. Juſtice *Allibone*, a profeſs'd Papiſt. The Council for the King was, Sir *Thomas Powis*, Attor-ney-General, Sir *William Williams*, Sollicitor-Gene-ral, Sir *Bartholomew Shower*, Recorder of *Lon-don*, Serjeant *Trinder*, a Papiſt, *&c.* And for the Priſoners, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Mr. *Finch*, Mr. *Pol-lexfen*, Sir *George Treby*, Serjeant *Pemberton*, Ser-jeant *Levinz*, and (the laſt, and greateſt) (*c*) Mr. *So-mers*. The Court was extremely fill'd, and with Perſons of the Higheſt Quality; as if they inter-pos'd in the laſt Tryal for the (*d*) Liberties of the Church and Nation: The Marqueſſes of *Hali-fax* and *Worceſter*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Bedford*, *Dorſet*, *Bolingbroke*, *Mancheſter*, *Burling-ton*, *Carliſle*, *Danby*, *Radnor* and *Nottingham*; Viſ-count *Falconberg*, and the Lords *Grey* of *Ruthyn*, *Paget*, *Chandois*, *Vaughan* and *Carberry*. The Re-turn and Warrant being read, the Attorney-Gene-ral mov'd, That the Information might be read to the Priſoners, and that they might immediately plead to it. This Motion the Biſhops Council op-poſed; objecting, Firſt, That the Priſoners were committed by the Lord Chancellor, and ſome other of the Privy-Council, without expreſſing in the Warrant, That it was by Order of the Privy-Council; And therefore, That the Commitment was illegal, and that the Priſoners were not legally in Court. And Secondly, That the Fact for which they were committed, was ſuch, as they ought not to have been impriſon'd for; becauſe a Peer ought not to be committed, in the firſt Inſtance, for a Miſdemeanor. Judge *Powel* refuſed to deliver his Opinion, before he had conſulted Books: But the Lord Chief-Juſtice, Judge *Allibone*, and Judge *Hol-loway* agreed, That the Fact charg'd in the War-rant, was ſuch a Miſdemeanor, as was Breach of the Peace; And therefore, That the Information ought to be read, and the Biſhops muſt plead to it. After the Reading the Information, the Biſhops Council deſir'd, that they might have an Imparlance till the next Term, to conſider what they had to plead. Sir *Samuel Aſtry*, Clerk of the Crown, be-

(*a*) Here again it was obſerv'd, that neither the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, nor any of the Petitioning Biſhops, (tho' not ſuſpended) was adviſ'd with, or allow'd to adviſe in this Mat-ter of a *Form of Thankſgiving* for the Birth of a Prince; tho' any one of their Names would have given a better Sanction to it.

(*b*) To help prejudge the Cauſe on the King's Side, there was another Court-Declaration, entitled, *An Anſwer to a Paper, importing, A Petition of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and Six other Biſhops to His Majeſty, touching their Not diſtributing and publiſhing the late Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience. With Al-lowance. By* Henry Hills, *Printer to the King*; 4to. Calling their Lordſhips Refuſal, *a Fire kindled from the Altar.*—— The Biſhops *making their Eye evil, becauſe the King's was good.* ——They *have the Voice of* Jacob, *and the Hands of* Eſau. — They *are fallen, and if they repent not, their Candleſtick muſt be removed*, &c. And another Arraignment of their Lordſhips be-fore the People, in a fulſome Harangue, entitled, *The Exami-nation of the Biſhops, upon their Refuſal of Reading His Majeſty's moſt Gracious Declaration, and the Non-Concurrence of the Church of* England, *in Repeal of the Penal Laws and Teſt*; *fully debated and argued. With Allowance.* 1688. 4to. Beginning in ſuch a Strain, as would make it ſuſpicious that we were to loſe the Truth and Purity of our Language, as well as of our Religion. "It has pleas'd the Almighty Power, which rules the Hearts "of Princes, to enlighten and adorn His Preſent Gracious "Majeſty with ſuch peculiar Beams of Mercy and Clemen-"cy, thoſe truly Royal Virtues, that render him the neareſt "Pourtrait of that Deity, whoſe Vicegerent He is. To win "therefore the univerſal Love of his People, (a Conqueſt "worthy of, and indeed reſerved for His Great Self) He has "ſet up the Standard of Compaſſion, reſolving to recover the "alienated Affections of thoſe his Subjects, whom the Admi-"niſtration of his Predeceſſors may have any ways render'd "uneaſy, *&c.*"

(*c*) I have heard one of the Biſhops declare, That Objecti-on was made among themſelves againſt Mr. *Somers*, as too young and obſcure a Man; but old *Pollexfen* inſiſted upon Him, and would not be Himſelf *retain'd* without the other; repre-ſenting Him as *the Man* who would take moſt Pains, and go deepeſt into all that depended on Precedents and Records.

(*d*) It was on this Proſpect of a General Storm upon the Church, that Dr. *Sprat*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, abdicated his Place in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, and took Leave of his Fellow-Judges in a ſolemn Letter.

"My Lords, I deſire a favourable Interpretation of what I "am going to write to you: Since your Lordſhips are reſolv'd "to proſecute thoſe who have not read the King's *Declaration*, "it is impoſſible for me to ſerve His Majeſty any longer in "Quality of a Commiſſioner.——— I earneſtly intreat you "to intercede for me with His Majeſty, That He would have "the Goodneſs to allow me Leave to withdraw from among "you; and to aſſure him at the ſame time, that I ſhall be al-"ways ready to ſacrifice All I have for his Service, except my "Conſcience and my Religion. I am, *&c.*"

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ing aſk'd, What was the Courſe of the Court? Anſwer'd, That of late Years, if a Man appear'd upon a Recognizance, or was a Perſon in Cuſtody, he ought to plead at the firſt Inſtance; but that he had known it to be at the Diſcretion of the Court, to grant what Time they pleas'd. After this Anſwer, the Lord Chief-Juſtice declar'd, That the Biſhops ſhould now plead to the Information. Thereupon the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* offer'd a Plea, in behalf of himſelf and his Brethren, the other Defendants; alledging, *That they were Peers of this Kingdom of* England, *and Lords of Parliament, and ought not to be compell'd to anſwer inſtantly, for the Miſdemeanor mention'd in the Information; but that they ought to be requir'd to appear by due Proceſs of Law; and upon their Appearance, to have a Copy of the ſaid Information, and reaſonable Time given them to imparle thereupon.* The King's Council labour'd hard to have the Plea rejected. After a long Debate, Judge *Powel* ſaid, He was for receiving the Plea, and conſidering of it; but the reſt of the Judges declar'd for rejecting of it: So the Priſoners at laſt pleaded, *Not Guilty.* The King's Council pray'd, the Clerk might join Iſſue on behalf of the King; and deſir'd the Defendants to take notice, That they intended to Try this Cauſe on that Day Fortnight; adding, That they were Bailable, if they pleas'd. Sir *Robert Sawyer* deſir'd, that their own Recognizance might be taken; which was readily granted.

Plea of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops.

On *June* 29. the Biſhops appear'd before the Court of *King's-Bench*, according to their Recognizance; the Appearance being ſtill greater than a Fortnight before: For there were now preſent the Marqueſſes of *Halifax* and *Worceſter*; the Earls of *Shrewsbury, Kent, Bedford, Pembroke, Dorſet, Bolingbroke, Mancheſter, Rivers, Stamford, Carnarven, Cheſterfield, Scarſdale, Clarendon, Danby, Suſſex, Radnor, Nottingham,* and *Abingdon*; Viſcount *Falconberg*, and the Lords *Newport, Grey* of *Ruthyn, Paget, Chandois, Vaughan, Carberry, Lumley, Carteret,* and *Oſſulſton*. This Splendid Appearance was chiefly owing to the indefatigable Care and Solicitation of the Clergy, and eſpecially of the Reverend Dr. *Teniſon*. And indeed, the making ſuch a Figure in the Court, had poſſibly ſome good Effect upon the Jury, if not upon the Bench: And it was afterwards obſerv'd, by way of jeſting upon Words, *That the Biſhops were deliver'd by the* Nobilee *before, and the* Mobilee *behind.* The Information being read, and open'd to the Jury, the Attorney-General, to take off the *Odium* of this Proſecution, and in ſome meaſure to pacify the People, who could not forbear ſhowing their Reſentments even in the Face of the Court, began with obſerving, Firſt, That the Biſhops were not proſecuted as Biſhops, (much leſs for any Point or Matter of Religion) but as Subjects of this Kingdom, and only for a Temporal Crime, as having cenſur'd and affronted the King to his very Face. Secondly, That they were not proſecuted for omitting to do any thing; but as they were Actors in accuſing, and, in effect, of arraigning His Majeſty, and his Government, &c. A great deal of Time was ſpent in proving, That the *Petition* produc'd in Court, was the Hand-Writing of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; That it was ſign'd by him and the Six Biſhops; And that it was the ſame which was preſented to His Majeſty. After an elaborate Proof of theſe Particulars, by the Depoſitions of Sir *John Nicholas*, Mr. *Bridgman*, Mr. *Muſgrave*, and Mr. *Blaithwait*, and by the Earl of *Sunderland*, who in Court affirm'd, That he introduc'd the Biſhops, and was in the Room when they deliver'd the ſaid *Petition* to His Majeſty: The Fact being prov'd, the Biſhops Council were very Learned and Eloquent in Defence of their Clients. Mr. *Somers* ſpoke laſt, and mention'd the great Caſe of *Thomas* and *Sorrel* in the *Exchequer-Chamber*, upon the Validity of a

Great Appearance of the Nobility.

Argument of the Attorney-General againſt the Biſhops.

Argument of Mr. *Somers* for the Biſhops.

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Diſpenſation; urging, That there it was the Opinion of every one of the Judges, That there never could be an Abrogation, or a Suſpenſion (which is a Temporary Abrogation) of an Act of Parliament, but by the Legiſlative Power: That indeed it was diſputed, how far the King might diſpenſe with the Penalties in ſuch a particular Law, as to particular Perſons; but that it was agreed by all, That the King had no Power to ſuſpend any Law: That by the Law of all Civiliz'd Nations, If the Prince does require ſomething to be done, which the Perſon who is to do it takes to be unlawful, it is not only lawful, but his Duty, *Reſcribere Principi*; which is all the Biſhops had done here, and that in the moſt humble manner: That as to Matters of Fact alledg'd in the ſaid *Petition*, there could be no Deſign to diminiſh the Prerogative, becauſe the King has no ſuch Prerogative: That the *Petition* could not be ſeditious, becauſe it was preſented to the King in private, and alone; nor falſe, becauſe the Matter of it was true; nor malicious, for the Occaſion was not ſought; the Thing was preſs'd upon them; nor, in ſhort, a Libel, becauſe the Intent was innocent, and they kept within the Bounds ſet by the Act of Parliament, that gives the Subject Leave to apply to his Prince by *Petition*, when he is aggriev'd.

When the Council on both Sides had done, Chief-Juſtice *Wright* ſumm'd up the Evidence, and told the Jury, That ſometimes the *Diſpenſing Power* had been allow'd, as in *Richard* the IId's Time, and ſometimes deny'd; but that it was a Queſtion out of the preſent Caſe. If they believ'd the *Petition* to be the ſame that was preſented by the Biſhops to the King, then the Publication was ſufficiently prov'd: And whatever tended to diſturb the Government, or make a Stir among the People, was certainly within the Name of *Libellus Famoſus*; and his Opinion, in ſhort, was, That the Biſhops *Petition* was a *Libel*.

The Evidence ſumm'd up by the Ld. Chief-Juſtice *Wright*.

Mr. Juſtice *Holloway* declar'd, That the End and Intention of every Action was to be conſider'd: That the Biſhops were charg'd with delivering a *Petition*, which (according to their Defence) was done with all the Humility and Decency imaginable: That the delivering of a *Petition* could be no Fault, it being the Right of every Subject to *Petition*: Therefore, if the Jury were ſatisfy'd, They did it with no ill Intention, but only to ſhew the Reaſons of their Diſobedience to the King's Command, he could not think it to be a *Libel*.

Opinion of the Judges.

Mr. Juſtice *Powel* more plainly declar'd, That he could diſcern no Sedition, or any other Crime fixed upon the Biſhops; ſince there was nothing offer'd by the King's Council to render the *Petition* falſe, ſeditious, or malicious. He admoniſh'd the Jury to conſider, That the Contents of the *Petition* were, That the Biſhops apprehended the *Declaration to be Illegal, as being founded upon a* Diſpenſing Power *claim'd by the King*; And that for his Part, he did not remember in any Caſe in all the Law, that there was any ſuch Power in the King; and if not, the *Petition* could not be a Libel. He concluded with telling them, That he could ſee no Difference between the King's Power to *diſpenſe* with the Laws Eccleſiaſtical, and his Power to *diſpenſe* with any other Laws whatſoever: That if this was once allow'd of, there would be no need of Parliaments, and all the Legiſlature would be in the King; and ſo he left the Iſſue to God and their Conſciences.

Mr. Juſtice *Allibone* was prepoſſeſs'd againſt Proteſtant Biſhops; and to deliver his Opinion of their Guilt, he laid down Two odd Poſitions: 1. That no Man can take upon him to write againſt the actual Exerciſe of the Government, (unleſs he have Leave from the Government) but he makes a Libel by what he writes, whether true or falſe. 2. That no private Man can take upon him to write concerning the Government; and therefore if he intrudes

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trudes himſelf into the Affairs of the Publick, he is a Libeller for ſo doing. Theſe Poſitions he back'd by a Reſolution of the Judges in King *James* IIt's Time; *That to frame a* Petition *to the King to put the Penal Laws in Execution, was next Door to Treaſon*; Which was a groſs Miſquotation, inſtead of a *Petition againſt the Penal Laws*, and for which, being taken up by Juſtice *Powel* and Serjeant *Pemberton*, little Heed was given to any Thing that he ſaid afterwards. Whereupon the Jury withdrew, ſat up all Night, and next Morning brought in the Reverend Prelates, *Not Guilty.*

The Jury bring in their Verdict *Not Guilty.*

There were immediately very loud Acclamations through *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the words, *Not Guilty, Not Guilty,* went round with ſuch Shouts and Huzza's, that the King's Sollicitor mov'd very earneſtly that ſuch as had Shouted in the Court might be committed; whereupon a Gentleman of *Grey's-Inn* was laid hold on, but ſoon diſcharg'd with this ſhort Reproof from the Chief-Juſtice; *Sir, I am as glad as you can be, that the Lords the Biſhops are acquitted, but your Manner of Rejoycing here is indecent, you might rejoice in your Chamber, or elſewhere, and not here.* But the Shouts were carry'd on through the Cities of *Weſtminſter* and *London*, and flew preſently to *Hounſlow-Heath*, where the Soldiers in the Camp eccho'd them ſo loud that it ſtartled the King, who was that Day entertain'd in the Earl of *Feverſham*'s Tent: Inſomuch that his Majeſty ſent him out to know what was the Matter. The Earl came back and told the King, *It was nothing but the Soldiers Shouting upon the News of the Biſhops being acquitted.* The King reply'd, *And do you call that Nothing? but ſo much the worſe for them.* What his Majeſty meant by the laſt Words he had not much Time to interpret: He could only ſhew ſome Indignation, that the Biſhops had eſcap'd a Legal Penalty, and he threatned to deliver them up to the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. And for the Two Judges, *Holloway* and *Powel*, he immediately turn'd them out, and would have meditated ſome farther Severity, if his following Reign would have allow'd it.

Great Rejoycings.

This Acquitment of the Biſhops encouraged the Clergy in their honeſt Reſolutions of not Reading the Declaration; but the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners were inſtructed to call them to an Account for it; for which Purpoſe on *July* 12. they met in the Council-Chamber and made an Order (*a*), *That whereas they had received Information that divers Rectors, Vicars and Curates had omitted or neglected to read the ſaid* Declaration, *to the manifeſt Contempt of his Majeſty's Authority-Royal, They do hereby command and require all Chancellors, Arch Deacons, Commiſſaries and Officials, to enquire ſtrictly within their reſpective Juriſdictions* (*b*), *in what Churches and Chapels his Majeſty's ſaid* Declaration *was read, and in what Churches and Chapels the ſame was omitted, and to tranſmit an Account thereof upon the* 16*th Day of* Auguſt *next.* The Commiſſioners met again on that Day, and finding that little or no Enquiry had been made, they were much divided what to do in the Matter. After a long Conſultation they were content to give longer Time; and therefore publiſh'd another Order, *Commanding all Chancellors, Arch-Deacons, Commiſſaries, Officials, and others, having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, ſtrictly to enquire of the Church-Wardens, as one of their Articles of Enquiry, at their reſpective Viſitations, (which Viſitations they were requir'd to hold and keep before the* 15*th Day of* November *next) in what Churches and Chapels his Majeſty's ſaid* Declaration *was read, and in what the ſame was Omitted, and to tranſmit an Account thereof to them on the* 6*th Day of* December *next*: But Providence prevented a Return to this Enquiry. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* finding by this Time the Drift of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, thought it inconſiſtent with his Profeſſion and Character to act any longer in it, and therefore he wrote a Letter to his Collegues (*c*), deſiring to be excus'd from Sitting amongſt them.

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Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners proceed againſt the Inferior Clergy.

The King continu'd to make his Honours and Preferments ſubſervient to his Religion and his Power. Upon the Day of the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, the Lady Marchioneſs of *Powis*, was ſworn by the Lord-Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, Lady-Governeſs of their Majeſties Chil-

Honours and Preferments.

(*a*) Thoſe few of the Clergy in City and Country, who read the Declaration in their Churches were Men of the meaneſt Figure as well as Spirit. Some few ſuffered their Curates and Readers to publiſh what they wou'd not have done themſelves. The People went generally out of Church when it began to be read. And ſome Miniſters are ſaid to have concerted the Matter with their Congregations ſo as to let them depart and read it to the Walls. And yet by a general Connivance it was read in moſt of the Cathedral Churches by ſome Inferior Perſon: And ſo it was in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, for which the Dean (Biſhop of *Rocheſter*) at the Turn of Times made this Apology. If it ſhall be objected, That I permitted it to be read in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, I deſire it may be alſo conſidered, what dreadful Apprehenſions this Royal Church and School were then under, from our Neighbours the Jeſuits at Court, who lay in wait to take any Advantage, whereby they might ſtir up the King to ruin us. Beſides that a *Quo Warranto* was then actually iſſued out againſt us, and we were every Day threatned, that as we were the neareſt, ſo we ſhould fall the firſt Prey into the Hands of the Popiſh Prieſts. *Second* Letter to the Earl of *Dorſet*, dated *March* 26. 1689.

(*b*) Mr. *Echard* has honeſtly obſerv'd, that while the Archbiſhop and other pious Divines were promoting the Good of the Church and the Publick, ſome few Biſhops were moving in another Road, who inſtead of following the Example of their perſecuted Brethren, had publiſh'd and read the Declaration, even after the Acquittal of thoſe Heroes. Nay, the Biſhop of *Durham* carried the Buſineſs ſo far, that upon that Account he ſuſpended Thirty Miniſters of his Dioceſe, and amongſt them one of his Chaplains. And in the County of *Cheſter* Nine Curates, Rectors, and others, were not contented to read the Declaration, but preſented an Addreſs of Thanks for it.——— And becauſe it was by the Inſtigation of their Biſhop, that the Clergy of *Cheſter* had made this ſtrange Step, we are told that one of the Colleges of *Oxford*, refus'd to admit the Son of that Prelate to a Fellowſhip that had been given him; and about the ſame Time that famous Univerſity refus'd alſo to give the Degree of Doctor to Mr. *Gifford*, whom the King had nominated to fill the vacant See of that City ——— Theſe Two latter Facts are ſo far in general true, that the Biſhop of *Cheſter*'s Son call'd the *Ripponet*, had the more Diſreſpect ſhewn him for his Father's Sake; and Mr. *Gifford* being thruſt into the Preſidentſhip of *Magdalen* College after the Death of Biſhop *Parker*, could expect no great Favour from the Univerſity; and I believe he had not the Favour of being nominated to the vacant See of *Oxford*, before Mr. *Timothy Hall.*

(*c*) A Letter to the Right Honourable my Lords, his Majeſty's Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, by *Thomas* Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, excuſing his farther Attendance at their Board, as reſolving not to ſit Judge of his Brethren who had not read his Majeſties Declaration; dat. *Bromley*, *Aug.* 15. 1688. ——— See the Biſhop's further Account of the Cauſes and Conſequences of his thus leaving the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, in his firſt Letter to the Earl of *Dorſet*, dated 21. *Febr.* 1688. There it was, my Lord, that I was firſt convinced of the falſe Foundations and miſchievous Conſequences of ſuch a Diſpenſing Power, as that on which the Declaration was grounded. So that I have ever ſince been perſuaded, that from that Petition of theſe Biſhops, ſo defended by the invincible Arguments of their Learned Council on that Day, and ſo juſtify'd by the honeſt Verdict of their undaunted Jury on the next Day; from thence, I ſay, we may date the firſt great Step that was made towards the reſcuing our Laws and Religion. For my Part I muſt own, I was ſo fully ſatisfied by the excellent Pleadings of thoſe great Lawyers at that Tryal, that I confeſs I never had till then, ſo clear a Notion what unalterable Bounds the Law has fix'd between the juſt Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Legal Rights of the Subjects.

The Biſhops after their Releaſement from the *Tower* behav'd themſelves with Integrity and Courage in giving Directions to the Clergy how to expect and provide for the impending Storm. See the *Articles recommended by the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *to all the Biſhops within his Metropolitan Juriſdiction the* 16th *of* July, 1688. with ſome Heads of Things to be more fully inſiſted upon by the Biſhops in their Addreſſes to the Clergy and People of their reſpective Dioceſes, delivered by his Grace to the Biſhops who were preſent, and Copies ſent in his Name to the abſent Biſhops, 4*to*.

dren, and the Lady *Strickland*, Under-Governeſs. On *June* the 29th, his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *Thomas Jefford*, Eſq; Mayor of *Exeter*, in Conſideration of his Faithful Services. After the Diſcharge of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, the King, to condemn thoſe Judges who had ſpoke in Favour of their Lordſhips, was pleaſed to remove Sir *Richard Holloway* and Sir *John Powel*, from being Juſtices of the *King's-Bench*; and to place in their Stead, Sir *Thomas Powel*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, and Sir *Robert Baldock*, one of his Majeſty's Serjeants at Law. His Majeſty was alſo pleaſed, in Conſideration of the great Age and Infirmities of Sir *Chriſtopher Milton*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, to permit him to have his *Writ of Eaſe*, and put in his Place Sir *Thomas Jenner*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*; and in the Stead of Mr. Baron *Jenner* and Mr. Baron *Powel*, his Majeſty was pleaſed to place Mr. Serjeant *Ingleby* and Mr. Serjeant *Rotheram* in the *Exchequer*. And to prepare for a Succeſſion of Judges, in *Trinity-Term*, *William Le Hunt*, *John Rotheram*, *Vincent Denn*, *Salathiel Lovel* of *Greys-Inn*, Eſqs; Sir *Henry Chancey*, of the *Middle-Temple*, Kt. *William Moſes*, of *Greys-Inn*; *Henry Trinder*, and *Francis Fuller*, of the *Inner-Temple*; and *William Thompſon*, of the *Middle-Temple*, Eſqs; were called by the King's Writ, to take upon them the State and Degree of Serjeants at Law, and they gave Rings with this Courtly Motto, *Rex, Princeps, & Chriſtiana Libertas.* On *July* 6th, Sir *John Trevor*, Kt. Maſter of the *Rolls*, *Chriſtopher Vane*, Eſq; and *Silas Titus*, Eſq; were by his Majeſty's Command ſworn of the Privy-Council, and accordingly took their Places at the Board; and on *July* 13th, Sir *Thomas Strickland*, Kt. was admitted to the ſame Honour. On *July* 14th, his Majeſty being graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow a Mark of his Royal Favour upon *Thomas Elmes*, of *Lilford*, in the County of *Northampton*, Eſq; for his many Faithful Services, conferr'd upon him the Honour of Knighthood. Though the Duke of *Ormond* had been long out of Favour, yet upon his Death this publick Commendation was given of him, That on *Saturday*, *July* 21. at *Kingſton-Hall* in *Dorſetſhire*, in the Seventy Ninth Year of his Age, died his Grace, *James* Duke of *Ormond*, Lord-Steward of his Majeſty's Houſhold, one of the Lords of his Majeſty's Moſt honourable Privy-Council, and Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter. He ſerv'd the Crown as Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* ſeveral Times, as well under King *Charles* the Firſt of Bleſſed Memory, as ſince the Reſtoration of his late Majeſty, whom he faithfully followed during his Exile; ever behaving himſelf at all Times with great Fidelity and Honour. In *Auguſt* his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to conſtitute Sir *Eneas Mackpherſon* of *Invereſſie*, Kt. to be Lieutenant-Governor of *Nevis*, in *America*, in the Place of Sir *James Ruſſel* deceas'd. On *Auguſt* 12th, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard Coſſine*, Bar. and *Samuel Gerrard*, Eſq; were to pay their Duties to his Majeſty at *Windſor*, before they went into the Country, who, as a particular Mark of his Royal Favour, was graciouſly pleaſed, in his Bed-Chamber, to confer on the ſaid *Samuel Gerrard*, Eſq; the Honour of Knighthood (*a*). On *Tueſday*, *Sept.* 4th, died the Right Honourable Sir *John Shorter*, Kt. Lord-Mayor of *London*, about Eleven a Clock in the Morning; and on *Sept.* 8th, Sir *John Eyles*, Kt. being appointed Lord-Mayor for the remaining Part of this Year, and the next enſuing, was ſworn at the *Guildhall*, according to the Cuſtom of the City.

Death of the Duke of *Ormond*.

The King endeavours to New-Model his Army.

But the Royal Favours ſo beſtow'd did but help on a general Defection in the People of *England*. The King found he could depend on nothing but his Army: Nor could he be fully ſatisfied in their Fidelity. Therefore, to try how far he might depend upon them (*b*), he endeavour'd to make both Officers and common Soldiers ſubſcribe a Writing, whereby they ſhould engage themſelves to contribute, as far as in them lay, towards the Repeal of the Teſt and Penal Laws. To effect this, it was thought fit to propoſe the Thing to all the Regiments one by one, not doubting but that if Two or Three ſubmitted, the reſt would follow their Example. Accordingly the Major of the Earl of *Litchfield*'s Regiment was order'd to open his Majeſty's Deſire to that Battalion, and to command all ſuch as would not inſtantly comply therewith, to lay down their Arms: But he was not a little ſurpriz'd to find, That except Two Captains and ſome few Popiſh Soldiers, the whole Regiment obey'd the latter Part of his Command. The King himſelf who ſaw it, was in great Aſtoniſhment, and after ſome deep Silence, he commanded them to take up their Arms again, adding, with a ſullen diſcontented Look, *That for the future, he would not do them the Honour to ask their Advice.* Upon this the King found he muſt new-model his Army before he could put any Confidence in them, and therefore upon ſome little Pretence or other, he caſhier'd ſeveral Proteſtant Officers and Soldiers, and fill'd them up with as many *Papiſts* as he could poſſibly procure. But this Regulation of his Troops was ſo far from a Security, that it brought on new Diſcontents and Dangers. For when ſeveral Popiſh *Iriſh* were put into the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment, it was vigorouſly oppoſed by the Lieutenant-Colonel *Beaumont* and other Officers; the former in the Name of the reſt, declaring to the Duke, *That he was deſir'd by thoſe Gentlemen (with whoſe Senſe he concurr'd) to inform his Grace, that they did not think it conſiſtent with their Honours, to have Foreigners impoſed upon them, without being complain'd of, that their Companies were weak, or Orders had been ſent to recruit them; not doubting, but if ſuch Orders had been given, they that firſt, in very ill Times, rais'd them Hundreds, could eaſily now have made them according to the King's Compliment. Therefore they humbly petition'd they might have leave to fill up their Companies with ſuch Men of this Nation, as they ſhould judge moſt ſuitable for the King's Service, and to ſupport their Honours; or otherwiſe, that they might be permitted with all imaginable Duty and Reſpect, to lay down their Commiſſions.* An Account of this (as alſo of a Serjeant and 18 private Centinels, leaving their Colours upon the ſame Score)

To their great Diſſatisfaction.

(*a*) The King had knighted one *Nicholas Butler*, and made him a Privy Counſellor, and of the very Cabinet-Secrets. The Writer of the falſe Steps of the Miniſtry after the Revolution, 8*vo.* 1714. obſerves well, That among the reſt there was a vile Fellow Sir *Nicholas Butler*, whom King *Charles* II. took out of an Anabaptiſt Conventicle, to employ him as a Lion, and from a Quack rais'd him to be an Under Miniſter to his Prime Plot-Makers, whom King *James* Knighted, and made a Privy-Counſellor upon his turning Papiſt, who had had a Finger in almoſt all the Enormities of thoſe Two Reigns; and conſcious of his Guilt durſt not ſhew his Head for a Year after the Revolution; but finding the Coaſt was clear, and no Body call'd to an Account, he return'd peaceably to his Houſe at *Edmunton*, and died in his Bed as much againſt his own Expectation as other Men's.

(*b*) There was ſo much over-bearing in the Court, that they prevail'd with ſome few Places to addreſs for a ſtanding Army, as they had done for Repeal of the Laws, and Birth of the Pretender. There was one at leaſt procured from the City of *Carliſle*, particularly to thank his Majeſty *for his Royal Army, which* (ſays he) *is really the Honour and Safety of the Nation, let the* Teckelites *think and ſay what they will.* Another Addreſs from *Glouceſter* made the King an inſpired Prophet. *Nothing leſs* (ſay they) *than a Celeſtial Inſpiration could fill the enlarged Soul of ſo great a Monarch with ſo ſublime a Thought, and prompt him to ſo magnanimous an Action.* ——— With many the like ſordid, Servile Flatteries, enough to deceive any Prince who ſhould be weak enough to believe them, and to bring a Reproach and indelible Storm upon any Party that could be guilty of 'em.

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was forthwith tranſmitted to his Majeſty then at *Windſor*; who, fearing the ſpreading of this Example, immediately commanded a Party of Horſe down to *Portſmouth*, to bring up into Cuſtody, Lieutenant-Colonel *Beaumont*, Captain *Paſton*, and Four other Captains: and a Court-Martial was appointed to proceed againſt them as Mutineers. If the *French* Ambaſſador's Memorial had not come in that Morning, to ſhew the Danger the *Popiſh* Party was in, ſome of theſe Officers would, in all Probability, have loſt their Lives: But now the Court was content to caſhier 'em. About a Month before, another Captain who was quartered at *Scarborough*, caus'd the Mayor of that Town, tho' a Man devoted to the Court, to be toſs'd in a Blanket by his Soldiers, for being Saucy to him; which Indignity the King did not think fit to puniſh at this Juncture. Nor were the Sea-Forces more favourable to *Popery*, for the King having caus'd *Maſs* to be ſaid on Board his Men of War, there happen'd ſo great a Diſorder and Mutiny in the Fleet, that the Officers had much ado to keep the *Prieſts* from being thrown over-Board.

Under this Diſpoſition of the King to *Popery* (*a*), and of the People to a Self-Defence, this Memorial of the Church of *England* was preſented to their Royal Highneſſes, the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*.

A Memorial of the Church of *England* to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*.

"YOUR Royal Highneſſes cannot be ignorant "that the Proteſtants of *England*, who continue true to their Religion and Government Eſtabliſhed by Law, have been many Ways troubled "and vexed by reſtleſs Contrivances and Deſigns of "*Papiſts*, under Pretence of the Royal Authority, "and Things required of them unaccountable before God and Man: Eccleſiaſtical Benefits and "Preferments taken from them, without any other "Reaſon but the King's Pleaſure: That they have "been ſummoned and ſentenced by Eccleſiaſtical "Commiſſioners, contrary to Law, deprived of "their Birth-Right in the free Choice of their Magiſtrates and Repreſentatives; divers Corporations "diſſolved, the legal Security of our Religion and "Liberty, eſtabliſhed and ratified by King and Parliament, annulled and overthrown by a pretended "*Diſpenſing Power*: New and unheard-of Maxims "have been preach'd, as if Subjects had no Right "but what depends on the King's Will and Pleaſure; The Militia put into the Hands of Perſons "not qualified by Law, and a *Popiſh* Mercenary "Army maintain'd in the Kingdom in Time of "Peace, abſolutely contrary to the Law; the Execution of the Law againſt ſeveral *High Crimes and* "*Miſdemeanors* ſuperſeded and prohibited: The "Statutes againſt *Correſpondence with the Court of* "Rome, *Papal Juriſdiction*, and *Popiſh Prieſts*, ſuſpended (*b*): That in Courts of Juſtice, thoſe "Judges are diſplac'd, who dare acquit them whom "the King wou'd have condemn'd; as happen'd to "the Judges *Powel* and *Holloway*, for acquitting "the Seven Biſhops: Liberty of Chuſing Members of Parliament (notwithſtanding all the Care "taken, and Proviſion made by Law on that Behalf) wholly taken away, by *Quo Warranto's* "ſerv'd againſt Corporations, and the Three known "Queſtions: All Things carry'd on in open View "for the Propagation and Growth of *Popery*, for "which the Courts of *England* and *France* have ſo "long jointly labour'd, with ſo much Application "and Earneſtneſs: Endeavours to perſuade your "Royal Highneſſes to *Liberty of Conſcience*, and "*Abrogating the Penal Laws and Teſts*; wherein "they fell ſhort of their Aim.

"That they moſt humbly implore the Protection "of Your Royal Highneſſes, as to the Suſpending "and Encroachments made upon Law, for Maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion, our Civil and "Fundamental Rights and Privileges: And that "Your Royal Highneſſes wou'd be pleas'd to inſiſt, "That the *Free Parliament* of *England*, according "to Law, may be reſtor'd; the Laws againſt Papiſts, Prieſts, Papal Juriſdiction, *&c.* put in "Execution, and the Suſpending and *Diſpenſing* "*Power* declared Null and Void; the Rights and "Privileges of the City of *London*, the Free Choice "of their Magiſtrates, and the Liberties as well of "that as of other Corporations reſtored, and all "Things return'd to their ancient Channel, *&c.*

People of *England* caſt their Eyes and Hearts on *Holland*.

At this Juncture, all the Proteſtant Eyes and Hearts in *England* were caſt and fix'd on *Holland*; and many of the Nobility and Gentry were ſoliciting the Prince, for the Redemption of their Countrey. The Earl of *Macclesfield* had withdrawn into *Holland*, whilſt the Duke of *Monmouth* was preparing for his unfortunate Expedition; and leſt he ſhould have the ſame Fate in *Holland* with Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, he had retir'd into *Germany*; from whence he now came back to the *Hague*, to negotiate the common Cauſe. Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, whom the Papiſts had maliciouſly accus'd of High-Treaſon in *Scotland*, had fled, for Protection, to the Prince's Court, where he had married a Lady of great Fortune and Intereſt, and had kept a ſecret Correſpondence with many of the great Families in *England*; and by his extraordinary Parts, and Zeal to the Proteſtant Religion, became one of the prime Inſtruments in the following *Revolution*. The Lord *Wharton*, though advanc'd in Years, took a Journey through *Holland* to *Germany*; and Colonel *Sidney*, afterward Earl of *Romney*, and ſome others, went over to the *Spaw*, giving out, That it was only for the Benefit of the Waters. The Earl of *Devonſhire* (who had an Indignity put upon him by Colonel *Culpeper*, and who, out of Generoſity, had pardon'd the Colonel, upon Condition, That he ſhou'd never appear in *Whitehall*; having afterwards met him in the King's Preſence-Chamber, contrary to Agreement, cou'd not forbear ſtriking him on the Face, for which he was adjudg'd to pay a Fine of Thirty Thouſand Pounds to his Majeſty) was zealouſly diſpos'd to invite the Prince of *Orange*; and, by degrees, the greateſt Part of the Lords implor'd his Highneſs's Aſſiſtance, to prevent their Ruin (*c*). Some zealous Gentlemen, particularly Mr. *Hamden* and

(*a*) The Town was by this Time full of *Roman* Prieſts and Jeſuits, and many of them near the Court appear'd in their Religious Habits, as if they were the Church and Clergy by Law eſtabliſhed, and they were looking for Religious Houſes: M. *Gabriel d'Emillaine*, Writer of the Hiſtory of Monaſtick Orders, 1693. 8*vo.* tells us, That ſeveral of the Order of the Black and Grey Friars had the Confidence not only to flock by Troops from beyond Sea into *England*, but alſo to appear publickly in their Monkiſh Habits. —— And beginning to hope for a Re-eſtabliſhment in theſe Kingdoms, theſe Holy Penitent Friars out of a Spirit of Mortification, not only did pitch upon the moſt delightful Places of Great *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, of the *Savoy*, of St. *James's-Park*, &c. where they might build Monaſteries; but alſo were ſeen at the *Temple*, at the *Black* and *White Friars*; nay, at *Weſtminſter-Abbey* to make Projects and to take Dimenſions for the Rebuilding of their Convents; not deſpairing to ſee themſelves in a ſhort Time in a Condition to turn both Prebendaries, Canons, and Miniſters out of theſe Churches.

(*b*) At the ſame Time, with this *Memorial of the Church*, there was a Liſt ſent over to the Prince of *Orange*, of the Names of ſuch eminent Divines as wiſh'd for the Coming of his Highneſs to redeem them from the Danger they were in. Some Perſons were put in this Liſt, who were then ſenſible of the Danger, and yet would not afterward accept of the Deliverance. Biſhop *Burnet* writes thus, I can aſſure the World that in the Liſt of the Divines that were repreſented as wiſhing that the *then* Prince would engage in our Defence, the late Dean of *Worceſter* (Dr. *Hicks*) was named for one.

(*c*) The Lord *Mordant* now Earl of *Peterborough* is ſaid to have undertaken that Part of the Affair, which concern'd the City, and to have come privately from *Holland* to *England* on Pur-

Many of the Nobility retire to *Holland*.

and his Son, and even ſome of the Ladies, eſpecially the Counteſs of *Sunderland*, a Woman of ſubtle Wit, and admirable Addreſs, were privy to the whole Deſign. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* having quitted his Regiment of Horſe, and Mortgag'd his Eſtate for Forty Thouſand Pounds, went over to the Prince, to offer him both his Sword and his Purſe. He was ſoon after follow'd by Admiral *Herbert* (afterward Earl of *Torrington,*) Mr. *Herbert* (afterward Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury,*) Mr. *Ruſſel* (now Earl of *Orford,*) the Lord *Mordant* (now Earl of *Peterborough,*) the Marquis of *Wincheſter* (afterwards Duke of *Bolton,*) and ſeveral other Perſons of Honour. (*a*)

Prince of *Orange* prepares for *England*.

The Prince of *Orange*, finding by this Time a general Concurrence in the *Engliſh* Nation to favour his Deſign, prevail'd with the *States* to join with him, and to prepare a good Fleet, and ſufficient Forces for a Deſcent upon *England.* Sir *Bevil Skelton*, whilſt he was at the *Hague*, had intercepted a Letter, intimating, That a great Project was ſecretly carried on againſt the King; of which he immediately gave an Account to his Majeſty: But it was either not well repreſented, or not at all regarded; and *Skelton*, being ſent ſoon after Envoy Extraordinary to *Paris*, entred there into a Correſpondence with one Monſieur *De Verace*, who was lately gone from *Holland* to *Geneva*, and there offer'd to reveal the whole Intrigue; and upon his Advices, *Skelton* is ſaid to have ſent over ſeveral Letters to the Court of *England.* But the King, in a Supine Negligence gave little Heed to them, though they were confirm'd with many of the like Conjectures from the Marquis of *Albeville*, the *Engliſh* Envoy at the *Hague*. Count *D'Avaux*, the *French* Ambaſſador in *Holland*, diſcover'd, from many convincing Circumſtances, That their great Preparations were intended againſt *England*, and gave notice of it to his Maſter at *Paris*, from whom King *James* had the firſt certain and poſitive Intelligence. But the Heer *Van Citters*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſador in *England*, is ſaid to have aſſur'd his Majeſty, That the *States* were indeed paeparing for ſome conſiderable Action, but *France* had moſt reaſon to be alarm'd at it.

Preparations of the *Dutch*.

Intrigues of the *French* King:

The *French* King thought he could not meet with a fairer Opportunity, to engage King *James* in an Offenſive and Defenſive League, than the preſent Dangerous Condition of his Affairs; and therefore he immediately diſpatch'd to him Monſieur *De Bon Repoſe*, to offer him Thirty thouſand of his Men. This gave a Jealouſy to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador Don *Pedro Ronquillo*, who, in a Cloſet-Conference with the King, aſſured him, The *Dutch* could have no Deſign upon *England*; and then repreſented to him, the fatal Conſequences of his entring into Alliances with *France* (*b*); and how ill it wou'd ſound in the Nation, That whilſt he pretended to call a *Free Parliament*, he ſhou'd introduce *Foreign Troops* into the Kingdom. But it is certain, the Earl of *Sunderland* contributed much more to the Refuſal of the *French* King's Offers; which ſome of the Popiſh Cabal were for accepting, and which perhaps Providence alone prevented.

He offers K. *James* an Army.

Enquiry into theſe great Preparations.

During this Amuſement, the *Engliſh* Envoy at the *Hague* was order'd to Demand of the *States-General*, *what they meant by their great and ſurprizing warlike Preparations both by Sea and Land, at that Time of the Year when no* Expedition, *eſpecially at Sea*, *cou'd be thought ſeaſonable?* To which the *States* made Anſwer, *That they Arm'd, in Imitation of his* Britannick *Majeſty*; *and might with more reaſon Demand a better Satisfaction about the Alliances into which his Majeſty was lately entred.* This bold *Anſwer*, which at another Time might have occaſion'd a Rupture, was now left without *Reply*. The King of *France* ſeem'd impatient, that his Brother of *England* wou'd not accept his Aſſiſtance, nor his Advice (*c*): But to ſhew himſelf ſtill heartily concern'd for him, he commanded his Ambaſſador Count *D'Avaux* to deliver a *Memorial* to the *States*; which he did on *Septemb.* 9. to this Effect; "That many Circumſtances inclin'd "the King his Maſter, with Reaſon, to believe "that their Preparations threatned *England*: There- "fore his Majeſty had commanded him to declare "to them, That the Ties of Friendſhip and Alli- "ance between him and the King of *Great-Britain* "wou'd oblige him not only to aſſiſt him, but alſo "to look on the firſt Act of Hoſtility that ſhould "be committed by their Troops or their Fleet "againſt his Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, to a mani- "feſt Rupture of the Peace with his Crown.

Bold Anſwer of the *States*.

Memorial of Count *D'Avaux*.

The *States-General* return'd no *Anſwer* to this *French-Memorial*, but charg'd the Heer *Van Citters* to complain thereof to the Court of *England.* Whereupon a Council was held, wherein it was *Reſolv'd* to diſown the Proceedings of Count *D'Avaux*. This *Reſolution* the Earl of *Middleton* (Secretary of State) immediately communicated to

Diſown'd by the *Engliſh* Court.

Purpoſe, being lodg'd at Mr. *Houblon*'s in *Wincheſter-Street*, where were held ſeveral Conferences with the chief Citizens.

The Earl of *Wiltſhire*, now Duke of *Bolton*, was one of the firſt who went to the *Hague* on the glorious Errand of Liberty, and he was accompanied by the Lord *Pawlet* his Brother.

The Lord *Eland*, Son to the Marquis of *Hallifax*, was a voluntary Hoſtage to the Prince of *Orange*, for his Father'e Sincerity in this Matter: As was alſo the Lord *Dunblain* for his Father the Earl of *Danby*.

Mr. *Echard* expreſly affirms, that *ſeveral of the Biſhops* ſeriouſly reflecting on the imminent Danger, to which the Proteſtant Religion, as well as the whole Nation was expos'd, writ Invitations to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, to ſuccour them in this Emergency.

(*a*) And yet there aroſe up an ungrateful Generation toward the End of Queen *Anne*, who boaſted and thank'd God, *they had no Hand in the Revolution*; and who would have had a Hand in deſtroying the Glory and all the Bleſſings of it. And they even condemned all the Reaſons and Motives tending to raiſe up a noble Spirit for it, under the reproachful Name of the *Revolution Principles*; when yet Dr. *Sprat*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, whom they ſometimes applaud, produces it for an Argument of Honour to the Church of *England*, by *affirming once for all*, that the main Body of thoſe, who made ſo brave a Stand, were ALL of the CHURCH of *ENGLAND*, and the Principles on which they ſtood, ALL CHURCH of *ENGLAND* PRINCIPLES. His *Letters to the Lord* Dorſet, &c. My Lord, *ſays he*, it was by theſe PERSONS and theſe PRINCIPLES that Popery was ſtopp'd in its full Career; by THESE it was hindred from conquering, and put in a Condition to be ſhortly after conquered it ſelf in this Nation.

(*b*) Mr. *Echard* has well enlarg'd upon this Hint, and after obſerving that the Emperor and the King of *Spain* had us'd their utmoſt Endeavours here to bring King *James* into the *German* League againſt *France*; he ſays, Don *Pedro de Ronquillo* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, made uſe of the moſt prevailing Arguments to engage King *James* to break with *France*; aſſuring him, that *Nothing would more endear him to his Proteſtant Subjects, nor more powerfully incline his Parliament to give Eaſe to the* Roman-Catholicks. But his Majeſty was already ſo ſtrongly united with *France*, that he anſwered the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, That he would faithfully obſerve the Alliances he had made with his Maſter, but that he was oblig'd as religiouſly to maintain the Amity that was between him and the King of *France* his near Relation; that he deſir'd to live in Peace with all his *Neighbours, and would endeavour to preſerve it amongſt them.* —— The ſame Writer intimates this Partiality of King *James* to his Couſin of *France* to have been very Providential. For (*ſays he*) the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* ſaw the Tendency of this unſatisfactory Anſwer, and were the more diſpos'd [in Conjunction with the Pope himſelf] to hearken to the Propoſals made them by the Prince of *Orange*, not only againſt King *Lewis*, but againſt the King of *England* his devoted Ally.

(*c*) The Earl of *Sunderland* in his Letter *March* 23. 1689. tells us, Indeed *French* Ships were offered to join with our Fleet, and they were refuſed. Since the Noiſe of the Prince's Deſign, more Ships were offered, and it was agreed how they ſhould be commanded, if ever deſired. I oppoſed to Death the accepting of them, as well as any Aſſiſtance of Men; and can ſay moſt truly, that I was the Principal Means of hindring both, by the Help of ſome Lords, with whom I conſulted every Day, and they with me, to prevent what we thought would be of great Prejudice, if not Ruinous to the Nation.

Van-

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Van-Citters (a); and the *Engliſh* Miniſters at the *Hague*, *Bruſſels*, and *Madrid*, were order'd to declare, That the *French Memorial* was preſented without his Majeſty's Knowledge or Approbation: And more effectually to pacify the *Dutch*, *Skelton* was recall'd from *France*; and upon his Arrival, was committed Priſoner to the *Tower*, for going beyond his Inſtructions, and diſcovering his Maſter's Secrets: Yet he was ſet at Liberty a few Days after, and made Colonel of a Regiment; nay, and ſhortly after was made Governor of his late Priſon the *Tower*. Which was indeed too quick a Way of revealing the Secret of feigning Anger and Puniſhment.

Skelton Recall'd, and committed to the *Tower*.

After all theſe Diſcouragements, Monſieur *Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador made another Propoſal to the *Engliſh* Court, That *France* ſhou'd abandon the Deſign of Beſieging *Phillipsburgh*, and carry the War into *Holland*. Four or Five of the Council highly approv'd the Overture; but others warmly oppos'd it, alledging, That ſuch a Violation of former Treaties with *Holland*, wou'd be ſufficient to raiſe the Clamours of the whole Nation, and to alienate the Minds of all the *Engliſh* Proteſtants from his Majeſty. It was again very providential, that this Offer was likewiſe rejected; for the Acceptance of it, muſt have prevented, or at leaſt retarded the Deſigns of the Prince of *Orange*.

New Overtures of *France*.

King *James* was too late convinc'd of the Truth of an intended *Invaſion*; and therefore he now (too late) began to ſoften Matters, and, if poſſible, to reconcile the Hearts of his People to him. To this Purpoſe, after having declar'd in Council, on *Aug.* 24th, That he had reſolv'd to call a Parliament to meet on the 27th of *November* next; he publiſh'd a *Declaration* on *Septemb.* 21. *That it was his Royal Purpoſe, to endeavour a legal Eſtabliſhment of an univerſal* Liberty of Conſcience *for all his Subjects. That it was alſo his Reſolution, inviolably to preſerve the* Church of England; *and that he ſhou'd be willing* (b) *the* Roman-Catholicks *ſhou'd remain incapable to be Members of the* Houſe of Commons. *And he did likewiſe aſſure all his Loving Subjects, That he ſhou'd be ready to do every Thing elſe, for their Safety and Advantage, that becomes a King who will always take Care of his People.*

K. *James* at laſt convinc'd of an Invaſion from *Holland*.

He publiſhes a Declaration,

On *Septemb.* 26. He was pleas'd farther to declare, That he had authoriz'd and empower'd the Lords-Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties, to grant *Deputations* to ſuch Gentlemen as had been lately removed from being Deputy-Lieutenants: And that he had farther given Directions to the Right-Honourable the Lord-Chancellor of *England* to put into the *Commiſſion of the Peace*, ſuch Gentlemen as had been laid aſide. And on *Septemb.* 28. the King publiſh'd a *Proclamation, That he had receiv'd uudoubted Advice, That a great and ſudden* Invaſion *from* Holland, *with an Arm'd Force of Foreigners and Strangers, wou'd ſpeedily be made, in an Hoſtile manner, upon this his Kingdom; and that no leſs Matter, by this* Invaſion, *was propos'd and purpos'd, than abſolute Conqueſt of theſe his Kingdoms, and the utter ſubduing and ſubjecting him and all his People to a foreign Power; which was promoted (although it may ſeem almoſt incredible) by ſome of his Subjects, being Perſons of Wicked and Reſtleſs Spirits, Implacable Malice, and deſperate Deſigns.* (c) — *That although he had Notice ſome Time ſince, That a Foreign Force was preparing againſt him; yet he had always declin'd any Foreign Succours, but rather had choſen, next under* GOD, *to rely upon the true and ancient Courage, Faith and Allegiance of his own People.* —— *That he had intended to have met his* Parliament *in* November *next; but in regard of this ſtrange and unreaſonable Attempt from his neighbouring Countrey, (without any Manner of Provocation) he found it neceſſary to recal his ſaid Writs. And foraſmuch as the approaching Danger, now at Hand wou'd require a great and vigorous Defence; he do's ſtrictly charge and command all his Loving Subjects, both by Sea and Land, to be prepared to defend their Countrey*, &c.

And many fair Promiſes,

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And a ſevrious Proclamation.

On *Septemb.* 30th, the King gave this farther Satisfaction, in theſe Words; from *Whitehall* (d): "Several of my Lords the Biſhops having attended "the King on *Friday* laſt, His Majeſty was pleas'd, "among other Gracious Expreſſions, to let them "know, *That he wou'd ſignify his Pleaſure for taking off the Suſpenſion of the Lord Biſhop of* London, *which is done accordingly.*

Other ſoftning Methods.

And becauſe there had been a confident Report, That there was a ſecret League between the Kings of *England* and *France*, in Prejudice to the Intereſt of *Holland*, and the common Liberties of *Europe*: Therefore, on *Octob.* 6th, *N. S.* the Marquis *D'Albeville* (Envoy Extraordinary from his Majeſty) had a Conference with Eight *Deputies* of the *States-General*, and deliver'd them the following *Memoal*.

THE under-written Envoy Extraordinary from the King of *Great Britain*, has receiv'd Order to repreſent to your Lordſhips, "That although "his Majeſty had believ'd, that what he had al"ready declar'd to your Ambaſſador in *England*, "and the Orders he had given to his ſaid Envoy Ex"traordinary upon the ſame Subject, might have "ſatisfy'd your Lordſhips, That there is no other "Treaty between his Majeſty and the *Moſt Chriſtian King*, than thoſe that are Publick, and in Print: "Yet ſince a great deal of Artifice and Induſtry has "been made uſe of, to make the World believe "that the King his Maſter is entred into other Trea"ties and Alliances with the *Moſt Chriſtian King*, "his Majeſty, to ſhew the great Regard he has to "the

A *Memorial* to the *States*, denying the Treaty betwixt *England* and *France*.

(a) It was now generally believ'd, that *France* and *England* were engag'd in a ſtrict Alliance. It is true, the Alliance was for ſome Time deny'd, but at laſt it was own'd by the *French* Ambaſſador, in a Memorial that he gave in to the States, upon the Reports of their deſigning to invade *England*; in which he told them, that the Alliance between his Maſter and the King of *England* was ſuch, that he muſt look on what was attempted againſt him as done againſt himſelf. This was a ſolemn Act by which the Alliance was own'd and publiſh'd. It is true, the Court of *England* did ſeem diſpleaſed with their Envoy; he was recall'd, and ſent to the *Tower*. But that appear'd only to be a Shew of Diſpleaſure; for in few Days from being a Priſoner, he was made a Lieutenant of the *Tower*. Perhaps his Importunity in getting the Alliance to be own'd was beyond his Inſtructions. *Biſhop* Burnet *Pref. to Sermons*, 1713. 8*vo*.

(b) This mighty Condeſcenſion of the King's being now *willing that the* Roman-Catholicks *ſhould remain incapable to be Members of the Houſe of Commons*, did but ſerve to betray what a kind of Houſe of Commons he had before intended to form; and what a Houſe of Peers was ſtill capable of being.

(c) On *September* 27th, his Majeſty ſet forth his moſt Gracious and General Pardon for all Manner of Treaſons, Felonies, Miſpriſions, &c. excepting Perſons particularly mentioned, viz. *Robert Parſons*, *Edward Matthews*, *Samuel Venner*, *Andrew Fletcher*, Colonel *John Rumſey*, Major *John Manley*, *Iſaac Manley*, *Francis Charleton*, Eſq; *John Wildman*, Eſq; *Titus Oates*, *Robert Ferguſon*, *Gilbert Burnet*, and Sir *Robert Peyton*. —— Theſe were moſt of them in the Court of the Prince of *Orange* ready to come over with him.

(d) The Letter to the Archbiſhop requiring this Attendance, runs thus. My Lord, the King thinking it requiſite to ſpeak with your Grace, and ſeveral others of the Biſhops, who are within a convenient Diſtance of this Place; his Majeſty commands me to acquaint you, That he would have you attend him upon *Friday* next, at Ten in the Morning. *Sunderland* P.

Accordingly (ſays the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*) All of us that were in Town, except the Archbiſhop, who was then Ill, waited on the King the *Friday* following, being the Day appointed. But little or nothing paſſing betwixt his Majeſty and us at our firſt Attendance, beyond general Expreſſions of his Favour and our Duty; we intreated my Lord of *Canterbury* to procure for us a ſecond and more particular Audience; wherein we might all deliver our plain and ſincere Senſe of Things, as we ſaw the dangerous Condition of the Church and State, then

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"the Friendſhip and Alliances which are between "him and your Lordſhips, and his Deſire to con-"tinue the ſame, has commanded the ſaid Envoy-"Extraordinary, in his Name, to aſſure your Lord-"ſhips, That there is no other Treaty between his "Majeſty and the *Moſt Chriſtian King*, than thoſe "that are Publick, and in Print. And farther, "That as his Majeſty extremely deſires the Preſer-"vation of the Peace and Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*, "ſo he will be alſo glad to take ſuch Meaſures with "Your Lordſhips, as may be moſt convenient for "maintaining the Peace of *Nimeguen*, and the "Truce of Twenty Years, concluded in 1614.

Given at the Hague, *the 5th of* Octob. 1688.

M. D'ALBYVILLE.

And yet this *Memorial* was ſuſpected to be another Blind, at a Juncture when every Thing was thought lawful that could gain a Point. There was afterward publiſh'd, *An Account of the Private League betwixt the late* K. James II. *and the* French *King. In a Letter from a Gentleman in* London, *to a Gentleman in the* Country.

Offer of Services to the King.

To encourage the Principal Nobility and Gentry to come in to the King's Aſſiſtance, it was publiſh'd, *Sept.* 30. "That his Grace the Duke of "*Newcaſtle*, the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Earl of *Der-*"*by*, the Lord *Germaine*, and others of the Nobi-"lity had, upon the News of the intended *Inva-*"*ſion*, humbly offer'd their Services to His Ma-"jeſty; who received very graciouſly that Tender "of their Duty, and had ſent Commiſſions to ſe-"veral of them to raiſe Men in their Countries." And within Two or Three Days, Publick Notice was further given, "That ſeveral of the Nobility "and Gentry had daily offer'd their Service to the "King, and were raiſing Men: And that His Ma-"jeſty had been pleaſed to give a Commiſſion to "his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, to raiſe a Re-"giment of Foot; to the Lord *Brandon*, and the "Marquis *de Miremont*, Nephew to the Earl of "*Feverſham*, each a Regiment of Horſe; to Co-"lonel *Henry Gage*, and Colonel *Solomon Richards*, "Regiments of Foot; and many Independent "Troops and Companies to ſeveral of the Nobili-"ty and Gentry." And after this, other Advertiſements were given, "That among ſeveral of the "Nobility and Gentry who continued to offer their "Services to His Majeſty, were, the Lord Marquis "of *Wincheſter*, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Weſt-*"*moreland*, and *Denbigh*, and the Lord *Hunting-*"*tower*.

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Other Arts of Sweetning the People.

To (*a*) ſweeten, and, if poſſible, to ſecure the City of *London*, Information was given, *October* 2. "That the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs, "with ſeveral other Eminent Citizens, had attend-"ed the King that Evening; and His Majeſty was "pleaſed to tell them, That out of his Concern "for the Peace and Welfare of the City, and as a "Mark of the great Confidence He had in them at "this Time, that the Kingdom is threaten'd with "an *Invaſion*, He had reſolved to reſtore them to "their (*b*) Ancient *Charter* and *Privileges*, and to put "them into the ſame Condition they were at the "Time of the Judgment pronounced againſt them "upon the *Quo Warranto*; That ſo they might be "the better enabled to ſerve him with that Duty "and Loyalty, which they had given the King his "Brother and Himſelf ſo many Teſtimonies of, "and upon which His Majeſty would now depend." Accordingly, within Four Days after, the Lord Chancellor himſelf carried into the City, the "In-"ſtrument of Reſtitution and Confirmation under "the Great Seal of *England*; and Sir *John Chap-*"*man*, thereby conſtituted Lord-Mayor, was ſworn "in the *Guild-Hall* with the uſual Solemnity; and "the Aldermen then in being, that were at the "Time of the ſaid Judgment, took their for-"mer Places, and the Vacancies were to be ſup-"ply'd by the Election of the Citizens, according "to the Ancient Cuſtom of the City.

The King adviſes with the Archbiſhop and Biſhops.

On *Wedneſday*, *Octob.* 3. the (*c*) Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Chicheſter*, *Rocheſter*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Peterborough*, waited upon the King, according to an Invitation and Encouragement of His Majeſty; who had lately told them, *That He deſir'd the Aſſiſtance of their Counſels in this preſent Exigency; aſſuring them, That he was ready to do whatever they ſhould think neceſſary for the Security of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and of his Peoples* Rights, *without derogating from his own* Prerogatives. *And therefore He deſir'd them to conſult together, and bring their Opinions to Him.* (*d*) They came therefore now, with the Archbiſhop at the Head of them, who addreſs'd himſelf to His Majeſty in this manner.

May it pleaſe Your MAJESTY;

Their Anſwer to His Majeſty.

"WHEN I had lately the Honour to wait "upon You, You were pleaſed briefly to "acquaint me with what had paſſed Two Days be-"fore between Your Majeſty and theſe my Reve-"rend Brethren: By which, and by the Account "which they themſelves gave me, I perceived that "in truth there paſſed nothing, but in very ge-"neral

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then requir'd from Men of our Character.—— On *Saturday*, *Sept.* 29. the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (who had been one of the Biſhops called by Letter to attend the King) went out of Town. ——On *Sunday*, *Sept.* 30. my Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* obtain'd of the King, that He and the Biſhops ſhould be admitted to a full Liberty of Speech with Him the next *Tueſday* Morning.——All *Monday*, *Octob.* 1. we ſpent at *Lambeth*, in preparing the Humble Advice we thought fit to offer the next Day: But the King being otherwiſe accidentally diverted on *Tueſday* Morning, our Attendance on Him was put off till *Wedneſday*.

(*a*) By this Time, there was come to ſome private Hands, *The Prince of* Orange'*s Letter to all Commanders of Ships, and all Seamen that are now employ'd in the* Engliſh *Fleet*: With another, to *all the Officers and Soldiers in the* Engliſh *Army*. *Given at our Court at* Dieren, *the 29th Day of* September, 1688. With the *Form of a Prayer for the Preſent Expedition.*

(*b*) The Earl of *Sunderland*, in his Letter, *March* 23. 1689. "Upon the firſt Thought upon the Prince of *Orange*'s coming, "I laid hold of the Opportunity to preſs the King to do ſeveral "Things, which I would have had done ſooner; the chief of "which were, To reſtore *Magdalen-College*, and all other Ec-"cleſiaſtical Preferments, which had been diverted from what "they were intended for; to take off my Lord Biſhop of *Lon-*"*don*'s Suſpenſion; to put the Counties into the ſame Hands "they were in ſome Time before; to annul the Eccleſiaſtical "Court; and to reſtore entirely all the Corporations of *Eng-*"*land*. Theſe Things were done effectually, by the Help of "ſome about the King; and it was then thought I had de-"ſtroyed my ſelf, by enraging again the whole *Roman-Catho-*"*lick* Party to ſuch a Height as had not been ſeen: They di-"ſpers'd Libels of me every Day; told the King that I be-"tray'd him; that I ruin'd him, by perſuading him to make "ſuch ſhameful Condeſcenſions; but moſt of all, by hin-"dring the Securing the Chief of the diſaffected Nobility and "Gentry, which was propoſed as a certain way to break all "the Prince's Meaſures; and by adviſing His Majeſty to call a "Free Parliament, and to depend upon that, rather than upon "Foreign Aſſiſtance."

(*c*) "Had we (ſays the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*) been ad-"mitted to His Majeſty that *Tueſday*, we could not have fail'd "of getting ſome Credit to our ſelves and to the Church.—— "On *Wedneſday* Morning we had our Second Audience, when "my Lord of *Canterbury* deliver'd our free and honeſt Advice, "with ſuch a becoming Meekneſs, Gravity and Courage, as "indeed were admirable."

(*d*) The Account of the Biſhops who waited upon the King with their Propoſals, was (within a Day or two after) ſent to the Preſs by Dr. *Sherlock*, and begins in theſe Words: "*SIR*, I am much ſurprized at the ill Conſtruction ſome Peo-"ple make of the Actions of thoſe Biſhops who have lately "waited upon the King; eſpecially conſidering that moſt of "them are the very Men, who not many Months ago appear'd "ſo

“ neral Terms, and Expreſſions of Your Majeſty's “ Gracious and Favourable Inclinations to the “ *Church of England*, and of our reciprocal Du- “ ty and Loyalty to Your Majeſty : Both which “ were ſufficiently underſtood, and declared before ; “ and (as one of my Brethren then told You) “ would have been in the ſame State, if the Biſhops “ had not ſtirr'd one Foot out of their Dioceſes. “ SIR, I found it grieved my Lords the Biſhops, “ to have come ſo far, and to have done ſo little ; “ and I am aſſured, they came then prepared to “ have given Your Majeſty ſome more particular “ Inſtances of their Duty and Zeal for Your Ser- “ vice, had they not apprehended from ſome Words “ which fell from Your Majeſty, That You were not “ then at Leiſure to receive them. It was for this “ Reaſon that I then beſought Your Majeſty, to com- “ mand us once more to attend You all together, “ which Your Majeſty was pleaſed graciouſly to al- “ low and encourage. We therefore are here now “ before You, with all Humility to beg your Per- “ miſſion, That we may ſuggeſt to Your Majeſty “ ſuch Advices as we think proper at this Seaſon, “ and conducing to your Service, and ſo leave them “ to your Princely Conſideration.” Which the King being graciouſly pleaſed to permit, the Arch-biſhop proceeded as followeth.

“ 1. Our Firſt Humble Advice is, That Your “ Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to put the “ Management of your Government in the ſeve- “ ral Counties, into the Hands of ſuch of the No- “ bility and Gentry there, as are legally qualified “ for it.

“ 2. That Your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed “ to annul your *Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, “ and that no ſuch Court (as that *Commiſſion* ſets “ up) may be erected for the future.

“ 3. That Your Majeſty will graciouſly be plea- “ ſed, That no *Diſpenſation* may be granted or “ continued, by virtue whereof any Perſon, not “ duly qualified by Law, hath been, or may be “ put into any Place, Office or Preferment, in “ Church or State, or in the Univerſities, or conti- “ nued in the ſame ; eſpecially ſuch as have Cure “ of Souls annexed to them : And in particular, “ That You will be graciouſly pleaſed to reſtore the “ Preſident and Fellows of St. *Mary Magdalen Col-* “ *lege* in *Oxford*.

“ 4. That Your Majeſty will graciouſly be plea- “ ſed to ſet aſide all *Licenſes* or *Faculties* already “ granted, by which any Perſons of the *Romiſh* “ Communion may pretend to be enabled to teach “ Publick Schools ; and that no ſuch be granted for “ the future.

“ 5. That Your Majeſty will be graciouſly plea- “ ſed to deſiſt from the Exerciſe of ſuch a *Diſpen-* “ *ſing Power*, as hath of late been uſed ; and to “ permit that Point to be freely and calmly debated “ and argued, and finally ſettled in Parliament.

“ 6. That Your Majeſty will be graciouſly plea- “ ſed to inhibit the Four Foreign Biſhops, who ſtile “ themſelves *Vicars Apoſtolical*, from further inva- “ ding the *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction*, which is by Law “ veſted in the Biſhops of this Church.

“ 7. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed graci- “ ouſly to fill the vacant *Biſhopricks*, and other *Ec-* “ *cleſiaſtical Promotions* within your Gift, both in “ *England* and *Ireland*, with Men of Learning and “ Piety ; and in particular, (which I muſt own “ to be my peculiar Boldneſs, for 'tis done with- “ out the Privity of my Brethren) That You will “ be graciouſly pleaſed forthwith to fill the *Archi-* “ *epiſcopal Chair* of *York* (which has ſo long ſtood “ empty, and upon which a whole Province de- “ pends) with ſome very worthy Perſon : For “ which (Pardon me, SIR, if I am bold to ſay) “ You have now here before You a very fair “ Choice.

“ 8. That Your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed “ to ſuperſede all further Proſecution of *Quo War-* “ *ranto's* againſt Corporations, and to reſtore to “ them their Ancient Charters, Privileges and Fran- “ chiſes, as we hear God hath put into your Maje- “ ſty's Heart to do for the City of *London*, which “ we intended to have made otherwiſe one of our “ principal Requeſts.

“ 9. That if it pleaſe Your Majeſty, *Writs* may “ be iſſued out with convenient Speed, for the Cal- “ ling of a Free and Regular Parliament, in which “ the Church of *England* may be ſecured according “ to the *Acts of Uniformity* ; Proviſion may be “ made for a due *Liberty of Conſcience*, and for Se- “ curing the Liberties and Properties of all your “ Subjects ; and a mutual Confidence and good “ Underſtanding may be eſtabliſhed between Your “ Majeſty and all your People.

“ 10. Above all, That Your Majeſty will be “ graciouſly pleaſed to permit your Biſhops to offer “ You ſuch (*a*) Motives and Arguments, as (we “ truſt) may, by God's Grace, be effectual to “ perſwade Your Majeſty to return to the *Commu-* “ *nion* of the Church of *England*, into whoſe moſt “ Holy Catholick Faith You were *baptized*, and in “ which You were *educated*, and to which it is our “ daily earneſt Prayer to God, that You may be *re-* “ *united*.

“ Theſe, SIR, are the Humble Advices, which “ out of Conſcience of the Duty we owe to God, “ to Your Majeſty, and to our Country, we think “ fit at this Time to offer to Your Majeſty, as ſuit- “ able to the preſent State of your Affairs, and “ moſt conducing to your Service ; and ſo to leave “ them to your Princely Conſideration. *And we* “ *heartily beſeech Almighty God, in whoſe Hand the* “ *Hearts of all Kings are, ſo to diſpoſe and govern* “ *yours, that in all your Thoughts, Words and* “ *Works, You may ever ſeek his Honour and Glory,* “ *and ſtudy to preſerve the People committed to your*

“ ſo publickly and ſo couragiouſly, even to the Hazard of all “ the Intereſts they had in this World, in Defence of our Pro- “ teſtant Religion, and the Laws of the Land.”——And in the Concluſion of Dr. *Sherlock*'s Paper are theſe Words : “ I do aſ- “ ſure you, and I am certain I have the beſt Grounds in the “ World for my Aſſurance, That the Biſhops will never ſtir “ one Jot from their Petition ; but that they will, whenever “ that happy Opportunity ſhall offer it ſelf, let the Proteſtant “ Diſſenters find, that they will be better than their Word “ given in their famous Petition.”—— Theſe *Advices* were diſlik'd by ſome People, for fear they might have taught King *James* to pretend the Reforming of Abuſes, till he had been out of Danger of the Expedition of the Prince of *Orange*. —— Mr. *Sam. Johnſon* wrote thus of them : “ As ſoon as “ ever I ſaw them, I plainly perceiv'd they were all of them “ deceitful and Mountebank Remedies ; and being urg'd for “ my Opinion of them, I gave my Thoughts freely concern- “ ing them ; and the rather, becauſe they were ſaid to be ve- “ ry much applauded Abroad. I ſaid, that I was ſure the King “ would comply with them, but not all at once ; but he “ would make his Conceſſions ſo, as to garniſh the *Gazette* with “ them Twice a Week, and to amuſe the People with a Suc- “ ceſſion of Favours, as if there were to be no End of them. “ That theſe Grievances being thus redreſs'd, there would be “ no need of the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition, to take care “ of that which was already done to his Hand. That theſe “ Conceſſions would ſtand, till the King had recover'd his “ Fright ; and then all Things would return into the old “ Channel.”

(*a*) We are aſſur'd by Mr. *Echard*, that this laſt Point of Re-conciling the King to the Communion of the Church of *England*, the Archbiſhop afterwards reinforc'd in a Private Conference with the King, by a Diſcourſe full of convincing Arguments, and which ſavour'd of all the free Breathings of the Primitive Times of Chriſtianity. But the *Romiſh* Religion had now taken too deep Root in his Royal Breaſt.—— A Reader of this, from the Event of Things, would think it a great Providence, that neither the Father, nor the pretended Son, would hearken to any Counſel of forſaking *Popery*.

1688. 4 *Jac.* II.

“ *Charge, in Wealth, Peace and Godlineſs, to your* “ *own both Temporal and Eternal Happineſs.* A- “ men.

W. Cant.

We do heartily concur,

Fran. Eli.	*Tho. Petriburg.*
Jo. Ciceſtr.	*H. Londin.*
Tho. Roffen.	*P. Winton.*
Tho. Bath. & Wellen.	*W. Aſaph.* (*a*)

The King promiſes to comply with their Lordſhips Advice.

Theſe Propoſals would at another Time have rais'd the King's Indignation, but the Neceſſity of his Affairs obliged him now to thank their Lordſhips, and to promiſe that He would comply with them. Accordingly, on *Octob.* 5. “ His Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to declare in Council, That in Purſuance of his Reſolution and Intentions to protect the Church of *England*, and that all Suſpicions and Jealouſies to the contrary may be removed, He had thought fit to diſſolve the *Commiſſion* for *Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical*; and accordingly did give Directions to the Lord Chancellor, to cauſe the ſame to be forthwith done.” And on *October* 10. it was farther declared, “ That His Majeſty having received ſeveral Complaints of great Abuſes and Irregularities committed in the late Regulations of the Corporations, has thought fit to authorize and require the Lords Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties, to inform themſelves of all ſuch Abuſes and Irregularities within their Lieutenancies, and to make forthwith Report thereof to His Majeſty, together with what they conceive fit to be done for redreſſing the ſame; whereupon His Majeſty will give ſuch farther Orders as ſhall be requiſite.” On *Octob.* 12. it was again publiſh'd from *Whitehall*, “ That the King having declared his Reſolution to preſerve the Church of *England* in all its Rights and Immunities, His Majeſty, as an Evidence of it, has ſignify'd his Pleaſure to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, as *Viſitor* of St. *Mary Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, to ſettle that Society regularly and ſtatutably.

He diſſolves the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*,

And ſeems to reſtore the Corporations,

And *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*:

And actually reſtored Corporations to their Ancient Charters;

On *October* 17. the King publiſh'd a *Proclamation for reſtoring Corporations to their Ancient Charters, Liberties, Rights and Franchiſes*: And Orders of the Council were the ſame Day made, for removing and diſplacing all Mayors, Sheriffs, Recorders, Town-Clerks, Aldermen, Common-Council-Men, *&c.* which had been put in by the late King, or his preſent Majeſty, ever ſince the Year 1679.

And yet no depending on theſe Favours.

It ſoon appear'd how little the Nation was to depend upon theſe (*b*) haſty and forc'd Conceſſions of the King. On *October* 16. the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* cauſ'd a *Citation* to be fixed on the Gate of *Magdalen-College*, to recal Dr. *Hough*, and the former Fellows of that Society, by the Second of *November* following; but an Account coming that very Poſt, that the *Dutch* Fleet had ſuffer'd very much in a Storm, and that they would hardly be able to put to Sea again till the *Spring*; the Biſhop, upon a frivolous Pretence, was recall'd to *London*, and the Reſtoration of the *College* deferr'd. Yet ſoon after, that News being contradicted, and the *Dutch* Fleet reported to be in a ſailing Poſture, the Affection to the Church of *England* reviv'd, and ſo the Buſineſs of the (*c*) *College* was effected on the 24th of that Month. This Paſſage is the more remarkable, becauſe it loſt King *James* many Friends, and leſſen'd him in his Character and Intereſt; as if his Politicks were to change with the Wind; and as News varied, He was playing *faſt* and *looſe* with his Subjects.

Some Things done not popular: Making a ſorry Man Biſhop of *Oxford*:

In the mean Time, ſome Things were done that were not at all popular. Upon the Death of Dr. *Samuel Parker*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, and the illegal Preſident of *Magdalen-College*, His Majeſty gave the Biſhoprick to Mr. *Timothy Hall*, one of the meaneſt and moſt obſcure of the City-Divines, who had taken no other Degree than that of *Batchelor of Arts*; and had indeed no Merit, but that of Reading the King's *Declaration* in his Church, when all his Brethren of Conſcience and Honour did refuſe it. The Advancement of ſuch a Perſon to the See of *Oxford*, could be nothing but a Deſpite to the Univerſity, and a Contempt upon the Church of *England*. Yet this unworthy Biſhop Elect was, on *Sunday Octob.* 7. conſecrated at *Lambeth*, by his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *Chicheſter* and *Cheſter*. It was another unpopular Thing, to *baptize* the Prince of *Wales* into the *Roman* Communion, and make the *Pope* his *Godfather*; as if it were done with a deſign'd Inſult upon the *Proteſtant Religion*; and to give this Publick Account of it:

Popiſh Baptiſm of the Prince of *Wales*.

“ *Whitehall*, Octob. 15. This Day, in the Chapel of St. *James*'s, His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, being before Chriſten'd, was ſolemnly Named (amidſt the Ceremonies and Rites of *Baptiſm*) *James Francis Edward*: His *Holineſs*, repreſented by his *Nuncio*, Godfather, and the *Queen-Dowager* Godmother. The King and Queen aſſiſted at the Solemnity, with a great Attendance of Nobility and Gentry, and Concourſe of People, all expreſſing their Joy and Satisfaction, which was ſuitable to the Place and Occaſion.

General Belief of an *Impoſture*, in the Prince of *Wales*.

This Triumph of *Popery* did but ſerve to increaſe the General Suſpicion and Report of an *Impoſture*; and a common Fame was ſpread, *That the Mother*

(*a*) The next Day, being the 4th of *October*, 1688. there was publiſh'd, *by His Majeſty's Pleaſure, A Form of Prayers, in Three Collects; One for Repentance, a Second for the King, a Third for Peace and Unity: To be uſed in all Churches and Chapels within this Kingdom, during the Time of Publick Apprehenſion of Invaſion.* 4to. The Author of the *Hiſtory of Deſertion* ſays, “ I am fully perſuaded, theſe Prayers contributed very conſiderably to the late Revolution, and taught Men they were no more bound to promote any of the late King's Undertakings with their Swords, than with their Prayers, but what tended to the Honour and Service of God. And the very Supplicating God to *preſerve our Holy Religion, together with our Laws and Ancient Government*, neceſſarily put Men in Mind they had been endanger'd, and by Whom was as well known. And it ſeemed Nonſenſe and Hypocriſy, to pray to God to preſerve theſe, and in the mean time to aid and aſſiſt the *Enemies* of both to deſtroy and ruin them.”

(*b*) One of the now Fellows of *Magdalen College* becoming afterwards Rector of *Slinbridge* in the County of *Gloceſter*, publiſh'd a Sermon on St. *Barnabas* Day, in 1713. in the *Preface* whereto he tells us: ‘ I happen'd to be Fellow of *Magdalen*. ‘ *College*,—when their blind and greedy Zeal began with ſome of the Heads of the Univerſity, and a Society thereof—— All the reſt muſt ſoon have taken their Turn likewiſe out of their Freeholds, had there not been a Proteſtant Wind. Thereby hangs a Tale, which hath not been told publickly, that I know of; and I think it not unſeaſonable to tell it now, that we may thence learn how to truſt *Popery* another Time. “ When the Prince of *Orange*, our late Sovereign of Glorious Memory, was almoſt ready to embark, a kind of General Intimation was diſpatch'd after us, to return from the ſeveral Counties whither we were ſent a grazing:—— But when ſome of us were come back within Four or Five Hours of the Univerſity, a certain Notice was ſent us on the Road, that we need not make much Haſte, for that the Wind was chang'd at Court. But when after ſome few Days, it was fear'd again there that the Prince would ſhortly arrive, we might go forward; and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (the Local Viſitor) was ſent down to reinſtate us in our College: But his Lordſhip had ſcarce refreſh'd himſelf, before a Courier came and beat up his Quarters, and requir'd his Return to Court, without reſtoring us to our own again: Tho' it was done at laſt, when there was a Proteſtant, or rather Providential Wind again.”

(*c*) There was a Printed Sheet, Licenſed *Novemb.* 1. 1688. entitled, *An Account of the late Viſitation at St.* Mary Magdalen College *in* Oxford, *by the Right Reverend Father in God,* Peter *Lord Biſhop of* Winton, *on* Thurſday, Octob. 24. 1688. *With the Names of the Preſident, Fellows and others, reſtored by Him.*

of

of the Prince of Wales *was to be brought over in the* Dutch *Fleet.* To ſtifle this News, the Privy Council was aſſembled; where were likewiſe preſent, by His Majeſty's Deſire and Appointment, the Queen-Dowager, and ſuch of the Peers (both Spiritual and Temporal) as were in Town, as alſo the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and the Judges, and ſeveral of Their Majeſties Council Learned in the Law; and then the Ladies, Lords, and others that were preſent at the Queen's Labour, did appear there, and declar'd upon Oath, what they knew of the Birth of His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*: Of all which, a full and particular *Relation* was made publick, and was enroll'd in *Chancery*, to very little Purpoſe.

The King labours to wipe off the Suſpicion.

Places and Honours.

Under this Affrightment, His Majeſty was pleas'd to make the Earl of *Derby* Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Cheſter* and *Lancaſter*, the Earl of *Oxford* Lord Lieutenant of *Eſſex*, and the Earl of *Feverſham* Lord Lieutenant of *Kent*: (*a*) The Duke of *Berwick* and the Duke of *Ormond* were honour'd with *Garters*; and the former, who was a little diſcontented becauſe he did not command the Fleet, was made Governor of the *Tower*, in the room of Sir *Edward Hales*, a *Roman-Catholick*. And on *Octob.* 28. His Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount *Preſton* one of His Principal Secretaries of State, upon the Removal of the Earl of *Sunderland* from that Office (*b*), whom the King diſcover'd (as he did other Things) too late, to be inclinable to the expected *Revolution*.

Prince of *Orange* prepares for *England*;

(*c*) While King *James* was under theſe Diſtractions at Home and Abroad, the Prince of *Orange* was embarking his Troops with extraordinary Diligence; and to juſtify his Undertaking to the whole World, publiſh'd a *Declaration*, dated *Octob.* 10. *N. S.* divided into Six and Twenty *Articles*, which may be reduc'd to Three Principal Heads.

Publiſhes a *Declaration*.

"The *Firſt* contain'd an Enumeration of the Grievances of the *Engliſh* Nation, particularly his Majeſty's arrogating to himſelf a *Diſpenſing Power*; his advancing *Papiſts* to Civil, Eccleſiaſtical, and Military Employments, and allowing them to ſit in the Privy-Council: His ſetting up an illegal *Commiſſion* for *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, (in which there was one of his Majeſty's Miniſters of State, who made publick Profeſſion of the Popiſh Religion, and who, at the Time of his firſt profeſſing it, declar'd, That for a great while before, he had believ'd *that* to be the only True Religion;) and by which not only the Biſhop of *London* was ſuſpended, but the Preſident and Fellows of *Magdalen-College* arbitrarily turn'd out of their Freeholds, contrary to that expreſs Proviſion in *Magna Charta*, *That no Man ſhall loſe Life or Goods, but by the Law of the Land*: His allowing Popiſh Monaſteries and Colleges of Jeſuits to be created: His turning out of publick Employments, all ſuch as would not concur with his Majeſty, in the Repeal of the Teſt and Penal Laws: His invading the Privileges, and ſeizing on the *Charters* of moſt Corporations, and placing Popiſh Magiſtrates in ſome of them: His ſubjecting the Courts of Judicature to his Arbitrary and Deſpotick Power, and putting the Adminiſtration of Juſtice into the Hands of Papiſts: His not only arming the Papiſts, in Contempt of the Laws, but likewiſe raiſing them up to the greateſt Military Truſt, both by Sea and Land, Strangers as well as Natives, and *Iriſh* as well as *Engliſh*, that he might be in a Capacity to enſlave the Nation: His putting the whole Government of *Ireland* into the Hands of *Papiſts*: His aſſuming an Abſolute and Arbitrary Power in the Kingdom of *Scotland*; from which it was apparent, what was to be look'd for in *England*.

Secondly, "His Highneſs alledg'd, That thoſe great and inſufferable Oppreſſions, and the open Contempt of all Law, together with the Apprehenſions of the ſad Conſequences that muſt certainly follow upon it, had made the Subjects to look after ſuch Remedies, as are allow'd of in all Nations, and in the moſt Abſolute Monarchies; all which had been without Effect: His Majeſty's Evil Counſellors having endeavour'd to make all Men apprehend the Loſs of their Lives, Liberties, Honours, and Eſtates, if they ſhou'd go about to preſerve themſelves from this Oppreſſion by Petitions and Repreſentations; an Inſtance of which, was the Proſecution of the Seven Biſhops: That a Peer of the Realm was treated as a Criminal, only becauſe he ſaid, *That the Subjects were not bound to obey the Orders of a* Popiſh *Juſtice of Peace*; though 'tis evident, That they being by Law render'd incapable of all ſuch Truſts, no Regard is due to their Orders: That both he, and his Conſort the Princeſs, had endeavour'd to ſignify, with Terms full of Reſpect to the King, the juſt and deep Regret which all theſe Proceedings had given them, and declar'd what their Thoughts were, touching the Repealing of the *Teſts* and *Penal Laws*; but that theſe Evil Counſellors had put ſuch ill Conſtructions on their good Intentions, that they had endeavour'd to alienate the King more and more from them. That the laſt and great Remedy for all theſe Evils, was, the *Calling of a Parliament*; which cou'd not yet be compaſs'd, nor cou'd be eaſily brought about: For thoſe Men apprehending, that a Lawful Parliament wou'd bring them to Account for all their open Violations of Law, and for their Conſpiracies againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of the Subjects; they had endeavour'd, under the ſpecious Pretence of Liberty of Conſcience, firſt to ſow Diviſions between thoſe of the Church of *England* and Diſſenters, with Deſign to engage Proteſtants, who are equally concern'd to preſerve themſelves from Popiſh Oppreſſion, into mutual Quarrellings; that ſo, by theſe, ſome Advantages might be given to them to bring about their Deſigns; and that, both in Elections of Members of Parliament, and afterwards in the Parliament it ſelf: That they had alſo made ſuch Regulations as they thought fit and neceſſary, for ſecuring all the Members that were to be choſen by

(*a*) Mr. *Echard* obſerves, that the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, the Earls of *Lindſey*, *Derby*, *Pembroke*, and *Aylesbury*, and the Lords *Faulconberg* and *Jermyn*, with ſome few more of the Nobility, offer'd their Service to his Majeſty; whereupon the King gave Commiſſions to the Duke of *Newcaſtle* to raiſe a Regiment of Foot; to the Lord *Brandon*, Son to the Earl of *Macclesfield*, and to the Marquis of *Miremont*, Nephew to the Earl of *Feverſham*, each a Regiment of Horſe; to Colonel *Henry Gage*, and Colonel *Solomon Richards*, Two Regiments of Foot. —— And the young Duke of *Ormond* offered to ſerve as a Volunteer in the Army, &c.

(*b*) The Earl of *Sunderland* tells us in his Letter of *March* 23. 1689. —— At laſt, Accuſations of High-Treaſon were brought againſt me, which with ſome other Reaſons relating to Affairs Abroad, drew the Kings Diſpleaſure upon me, ſo as to turn me out of all, without any Conſideration; and yet I thought I eſcaped well, expecting nothing leſs than the Loſs of my Head, as my Lord *Middleton* can tell, and I believe none about the Court thought otherwiſe; nor had it been otherwiſe, if my Diſgrace had been deferred a Day longer. All Things being prepared for it, I was put out the 27th of *October*; the *Roman-Catholicks* having been Two Months working up the King to it, without Intermiſſion; beſides the ſeveral Attacks they had made upon me before, and the unuſual Aſſiſtance they obtained to do what they thought ſo neceſſary for the carrying on their Affairs, of which they never had greater Hope than at that Time, as may be remembred by any who were then at *London*.

(*c*) The Prince had certainly an Invitation in Writing, ſubſcribed by ſeveral Peers and Gentlemen, the firſt Draught was ſaid to be drawn by *Thomas Wharton*, Eſq; and when approv'd and ſign'd, it was thought to be carried over by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

1688. 4 *Jac.* II. "the Corporations; by which Means they hop'd to "avoid the Puniſhment they had deſerv'd; though "it was apparent, that all Acts made by Popiſh "Magiſtrates were null and void of themſelves: "So that no Parliament cou'd be Lawful, for which "the Elections and Returns were made by Popiſh "Magiſtrates, Sheriffs, and Mayors of Towns; "and therefore as long as the Magiſtracy was in "ſuch Hands, it was not poſſible to have a Free "Parliament, legally call'd and choſen. That there "were great and violent Preſumptions, inducing "his Highneſs to believe, that thoſe Evil Coun-"ſellors, in order to the gaining the more Time for "the Effecting of their ill Deſigns, had publiſh'd, "*That the Queen had brought forth a Son*; though "there had appear'd, both during the Queen's *pre-"tended* Bigneſs, and in the Manner wherein the "Birth was managed, ſo many juſt and viſible "Grounds of Suſpicion, that not only he himſelf, "but all the good Subjects of this Kingdom, did "vehemently ſuſpect, *That the* pretended *Prince of* "Wales *was not born of the Queen.* And though "many both doubted of the Queen's Bigneſs, and "of the Birth of the Child; yet there was not any "one Thing done to ſatisfy them, or put an End to "their Doubts. That ſince his Conſort the Prin-"ceſs, and likewiſe he himſelf, had ſo great an In-"tereſt in this Matter, and ſuch a *Right* as all the "World knew to the *Succeſſion of the Crown*; ſince "all the *Engliſh* did in the Year 1672, when *Hol-"land* was invaded with a moſt unjuſt War, uſe their "utmoſt Endeavours to put an End to that War, "and that in Oppoſition to thoſe who were then in "the Government; ſince the *Engliſh* Nation had "ever teſtify'd a moſt particular Affection and E-"ſteem both to his Highneſs's deareſt Conſort, and "to himſelf, he could not excuſe himſelf from "eſpouſing that Intereſt, in a Matter of ſuch high "Conſequence, and from contributing all that in "him lay, for the maintaining both of the Prote-"ſtant Religion, and of the Laws and Liberties of "theſe Kingdoms: To the doing of which, his "Highneſs was *moſt earneſtly ſolicited by a great ma-"ny Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal*, and by "many *Gentlemen*, and other Subjects of all "Ranks.

Laſtly, (*a*) "His Highneſs declar'd, That for the "forementioned *Reaſons*, he has thought fit to go "over to *England*, and to carry with him a *Force* "ſufficient to defend him from the Violence of thoſe "*Evil Counſellors.* That his *Expedition* was in-"tended for no other Deſign, but to have a *Free* "and *Lawful Parliament* aſſembled, as ſoon as it "was poſſible; and that in order to this, all the "late *Charters*, by which the *Elections of Burgeſſes* "were limited, contrary to the ancient Cuſtom, "ſhou'd be conſider'd as null, and of no Force. "That to this *Parliament*, he wou'd refer the *En-"quiry into the Birth of the* Pretended *Prince of "Wales*, and of all Things relating thereto, and to "the *Right of Succeſſion.* That he wou'd concur "in every Thing that might procure the Peace and "Happineſs of the Nation, under a Juſt and Legal "Government. That he wou'd keep the Forces "under his Command under all the Strictneſs of "Martial Diſcipline; and promis'd, that he would "ſend back all thoſe Foreign Forces, as ſoon as the "State of the Nation wou'd admit of it. That "therefore, he invited and required all Perſons "whatſoever to come and aſſiſt him, in order to "the executing his Deſign, againſt all ſuch as ſhou'd "endeavour to oppoſe him. That he wou'd like-"wiſe take Care that a Parliament ſhou'd be call'd "in *Scotland*, for reſtoring the Ancient Conſtitution "of that Kingdom, and for bringing the Matters of "Religion to ſuch a Settlement, that the People "might live eaſy and happy. That he wou'd alſo "ſtudy to bring the Kingdom of *Ireland* to ſuch a "State, that the Settlement there might be religi-"ouſly obſerv'd, and that the *Proteſtant* and *Bri-"tiſh Intereſt* there might be ſecured". And con-cludes thus; "That he wou'd endeavour, by all "poſſible Means, to procure ſuch an Eſtabliſhment "throughout all the Three Kingdoms, that they "might all live in a happy Union and Correſpon-"dence together; and that the Proteſtant Religion, "and the Peace, Honour, and Happineſs of theſe "Nations might be eſtabliſhed upon laſting Foun-"dations.

This Declaration was ready to be ſent over to *England*, with another to the ſame Purpoſe for *Scotland*; when his Highneſs being inform'd, that King *James*, by granting moſt of the Biſhops Demands, had taken Meaſures to render it ineffectual, caus'd the following Addition to be made to it.

"After we had prepar'd and printed our Decla-"ration, we have underſtood, that the Subverters "of the Religion and Laws of theſe Kingdoms, "hearing of our Preparations to aſſiſt the People "againſt them, have begun to retract ſome of the "Arbitrary and Deſpotick Powers that they had aſ-"ſum'd, and to vacate ſome of their Unjuſt "Judgments and Decrees. The Senſe of their "Guilt, and the Diſtruſt of their Force, have in-"duc'd them to offer to the City of *London*, ſome "ſeeming Relief from their great Oppreſſions; "hoping thereby to quiet the People, and to divert "them from demanding a Re-eſtabliſhment of their "Religion and Laws, under the Shelter of our "Arms: They did alſo give out, That we do intend "to conquer and enſlave the Nations; and there-"fore it is we have thought fit to add a few "Words to our Declaration.

"We are confident, that no Perſons can have "ſuch hard Thoughts of Us, as to imagine we "have any other Deſign in this our Undertaking, "than to procure a Settlement of the Religion, "and of the Liberties and Properties of the Sub-"jects, upon ſo ſure a Foundation, that there may "be no Danger of the Nation's relapſing into the "like Miſeries at any Time hereafter. And as the "Forces we have brought along with us, are utter-"ly diſproportion'd to that wicked Deſign of Con-"quering the Nation, if we were capable of in-"tending it; ſo the great Numbers of the Principal "Nobility and Gentry, that are Men of Eminent "Qualities and Eſtates, and Perſons of known In-"tegrity and Zeal both for the Religion and Go-"vernment of *England*, many of them being alſo "diſtinguiſh'd by their conſtant Fidelity to the "Crown, who do both accompany us in this Ex-"pedition, and have earneſtly ſolicited us to it, will "cover us from all ſuch malicious Inſinuations: For "it is not to be imagin'd, that either thoſe who "have invited us, or thoſe who are already come "to aſſiſt us, can join in a wicked Attempt of "Conqueſt, to make void their own Lawful Titles "to their Honours, Eſtates and Intereſts.

"We are alſo confident, that all Men ſee how "little Weight there is to be laid on all Promiſes "and Engagements that can be now made, ſince "there has been ſo little Regard had in the Time "paſt to the moſt ſolemn Promiſes. And as that "imperfect Redreſs that is now offer'd, is a plain

(*a*) Don *Pedro de Ronquillo* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *London* delivered out the Prince's Declarations himſelf; and it was pleaſant afterwards to obſerve the miſtaken Zeal of the Populace, who fell upon that Miniſter's Houſe for being a Papiſt, thinking he had been an Enemy to the Cauſe, which he had done what he could to advance; they plundred it, as they did the Popiſh Chapels: But ample Satisfaction was given him after the Kingdom was ſettled under King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

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" Confeſſion of thoſe *Violences* of the *Government* " that we have ſet forth; ſo the Defectiveneſs of it " is no leſs apparent: For they lay down nothing " which they may not take up at Pleaſure; and " they reſerve entire, and not ſo much as mention " their Claims and Pretences to an Arbitrary and " Deſpotick Power; which has been the Root of " all their Oppreſſion, and of the total Subverſion " of the Government. And it is plain, that there " can be no Redreſs, no Remedy offer'd, but in " Parliament, by a Declaration of the Rights of " the Subjects that have been invaded, and not by " any pretended Acts of Grace, to which the Ex- " tremity of their Affairs has driven them. There- " fore it is that we have thought fit to declare, that " we will refer all to a Free Aſſembly of this Nation, " in a Lawful Parliament.

K. James's Proclamation.

King *James* (*a*), by a Proclamation dated *Nov.* 2. endeavour'd to keep the Prince's Declaration from the Knowledge of the People; but it was the more induſtriouſly ſpread: So that the Court it ſelf thought fit it ſhou'd be printed, with ſome ſpecious Animadverſions upon it. And about the ſame Time, this Letter of the Prince to the *Engliſh* Army was likewiſe printed.

The Prince of Orange's Letter to the Engliſh Army.

Gentlemen and Friends,

" WE (*b*) have given you ſo full and true an " Account of our Intentions in this *Expe-* " *dition* in our *Declaration*; that as we can add no- " thing to it, ſo we aſſure our ſelves you can deſire " nothing more of us. We are come to preſerve " your *Religion*, and to reſtore and eſtabliſh your " *Liberties* and *Properties*: And therefore we cannot " ſuffer our ſelves to doubt, but that all true *Eng-* " *liſhmen* will come to concur with us, in our De- " ſire to ſecure theſe Nations from *Popery* and *Sla-* " *very*. You muſt all plainly ſee, that you are on- " ly made uſe of, as *Inſtruments* to enſlave the Na- " tion, and ruin the Proteſtant Religion: And when " that is done, you may judge, what you your ſelves " ought to expect, both from the caſhiering of all " the *Proteſtants*, both *Engliſh* Officers and Soldi- " ers in *Ireland*, and by the *Iriſh* Soldiers being " brought over to be put in your Places; and of " which you have ſeen ſo freſh an Inſtance, that we " need not put you in mind of it. You know how " ill many of your Fellow-Officers have been uſed, " for their ſtanding firm for the *Proteſtant Religion*, " and to the *Laws* of *England*; and you cannot " flatter your ſelves ſo far, as to expect to be better " uſed, if thoſe who have broke their Word ſo oft- " en, ſhou'd, by your Means, be brought out of " thoſe Straits to which they are reduc'd at preſent. " We hope likewiſe you will not ſuffer your ſelves " to be abus'd, by a falſe Notion of *Honour*; but " that you will, in the firſt Place, conſider what " you owe to Almighty God, and your *Religion*, to " your *Country*, to your *Selves*, and to your *Poſte-* " *rity*; which you, as *Men of Honour*, ought to " prefer to all private Conſiderations and Engage- " ments whatſoever. We do therefore expect, that " you will conſider the *Honour* that is now ſet be- " fore you, of being the *Inſtruments* of ſerving " your *Country*, and ſecuring your *Religion*: And " we will ever remember the Service you will do us " upon this Occaſion; and will promiſe unto you, " That we ſhall place ſuch particular Marks of our " Favour on every one of you, as your Behaviour " at this Time ſhall deſerve of us, and the Nation " In which we will make a great Diſtinction of " thoſe that ſhall ſeaſonably join their Arms with " ours: And you ſhall find us to be,

Your Well-Wiſhing

and aſſured Friend,

W. H. P. O.

Letter of Admiral Herbert to the Engliſh Fleet.

This *Letter* was ſpread (under-hand) through the whole Army and *Militia*, and had a ſtrange Effect upon the Minds of them; for they now at leaſt reſolv'd never to draw their Swords againſt his Highneſs, till the *Religion* and *Liberties* of *England* were ſecured: And Admiral *Herbert*, from on-board the *Leyden* at the *Goree*, wrote a Letter to the *Engliſh* Fleet, that had the like Influence upon the Seamen, concluding thus; *I, as a true* Engliſhman, *and your Friend, exhort you to join your Arms to the* Prince, *for the Defence of the Common Cauſe, the* Proteſtant Religion, *and the* Liberties of your Country. *It is, what I am well-aſſur'd, the major and beſt Part of the* Army *as well as the* Nation *will do, as ſoon as Conveniences offer. Prevent them, in ſo good an Action, whilſt it is in your Power; and may it appear, That as the Kingdom hath always depended on the* Navy *for its Defence; ſo you will yet go farther by making it as much as in you lies, the Protection of her Religion and Liberties; and then you may aſſure your ſelves of all Marks of Favour and Honour ſuitable to the Merits of ſo great and glorious an Action.*

Speech of the Prince of Orange to the States-General.

The Prince was now ready to embark, and therefore on the 26th of *Oct.* N. S. he went into the Aſſembly of the *States-General* to take his Leave of them, and deliver'd himſelf to this Effect; " That " he was infinitely oblig'd to them, and was ſorry " he had no Opportunity to ſhew his Inclination, " Love and Affection unto them as they had done " to him: That he had hitherto been encouraged " and ſupported by their Aſſiſtance, which they had " ſo abundantly contributed to him, both by Coun- " ſel and otherwiſe: That it was needleſs for him " to recapitulate the Reaſons which induced him " to leave his Native Country: That he hop'd and " pray'd, That God would endue him with Wiſ- " dom, Foreſight and Courage, and not withdraw " his Arm from him in Time of Need: That he

(*a*) By the King. A Proclamation forbidding to publiſh, diſperſe, repeat, or hand about any treaſonable Papers or Declarations. Given at *Whitehall*, *Nov.* 2. 1688. *Reg.* 4.

(*b*) It has not been yet obſerv'd, that what gave the Prince of *Orange* the greateſt Advantage, was the quarrelling of King *James*'s Miniſters among themſelves. In *Ireland* there was a deadly Feud between *Tyrconnel* the Governor, and *Shendon* Secretary of State, proſecuted by Letters, Remonſtrances, and even *Iriſh Ambaſſadors* (as they call'd 'em) ſent over to the King and Council. And in *England* the Miniſtry was breaking all to pieces. Father *Petre* had been ſtriking at Chancellor *Jefferies*, for being too cold and ſlow in the Caſe of *Magdalen-College*; and towards the End of *December*, 1687. it was reſolv'd in the Cabinet, that *Jefferies* ſhould be remov'd, and that Three of the Lords of the Treaſury ſhould be made Commiſſioners of the Broad Seal. The Earl of *Caſtlemain* by Father *Petre*'s Intereſt, and even a Letter from the Pope in his Behalf, was to be Lord *Treaſurer*. But that Scheme was broke, to the greater Rupture among the Miniſters; and then *Caſtlemain* was to go over Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which ſtill rais'd the greater Jealouſies and Hatreds; becauſe it appear'd plain that the *French* King was for keeping in *Tyrconnel*, whom the *Engliſh* Popiſh Lords *Bellaſis* and *Powis* would have turn'd out. Of the other *Engliſh* Miniſters, the Earl of *Sunderland* was every Day more and more ſuſpected of oppoſing the *French* Intereſt, and of keeping Correſpondence (at leaſt by his Lady) with the Prince of *Orange*'s Court; turn'd out of his Preſidentſhip of the Council, *Octob.* 28. and as he himſelf ſoon after declar'd, he had not eſcap'd without the Loſs of his Head, if his Diſgrace had been deferr'd a Day longer. The Earl of *Mulgrave*, Biſhop *Sprat*, and others, were only thinking of making Apologies for what they had already done. Others were ſuing out Pardons before the Meeting of a Parliament, as Lord Chancellor *Jefferies*, Sir *Nicholas Butler*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Cheſter*, and about Twenty more.

" cal-

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"called God to Witneſs he did not undertake ſuch "an arduous Affair, but for his Glory: That his "only Aim was for the Honour of God, the Welfare of their Country, and of the Chriſtian Religion; and that therefore he hoped God would "beſtow his Bleſſing on it, and if by the Bleſſing of "God he ſhould attain his Ends, to ſet the *States* "at greater Liberty, and free them from the Fear "of their Neighbours, and the haughty Tyranny "of thoſe that would enſlave them: That he had "left the Care of the Army to Prince *Waldeck*, and "earneſtly deſir'd the *States* to aſſiſt him, and to be "Unanimous among themſelves". Here he ſeem'd to ſtop, and after ſome Pauſe he paſſionately recommended one Thing more to them, "That as he did "not know how God might diſpoſe of him, ſince "he had put on his Sword, and knew not when he "ſhould put it off: But in Caſe God ſhould let "that befal him, which had happened to many "others, and that he ſhould loſe his Life in the "*Expedition*; They would then take the Princeſs, "his Wife, under their Protection, who was as "well-affected to that Country and the Proteſtant "Religion, as he himſelf was; and he was ſatiſfy'd ſhe could no where find ſuch a ſecure Place as "under the Wings of the *States*: That he had but "one Thing more to deſire, which was, That they "would always remember him in their publick and "private Prayers, as in his own he ſhould have the "ſame Regard for them". With which the Tears ran down his Face, and the *Penſionary* return'd him an Aſwer in a very affectionate Manner.

The Prince Embarks.

On *Oct.* 20th (*a*), the *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of 52 Men of War, 25 Frigots, as many Fire-Ships, with near 400 Victuallers, and other Veſſels for Tranſportation of 3560 Horſe, and 10692 Foot, ſail'd frome *Flats* near the *Brill*, with the Wind S. W. S. The Prince embark'd on a Frigot of about 30 Guns, and with him Count *Naſſau*, General of the Horſe; Colonel *De Soames*, Colonel of his Foot Guards; Count *Stirum*, Monſieur *Auverquerque*, Monſieur *Bentinck*, and Monſieur *Zeuleſtein*. In the other Ships were many of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, of which the Chief were, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Macclesfield*, Viſcount *Mordant*, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord *Wiltſhire*, the Lord *Pawlet*, the Lord *Elan*, Son to the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and the Lord *Dunblaine*, Admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Henry Herbert*, Mr. *Sidney*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, Major *Wildman*, Mr. *Harbord*, Dr. *Burnet*, Mr. *Liſter*, and many others. And among Foreigners were the Great Mareſchal *Schomberg*, with his Son, Count *Charles Schomberg*; Monſieur *Calimote*, Son to the Marquis *De Ruvigni*, and Two or Three Hundred *French* Officers, who had left their Country for their *Religion*. Admiral *Herbert* had the Van of the Fleet, Vice-Admiral *Everſon* brought up the Rear, and the Prince placed himſelf in the main Body, carrying a Flag with *Engliſh* Colours, and their Highneſſes Arms with this Motto, *The Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of* England. And underneath it, the Motto of the Houſe of *Naſſau*, *Je maintein drai*. The Fleet were all under Sail, when the Wind coming more *Weſtwardly*, there aroſe ſuch a violent Storm in the Night, which continu'd with ſo much Fury for Twelve Hours, that they were forced to return to *Helvoet-Sluice*, or put into other Harbours.

The Dutch Fleet driven back by a Storm.

This a great Joy to the English Court.

This Diſaſter was a mighty Joy to the *Papiſts*, and Care was taken to aggravate the Loſs in the *Engliſh* Gazette; *That* 400 *Horſes had been thrown over-Board, and ſeveral dead Men, one of their Men of War ſtranded, and another diſabled* (*b*). And then again, *That the Damage ſuſtain'd by the* Dutch *Fleet did appear to be much greater than was at firſt reported: That there were* 1500 *Horſes dead and unſerviceable; the Prince of* Orange *had loſt moſt of his own, and the Mareſchal* Schomberg *the beſt of his Horſes; his Son, Count* Charles, *was in great Danger, the Ship he was in having ſpent her Main-Maſt; a Captain of Horſe in the Sieur* Bentinck's *Regiment was miſſing, with his whole Troop; and Two Captains of the Foot-Guards were likewiſe miſſing, with their Companies*, &c. The ſame aggravating Reports were induſtriouſly ſpread in *Holland*, with a different Deſign for to make the *Engliſh* Court more remiſs in their Preparations; the *Harlem* and *Amſterdam Gazettes* were order'd to make a lamentable Relation of the *great Damages the* Dutch *Fleet and the Army Aboard them, had ſuſtain'd. Nine of the Men of War loſt, beſides others of leſs Value;* 1000 *Horſes caſt over-board; Dr.* Burnet *and ſeveral* Engliſh *Gentlemen drown'd; what an ill Opinion the* States-General *had of the* Expedition; *and that it was next to an Impoſſibility, that the Prince could be in a Condition to purſue his Deſign till the next Spring.*

In the mean Time, Captain *Langham*, who belong'd to one of the *Engliſh* Regiments in *Holland*, and was juſt arrived from thence, was ſeized upon Suſpicion; and in his *Portmanteau* were found a Bundle of the Prince of *Orange*'s *Declarations*, which were the firſt that were brought over. When that Expreſſion came to be read, *That the Prince was moſt earneſtly invited hither, by divers of the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and others*; the King ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Two or Three more who were then in Town; and asked them, *Whether the Contents of the Prince's* Declaration, *relating to their inviting Him hither, were true?* The Biſhops were cautious in their Anſwer, and would only promiſe *their faithful Allegiance to His Majeſty*, and that *they would own no other King*. His Majeſty then required a Paper under their Hands, in Abhorrence of the Prince's intended *Invaſion*; which they ſeem'd readily to comply with, after they had conſulted with their other Brethren; and therefore deſir'd Time to conſider of it, which His Majeſty allow'd.

The King queſtions the Archbiſhop and Biſhops.

Their Anſwer.

He requires a Paper under their Hands:

(*a*) The Account is thus given by an eminent Prelate, who came over with the Prince. "We ſet out firſt on the 19th of "*October*, in fair Weather, but next Day we had a violent Storm, "which with we ſtruggled Three Days in no ſmall Danger, "conſidering the great Number of the Ships of War and "Tranſport. After Three Days we came into Port, without "the Loſs of any one Veſſel, and but of one Man. Ten "Days after that, we had a more proſperous Navigation: The "late Duke of *Leeds* and other Lords, who had preſs'd the "Prince moſt to this Undertaking, mov'd for his Landing in "the Mouth of the *Humber*. This was oppos'd by *all* the Seamen, "but inſiſted on with ſo poſitive a Vehemence from *England*, "that the Prince reſolv'd to comply with it. A ſtrong *Eaſt* "Wind made this impracticable; ſo we ſail'd into the Channel, deſigning to land at *Dartmouth*, or in *Torbay*. But a "ſtrong Gale and a bold Pilot carried us beyond thoſe Ports; "and on the Fifth of *November* when Day-Light ſhew'd us the "Coaſt, we ſaw our Danger, and apprehended we might be "forc'd to ſail on to *Falmouth*, which gave us a very melancholy Proſpect. But in the Minute in which we ſaw this "Danger, the Wind turn'd to the *South*, and with a ſoft Gale "carried us into *Torbay*, and we happen'd to land at the moſt "convenient Place for landing a Body of Horſe, that perhaps "is to be found round the whole Iſland; ſo that in Three "Hours Time above Seven Thouſand Horſes were landed, and "the Diſpatch was ſuch, that the Day after we came into "*Torbay*, we were in full March by one a Clock. Now our "Fleet was ſecur'd and well cover'd from *Weſt* Winds, which "did blow out the next Night into ſuch a Storm, that the "Lord *Dartmouth* who was following us with the King's Fleet, "and if he had come up, would very probably deſtroy'd our "Fleet, where our Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition did ſtill "lie: He, I ſay, was ſo ſtopp'd by theſe *Weſterly* Winds, that "he could keep out at Sea no longer, but was forc'd to go into *Portſmouth*.

(*b*) And yet there was, *By the King*, a Proclamation to reſtrain the ſpreading of falſe News. Given at *Whitehall*, *Octob.* 26. in the Fourth Year of our Reign.

Some

They refuſe to give it.

Some few Days after the Prince's Landing, the Biſhops were call'd upon to perform what the King call'd their Promiſe: They anſwer'd, "That the "Prince of *Orange* had in his *Declaration* given out "that He was invited by the Lords Spiritual and "Temporal; and therefore, They being but Five "or Six in Number, could not ſigh a Paper which "concern'd not only the whole *Epiſcopal Order*, but "alſo all the *Peers* in *England*; and therefore de"ſir'd His Majeſty to refer that Matter to a *Free* "*Parliament*." The King was highly diſſatisfied with this Anſwer; and the Lord *Preſton*, who was then with the King, told the Biſhops, *His Majeſty expected more from their Loyalty, and from the Principles of their Church.* The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who came only with the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough*, ſeeing the Biſhops of *Cheſter* and St. *David*'s in the King's Chamber, told the Lord *Preſton*, That *if His Majeſty would have him ſpeak, He ſhould be pleaſed to command thoſe Two of their Brethren to withdraw*: Which being granted, The King ask'd them again, if they had brought their *Declaration of Abhorrence*, according to Promiſe? They anſwer'd, *They had never promiſed any ſuch Thing poſitively, but only to conſider of it*; which the Lord *Preſton* confirm'd. They proceeded to ſay, *That it was contrary to their Peerage and their Profeſſion, to promote War againſt a Prince ſo nearly allied to the Crown*: *However, if their Verbal Diſowning of the Allegations of the Prince of* Orange, *relating to the Spiritual Lords, could be of any Service to His Majeſty, they conſented it ſhould be printed; tho' they could not give it under their Hands, for the Reaſons abovementi on'd.* The King reply'd, That People would never give Credit to any ſuch Printed *Declaration* without Names: But perceiving they continued firm in their Refuſal to ſubſcribe, (*a*) His Majeſty (with ſome Indignation) left them abruptly, and told them, *He would truſt to his Army.* From this Time, the Biſhop of *Durham* would appear no more at the Council-Board, but is ſaid to have told the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *That He was ſorry for having ſo long concurr'd with the Court; and deſir'd now to be reconcil'd to his Grace, and the other Biſhops.*

The King is angry.

Their further Anſwer.

Biſhop of *Durham* comes over.

The King expected the Prince ſhould land in the *North*,

The King expected that the Prince of *Orange* would have Landed at *Burlington-Bay*, or at leaſt at ſome other Part in the *North* of *England*; and therefore He had ſent a ſtrong Detachment of his Army that way. He was the more ſurpriz'd to hear by ſeveral Expreſſes, that the *Dutch* Fleet was ſeen off of *Dover*, on the Third of *November*, ſteering their Courſe *Weſtward*: That on the 4th they lay near *Portſmouth* and the Iſle of *Wight*; and that on the 5th they landed at *Torbay*. His Majeſty likewiſe expected, that the Lord *Dartmouth*, his Admiral, would have attack'd the *Dutch* Fleet, according to his Orders; and therefore was the more concern'd to hear, that he never ſtirr'd from the *Gun-Fleet* near *Harwich*, where he rode with Thirty ſeven Men of War, and Seventeen Fireſhips. Whether a Fog interpos'd between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Navy, or whether the Lord *Dartmouth* found his Officers and Seamen ready to deſert him, or whether his Lordſhip himſelf was unwilling to hinder the *Deliverance* of his Country, is yet unknown. Whatever it was, there was a particular Providence, that the Prince of *Orange* found no Interruption at Sea, and loſt but Three little Veſſels of all his prodigious Fleet.

And expected that his *Engliſh* Fleet ſhould attack the *Dutch*.

The Duke of *Berwick* is ſent to *Portſmouth*.

Upon this Alarm of the Prince's Landing, the Duke of *Berwick* was ſent down to *Portſmouth*, with ſeveral Troops to ſecure that important Place, and to prevent (if poſſible) the People's running in to the Prince; and the reſt of the Forces, juſt before increaſed by the coming over of 4000 *Iriſh*, were order'd to march with all Speed towards *Saliſbury-Plain*, where the King propoſed to have an Army of 30000 Men, and to command 'em in Perſon. At the ſame Time, all Endeavours were uſed to repreſent the Prince and his Army contemptible in the Sight of the People, by Printing a falſe Liſt, and giving out, that but Nine of the Nobility and Gentry, and a few of the Rabble appear'd for him: And the King himſelf did appear ſo confident of his own Strength, that when He was inform'd that the City of *London*, and the Counties of *York* and *Kent* deſign'd to *Addreſs* Him for ſome Accommodation with the Prince of *Orange*; His Majeſty declar'd in Council, *That He look'd upon all thoſe as his Enemies, who ſhould pretend to adviſe Him to Treat with the Invader of His Kingdoms.* And thereupon He caus'd a *Proclamation* to be iſſued out, on *Novemb.* 6. declaring, (*b*) "That He could "not Call a Parliament, till his Kingdoms were "deliver'd from this *Invaſion*: And that He could "no ways doubt, but that all his Faithful and Lo"ving Subjects would readily and heartily con"cur and join with Him, in the entire Suppreſ"ſion and Repelling of thoſe his Enemies, and Re"bellious Subjects, who have ſo injuriouſly and "diſloyally invaded and diſturb'd the Peace and "Tranquility of theſe his Kingdoms.

The Prince of *Orange* repreſented as contemptible.

The King declares againſt any Treating with the Prince;

And calls upon all his Subjects to oppoſe him.

The Progreſs of the Prince.

The Prince, upon Landing, went to the Houſe of Sir *William Courtney*, and reſted there Two or Three Nights; and then march'd with his Army towards *Exeter*; whither Dr. *Burnet* was ſent before, to prepare Quarters for His Highneſs in the Deanery. On *Friday*, *November* 9th, His Highneſs enter'd the City of *Exeter* in a Glorious and Triumphant Manner, and went directly to the *Cathedral Church*, to thank God for his ſafe Arrival. After Prayers, Dr. *Burnet* began to read His Highneſs's *Declaration*: At which ſome of the Choir were ſo afraid, that they immediately left their Seats, and went out with ſome Buſtle: However, the Doctor continu'd reading, and at the Concluſion ſaid, *God ſave the Prince of* Orange: To which the major Part of the Congregation anſwer'd, *Amen, Amen.* As for the Biſhop, Dr. *Lamplugh*, as ſoon as he heard that the Prince was marching toward that City, he thought fit to leave his Palace, and to go directly for *London*, *to pay his Duty to the King*, *and to receive His Majeſty's farther Commands.* Which Prudence, or Timorouſ-

He enters into *Exeter*.

The Biſhop flies to *London*.

(*a*) One has added, That the King did ſo much inſiſt, argue, and expoſtulate with their Lordſhips, that they never ſaw him more vehement in his Speech, and tranſported in his Expreſſions than at that Time.——At laſt—His Majeſty parted with great Indignation. And thereupon the Jeſuited Party at Court were ſo openly enrag'd againſt them, that (as they were credibly inform'd) one of the Chief of them adviſ'd in a Heat, *They ſhould All be impriſon'd, and the Truth ſhould be extorted from them by Violence.*—— This, however, did demonſtrate, that there were Common Letters of Invitation; tho' the Prince of *Orange*, a True Maſter of Secrets, would never ſuffer them to be ſhewn to the World.

There was a good Appearance of the Nobility and Gentry in Arms toward the *Northern* Coaſts, to have receiv'd and join'd the Prince upon his Landing. The Earl of *Danby*, with Lord *Fairfax*, &c. had ſurpriz'd *York*, and Col. *Copley*, *Hull.* The Earl of *Devonſhire* at *Nottingham*; the Lord *Delamere* in *Cheſhire*, &c. where they made Speeches, and ſet forth Declarations, to oppoſe King *James* by Force: The E. of *Devonſhire* declaring, *We own it a Rebellion to reſiſt a King that governs by Law; but He was always accounted a Tyrant, that made his Will the Law; and to reſiſt ſuch a one, we juſtly eſteem no Rebellion, but a neceſſary Defence.*—— The Lord *Delamere* declaring, in like manner, *I am of Opinion, that when the Nation is deliver'd, it muſt be by Force, or by Miracle: It would be a great Preſumption to expect the latter; and therefore our Deliverance muſt be by Force; and I hope this is the Time for it*, &c.

(*b*) See the Intrigue laid by the Marquis of *Powys* and Mr. *Chefinch*, and confirm'd by the King himſelf, to ſend down Mr. *Hugh Speke* as a Spy into the *Weſt*, with Blank Paſſes, to give Account of the Motions and Deſigns of the Prince of *Orange*, &c. as related by Mr. *Speke*, in his *Secret Hiſtory of the Revolution.* 1715. 8vo.

neſs,

neſs, the King took for *Loyalty*, and immediately gave him the (*a*) Archbiſhoprick of *York*, which had been long kept vacant for a very ill Deſign.

Engagement of the Nobility and Gentry.

While His Highneſs was at *Exeter*, the Noblemen and Gentlemen there with him, enter'd into this *Engagement* : (*b*) "We do engage to Almighty "GOD, and to His Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, and with one another, to ſtick firm to this "*Cauſe*, and to one another in the Defence of it ; "and never to depart from it, until our *Religion*, "*Laws* and *Liberties* are ſo far ſecured to us in a "*Free Parliament*, that they ſhall be no more in "Danger of falling under Popery and *Slavery*. And "whereas we are *engaged* in the *Common Cauſe*, "under the Protection of the Prince of *Orange*, by "which means his Perſon is expos'd to Danger, "and to the deſperate and curſed Deſigns of *Papiſts*, and other bloody Men ; We do therefore "ſolemnly *engage* to GOD, and to one another, "That if any ſuch Attempts be made upon Him, "we will purſue not only thoſe that made them, "but all their Adherents, and all we find in Arms "againſt us, with the utmoſt Severity of juſt Revenge, in their Ruin and Deſtruction : And that "the Executing any ſuch Attempt, (which GOD, "of his infinite Mercy, forbid) ſhall not deprive us "from purſuing this *Cauſe* which we do now undertake, but it ſhall encourage us to carry it on with "all the Vigor that ſo barbarous an Attempt ſhall "deſerve.

The Prince finds his Reception too cold.

The Prince expected, that upon his firſt Landing, all the Gentlemen of the *Weſt* would join Him ; but he found, that for Nine Days together, ſcarce any Perſon of Note had dar'd to come in ; and He perceiv'd, that the Mayor and Aldermen of *Exeter* came to viſit Him rather out of Fear than Affection ; That He wanted Recruits, and began more to want Money ; and therefore He was under ſome melancholy Doubts for the Succeſs of his *Expedition*. He held a (*c*) *Council of War*, and ſuffer'd it to be propos'd to Him to reimbark for *Holland*. But by this Time, the Gentlemen of *Somerſetſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, in conſiderable Numbers, found the way to *Exeter*. The Prince, on *Novemb.* 15. receiv'd them in a Body, and ſpoke thus to 'em :

The Prince his Speech to the Gentlemen.

"THough We know not all your Perſons, yet "We have a *Catalogue* of your Names, and "remember the Character of your Worth and Intereſt in your Country. You ſee, We are come "according to your *Invitation*, and our *Promiſe*. "Our Duty to GOD, obliges Us to protect the "*Proteſtant Religion* ; and our Love to Mankind, "your *Liberties* and *Properties*. We expected, you "that dwelt ſo near the Place of Our Landing, "would have join'd Us ſooner : Not that it is now "too late, nor that we want your Military Aſſiſtance ſo much as your Countenance and Preſence, "to juſtify Our *declared* Pretenſions, rather than to "accompliſh Our Good and Gracious Deſigns. "Tho' We have brought both a good *Fleet*, and a "good *Army*, to render theſe Kingdoms happy, by "reſcuing all *Proteſtants* from *Popery* and *Slavery*, "and *Arbitrary Power* ; by reſtoring them to their "*Rights* and *Properties* eſtabliſh'd by Law, and "by promoting of *Peace* and *Trade*, which is the "*Soul* of *Government*, and the very *Life* and *Blood* "of a *Nation* ; yet We rely more on the Goodneſs "of GOD, and the Juſtice of Our *Cauſe*, than on "any Human Force and Power whatſoever. Yet "ſince GOD is pleas'd We ſhall make uſe of "Human Means, and not expect *Miracles* for "our Preſervation and Happineſs ; let Us not neglect making uſe of this Gracious Opportunity, "but with Prudence and Courage put in Execution "Our ſo Honourable Purpoſes. Therefore, *Gentlemen*, *Friends*, and *Fellow-Proteſtants*, We bid "You and all your Followers moſt heartily Welcome to Our Court and Camp. Let the whole "World now judge, if Our *Pretenſions* are not "Juſt, Generous, Sincere, and above Price ; ſince "We might have ev'n a *Bridge of Gold* to return "back : But it is Our Principle and Reſolution, rather to die in a Good Cauſe, than live in a Bad "one ; well knowing, that *Virtue* and *True Honour* "is its own Reward ; and the *Happineſs of Mankind*, Our Great and Only Deſign.

Many others come in to the Prince.

Theſe Gentlemen having broken the Ice, were ſoon follow'd by ſeveral other Perſons of greater Note : The Lord *Colcheſter* (Son to the Earl of *Rivers*, Lieutenant to the Lord *Dover*'s Troop of Guards) waited upon His Highneſs, accompany'd by *Thomas Wharton*, Eſq; Colonel *Godfrey*, *James How*, Eſq; ſome Life-Guards of his Troop, and about Threeſcore more on Horſeback. The Lord *Cornbury* (Colonel of the *Royal Regiment* of Dragoons) pretending an *Order* from the King to go and beat-up one of the Enemies advanc'd Poſts, carry'd off with him his own Regiment, and the *Royal Regiment* of Horſe, and the Duke of St. *Alban*'s Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Langſton*, and with the major-part of them went in to the Prince at *Exeter* ; where, the Day before, came in the Lord *Abingdon*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, Captain *Clargis*, and many others : And indeed, moſt of the Nobility and Gentry were forming themſelves into Parties in every County of *England*, to be ready for the Prince's Service, as ſoon as they cou'd have Opportunity to join him. The Lord *Lovelace* was the only Perſon intercepted, as he was going with that Deſign, with about 60 or 70 Horſe-Men, who too boldly took their Lodging at *Cirenceſter*, while the *Militia* of that County were there in Arms, by whom, after an obſtinate Oppoſition, they were taken Priſoners, and ſent to *Glouceſter*. The Court was extremely pleas'd with this *Apprehenſion* of the Lord *Lovelace* ; but ſo mortify'd preſently upon it, with the News of my Lord *Cornbury*'s Deſertion, that at firſt the Trains of Artillery, the King's Equipage, and the reſt of the Troops that were moving towards *Saliſbury*, had Orders to ſtop their March, it being now uncertain whether the King wou'd go to the Army or not : However, after ſeveral Conſultations, which the Earl of *Feverſham* held with the General Officers, and at which the Count *De Roy* aſſiſted, it was

Ld. *Lovelace* intercepted.

The King in Suſpenſe.

(*a*) It was publickly declared in the *Gazette* to be His Majeſty's Pleaſure, to tranſlate the Lord Biſhop of *Exeter* to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, and the Lord Biſhop of *Briſtol* to the See of *Exeter*. It ought to have been remember'd, that the Ceremonies of the Tranſlation of the Biſhop of *Exeter* to *York*, were perform'd at *Lambeth*, and Homage done to King *James*, *Decemb.* 9.

(*b*) The like Engagement, or Aſſociation, was readily ſubſcrib'd by Multitudes of People in ſeveral Places ; even in *Oxford*, by the higheſt Profeſſors of Church-Loyalty, Dr. *Jane*, Dr. *Finch*, &c. While the Prince of *Orange* was in the City of *Exeter*, [rather in the Road from thence] there came to Him a Head of a College, who invited Him thither in the Name of that Univerſity, [nay, and made an Offer of the Publick Plate, for the Service of his Highneſs ;] and his Highneſs deſign'd to go to that City, had not King *James*'s Flight from *London* call'd him thither, when He was got as near *Oxford* as *Abingdon*. However, the above-mention'd Aſſociation was carry'd to the Univerſity, and ſign'd by the Heads of the Houſes, and others, with Expreſſions of the greateſt Zeal in this Reſiſting Cauſe ; 'That their Hearts went with their Hands. *Secret Hiſt. of Europe, P.* XI. *p.* 193.

(*c*) It is certain, that the Prince's Landing in the *Weſt* was a Second Diſappointment, greater than the Storm at Sea : For before He ſet out from *Holland*, all the Motions of his Friends were toward the *North*, as they began now to be *Weſtward* ; where there having been no Expectance, there could be no manner of Preparation : And the firſt that mov'd that way, the Lord *Lovelace*, was taken on the Road. And yet poſſibly, the ſtrong *Eaſt* Winds that drove him to *Torbay*, were the Breathings of Providence upon him : For as He had no Help, He met with no Reſiſtance ; as He might have ſuffer'd in the *North*, where the King's Forces were ſent down, the Gariſons were better fill'd, and the *Scots* were near.

thought

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thought neceſſary, That the King ſhou'd haſten his Departure, that he might, by his Preſence, keep thoſe firm who begin to ſtagger.

At this Juncture, moſt of the *Proteſtant Lords* who were then in *London*, (*viz.*) the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and of *York*, the Biſhops of St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter*, *Peterborough*, and ev'n of *Oxford*, the Dukes of *Grafton* and *Ormond*, the Earls of *Clare*, *Clarendon*, *Burlington*, *Angleſey* and *Rocheſter*, Viſcount *Newport*, and the Lords *Paget*, *Shandois* and *Oſſulſton*, drew up a (*a*) Petition; wherein they told the King, "That in the deep Senſe of the "Miſeries of a War, now breaking out in the "Bowels of this Kingdom, *&c.* they did think "themſelves bound in Conſcience, and out of the "Duty they owe to GOD, their Holy Religion, "his Majeſty, and their Country, moſt humbly to "offer to his Majeſty, That, in their Opinions, "the only viſible Way to preſerve his Majeſty and "his Kingdom, wou'd be, the Calling of a Parliament, *Regular* and *Free* in all Reſpects: That "therefore they did moſt earneſtly beſeech his Majeſty, That he wou'd be pleas'd, with all Speed, "to call ſuch a *Parliament*, wherein they ſhou'd be "moſt ready to promote ſuch Counſels and Reſolutions of *Peace* and *Settlement* in *Church* and "*State*, as might conduce to his Majeſty's Honour "and Safety, and to the Quieting the Minds of his "People; and likewiſe, they did moſt humbly beſeech his Majeſty, in the mean Time, to uſe ſuch "Means for preventing the Effuſion of Chriſtian "Blood, as to His Majeſty ſhould ſeem moſt meet "and proper." (*b*) The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Carbery*, who were at the drawing up of this *Petition*, would have a Clauſe inſerted, *That the Peers who had join'd the Prince, might Sit in that* Free Parliament *for which they* Petition'd *His Majeſty*; but the other Lords thought this Clauſe needleſs. This *Petition* was preſented to the King on *Saturday*, *Novemb.* 17. by the Two Archbiſhops, and the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Rocheſter*. His Majeſty, who was adviſ'd by the *Popiſh* Lords about Him, to rely on His *Army*, rather than truſt Himſelf with a *Parliament*, gave 'em this *Anſwer*: *That what they ask'd of Him, He Himſelf moſt paſſionately deſir'd: That therefore He promis'd them, on the Faith of a King, that He would have a* Parliament, *and ſuch an one as they ask'd for, as ſoon as ever the Prince of* Orange *had quitted this Realm; but, in the mean time, it was not poſſible a* Parliament *ſhould be Free, whilſt an Enemy was in the Kingdom, and could make a Return of near an Hundred Voices.* By this *Anſwer*, however plauſible it was, the King entirely ruin'd his Intereſt; for the leaſt diſcerning Perſon cou'd not but perceive, that the Prince of *Orange*'s Army, was the only Human Security the Nation had for the Calling of a *Free Parliament*; and that if King *James* ſhould force His Highneſs to leave the Kingdom, all their *Laws* and *Liberties* muſt become precarious, and lie at the Mercy of the Conqueror.

Petition of the Lords to the King.

The King's Anſwer not Gracious.

On the ſame Day, *November* 17. the King began his Journey towards *Saliſbury*; and juſt before his ſetting out, He call'd ſome of the Officers who were then about him, (the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *Churchill*, Colonel *Trelawney*, and Colonel *Kirk*) and ſpoke to 'em in this manner: *According to the Lords* Petition, *I have engaged my Royal Word to call a* Free Parliament, *as ſoon as ever the Prince of* Orange *has quitted the Kingdom; and am reſolved to do all that lies in my Power, to quiet the Minds of my People, by Securing their* Religion, Laws *and* Liberties. *If you deſire any Thing more, I am ready to grant it: But if after all this any of you is not ſatisfied, let him declare himſelf: I am willing to grant* Paſſes *to all ſuch as have a Mind to go over to the Prince of* Orange, *and ſpare them the Shame of deſerting their Lawful Sovereign.* At the ſame Time, His Majeſty recommended the Care of the City to the Lord-Mayor, telling him, *He left a ſufficient Number of Troops for their Defence: That upon any Exigence, he ſhould apply himſelf to the* Privy-Council; *aſſuring him, That if He return'd* Victorious, *He would punctually perform what He had already promiſed, for the Security of their* Religion *and* Liberties. The King committed the Adminiſtration of Affairs (in his Abſence) to the Lord Chancellor, the Lords *Arundel*, *Bellaſis*, *Preſton* and *Godolphin*; which was not at all to the People's Satisfaction. In the mean Time, Father *Petre*, who had been the great Author of theſe Dangers to the King, run away from them, and went over to *France*, under the Protection of the Lord *Walgrave*, who was ſent thither in the Room of Colonel *Skelton*.

The King goes to *Saliſbury*.

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His Speech to his Officers;

And to the Lord-Mayor.

(*c*) The King arriv'd at *Saliſbury* on *Monday-Night*, *Nov.* 19. and took up his Lodging in the Biſhop's Palace. The next Day, He was going out to view Part of his Army, when his Noſe fell a bleeding in ſo violent a manner, that nothing could ſtop it but the breathing a Vein; which hinder'd His Majeſty from going the next Day to *Warminſter*, the moſt advanc'd Poſt of his Army. Upon this little Interruption, moſt of the Chief Officers apply'd themſelves to the Earl of *Feverſham*, deſiring him to aſſure His Majeſty, *That upon any Occaſion, they would be ready to ſpill the laſt Drop of their Blood in his Service; yet they could not in Conſcience fight againſt a Prince, who was come over with no other Deſign than to procure the Calling of a* Free Parliament, *for the Security of their* Religion *and* Liberties. By this, the King might very well perceive, how little he was to depend upon his Army; and the General, the Lord *Feverſham*, might well underſtand, that none of the Chief Officers would ſtand by him. The Lord *Churchill* was more eſpecially ſuſpected by the General, who conjur'd His Majeſty to have him ſecur'd, for a Terror to the reſt; but could not prevail with His Majeſty to do it: So the next Day the Lord *Churchill* went over to the Prince, with as many as were willing to follow him; amongſt whom were, the Duke of *Grafton*, Colonel *Berkley*, and Four or Five Captains of his Regiment of Dragoons. Upon his going off, the Lord *Churchill* ſent this Letter to the King.

The King comes to *Saliſbury*.

(*a*) This Petition of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal was preſented to the King by the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Archbiſhop of *York* Elect, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*: Of which the latter ſoon told the World; "Having mention'd this Petition for a Free and Regular Parliament, I hope it will not be thought Preſumption in me, "if I ſuggeſt, I had the Honour to have it conſider'd, agreed "on, and ſign'd at my Houſe at *Weſtminſter*: And that I was "one of the Four Biſhops, (the Two Archbiſhops and my "Lord of *Ely* being the other Three) who ventur'd to deliver it to the King, after we heard He had proteſted, He "would take it highly ill of any Man, that ſhould offer him a "Thing of that Nature. Nevertheleſs we did it, and thought "our ſelves bound, in Duty to God and Man, ſo to do." *Biſhop's Second Letter to the Earl of* Dorſet.

(*b*) The Jeſuits were ſo enraged at this Petition, and the Fear of a Parliament, that they publiſh'd a Paper with this Title; *Some Reflexions upon the Humble Petition to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal who ſubſcribed the ſame; Preſented* Novemb. 17. 1688. Extremely angry with the Biſhops for deſiring the Call of a Parliament, *which*, ſay they, *will now be one of the Principal Cauſes of much Miſery to the Kingdom*, &c.

(*c*) It has been ſince obſerv'd, that King *James* took a Proteſtant Chaplain along with him, the better to ſhew an Affection for the Church of *England*; Mr. Archdeacon *Chetwood*, who, by his own Account, bravely caus'd the *Romiſh Prieſts* to remove out of the Biſhop's Chapel at *Saliſbury*, which had been appointed for the King's Uſe, and had it daily crowded with thoſe of the Eſtabliſh'd Religion;——and was to have the Biſhoprick of *Briſtol*, upon the Tranſlation of Sir *Jonathan Trelawney* to *Exeter*.

Lord Churchill's Letter to the King.

SIR,

"SInce Men are ſeldom ſuſpected of *Sincerity*, when they act contrary to their *Intereſts*: And tho' my Dutiful Behaviour to Your Majeſty in the worſt of Times, (for which I acknowledge my poor Services much overpaid,) may not be ſufficient to incline You to a Charitable Interpretation of my Actions; yet, I hope, the great Advantage I enjoy under Your Majeſty, which I can never expect in any other Change of Government, may reaſonably convince Your Majeſty and the World, that I am acted by an higher Principle, when I offer'd that Violence to my *Inclination* and *Intereſt*, as to deſert Your Majeſty, at a Time when your Affairs ſeem to challenge the ſtricteſt *Obedience* from all your Subjects; much more from one, who lies under the greateſt Obligations imaginable to Your Majeſty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing, but the inviolable Dictates of my Conſcience, and a neceſſary Concern for my *Religion*, (which no good Man can oppoſe) and with which, I am inſtructed, nothing ought to come in Competition. Heaven knows, with what Partiality my Dutiful Opinion of Your Majeſty, has hitherto repreſented thoſe unhappy Deſigns, which inconſiderate and ſelf-intereſted Men have fram'd againſt Your Majeſty's true Intereſt, and the *Proteſtant Religion*: But as I can no longer join with ſuch, to give a Pretence, by Conqueſt, to bring them to Effect; ſo I will always, with the Hazard of my Life and Fortune, (ſo much Your Majeſty's Due) endeavour to preſerve Your *Royal Perſon*, and *Lawful Rights*, with all the tender Concern, and dutiful Reſpect that becomes, &c.

The King leaves *Saliſbury*.

King *James* finding himſelf deſerted by his beſt Friends, and being falſly alarm'd, as if Duke *Schomberg* (the Prince's General) was marching with all Speed to fight him, left (*a*) *Saliſbury* in great Precipitation, after he had publiſh'd a *Proclamation*, *Nov.* 22. at his Court at *Saliſbury*, promiſing a free and abſolute Pardon to all his Subjects, who have taken up Arms, and join'd with the Prince of *Orange*; provided they quit and deſert him, within the Space of Twenty Days. In his Return, the King had this further Mortification, to ſee himſelf forſaken at *Andover*, by his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Ormond*, Sir *George Hewitt*, and others. The Prince wrote this Letter to His Majeſty.

The Prince of *Denmark*'s Letter to the King.

SIR,

"WIth an Heart full of Grief, am I forc'd to write, what Prudence would not permit me to ſay to your Face; and may I e're find Credit with your Majeſty, and Protection from Heaven, as what I now do is free from Paſſion, Vanity or Deſign, with which Actions of this Nature are too often accompanied. I am not ignorant of the frequent Miſchiefs wrought in the World by factious Pretences of Religion; but were not *Religion* the moſt juſtifiable Cauſe, it would not be made the moſt ſuperior Pretence. And your Majeſty has already ſhewn too intereſted a Senſe of *Religion*, to doubt the juſt Effects of it in one, whoſe Practices have, I hope, never given the World Cauſe to cenſure his real Conviction of it, or his Backwardneſs to perform what his Honour and Conſcience prompt him to. How then can I longer diſguiſe any juſt Concern for that *Religion*, in which I have been ſo happily educated, which my Judgment truly convinceth me to be the beſt, and for the Support of which I am ſo highly intereſted in my Native Country? And is not *England* now, by the moſt endearing Tye, become ſo?

"Whilſt the reſtleſs Spirits of the Enemies of the *Reformed Religion*, back'd by the cruel Zeal, and the prevailing Power of *France*, juſtly alarm and unite all the Proteſtant Princes of *Chriſtendom*, and engage them in ſo vaſt an Expence for the Support of it; can I act ſo ungenerous and mean a Part, to deny my Concurrence to ſuch worthy Endeavours, for the diſabuſing your Majeſty, by the Reinforcement of thoſe Laws, and Re-eſtabliſhment of that Government, on which alone depends the Well-being of your Majeſty, and of the *Proteſtant Religion* in *Europe*? This, Sir, is that irreſiſtible and only Cauſe, that could come in Competition with my Duty and Obligation to your Majeſty, and be able to tear me from you, whilſt the ſame affectionate Deſire to ſerve you continues in me. Could I ſecure your Perſon by the Hazard of my Life, I ſhould think it could not be better employ'd. And would to God theſe your diſtracted Kingdoms might receive that ſatisfactory Compliance from your Majeſty, in all their juſtifiable Pretenſions, as might, upon the only ſure Foundation, (*that* of the Love and Intereſt of your Subjects) eſtabliſh your Government, and as ſtrongly unite the Hearts of all your Subjects to you, as is that of, &c.

March of the Prince of *Orange*.

Upon the News of King *James*'s being come to *Saliſbury*, the Prince of *Orange* march'd out of *Exeter* with his Army, leaving only Sir *John Guyſe* with his new-rais'd Regiment, to guard that City. On *November* 20. there was a Skirmiſh at *Wincanton*, between a Detachment of Seventy Horſe, and Fifty Dragoons and Grenadiers commanded by *Gleſford*, *Sarsfield* and *Webb*, and Twenty five of the Prince of *Orange*'s Men, commanded by one *Campbel*, a Lieutenant in *Mackay*'s Regiment. Theſe latter, tho' ſo unequal in Number, fought with ſuch undaunted Bravery, that they maintain'd their Ground for a conſiderable Time; and when they were like to be overpower'd, a Miller coming accidentally that way, alarm'd the King's Party, by telling 'em, He had overtaken a ſtrong Detachment of the Prince's Army, who were juſt entring the Town; whereupon they retreated in great Confuſion, leaving ſeveral of their Men kill'd, and Cornet *Webb* wounded. This ſmall Action ſtruck a Terror into the Minds of King *James*'s Army, who were otherwiſe little inclin'd to Fighting: And

(*a*) The King's flying into *France*, was now at *Saliſbury* reſolv'd upon as the laſt Reſort of *Popiſh* Counſels; thinking his Abſence would create horrible Confuſions, and thoſe Confuſions would raiſe a Neceſſity of the Nation's Recalling Him. There was ſoon after the Revolution, *A Letter to a Biſhop*, written by a good Hand, and affirming thus: "Whilſt the King was buſied at *Saliſbury*, the Popiſh Party ſeeing their Affairs grew every Day more deſperate, began to employ all their Politicks to invent ſome Remedy for them; and then firſt contriv'd the King's withdrawing to *France*; which the Lord *Dover* and Mr. *Brent* made no Secret of frequently ſaying, *The King would withdraw himſelf out of the Kingdom*, a Fortnight before He did. Nor were thoſe Perſons the only Two in the Secret, and of this Opinion; but a Letter was ſent to the King while He was there, (which can be produc'd) wherein he was told, It was the Unanimous Advice of all the Catholicks at *London*, That He ſhould come back from thence, and withdraw himſelf out of the Kingdom, to leave it in Confuſion: Aſſuring him, That within Two Years, or leſs, it would be in ſuch Confuſion, that He might return, and have his Ends of it. This Divulging the Secret beforehand, did much abate the Wonder of it, when it happen'd, and diſpos'd the Peers to a more ſpeedy Reſolution of ſecuring the Nation from the Confuſion they deſign'd; and is a ſtrong Proof that the King withdrew voluntarily, and upon a *Deſign* of having his Ends of us."

beſides, it was every where magnify'd ſo much above the real Truth, that it clearly ſhew'd, how much the whole Nation were for the Succeſs of the Prince of *Orange*; who was ſoon after inform'd of His Majeſty's retiring to *London*; and the broken Remains of his Army to *Reading*; which being confirm'd by Prince *George*, and the Duke of *Ormond*, who join'd him at *Sherborn-Caſtle* (*a*), his Highneſs march'd with a numerous Attendance into *Salisbury*, where he was receiv'd with much more Joy than the King had lately been.

The King at *Whitehall*.

The King came to *Whitehall* on *Monday* Night, *Nov.* 26. where his firſt Step again was very falſe and fatal to him; for he appointed Colonel *Bevil Skelton* to be Lieutenant of the *Tower* of *London*: But to do a more popular Thing, on *Nov.* 28. his Majeſty gave Order to the Lord-Chancellor for Iſſuing out Writs for ſummoning a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, the 15th Day of *January* next; and on *Nov.* 30. the King publiſh'd a Proclamation for the ſpeedy Calling of a Parliament, ending with theſe good Words: *And for the Security of all Perſons both in their Elections and Service in* Parliament (*b*), *We do hereby publiſh and declare, That all our Subjects ſhall have free Liberty to elect, and all our Peers, and ſuch as ſhall be elected Members of our Houſe of Commons, ſhall have full Liberty and Freedom to ſerve and ſit in* Parliament, *notwithſtanding they have taken up Arms, or committed any Act of Hoſtility, or been any way aiding or aſſiſting therein. And for the better Aſſurance hereof, We have graciouſly directed a* General Pardon *to all our Subjects, to be forthwith prepar'd to paſs our Great Seal; and for the reconciling all publick Breaches, and obliterating the Memory of all paſt Miſcarriages, We do hereby exhort, and kindly admoniſh all our Subjects to diſpoſe themſelves to elect ſuch Perſons for their Repreſentatives in* Parliament, *as may not be byaſs'd by Prejudice or Paſſion, but qualify'd with Parts, Experience and Prudence, proper for this Conjuncture, and agreeable to the Ends and Purpoſes of this our Gracious* Proclamation.

Calls a Parliament.

But ſee the Effect of ill-timing Things: Had this been done before the King went down to *Salisbury*, it had been Acceptable, and in all Probability ſucceſsful. But it was now too late; beſides, it was extorted from his Majeſty by the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal* then in *London*, who being ſummoned to give their Counſel about the preſent Exigencies, did agree in theſe following Advices.

Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal.

Firſt, *To grant a general Pardon to all thoſe, that were either come over with the Prince of* Orange, *or had join'd with him ſince his Landing*: Secondly, *To depute ſome of the Lords to attend the Prince, and to treat with him about a Suſpenſion of Arms, and to endeavour to bring Matters to an Accommodation*: Thirdly, *To turn immediately all* Papiſts *out of their Employments, to convince the World that his Majeſty acted a ſincere Part.* His Majeſty took that Night to conſider of their Advice, and the next Day reſolv'd in Council to call a *Parliament*; and further declar'd, That he would grant a *Pardon*, and name Commiſſioners to treat with the Prince of *Orange*: But as to that Part of the Lords Advice, relating to the *Roman-Catholicks*; his Majeſty was unwilling to grant it, and only ſaid, *He would leave that Matter to be debated in* Parliament.

The Princeſs of *Denmark* retires.

When the King came back to *London*, he found his Daughter the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark* gone away the Night before; and when ſhe was firſt Miſſing, the People were ſo enrag'd, that they would have Torn the *Popiſh* Party to Pieces, upon a Surmiſe, that they had either made away with her, or confin'd her to the *Tower*, if this Letter of her Royal Highneſs to the Queen had not been produc'd.

Writes a Letter to the Queen.

MADAM,

" I Beg your Pardon, if I am ſo deeply affected " with the ſurprizing News of the Prince's " being gone, as not to be able to ſee you, but to " leave this Paper to expreſs my humble Duty to " the King, and your ſelf; and to let you know " that I am gone to abſent my ſelf, to avoid the " King's Diſpleaſure, which I am not able to bear, " either againſt the Prince, or my ſelf; and I ſhall " ſtay at ſo great a Diſtance, as not to return before " I hear the happy News of a Reconcilement. And " as I am confident the Prince did not leave the " King with any other Deſign, than to uſe all poſ" ſible Means for his Preſervation; ſo I hope you " will do me the Juſtice to believe, that I am not " capable of following him for any other End. Ne" ver was any one in ſuch an unhappy Condition, " ſo divided between Duty and Affection to a Fa" ther and a Husband, and therefore I know not " what to do, but to follow one, to preſerve the " other. I ſee the general falling-off of the Nobi" lity and Gentry, who avow to have no other End " than to prevail with the King to ſecure their Re" ligion, which they ſaw ſo much in Danger by the " violent Counſels of the *Prieſts*; who, to promote " their own Religion, did not care to what Danger " they expos'd the King. I am fully perſuaded that " the Prince of *Orange* deſigns the King's Safety " and Preſervation, and hope all Things may be " compos'd without more Bloodſhed, by the calling " of a Parliament. God grant a happy End to theſe " Troubles, that the King's Reign may be proſpe" rous, and that I may ſhortly meet you in Peace " and Safety: Till when, let me beg you to conti" nue the ſame favourable Opinion that you hither" to had of, &c.

Journey of her Royal Highneſs.

The King was ſoon after inform'd, That her Royal Highneſs, with the Lady *Churchill*, and the Lady *Berkley*, had privately taken Coach at the Biſhop of *London*'s Houſe in *Alderſgate-Street*; from whence they went directly to *Nottingham*, attended by that Prelate, the Earl of *Dorſet*, and about Forty Horſemen. At *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Devonſhire* gave her a Guard of Two Hundred Men, by whom ſhe was ſafely conducted to *Oxford*, where Prince *George* ſoon after met her, with a Detachment of the Prince of *Orange*'s Forces.

Perſons appointed to treat with the Prince of *Orange*.

The Perſons appointed to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, were the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, all Men of Addreſs and Application; the Earl of *Rocheſter* was propos'd to be one of that Number, but his Lordſhip, and the Marquis of *Hallifax* not being able to act together with any right Underſtanding, he got himſelf Excus'd. A Trumpeter was immediately diſpatch'd by the Earl of *Feverſham*, with a Letter to his Highneſs, to demand the neceſſary Paſſes. On *Sunday*, *Decemb.* 2. The Commiſſioners began their Journey, and came the next Day to *Reading*, where

(*a*) It was here at *Sherborn-Caſtle*, that a Paper was dated *November* 28. 1688. call'd, *The Prince of* Orange'*s Third Declaration*; which did great Service to the Prince's Cauſe, tho' it was done without his Knowledge; and the doing of it has ſince been owned by Mr. *Hugh Speke*, who has given a particular Relation of it, in his *Secret Hiſtory of the Happy Revolution*, dedicated to King *George*; 1715. 8vo.

(*b*) Had this Proclamation been the King's own voluntary Act upon the Prince's Landing, or a gracious Compliance with the late Petition of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, it might have prevented or retarded at leaſt the Courſe of the Revolution. But every body now ſaw it was a forc'd Put, upon no Deliberation; and even contrary to his own declared Reſolution, that he would have no Parliament till the Prince of *Orange* was withdrawn.

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they met with the Trumpeter, with the Paſſes deſir'd from the Prince. The Day before the Departure of the Commiſſioners, the Earl of *Clarendon* went over to the Prince of *Orange*, which gave many occaſion to think, that he was gone before 'em, either to baffle the Negotiation, or at leaſt to give the Prince a Jealouſy of the Marquis of *Halliſax*, whom he thought an irreconcileable Enemy to his Family. On *Dec.* 6. The Three Commiſſioners acquainted the King, that they were to meet the Prince of *Orange* that Night at *Amesbury*: But the next Day, they inform'd his Majeſty, that his Highneſs had made a new Appointment to meet at *Hungerford* (*a*), and had ſent to them the Earls of *Oxford* and *Clarendon*, to deſire 'em to make their Propoſals in Writing. This Meſſage of the Prince of *Orange* was thought an Evaſion of all Manner of Treaty, and the King began now to think it high Time to provide for the Safety of his Perſon, and his Family. Upon the News of the Prince's Forces advancing towards *Reading*, the King's Army that Quarter'd there, was order'd to March nearer *London*, and to fix their Head-Quarters at *Colebrook*: But on *Dec.* 8. the Court being inform'd that it was only a Detachment of his Highneſſes's Horſe that was advanc'd to *Newbury*, the Royal Forces were remanded to their old Poſt, and the ſame Day the Earl of *Feverſham* return'd to *Maidenhead*, his Head-Quarters. The People of *Reading*, who had very much ſuffer'd by the King's Army Quartering amongſt them, had upon their firſt withdrawing, invited ſome of the Prince of *Orange*'s Forces that lay not far off, to take Poſſeſſion of that Poſt, to ſecure themſelves againſt the univerſal Alarm of the *Iriſh*. Upon the unexpected Return of the King's Forces, Colonel *Lanier*, who commanded the Royal Detachment, taking Re-poſſeſſion of the Town, poſted ſome Companies of *Iriſh* Dragoons to defend a Bridge, over which his Highneſs's Troops were to paſs, and drew up in *Battalia* in the Market-Place a *Scotch* Regiment of Horſe: Upon the Approach of a ſmall Party of the Prince's Cavalry, the *Iriſh* fir'd, and run away; the *Scotch*, who had no Inclination to Fight, fled likewiſe in Diſorder, and complain'd that the Town's-People ſhot at 'em behind from their Windows, whilſt the Prince's Horſe charg'd them before. *Maidenhead-Bridge* was alſo fortify'd, and its Defence committed to the *Iriſh*, but ſome of the Town's-Men Beating a *Dutch* March in the Night, in order to Alarm them, this Stratagem took ſo well, that the *Iriſh* abandon'd their Poſt in Confuſion, leaving their Cannon behind 'em.

The Earl of *Clarendon* goes in to the Prince.

Motions of the Two Armies.

Skirmiſh at *Reading*.

Things being come to this deſperate Paſs, the *Popiſh Cabal*, and particularly Monſieur *Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador, and Count *Lauſzun*, preſs'd the King to ſend away the Queen and Prince into *France*, and to follow her as ſoon as poſſible. Upon this Reſolution, on *Dec.* 10th, the Queen in diſguiſe, with the Prince of *Wales*, and his Governeſs the Marchioneſs of *Powis*, with her Husband the Marquis, the Counteſs *Dalmont*, Signior *Montecuculi*, Signior *Turini*, under the Conduct of *Riva* an *Italian*, and *Labady* a *Frenchman*, the Wet and Dry-Nurſes, and a Woman or two more, ſtole by the *Privy-Stairs* to the Water-Side, croſs'd the *Thames* in a Dark Stormy Night, and being got on the other Side, waited under a Wall, till the Coaches were got ready in the next Inn. When the Queen and her Retinue had taken Coach, ſhe was attended by a ſtrong Guard to *Greenwich*, and ſo to *Graveſend*, where ſhe was to embark in a Yacht that lay ready to carry Count *Lauſzun* to *France*. Mrs. *Labady*, who was acquainted with the Captain, amus'd him for a while, till the Queen (who paſs'd for an *Italian* Lady, returning to her Native Country, with all her Family) was got into the Cabin which was prepar'd for her. Three *Iriſh* Captains embark'd at the ſame Time, being appointed by the King to have an Eye upon the Captain, in Caſe of Diſcovery or Suſpicion (*b*): But without any Danger, they had a very quick Paſſage, and landed ſafely at *Calais*.

Queen goes to *France* with the Prince of *Wales*.

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Immediately after the Queen's Departure (*c*), his Majeſty, to cover his Deſign of following her, ſaid publickly, That he wou'd return to the Head of his Forces, and Fight the Prince of *Orange*: But he privately order'd the *Broad-Seal* to be thrown into the *Thames*, and the *Parliament-Writs* to be burnt, and a *Caveat* to be enter'd againſt making uſe of thoſe few that were ſent out already; and then he wrote this *Letter* to the Earl of *Feverſham*.

The King in Deſpair:

My LORD,

" THings being come to that Extremity, that I " have been forc'd to ſend away the Queen " and my Son the Prince of *Wales*, that they might " not fall into the Enemy's Hands, which they " muſt have done, if they had ſtaid; I am oblig'd " to do the ſame Thing, in hopes it will pleaſe " GOD, of his infinite Mercy to this unhappy " Nation, to touch their Hearts again with true " Loyalty and Honour. If I cou'd have rely'd on " all my Troops, I might not have been put to the " Extremity I now am in; and wou'd, at leaſt, have " had one Blow for it: But though I know there " are many valiant and brave Men among you, both " Officers and Soldiers; yet you know, that both " you, and ſeveral of the General Officers and Soldiers, and Men of the Army, told me, It was no " ways adviſeable for me, to venture my ſelf at " their Head, or think to fight the Prince of *Orange* " with 'em.

He writes to his General.

" And now there remains only for me, to thank " you, and all thoſe, both Officers and Soldiers, " who have ſtuck to me, and been truly Loyal; I " hope you will ſtill retain the ſame Fidelity to me. " And though I do not expect you ſhall expoſe your " ſelves, by reſiſting a foreign Army, and a poiſon'd " Nation; yet I hope your former Principles are ſo

(*a*) Biſhop *Burnet* in the Preface to ſome Sermons publiſh'd 1713. tells us, King *James*'s Conduct amazed all the World. When he ſaw the Turn the Nation was making, and the disjointing of his own Troops, he ſent Three Lords to the Prince at *Hungerford*, to ask him what he demanded. To this the Prince, by the Advice of the Lords who had come into him, anſwered, That *he deſired the Law might take place every where; That a free Parliament might be call'd, and that no Army ſhould come within Thirty Miles of* London; *and that a Branch of the Revenue might be ſet off to pay his Troops.* Theſe were immediately ſent to the King, who, when he read them, ſaid, *They were better than he expected.*

(*b*) Here ſeemed a Providence in thus hurrying away the young Child for a *French* and *Popiſh* Education. For in the following Debates of the Lords and Commons, about the Throne being vacant, and the filling up that Vacancy; it ſeems very probable, that had the Child been in *Engliſh* Hands, there would have been ſome mention at leaſt of an *Engliſh* Proteſtant bringing up.

(*c*) As ſoon as the King had received the Prince's Propoſals of, 1. Removing from all Employments all Papiſts and Perſons not qualified by Law. 2. Recalling all Proclamations againſt the Prince. 3. Putting the *Tower* into the Hands of the City, *&c.* He ſeem'd inclinable to comply with them, and held an extraordinary Council that Night, calling the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, and ſeveral Lords about Town. Among whom was the old Lord *Bedford*, to whom the King, (as Mr. *Echard* tells us) under ſome Diſtraction of Mind, earneſtly apply'd himſelf, ſaying, *My Lord, you are a good Man, and have a great Influence; you can do much for me at this Time.* To which his Lordſhip anſwered, *I am an old Man, and can do but little.* —— Then adding with a deep Sigh. *I had once a Son* [Lord *Ruſſel*] *that could now have been very ſerviceable to your Majeſty.* Which Word ſtruck the King half dead with Silence and Confuſion.

" in-

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" in-rooted in you, that you will keep your ſelves " free from *Aſſociations*, and ſuch pernicious Things. " Time preſſeth, ſo that I can add no more.

JAMES REX.

After writing this Letter, on *Monday* Evening, *Dec.* 10th, the Life-Guards were order'd to be ready, to attend his Majeſty to *Uxbridge*; but inſtead of going to the Army, the King took Water at *Whitehall Privy-Stairs*, at Two of the Clock in the Morning, accompany'd only by Sir *Edward Hales*, Mr. *Sheldon*, and *Labady*. As ſoon as the King's Departure was publickly known, the Duke of *Northumberland*, with his Troop of Guards, declar'd for the Prince: And his Example was followed by the Marquis of *Miremont*; and the other Principal Officers of the Army about Town, who met at *Whitehall*, and ſent an *Expreſs* to the Prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him with the King's going away, and to aſſure him (*a*), That they wou'd aſſiſt the Lord-Mayor to keep the City quiet, till his Highneſs's Arrival.

The King goes away privately.

Upon this *Inter-Regnum*, the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, in and about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* met at *Guildhall*; where having ſent for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, they drew up a Declaration, in this Form and Title:

The Declaration *of the* Lords Spiritual and Temporal, *in and about the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *aſſembled at* Guildhall, *Dec.* 11. 1688.

Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal.

" WE doubt not but the World believes, That " in this great and dangerous Conjuncture, " we are heartily and zealouſly concern'd for the " Proteſtant Religion, the Laws of the Land, and " the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the Subject: And " we did reaſonably hope, that the King having Iſſued his *Proclamation* and *Writs* for a *Free Parliament*, we might have reſted ſecure, under the " Expectation of that *Meeting*: But his Majeſty " having withdrawn himſelf, and, as we apprehend, " in order to his Departure out of this Kingdom, " by the pernicious Counſels of Perſons ill-affected " to our Nation and Religion; we cannot without " being wanting to our Duty, be ſilent under theſe " Calamities, wherein the *Popiſh* Counſels which ſo " long prevail'd, have miſerably involv'd theſe " Realms: We do therefore unanimouſly reſolve " to apply our ſelves to his Highneſs the Prince of " *Orange*, who with ſo great Kindneſs to theſe " Kingdoms, ſo vaſt Expence, and ſo much Hazard " to his own Perſon, hath undertaken, by endeavouring to procure a *Free Parliament*, to reſcue " us, with as *little* Effuſion as poſſible of Chriſtian " Blood, from the imminent Dangers of *Popery* " and *Slavery*.

" And we do hereby declare, That we will, with " our utmoſt Endeavours, aſſiſt his Highneſs in the " obtaining ſuch a *Parliament* with all Speed, where- " in our *Laws*, our *Liberties* and *Properties* may be " ſecured, the *Church of England* in particular, with " a due *Liberty* to *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, and, in " general, the *Proteſtant Religion* and *Intereſt* over " the whole World may be ſupported and encourag'd, to the Glory of GOD, the Happineſs of " the *Eſtabliſh'd Government* in theſe Kingdoms, " and the Advantage of all *Princes* and *States* in " *Chriſtendom*, that may be herein concern'd.

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" In the mean Time, we will endeavour to preſerve, as much as in us lies, the Peace and Se- " curity of theſe great and populous Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the Parts adjacent, by " taking Care to diſarm all *Papiſts*, and ſecure all " *Jeſuits* and *Romiſh Prieſts*, who are in and about " the ſame.

" And if there be any Thing more to be perform'd " by us, for promoting his Highneſs's generous In- " tentions for the publick Good, we ſhall be ready " to do it as Occaſion ſhall require.

W. Cant.	*Fran. Eli.*	*Rocheſter.*
Tho. Ebor.	*Tho. Roffen.*	*Newport,*
Pembroke,	*Tho. Petriburg.*	*Shandois,*
Dorſet,	*P. Wharton,*	*Mountague,*
Muſgrave,	*North and Grey,*	*T. Jermyn,*
Thanet,	*Craven,*	*Vaughan. Carbery,*
Carliſle,	*Aylesbury,*	*Culpeper,*
Weymouth,	*Burlington,*	*Crewe,*
P. Winton,	*Suſſex,*	*Oſſulſton.*
W. Aſaph,	*Berkley,*	

" Whereas his Majeſty hath privately this Morning withdrawn himſelf; we the *Lords Spiritual* " and *Temporal*, whoſe Names are ſubſcribed, being " aſſembled at *Guildhall* in *London*, having agreed " upon and ſign'd a *Declaration*, Entituled, [*The* " Declaration *of the* Lords Spiritual and Temporal, " *in and about the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *aſſembled at* Guildhhall, *Dec.* 11. 1688.] " Do deſire the Right Honourable the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount " *Weymouth*, the Right Reverend Father in God, " the Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Right Honourable the Lord *Culpeper*, forthwith to attend his " Highneſs, the Prince of *Orange*, with the ſaid " *Declaration*; and at the ſame Time to acquaint " his Highneſs with what we have further done at " that Meeting.

Dated at Guildhall, *Decemb.* 11th, 1688.

The Lords, at the ſame Time, ſent for Colonel *Skelton*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and demanded the Keys of him; which he willingly reſigning, they beſtow'd the Government of it upon the Lord *Lucas*, a Man of Honour, and a Lover of his Country; which Choice was afterwards confirm'd by the Prince of *Orange*. The ſame Day, the *Lieutenancy* (*b*) of the City of *London* made an *Addreſs* to the Prince of *Orange*, to thank him *for expoſing his Perſon to ſo many Dangers, by Sea and Land, for the Preſerva-*

The Lords commit the Government of the *Tower* to the Lord *Lucas*.

Addreſs of the Lieutenancy of *London* to the Prince of *Orange*.

(*a*) Biſhop *Burnet* has obſerv'd, That upon the late King's deſerting the Government, the Mob was indeed the Maſter for ſome Days, but immediately after the Prince came to *London*, all that was quieted. And there was not the leaſt Diſturbance during the reſt of the Winter. Biſhop of *Sarum's Vindicat.* 1696. 8*vo*.

Theſe were then the Sentiments of all our great Men, and particularly of our Two Archbiſhops, Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *St. Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter*, and *Peterborough*, [Four of thoſe who would be afterwards depriv'd for refuſing Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*] who ſigned that Declaration; and the Biſhop of *Ely* was one of thoſe employed in carrying it to the Prince, and in acquainting him with what had been farther done at that Meeting. As obſerved by Mr. *Marſhall* in Defence of our Conſtitution, 8*vo*.

(*b*) The firſt Salute and Call to the People on Shore before the Prince's Landing, was by a Clergyman of the Church of *England*. " The People flock'd in great Numbers to the Sea " Shore in *Torbay*, when coming very near, before any Land- " ing, a certain Chaplain on Board the *Golden-Sun*, from the " Top of the uppermoſt Cabin, flouriſh'd a Bible, and with a " Voice loud enough to be heard by the People, cry'd out " for the Proteſtant Religion, and maintaining the Goſpel in " Truth and Purity. We are all by the Goodneſs and Provi- " dence of God come hither, after ſo many Storms and Tem- " peſts. It is the Prince of *Orange* that is come, a zealous " Defender of that Faith, which is truly Ancient, Catholick, " and Apoſtolical, who is the Governor of this Great Fleet.

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tion of the Proteſtant Religion, *and the* Laws *and* Liberties *of this Kingdom*; *without which unparallel'd* Undertaking, *they muſt probably have ſuffer'd all the Miſeries that* Popery *and* Slavery *cou'd have brought upon them: They therefore humbly deſire, That his Highneſs wou'd pleaſe to repair to this City, with what convenient Speed he can, for the perfecting the great Work which his Highneſs had ſo happily begun, to the general Joy and Satisfaction of them all.*

With this *Addreſs*, Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *Baſil Firebrace*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, and *Charles Duncomb*, Eſq; were order'd to attend his Highneſs. At the ſame Time, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and *Commons* of the City of *London*, drew up alſo the following Addreſs, which was preſented to the Prince of *Orange* by Four Aldermen, and Eight Common-Council Men, concluding thus; *We preſume to make your Highneſs our Refuge, and do, in the Name of this Capital City, implore your Highneſs's Protection, and moſt humbly beſeech your Highneſs to vouchſafe to repair to this City, where your Highneſs will be receiv'd with univerſal Joy and Satisfaction.* Though the Train'd-Bands were now in Arms, yet the Mob of the City was preſently up, and pull'd down the Maſs-Houſes in the City and *Suburbs*; and yet were ſo well diſpos'd and ſo well commanded by their Leaders, that they did no Miſchief to any but the *Papiſts*.

Addreſs of the Lord-Mayor, *&c.*

Proceedings of the Commiſſioners:

The King's Commiſſioners returning to *London*, the ſame Day his Majeſty had left his Palace, were much ſurpriz'd to hear of his ſudden Departure; becauſe they had brought with 'em ſuch an *Anſwer* from the Prince, as might have encourag'd him to ſtay, and of which they had already inform'd his Majeſty, by an *Expreſs* he receiv'd Two or Three Hours before he left *Whitehall*. The *Propoſals* deliver'd to his Highneſs at *Hungerford*, Dec. 8th, by the *Commiſſioners* were theſe:

Their Propoſals to the Prince.

SIR,

"THE King commanded us to acquaint you, "That he obſerveth, all the Differences and "Cauſes of Complaint, alledged by your Highneſs, "ſeem to be referr'd to a *Free Parliament*.

"His Majeſty, as he hath already declar'd, was "reſolv'd, before this, to call one; but thought, "that in the preſent State of Affairs, it was adviſeable to defer it till Things were more compos'd; "yet ſeeing that his People ſtill continue to deſire "it, he hath put forth his *Proclamation* in order to "it, and hath iſſued his *Writs* for the Calling of "it.

"And to prevent any Cauſe of Interruption in "it, he will conſent to every Thing that can be reaſonably required, for the Security of all thoſe "that come to it.

"His Majeſty hath therefore ſent us to attend "your Highneſs, for the adjuſting of all Matters "that ſhall be agreed to be neceſſary to the Freedom of Elections, and the Security of Sitting; "and is ready to Enter immediately into a Treaty "in order to it.

"His Majeſty Propos'd, That in the mean Time, "the reſpective Armies may be return'd within ſuch "Limits, and at ſuch Diſtance from *London*, as "may prevent the Apprehenſions that the *Parliament* may be in any Kind diſturb'd; being deſirous that the Meeting may be no longer delay'd, "than it muſt be by the uſual and neceſſary Forms.

Hallifax, Nottingham, Godolphin,

The Prince his Anſwer.

The Prince having receiv'd this *Paper*, continu'd his March towards *London*; and being arriv'd at *Littlecot*, did the next Day, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen with him, make theſe following *Propoſals*, in *Anſwer* to them.

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"WE, with the Advice of the Lords and Gen- "tlemen aſſembled with us, have, in *An-* "*ſwer*, made theſe following *Propoſals*.

1. "That all Papiſts, and ſuch Perſons as are not "qualify'd by Law, be diſarm'd, disbanded, and "remov'd from all Employments Civil and Military.

2. "That all *Proclamations* that reflect upon us, "or any that have come to us, be recall'd: And if "any Perſons, for having aſſiſted us, have been "committed, that they be forthwith ſet at Liberty.

3. "That for the Security and Safety of the City of *London*, the Cuſtody and Government of "the *Tower* be immediately put into the Hands of "the ſaid *City*.

4. "But if his Majeſty ſhou'd think fit to be in "*London*, during the Sitting of the *Parliament*, "that we may be there alſo, with an equal Number of our Guards: And if his Majeſty ſhall be "pleas'd to be in any Place from *London*, whatever "Diſtance he thinks fit, that we may be at the "ſame Diſtance; and that the reſpective Armies "be from *London* Forty Miles; and that no further "Forces be brought into the Kingdom.

5. "And that, for the Security of the City of "*London*, and their Trade, *Tilbury-Fort* be put into the Hands of the *City*.

6. "That a ſufficient Part of the Publick Revenue be aſſign'd us, for the Support and Maintenance of our Troops, until the Sitting of a *Free* "*Parliament*.

7. "That, to prevent the Landing of the *French*, "or other Foreign Troops, *Portſmouth* may be put "into ſuch Hands, as by his Majeſty and us ſhall "be agreed on.

Earl of *Feverſham* Disbands the Army.

The Earl of *Feverſham*, and the other General Officers, going to *Uxbridge* to attend the King's pretended coming thither, receiv'd his Majeſty's *Letter*, which was the ſame Day read aloud to the Troops, and drew Tears from moſt of 'em. Hereupon they held a *Council of War*, and concluded from the Words of the *Letter*, *That ſince the King did not expect they ſhould reſiſt a Foreign Army*, his Intention was, That the reſt of the Army ſhould be disbanded; and accordingly 4000 Men, the Earl had then with him, were immediately diſmiſs'd: After which he ſent the following *Letter* to the Prince of *Orange*, ſubſcrib'd by himſelf and Three General Officers.

The Earl of *Feverſham* write to the Prince.

SIR,

"HAving receiv'd this Morning a *Letter* from "His Majeſty with the unfortunate News "of his Reſolution to go out of *England*, I thought "my ſelf oblig'd, (being at the Head of his Army, "and having receiv'd his Orders, to make no Oppoſition againſt any body,) to let your Highneſs "know it, with the Advice of the Officers here, "ſo ſoon as was poſſible, to hinder the Effuſion of "Blood. I have order'd already to that Purpoſe all "the Troops that are under my Command, which "ſhall be the laſt Order, they ſhall receive from

Feverſham, Lanier, Fenwick, Ogletborp.

Cenſure on the Earl of *Feverſham*.

The *Trumpeter* ſent to the Prince with this Letter return'd without an Anſwer, which ſhew'd his Highneſs did not approve of that Conduct; and indeed moſt of the Lords in *London*, look'd upon that haſty Disbanding, to be a raſh and unadviſed Action.

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Panick Fear throughout England.

Action. A Panick Fear which next Day alarm'd the City of *London*, contributed much to the Cenſure paſs'd on the Earl of *Feverſham*; for ſome Country-Fellows, arriving about Midnight at *Weſtminſter*, cauſed a ſudden Uproar, by reporting that the *Iriſh* in a deſperate Rage were advancing to *London*, and putting all before 'em to Fire and Sword. This not only rais'd the Trained-Bands and Regular Troops, but moſt People left their Beds, placed Lights in the Windows, and ſtood to their Arms; and what's very ſtrange, this univerſal Terror ſpread it ſelf that very Night over the whole Kingdom. An effectual Stratagem, commonly aſcribed to the Duke of *Schomberg*. (*a*)

Lord Chancellor Jefferies apprehended at Wapping.

The Day before this Conſternation, *Dec.* 12. Chancellor *Jefferies*, whom every body thought to have been gone with the King, having diſguis'd and abſconded himſelf in a little Houſe at *Wapping*, in order to his Eſcape beyond Sea, as he was looking out of the Window in a *Seaman*'s Cap, was diſcover'd by a *Clerk in Chancery*, that accidentally paſſed by. Whereupon he was immediately apprehended, and after a fair Deliverance from the Mob, that would have torn him to pieces, he was carried before the Lord-Mayor, who fell into a Fit of an *Apoplexy*, whilſt he was asking him ſome Queſtions, and died ſoon after. On the ſame Day the *Peers*, aſſembled at *Whitehall* with ſome of the *Privy-Council*, committed him to the *Tower*, where, to drown the Conſcience of his Crimes, or the Cowardice of his Nature, he fell to intemperate Drinking, which put him into a Fever that took away his Life. In the mean while the Prince of *Orange* was advanc'd as far as *Henly* with the greateſt Part of his Army, and finding the King's Troops now without an Head, committing many Diſorders, he put out this Declaration.

Declaration of the Prince of Orange.

"WHereas we are informed, That divers Re-
"giments, Troops and Companies have
"been encourag'd to diſperſe themſelves in an un-
"uſual and unwarrantable Manner, whereby the
"Publick Peace is very much diſturbed; we have
"thought fit hereby to require all Colonels and
"Commanders in Chief of ſuch Regiments, Troops
"and Companies, by Beat of Drum or otherwiſe,
"to call together the ſeveral Officers and Soldiers
"belonging to their reſpective Regiments, Troops
"and Companies, in ſuch Places as they ſhall find
"moſt convenient for their Rendezvouz, and there
"to keep them in good Order and Diſcipline. And
"we do likewiſe direct and require all ſuch Officers
"and Soldiers forthwith to repair to ſuch Places as be
"appointed for that Purpoſe, by the reſpective Co-
"lonels and Commanders in chief, whereof ſpeedy
"Notice is to be given unto us for our further Or-
"ders.

Given at our Court at Henly, *Dec.* 13. 1688.

Prince of *Orange*.

At the ſame Time the Prince ſent a Letter to the Earl of *Danby*, to deſire him to come to him, and order'd the *Secretary of War*, Mr. *Blaithwate*, to bring him an Account of the King's Army. He alſo diſpatch'd the Lord *Churchill* to *London*, to reaſſemble his Troop of Horſe-Guards, and directed the Duke of *Grafton* to go and take Poſſeſſion of *Tilbury-Fort*, with his Regiment of Foot Guards. And the next Day the Peers and Privy-Council, in Purſuance of the Prince's Directions, made this *Order*.

Order of the Peers and Privy-Council.

"WE the *Peers* of this Realm, aſſembled
"with ſome of the Lords of the *Privy-*
"*Council*, do hereby require all *Iriſh* Officers and
"Soldiers to repair forthwith to their reſpective Bo-
"dies to which they do or did lately belong; and do
"hereby declare, that behaving themſelves peacea-
"bly, they ſhall have Subſiſtence paid them, till
"they ſhall be otherwiſe provided for or employed.
"And the ſaid Officers and Soldiers are to deliver
"up their Arms to ſome of the Officers of the *Ord-*
"*nance*; who are to diſpoſe the ſame in their Stores
"in the *Tower* of *London*. And we do require and
"command all Juſtices of the Peace, Conſtables,
"and other Officers whom it may concern, that they
"apprehend and ſeize all ſuch Soldiers as ſhall not
"repair to their reſpective Bodies, and that they be
"dealt with as Vagabonds.

Given at the Council-Chamber *at* Whitehall, *the* 14*th of* December, 1688.

Tho. Ebor,	*Dorſet,*	*Rocheſter,*
North and Grey,	*Hallifax,*	*Craven,*
N. Dunelm.	*J. Trevor,*	*Carliſle.*
Nottingham,	*P. Winton.*	*J. Titus.*

This was all on Suppoſition, that His Majeſty had left the Kingdom; but it ſo happen'd, that the King with his Three Followers having croſs'd the *Thames* at *Whitehall*, went by Land to a certain Place near *Feverſham*, where he embark'd aboard a Smack commanded by Captain *Sanders*, who was to carry him to a Frigot commanded by *Mackdonnel*, an *Iriſh* Captain, who by Concert waited for His Majeſty at *Margate*. Whilſt they were waiting to go on Board, *Hales* ſent his Footman to the *Poſt-Office* in *Feverſham*: A Gunner belonging to *Dover-Caſtle*, whom *Hales* had formerly caſhier'd, knew the Footman by his Livery, and dogging him to the River-ſide, he ſaw him make Signs to ſome People that were aboard a Smack. Hereupon he got a Rabble together, and carry'd them to the Water-ſide, and immediately boarded the Veſſel, and ſoon diſcover'd Sir *Edward Hales*, who was well known, and much hated in that Country. As for the King, who was in a plain Suit, and a Bob Wig, they took him to be a *Popiſh* Prieſt, and ſuppoſed him to be *Hales*'s Chaplain, for which Reaſon they put many groſs Indignities upon him; and ſearching him, they found 400 Guinea's, ſeveral valuable Seals, and other Jewels about him. But ſeveral other People crowding into the Veſſel, there was (amongſt the reſt) a Conſtable who knew the King's Face, and fell preſently at his Feet, begging His Majeſty to forgive the Rudeneſs of the Mob, and bidding the Fellows return what they had taken from him; but the King would only receive the Jewels, and gave the Gold amongſt them. His Majeſty then told the Conſtable, *He hoped he would uſe him well*: And when He ſaw every body paying the Reſpect due to him, he earneſtly endeavoured to be gone: But the (*b*) People brought him by a ſort of a Force to a Publick Inn in the Town; from whence His Majeſty ſent for the Earl of *Winchelſea*

The King taken at Feverſham.

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(*a*) The Honour of this Stratagem has been ſince aſcribed to Mr. *Hugh Speke*, who in his Secret *Hiſtory of the Revolution* dedicated to King *George*, 1715. 8*vo.* ſays, "This Matter was "ſolely contriv'd and manag'd by himſelf, which was a Myſtery to the greateſt Politicians of thoſe Times, and long contiuu'd to be ſo; and yet was at that Time of ſuch eminent "and ſignal Service to the Proteſtant Intereſt in this Nation, "that from that Day forward, the Popiſh Faction and their "Emiſſaries never durſt attempt to lift up their Hands, or "hardly to ſhew their Heads, *&c.*

(*b*) Mr. *Thomas Napleton*, a Gentleman of *Feverſham*, went away to the Prince of *Orange*, to acquaint his Highneſs with this ſtopping of the King in his Paſſage to *France*, which he thought would be very acceptable to his Highneſs; but he found

cheiſea, whom he made Lord Lieutenant of the County, and Governor of *Dover-Caſtle*, who prevail'd with His Majeſty to return toward *London*.

Reflections on this ſtrange Adventure.

This ſtrange Adventure did variouſly affect the Prince of *Orange*, and the People of *England*. The Prince ſeems to have deſir'd, that he ſhould not have been ſtopt, nor brought back; but moſt of the People were rather glad of an Opportunity, to convince the King that there was no ill Deſign againſt his Perſon. The *Peers* and *Privy Council* met, and after ſome Debates, they appointed Four of their Members, *viz.* the Earls of *Middleton*, *Aylesbury*, *Yarmouth* and *Feverſham*, to wait upon His Majeſty, and invite him to his Palace at *Whitehall*; to which, tho' at firſt he ſhew'd ſome Reluctance, yet at laſt he condeſcended. The *Peers* alſo diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him that the King was ſtill in *England*: Whereupon his Highneſs came to *Windſor*, *Dec.* 14. and lodged in the Prince of *Denmark*'s Apartment, which was prepared for his Reception; where he held a *Conſultation* with the Chief of the Nobility and Gentry about him, and by their Advice, he diſpatch'd Monſieur *de Zuyleſtein* to the King, to deſire him to continue at *Rocheſter*; but he miſs'd him by the way; for His Majeſty left that Place on *Sunday* Morning, *Dec.* 16. and about Four in the Afternoon enter'd the City of *London*, as it were in Triumph, and went on to (*a*) *Whitehall*, with great *Acclamations*, *Ringing of Bells*, and *Bonfires*, with all other Proofs, that the People who hated *Popery*, loved the King.

The King comes back to *Whitehall*;

The Night before the King left *Rocheſter*, he diſpatch'd the Earl of *Feverſham* with a Letter to the Prince, to invite him to St. *James*'s, with what Number of Guards and Troops his Highneſs ſhould think convenient to bring along with him; that they might perſonally and amicably confer together about the Means of Redreſſing the Publick Grievances.

And invites the Prince to S. *James*'s.

The Earl arrived on *Sunday* Morning at *Windſor*, and having deliver'd his Meſſage to the Prince, he was ſurpriz'd, when inſtead of an Anſwer, Monſieur *Bentinck* demanded his Sword; being order'd by his Highneſs to arreſt him, and ſecure him, for his late Act of *Disbanding the Army*, without Orders.

The Earl of *Feverſham* arreſted.

Then the Prince referr'd the Conſideration of the King's *Letter* to the *Peers* about him; who concluded, That the Royal Palace of *Whitehall* being ſtill crowded with *Iriſh Papiſts*, *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, his Highneſs could not be ſafe at St. *James*'s, unleſs His Majeſty was remov'd within a reaſonable Diſtance from *London*. Several Places were propoſed, but at laſt *Ham*, a Houſe belonging to the Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale*, was pitch'd upon; and, by their Advice, his Highneſs ſubſcribed a Paper in theſe Words:

The Prince of *Orange*'s Meſſage to the King.

"WE deſire you, the Lord Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the "Lord *Delamere*, to tell the King, That it is "thought convenient, for the greater Quiet of the "City, and the greater Safety of his Perſon, That "He do remove to *Ham*, where he ſhall be attended "by his Guards, who will be ready to preſerve him "from any Diſturbance.

Given at Windſor, 17. *Dec.* 1688.

W. P. *de Orange.*

When His Majeſty came to *Whitehall*, he aſſembled his *Council* that Night, and made this *Order*, as the Laſt Publick Act of his Royal Authority.

At the Court *at* Whitehall, *the* 16*th* *Day of* December, 1688.

PRESENT,

The KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

Duke of *Hamilton*,	Lord Viſcount *Preſton*,
Earl of *Craven*,	Lord *Godolphin*,
Earl of *Berkley*,	Maſter of the *Rolls*,
Earl of *Middleton*,	Mr. *Titus*.

Laſt Order of *Council*.

"HIS Majeſty being given to underſtand, That "divers Outrages and Diſorders are committed in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, by Burning, "Pulling down, and otherwiſe Defacing Houſes "and other Buildings, and Rifling and Plundering "the ſame, to the great Terror of His Majeſty's "Subjects, and manifeſt Breach of the Peace; His "(*b*) Majeſty in *Council* is pleaſed to direct and "command all *Lords-Lieutenants*, *Deputy-Lieutenants*, *Juſtices of the Peace*, *Mayors*, *Conſtables*, "and all other Officers whom it may concern, to "uſe their utmoſt Endeavours for the preventing all "ſuch Outrages and Diſorders for the future, and "for the ſuppreſſing all Riotous and Tumultuous "Meetings and Aſſemblies whatſoever.

W. BRIDGEMAN.

found it rather a Diſtaſte to him. Upon which Mr. *Napleton* had ſuch an Impreſſion of Diſcontent, as hardly ever went off from him; and he was reported to have ſaid ſomewhat on that Occaſion to the Diſadvantage of Dr. *Burnet*; who (when Biſhop of *Sarum*) in his *Vindication*, 8vo. p. 128. ſaid thus of a virulent Writer againſt him: "He brings in a Hearſay Sto-"ry, of a Dialogue that paſs'd between Mr. *Napleton* and my "ſelf, the Importance of which is, *That I wiſh'd they would* "*have left the late King to be torn in Pieces by the Mob.* This "Story has been in One or Two of their Books, that have ap-"pear'd of late: It has been kept up as a Secret Five or Six "Years, and now it is made an Ornament in ſeveral of their "Libels. I never ſaw that Gentleman before nor ſince that "Time; ſo I do not know, whether he owns, or diſowns it: "Nor can I pretend to give an Account of a Diſcourſe almoſt "Seven Years old. Another worthy Gentleman, Mr. *Chad-*"*wick*, was Witneſs to all that paſs'd between us. I am ſure, "I was deeply concern'd at the Misfortunes of that Prince: "I immediately went about the procuring an Order to be "ſpeedily given, to take care of his Preſervation. All that I "can remember, is, That when he told me, that upon the "Gentlemen of the Country's coming to *Feverſham*, they had "brought the People to ſhew more Reſpect; and that the late "King was very deſirous to proſecute his Voyage beyond "Sea; I thought they ought to have help'd him in it."—— In a Poſtſcript, the Biſhop adds: "After I had ſent this to "the Preſs, I received Two Advertiſements from the Hands of "one of my Reverend Brethren: He tells me, that Dr. *Gee* "met with Mr. *Napleton* this Summer at *Tunbridge*, and among "other Things, this Story came to be talk'd of. ——Mr. *Na-*"*pleton* ſaid, That I did indeed ask him ſeveral times, *Why* "*they did not let King* James *go?* And that he did anſwer, "*The Mob would have torn him in Pieces.* That within a little "while I ask'd him the ſame Queſtion again; and that there-"upon he ask'd me, *Would I have had him torn in Pieces?* To "which he added, that I replied, *God forbid*; *I abhorr'd the* "*Thoughts of it.* This laſt Part, which explains the whole, was "ſuppreſſed, to repreſent me as one that would have had him "torn in Pieces."

(*a*) The Prince was at *Windſor*, when the News of the King's Return to *Whitehall* came to him; and upon that, he ask'd the Opinion of the Lords about him. Some, who afterwards engag'd violently in the *Jacobite* Intereſt, adviſ'd the Sending the King over to *Holland* a Priſoner, and keeping him in the Caſtle at *Breda*, till the War both in *England* and *Ireland* was at an End: I could name Perſons, for the Prince himſelf nam'd 'em to me. His Anſwer was, *That tho' He could appear againſt the King at the Head of an Army in this Quarrel, yet that now he had him in his Power, he could not put him under any Reſtraint*; *and he knew the Princeſs could never enjoy her ſelf, if any ſuch Thing were done.* So he rejected theſe Suggeſtions with Indignation, and indeed, with an Averſion to thoſe who made them. *Biſhop* Burnet's *Preface to ſome Sermons*, 1713. 8vo.

(*b*) In *London* there was a Reigning Mob, that fell upon th[e] Popiſh Chapels, and ſome few of their Houſes: They demo[-]liſh'd the Convent and Chapel at St. *Johns*'s, the Co[nvent an]d Chapel in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, the Popiſh Chapels in *Limeſtre[et]* in *Bucklersbury*, at *Wild-Houſe*, &c. The Order in theſe Tu[-]mults was very wonderful: No Place was aſſaulted, but wha[t] was mark'd out; if they fell upon any other by Miſtake, thei[r] Captain, at a word, could recal them. *Powis-Houſe* in *Lin-coln's-Inn-Fields*, was ſav'd by a Stratagem of writing up, Tha[t] it was kept for the Service of one who came over with th[e] Prince.

Th[e]

The King had heard on *Sunday* Night, That the Earl of *Feverſham*, his Meſſenger to the Prince, was put under Confinement at *Windſor*; upon which His Majeſty was full of Perplexity and Irreſolution: Yet on *Monday* Morning, *Dec.* 17. he ſent the Earl of *Mulgrave*, with another Compliment to the Prince of *Orange*; who was by this Time advanc'd as far as *Sion Houſe*, and his Guards were come as far as *Kenſington* and *Chelſea*, where they were order'd to quarter that Night; but ſoon after, they received freſh Orders to march, and take Poſſeſſion of all the Poſts about *Whitehall* and St. *James*'s, either by fair Means, or open Force. Count *Solmes*, who commanded 'em, being come for that Purpoſe, His Majeſty ſent for him about Nine a Clock at Night, and deſir'd him to let him have his own Guard at *Whitehall* only for that Night; but the Count alledging his Poſitive Orders to relieve all the Poſts, His Majeſty bad him do his Office. At Ten of the Clock the *Dutch* Guards enter'd into St. *James*'s Palace; and towards Eleven, thoſe who were commanded to *Whitehall*, mov'd thither thro' the *Park*. The Lord *Craven*, who was directed by the Prince to order the King's Guards to retire upon Approach of his Highneſs's Troops, ſuppoſing this was not to be executed till the next Day, had given no Orders for that Purpoſe; and the *Engliſh* ſeeming unwilling to diſlodge, the Prince's Guards march'd up to them with lighted Match, and in a fighting Poſture; but at laſt the King's Guards were perſwaded to withdraw.

The King ſends the Earl of *Mulgrave* to the Prince.

The Prince orders his own Guards at St. *James*'s, and *Whitehall*.

The *Dutch* being thus poſted at *Whitehall*, the Three Lords who came from the Prince, ſent in this Note to Secretary *Middleton*: *My Lord, There is a Meſſage to be deliver'd to His Majeſty from the Prince, which is of ſo great Importance, that We, who are charg'd with it, deſire We may be immediately admitted; and therefore deſire to know, where we may find your Lordſhip, that you may introduce, my Lord, your* - - - - Halifax, Shrewsbury, Delamere.

Meſſage to the King.

The King was before this in Bed; but the Earl of *Middleton* introduc'd them to His Majeſty's Bedſide, about One in the Morning: And after a ſhort Apology, for breaking in upon His Majeſty's Repoſe at ſo unſeaſonable an Hour, they deliver'd him the Prince's Paper; which the King read, and ſaid, *He would comply with it.* Whereupon the Lords humbly deſir'd, He would remove ſo early, as to be at *Ham*-Houſe by Noon, to prevent meeting the Prince in his way to *London*, where he was to come the ſame Day. His Majeſty readily agreed to this too, and ask'd, *Whether He might not appoint what Servants ſhould attend him?* To which the Lords reply'd, That it was left to His Majeſty to give Order in that as he pleas'd; and ſo took their Leave. When they were gone as far as the Privy-Chamber, the King ſent for 'em again, and told 'em, *He had forgot to acquaint 'em with his Reſolutions before the Meſſage came, to ſend my Lord* Godolphin *next Morning to the Prince, to propoſe his going back to* Rocheſter; *He finding by the Meſſage Monſieur* Zuyleſtein *was charg'd with, that the Prince had no Mind he ſhould be at* London, *and therefore he now deſir'd he might rather return to* Rocheſter, *than go to any other Place.* The Lords reply'd, That they would immediately acquaint the Prince with His Majeſty's Deſire, not doubting of ſuch an Anſwer, as would be to His Majeſty's Satiſfaction. Accordingly they ſent to the Prince, who was then at *Sion*-Houſe, who yielding to the King's Deſign of leaving the Realm, order'd Monſieur *Bentinck* to write a Letter, (which came before Eight a Clock next Morning) agreeing to His Majeſty's Propoſals of returning to *Rocheſter*. Thereupon the King having taken his Leave of the Lords, the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, and other Perſons there preſent, His Majeſty went into his Barge, attended by the Earls of *Aylesbury*, *Litchfield*, *Arran*, and *Dunbarton*, Six of his own Yeomen of the Guard, and about One Hundred of the Prince's Forces; and arriv'd about Nine a Clock at Night at *Graveſend*, where he met ſome Troops of Horſe, who the next Day guarded him by Land to *Rocheſter*.

Conference between the King and Meſſengers from the Prince.

The King deſires to return to *Rocheſter*,

Which is granted by the Prince.

The ſame Day, *Decemb.* 18. about Three in the Afternoon, the Prince, with a Magnificent Equipage, and a Noble and Numerous Retinue, came to St. *James*'s; where he receiv'd the Congratulations of the Nobility and Gentry, and the Acclamations of the People in a very extraordinary manner. On the 20th, the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London* waited on the Prince; and the Lord-Mayor being indiſpos'd, the Recorder, Sir *George Treby*, made an Eloquent Speech to his Highneſs, concluding thus: *Great Sir, When we look back to the laſt Month, and contemplate the Swiftneſs and Fulneſs of our preſent Deliverance, aſtoniſh'd, we think it miraculous! Your Highneſs, led by the Hand of Heaven, and called by the Voice of the People, has preſerv'd our deareſt Intereſts; The* Proteſtant *Religion, which is Primitive Chriſtianity, reſtor'd; Our* Laws, *which are our Ancient Title to our Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, and without which this World were a Wilderneſs. But what Retribution can we make to your Highneſs? Our Thoughts are full charg'd with Gratitude. Your Highneſs has a laſting Monument in the Hearts, in the Prayers, and in the Praiſes of all good Men amongſt us: And late Poſterity will celebrate your Ever-glorious Name, till Time ſhall be no more.* The Ambaſſador of *Spain*, and the Reſident of *Venice*, did likewiſe compliment his Highneſs in private, and deſir'd Protection to themſelves, and other Foreigners, who were in great Danger of being inſulted by the *Mobile*; upon which the *Privy-Council* iſſued out an Order, That all Foreigners ſhould be allow'd to leave the Kingdom; and the Prince ſent his Paſſes to the *Pope's Nuncio*, and to the Envoys of *Poland*, *Savoy*, and *Modena*. The Lords *Langdale* and *Montgomery* were ſet at Liberty; but the Earls of *Peterborough* and *Saliſbury* were kept in Cuſtody, with a great many *Popiſh Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*.

The Prince comes to St. *James*'s.

Foreign Miniſters addreſs the Prince.

On *Decemb.* 21. the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, about Seventy in Number, waited on the Prince at St. *James*'s; who deſir'd them to conſider of the beſt Methods to call a *Free Parliament*, and to purſue the Ends of his *Declaration*, which he left to be purſu'd by their Lordſhips; and ſo withdrew from 'em. After the Reading of the *Declaration*, the Lords voted their Thanks to his Highneſs for coming over: And the better to conſider of the moſt effectual Means to obtain the Ends of his Highneſs's *Declaration*, and to ſettle a Form of Government; They reſolv'd to aſſemble for the future in the *Parliament-Houſe* at *Weſtminſter*, where they met accordingly the next Day, and firſt made an Order to appoint *Francis Gwynne*, Eſq; to ſign and ſubſcribe ſuch Orders as ſhould be from Time to Time made by 'em. Then they came to a Reſolution, That Five of the moſt able Lawyers, Sir *John Maynard*, Mr. *Holt*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Mr. *Bradford*, and Mr. *Atkinſon*, ſhould aſſiſt 'em in their important Conſultations, in the room of the Judges, who were moſt of 'em abſent from *London*. It was afterwards propos'd, That the whole Aſſembly ſhould ſign the ſame (*a*) *Engagement*, or *Aſſociation*, which

The Prince conſults with the Peers.

Their Advice and Reſolutions.

(*a*) Mr. *Echard* ſays, that all agreed to the Propoſal of Signing the Aſſociation, except the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Nottingham*, the Lord *Wharton*, and all the Biſhops, ſave that of *London*, who ſet his Hand to the Aſſociation. The main Objection of the Biſhops, was upon the Account of the Unchriſtian word *Revenge*; which being afterwards chang'd for that of *Puniſhment*, they were better ſatisfy'd.

1688 4 *Jac.* II. the Nobility and Gentry had already ſubſcrib'd at *Exeter* ; to which all the Lords agreed, excepting Four or Five.

The King reſolves to go to *France.* The King at *Rocheſter* ſoon heard of theſe Proceedings, and was the more determin'd by 'em to purſue his former Reſolution of going over to *France* : And therefore on (*a*) *Sunday, Dec.* 23. about Three in the Morning, His Majeſty privately withdrew himſelf, without communicating his Deſign to any body ; (*b*) no, not to the Earl of *Dunbarton*, who lay in the King's Chamber, and who did not awake till after His Majeſty was gone. This Forlorn Prince (taking only with him the Duke of *Berwick*, Mr. *Sheldon*, and Monſieur *Labbedy*) went on Horſeback as far as the Place appointed at the River-ſide, where Captain *Mackdonnel* waited to receive him in a ſmall Frigot ; and having immediately put to Sea with a favourable Wind, they ſoon landed at *Ambleteuſe* in *France*, from whence His Majeſty took Poſt for St. *Germains*. The Earl of *Middleton*, who had come down to *Rocheſter* to reſign his *Seal*, found the next Day upon the *Table* one of His Majeſty's *Letters*, deſiring him to gratify the Captains of the Prince's Troops, that were appointed to guard him, with an Hundred Guinea's a-piece, the Lieutenants and Enſigns with Fifty ; and to reward ſome others that had attended him, in Proportion. The King left alſo behind him a Paper wrote with his own Hand, and afterwards printed by his Order, in this Form : He leaves a Paper at *Rocheſter.*

His Majeſty's Reaſons for withdrawing Himſelf from Rocheſter.

" THE World cannot wonder at my withdrawing my ſelf now this Second Time. " I might have expected ſomewhat better Uſage after what I writ to the Prince of *Orange*, by my " Lord *Feverſham*, and the Inſtructions I gave him. " But inſtead of an Anſwer, ſuch as I might have " hop'd for, what was I to expect, after the Uſage I " receiv'd, by the making the ſaid Earl a Priſoner, " againſt the Practice and Law of Nations? The " ſending his own Guards at Eleven at Night, to " take Poſſeſſion of the Poſts at *Whitehall*, without " advertiſing me in the leaſt Manner of it : The " ſending to me at One of the Clock at Midnight, " when I was in Bed, a Kind of Order by Three " Lords, to be gone out of my Palace before " Twelve the ſame Morning. After all this, how " could I hope to be ſafe, ſo long as I was in the " Power of One, who had not only done this to " me, and invaded my Kingdoms, without any " juſt Occaſion given him for it ; but that did, by " his own Declaration lay the greateſt Aſperſion on " me that Malice could invent, in the Clauſe of it " which concerns my *Son* ? I appeal to all that " know me, nay, even to himſelf, that in their " Conſciences, neither he, nor they, can believe " me in the leaſt capable of ſo unnatural a Villany, " nor of ſo little common Senſe, to be impos'd on " in a Thing of ſuch a Nature as that. What had " I then to expect, from One, who, by all Arts, " hath taken ſuch Pains to make me as *Black as Hell* to my People, as well as to all the World " beſides ? What Effect that hath had at Home, all " Mankind hath ſeen, by ſo general a Defection in " my Army, as well as in the Nation, amongſt all " Sorts of People. 1688. 4 *Jac.* II.

" I was born free, and deſire to continue ſo : " And though I have ventur'd my Life very frankly, " on ſeveral Occaſions, for the Good and Honour of " my Country ; and am as free to do it again, " (and, which I hope I ſhall yet do, as old as I am, " to redeem it from the *Slavery* it is like to fall under) yet I think it not convenient to expoſe my " ſelf to be ſo ſecured, as not to be at Liberty to " effect it ; and for that Reaſon, to withdraw, but " ſo as to be within Call, whenſoever the Nation's " Eyes ſhall be open'd, ſo as to ſee how they have " been impos'd upon, by the ſpecious Pretences of " Liberty and Property. I hope it will pleaſe " GOD to touch their Hearts, out of his infinite " Mercy, and to make them ſenſible of the ill " Condition they are in, and bring them to ſuch a " Temper, that a *Legal Parliament* may be call'd ; " and that, amongſt other Things which may be " neceſſary to be done, they will agree to *Liberty of Conſcience* for all *Proteſtant Diſſenters* ; and " that thoſe of my own *Perſuaſion* may be ſo far " conſider'd, and have ſuch a Share of it, as they " may live peaceably and quietly, as *Engliſhmen* " and *Chriſtians* ought to do, and not be oblig'd to " tranſplant themſelves ; which would be very " grievous, eſpecially to ſuch who love their Country. And I appeal to all Men, who are conſidering Men, and have had Experience, whether " any Thing can make this Nation ſo great and " flouriſhing, as *Liberty of Conſcience* ? Some of " our Neighbours dread it.

" I could add much more, to confirm what I " have ſaid, but now it is not the proper Time.

Rocheſter,
Dec. 22. 1688.

When the Prince was inform'd of (*c*) His Majeſty's Departure, he reſolv'd not to act without a Concurrence of the *Lords* and *Commons* ; and therefore he publiſh'd this *Order*, ſuitable to the preſent Exigence :

" WHereas the Neceſſity of Affairs does require " ſpeedy Advice ; We do deſire all ſuch Perſons as have ſerv'd as *Knights*, *Citizens* or *Burgeſſes*, in any of the *Parliaments* that were held during the Reign of the late K. *Charles* II. to meet " Us at St. *James's*, upon *Wedneſday* the 26th of " this Inſtant *December*, by Ten of the Clock in the " Morning. And We do likewiſe deſire, That the " *Lord-Mayor* and *Court of Aldermen* of the City of " *London* would be preſent at the ſame Time : And " that the *Common-Council* would appoint Fifty of " their Number to be there likewiſe. And hereof " We deſire 'em not to fail. The Prince his Order.

Given at St. James's, *the* 23*d of* December, 1688.

W. H. *Prince of* Orange.

(*a*) On the ſame Day was preach'd, and publiſh'd, *A Sermon preach'd in the Chapel of St.* James's, *before His Highneſs the Prince of* Orange, Decemb. 23. 1688. *By* Gilbert Burnet, *D. D. Chaplain to His Highneſs. Printed by His Highneſs's Special Command* ; *for* Rich. Chiſwell, 1689. 4to. —— " I had not the " Honour (ſays Biſhop *Burnet* in his *Vindication*, 8vo.) to be " the Prince's Chaplain, till the Night before we left the " *Hague*.

(*b*) Mr. *Hugh Speke*, in his *Secret Hiſtory of the Happy Revolution*, 8vo. takes to himſelf the Honour of adviſing K. *James* to withdraw from *Rocheſter*. He writes thus : " King *James*, " upon his Return out of *Kent* to *Whitehall*, went forthwith " for *Rocheſter*, having a Troop of Horſe of the Prince's to attend him thither ; from whence, after he had conſider'd " ſome Time with himſelf, and being in great Concern what " Method he had then beſt take ; he writ to Mr. *Speke* by " Mr. *Collins*, whom he ſent from *Rocheſter* Expreſs, to know " Mr. *Speke's* Sentiments, Whether he thought it fitteſt for " him to remain in *England*, or to follow his Queen into " *France* ; aſſuring Mr. *Speke*, that he would rely entirely on " his Opinion and Judgment therein. —— Mr. *Speke* took " Coach, and went directly to St. *James's*, to the Prince of " *Orange*, and deliver'd the Letter receiv'd from the King, and " told his Highneſs what Anſwer he intended, *&c.*

(*c*) See Reflections on a Paper, entitled, *His Majeſty's Reaſons for withdrawing himſelf from* Rocheſter. *Publiſh'd by Authority.* Said to be written by Dr. *Gilbert Burnet* ; beginning— " There is a Paper ſpread about the Town, which might be " confuted in every Particular, not only with Clearneſs, but " with Severity too, if there was not a Reſtraint put upon the " full Liberty of anſwering any thing that goeth under a Name, " to which Reſpect will ſtill be paid, even by thoſe to whom " it is denied, *&c.*"

1688.
4 *Jac.* II.

In the mean Time, on *Tueſday, Decemb.* 25th, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſembled in their Houſe at *Weſtminſter*, and made this *Addreſs* to the Prince:

Addreſs of the Lords.

“WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, aſſembled in this Conjuncture, do deſire your Highneſs to take upon you the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs, both Civil and Military, and the Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preſervation of our *Religion, Rights, Laws, Liberties*, and *Properties*, and of the *Peace* of the Nation. And that your Highneſs will take into your particular Care, the preſent Condition of *Ireland*; and endeavour, by the moſt effectual Means, to prevent the Dangers threatning that Kingdom. All which, we make our Requeſt to your Highneſs to undertake and exerciſe, till the Meeting of the intended *Convention*, the 22d of *January* next. In which, we doubt not, ſuch proper Methods will be taken, as will conduce to the Eſtabliſhment of theſe Things upon ſuch ſure and legal Foundations, that they may not be in Danger of being again ſubverted. (*a*)

Dated at the Houſe of Lords, *Weſtm. Dec.* 25. 1688.

Then their *Lordſhips* proceeded to conſider of the moſt effectual Way for ſummoning the ſaid *Convention*, and drew up their Opinions, in this other *Addreſs* to the *Prince*.

Opinion of the Lords, for a Convention.

“WE the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* in this extraordinary Conjuncture, do humbly deſire your Highneſs to cauſe *Letters* to be written, ſubſcribed by your ſelf, to the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal* (being *Proteſtants*;) and to the ſeveral *Counties, Univerſities, Cities, Boroughs*, and *Cinque-Ports* of *England, Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Twede*. The Letters for the *Counties*, to be directed to the *Coroners* of the reſpective Counties, or any one of them; and in default of the *Coroners*, to the *Clerk of the Peace* of the reſpective Counties: And the Letters for the Univerſities, to be directed to every *Vice-Chancellor*: And the Letters to the ſeveral *Cities, Boroughs*, and *Cinque-Ports*, to be directed to the *Chief Magiſtrates* of each reſpective City, Borough, and Cinque-Port; containing Directions for the chuſing, in all ſuch *Counties, Cities, Univerſities, Boroughs*, and *Cinque-Ports*, within Ten Days after the Receipt of the reſpective Letters, ſuch a Number of Perſons to repreſent them, as are of Right to be ſent to *Parliament*: Of which *Elections*, and the Times and Places thereof, the reſpective Officers ſhall give Notice, within the Space of Five Days at the leaſt. Notice of the intended *Elections* for the *Counties*, to be publiſh'd in the Churches, immediately after the Time of *Divine Service*; and in all Market-Towns within the reſpective Counties: And Notice of the intended *Elections* for the *Cities, Univerſities, Boroughs*, and *Cinque-Ports*, to be publiſh'd within the ſaid reſpective Places. The ſaid Letters, and the Execution thereof, to be *return'd*, by ſuch Officer and Officers who ſhall execute the ſame, to the *Clerk of the Crown* in the *Court of Chancery*; ſo as the Perſons ſo to be choſen, may meet and ſit at *Weſtminſter*, on the Two and twentieth Day of *January*.

Dated at the Houſe of Lords, *Weſtm. Dec.* 25. 1688.

Both theſe *Addreſſes* were ſign'd by all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal then aſſembled; and preſented to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, the ſame Day, at St. *James's*: Who ſuſpended his *Anſwer*, till he had heard whether the *Commoners*, who were to meet the next Day, wou'd concur in the ſame Advice.

Meeting of the Commons of the two laſt Parliaments.

On *Wedneſday* the 26th of *December*, divers of the Members of the Parliament in the Reign of the late King *Charles* II. and the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*, purſuant to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange's* Deſire, met together in the Palace of St. *James's*; to whom his Highneſs ſpoke as follows.

The Prince his Speech to the Commons.

“YOU Gentlemen that have been Members of the *late Parliaments*, I have deſir'd you to meet me here, to adviſe the beſt Manner how to purſue the Ends of my Declaration, in calling a Free Parliament, for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Reſtoring the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the Kingdom, and ſettling the ſame, that they may not be in Danger of being again ſubverted.

“And you the Aldermen and Members of the Common-Council of the City of *London*, I deſire the ſame of You. And in regard your Numbers are like to be great, you may, if you think fit, divide your ſelves, and ſit in ſeveral Places.

They form themſelves into an Houſe.

Upon which, they immediately agreed to go to the Commons-Houſe at *Weſtminſter*; where being ſeated, they choſe *Henry Powle*, Eſq; their Chairman. The firſt Queſtion they debated, was, *What Authority they had to aſſemble?* Upon which, it was agreed, That the Requeſt of his Highneſs, was a ſufficient Warrant. Then a Queſtion was ſtarted by Sir *Robert S——*, *How his Highneſs cou'd take upon him the Adminiſtration of Affairs, without a diſtinguiſhing Name or Title?* To which Mr. Serjeant *Maynard* anſwer'd, *That the Aſſembly wou'd loſe a great deal of Time, if they waited till Sir* Robert *cou'd conceive how that was poſſible*: And ſo that Queſtion dropp'd. Then one Member propos'd, to offer the Government to his Highneſs for a Month; and another, for a whole Year: But it was anſwer'd, That it wou'd be Time enough for the Convention to conſider of that Matter. After this, it was mov'd, That the *Aſſociation*, that had been ſign'd by the Lords, might likewiſe be ſubſcrib'd by this Aſſembly: But it was carry'd, That the ſaid *Aſſociation* ſhou'd be left upon the Table, and every one be at liberty to ſign it, or not. After theſe previous *Debates*, they reſolved upon Heads for an Addreſs to be made to his Highneſs, and appointed Perſons to draw up and prepare the ſame; and in the Afternoon it was done accordingly, and read, and approv'd, in this Form:

Addreſs of the Commons to the Prince.

“WE who have ſerv'd as Members of the Parliaments during the Reign of the late King *Charles* II. together with the Court of *Aldermen*, and Members of the *Common-Council* of the City of *London*, aſſembled at your Highneſs's Deſire (in this extraordinary Conjuncture,) do, with an unanimous Conſent, tender to your Highneſs our humble and hearty Thanks, for your coming into this Kingdom, and expoſing your Perſon to ſo great Hazards, for the Preſervation of our *Religion, Laws*, and *Liberties*, and reſcuing us from the Miſeries of *Popery* and *Slavery*: And deſire your Highneſs, That (in Purſuance of thoſe Ends, and for the Preſervation of

(*a*) At this Juncture ſome were for treating with King *James*, and even calling him back to a Treaty and Settlement. Upon which Occaſion there was now publiſhed in *December* 1688. An Enquiry into the Preſent State of Affairs, and in particular, Whether we owe Allegiance to the King in theſe Circumſtances? And whether we are bound to treat with him, and call him back again, or not?. Publiſhed by Authority. Said to be written by Dr. *Gilbert Burnet.*

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" the *Peace* of the Nation) your Highneſs will take " upon you the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, " both Civil and Military, and the Diſpoſal of the " Publick Revenue.

" We do alſo deſire, That your Highneſs will " take into your particular Care, the preſent Con- " dition of *Ireland*; and endeavour, by the moſt " ſpeedy and effectual Means, to prevent the Dan- " gers threatning that Kingdom.

" All which, we deſire your Highneſs to un- " dertake and execute, untill the Meeting of the " intended Convention, the 22d Day of *January* " next.

" We do likewiſe deſire your Highneſs to cauſe " Letters to be written and ſubſcribed by your " Highneſs, to the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal* " (being *Proteſtants*;) and to the ſeveral *Counties*, " *Univerſities*, *Cities*, *Boroughs*, and *Cinque-Ports* " of *England*, *Wales*, and to the Town of *Berwick* " upon *Twede*.

" The *Letters* for the *Counties*, to be directed to " the *Coroners* of their reſpective Counties, or any " one of them; and in Default of *Coroners*, to the " *Clerk of the Peace* of the reſpective Counties: " And the *Letters* to the *Univerſities*, to be direct- " ed to the reſpective *Vice-Chancellors*: And the " *Letters* to the ſeveral *Cities*, *Boroughs*, and *Cinque-* " *Ports*, to be directed to the *Chief-Magiſtrate* of " each reſpective City, Borough, and Cinque-Port; " containing Directions for the Chuſing, in all ſuch " *Counties*, *Cities*, *Univerſities*, *Boroughs* and *Cinque-* " *Ports*, within Ten Days after the Receipt of the " ſaid reſpective *Letters*, ſuch a Number of Perſons " to *repreſent* them, as are of Right to be ſent to " *Parliament*. That for ſuch *Elections*, and the " Times and Places thereof, the reſpective Officer " ſhall give Notice, in Manner following: (That is " to ſay,) As to the *Elections* of the *Counties*, No- " tice to be publiſh'd in all Market-Towns in the " reſpective Counties, by the Space of Five Days " at leaſt before ſuch *Election*: And Notice of the " *Elections* for the *Cities*, *Univerſities*, *Boroughs*, " and *Cinque-Ports*, to be publiſh'd in the reſpe- " ctive Places, by the Space of Three Days before " at the leaſt.

" That the ſaid *Letters*, and the Execution there- " of, be *return'd*, by ſuch Officer and Officers who " ſhall execute the ſame, to the *Clerk of the Crown* " in the *Court of Chancery*; ſo as the Perſons ſo to " be choſen, may meet and ſit at *Weſtminſter*, on " the Twenty Second Day of *January* next.

" This we humbly offer your Highneſs, as our " beſt *Advice*, in this Exigency of Affairs, for at- " taining the Ends of your Highneſs's *Declaration*; " and as the beſt Means tending to ſuch an Eſta- " bliſhment, as that our *Religion*, *Laws*, and *Li-* " *berties*, may not be in Danger of being again ſub- " verted.

His Highneſs having appointed to receive this *Ad-dreſs* the next Morning, he was then attended by a *Body* of them; and the *Addreſs* was preſented, and read by Mr. *Powle*, to his Highneſs: Who was pleas'd to declare, *That it being a Matter of Weight, he wou'd conſider thereof, and give his Anſwer the next Day.*

Accordingly, on *Friday*-Morning, *Dec.* 28th, his Highneſs gave the following *Anſwer* to the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, at St. *James's*.

My LORDS,

Anſwer of the Prince to the Lords.

" I Have conſider'd of your *Advice*; and, as far " as I am able, I will endeavour to ſecure the " *Peace* of the Nation, until the Meeting of the " *Convention* in *January* next; for the *Election* " whereof, I will forthwith Iſſue out *Letters*, ac- " cording to your Deſire. I will alſo take care to " apply the publick Revenue to the moſt proper " Uſes that the preſent Affairs require: And like- " wiſe endeavour to put *Ireland* into ſuch a Condi- " tion, as that the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the " *Engliſh Intereſt*, may be maintain'd in that King- " dom. And I further aſſure you, That as I came " hither for the *Preſervation* of the *Proteſtant Re-* " *ligion*, and the *Laws* and *Liberties* of theſe King- " doms; ſo I ſhall always be ready to expoſe my " ſelf to any Hazard, for the *Defence* of the " ſame.

And in the Afternoon, his Highneſs was pleas'd to give the ſame *Anſwer* to the *Commoners*.

The Prince profeſſes himſelf a Member of the Church of *England*.

On *Sunday*, *Dec.* 30th, his Highneſs receiv'd the Holy Sacrament in the Royal Chapel of St. *James's*, from the Hands of the Biſhop of *London*, and heard the whole Service read by Dr. *Burnet*, and an excellent Sermon preach'd by the Biſhop of St. *A-ſaph*; which open profeſſing himſelf a Member of the Church of *England*, gain'd him the Tongues and Hearts of many People. On *Monday* Morning, his Highneſs publiſh'd a *Declaration* (being the firſt *Act* of his *Adminiſtration* of Publick Affairs) for authorizing all Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, and other Officers and Miniſters, not being *Papiſts*, that were in ſuch Offices, on the Firſt Day of *December* laſt, to act in their reſpective Places, till the meeting of the ſaid *Convention*, or other Order to the contrary.

The Prince's Civilities to the Queen Dowager.

The ſame *Monday* Evening, his Highneſs paid a Viſit to the Queen *Dowager*, and amongſt other Queſtions, ask'd her Majeſty, *How ſhe paſs'd her Time, and whether ſhe play'd at Baſſet?* The Queen took this Opportunity to ſpeak at a Diſtance, in Favour of the Earl of *Feverſham*, and anſwer'd his Highneſs, *That ſhe had not play'd at it ſince the Abſence of her Chamberlain, who us'd to keep the Bank.* The Prince of *Orange* took the Hint, and aſſur'd her Majeſty, *That he would not by any means divert her Majeſty's Diverſions, and would therefore Order the Earl to be ſet at Liberty*, which was done the next Day.

Circular Letters for calling a Convention.

The Prince having diſpatch'd his *Circular Letters* for the Meeting of the *Convention*, he publiſh'd an Order, *Jan.* 5. ſtrictly charging and requiring all Regiments, Troops or Companies, to march out of the Quarters, where any Election was to be made (the ſeveral Gariſons only excepted) the Day before the ſame be made, *That ſuch Elections might be carry'd on with the greater Freedom, and without any Colour of Force or Reſtraint.* And becauſe the Prince was inform'd, That divers Soldiers, contrary to his Intention, and the Laws of the Land, were quarter'd in private Houſes, he ſent out an Order, dated *Jan.* 8. *That none of the Forces, of what Nation or Quality ſoever, ſhould preſume to Quarter in any Private Houſe, without the free and voluntary Conſent of the Owner.*

The City lends Money to the Prince.

The ſame Day, the Court of Aldermen and Common-Council being aſſembled, a Letter was deliver'd unto 'em, from his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, ſetting forth the great Occaſion there was for an immediate Supply of Money, beyond what the preſent Condition of the Revenue could furniſh, for ſupporting the Charge of the Navy, paying off a Part of the Army, and ſending a ſpeedy Relief for the Defence of the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Ireland*; and propoſing that for the anſwering theſe great Ends, ſuch a Sum of Money, ſhould be advanc'd by way of Loan, as they could conveniently ſpare, which ſhould be ſecur'd in the beſt Manner that could be adviſ'd, and repaid with full Intereſt at the End of Six Months: Whereupon a Vote immediately paſs'd with all Chearfulneſs and Unanimity, *That they would ſupply his Highneſs with Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds.* The next Day, a Committe of the ſaid Court, attended his Highneſs, and gave him an Account of their Compliance with his Deſire, and the whole Sum was rais'd in Four Days. One ſingle Man having ſubſcrib'd Sixty Thouſand Pounds towards it.

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On *Jan.* 16. (*a*) The Prince publiſh'd a Declaration to ſatisfy the Seamen, That as well their Arrears, as their growing Wages, ſhould be fully made good to 'em, according to the known Methods of the Navy, ſo ſoon as the Ships ſhould be brought in, and laid up. And on *Jan.* 19. The Prince publiſh'd another Order for the ſatisfying and making good to every Officer and Soldier their full Pay and Arrears due to 'em until the firſt Day of this Inſtant *January*, and for the making conſtant and punctual Payment of the Subſiſtance-Money; and Clearings of the Army in the uſual Method, without any the leaſt Diminution of the former Pay.

Meeting of the Convention.

On Tueſday, *Jan.* 22. The *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, and *Commons* aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*: The Lord Marquis of *Hallifax*, executed the Place of *Speaker in the Houſe of Lords*, and the *Commons* choſe *Henry Powle*, Eſq; to be their *Speaker*. After which, this Letter from the Prince of *Orange* was read in *Both Houſes* on the Occaſion of their Meeting.

My Lords and Gentlemen:

The Prince's Speech to them.

"I Have endeavour'd, to the utmoſt of my Power, to perform what was deſir'd from me, in order to the publick Peace and Safety, and I do not know that any Thing hath been omitted, which might tend to the Preſervation of them, ſince the Adminiſtration of Affairs was put into my Hands. It now lieth upon you to lay the Foundations of a firm Security for your Religion, your Laws, and your Liberties.

"I do not doubt, but that by ſuch a Full and Free Repreſentative of the Nation, as is now met, the Ends of my Declaration will be attained: And ſince it hath pleas'd GOD hitherto to bleſs my good Intentions wth ſo good Succeſs; I truſt in him, that he will compleat his own Work, by ſending a Spirit of Peace and Union, to influence your Counſels, that no Interruption may be given to an happy and laſting Settlement.

"The dangerous Condition of the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, require a large and ſpeedy Succour; and the preſent State of Things Abroad, oblige me to tell you, That next to the Danger of unſeaſonable Diviſions amongſt your ſelves, nothing can be ſo fatal, as too great a Delay in your Conſultations. The *States*, by whom I have been enabl'd to reſcue this Nation, may ſuddenly feel the ill Effects of it, both by being too long depriv'd of the Service of their Troops, which are now here, and of your early Aſſiſtance againſt a powerful Enemy, who hath declar'd War againſt them. And as *England* is by Treaty already engag'd to help them upon ſuch Exigencies, ſo I am confident, that their chearful Concurrence to preſerve this Kingdom with ſo much Hazard to themſelves, will meet with all the Returns of Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance, which may be expected from you as Proteſtants and *Engliſhmen*, whenever their Condition ſhall require it.

After the Reading this Letter in the Houſe of Commons, the Speaker repreſented to the Aſſembly, "The dangerous State of the Nation, and the fatal Conſequences of Anarchy, the deplorable Condition of the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, and how much *England* might be affected by the Loſs of that Kingdom: And laſtly, the Growth of the Exorbitant Power of *France*, and the vaſt Deſigns of that aſpiring and turbulent *Monarch*, not only the Perſecutor of the *Proteſtant Religion*, but the ſworn Enemy of *England*, &c. This *Speech* was receiv'd with univerſal Applauſe, and was ſeconded by ſeveral Members. Then *Both Houſes* reſolv'd upon an *Addreſs* to be preſented to his Highneſs, and agreed that *Thurſday*, the 31ſt of *Jan.* ſhould be appointed for a Day of *Publick Thankſgiving to Almighty God*, in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Ten Miles diſtant, *for having made his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange *the glorious Inſtrument of the great Deliverance of this Kingdom from* Popery *and* Arbitrary Power; and that *Thurſday* (*b*), the 14th of *February*, ſhould be appointed for a Day of like Publick Thankſgiving throughout the reſt of the Kingdom. Then the *Lords* and *Commons* went in a Body to preſent the foremention'd *Addreſs* to his Highneſs in theſe Words.

Day of Thankſgiving.

Addreſs of Lords and Commons.

"WE the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, and *Commons* aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, being ſenſible of the great Deliverance of this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; and that our Preſervation is next under GOD, owing to your Highneſs, do return our moſt humble Thanks and Acknowledgments to your Highneſs, as the glorious Inſtrument of ſo great a Bleſſing. We do farther acknowledge the great Care your Highneſs has been pleaſed to take in the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom

(*a*) Before the Opening of this Convention, ſome of the Clergy who had wiſh'd a Deliverance from Popery, and yet had been ſo addicted to Principles of unlimited Right and Obedience, that they were not willing to part with a Popiſh King; began to expreſs their Fears of too great a Change. In particular, there was publiſh'd, *A Letter to a Member of the Convention, by Dr.* Sh——ck. Thrown again into an *Appendix* to the Life of King *James* II. arguing much againſt the accepting the Prince of *Orange* for King, as altering the eſſential Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, by changing an Hereditary into an Elective Monarchy, *&c.*

(*b*) Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, that the Lord Biſhop of *London* (Dr. *Compton*) the Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, (Dr. *Sprat*) the Lord Biſhop of *Norwich* (Dr. *Floyd*), the Lord Biſhop of *Ely* (Dr. *Turner*), the Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter* (Dr. *Lake*), the Lord Biſhop of *Glouceſter* (Dr. *Frampton*), the Lord Biſhop of *Bath and Wells* (Dr. *Ken*), the Lord Biſhop of *Peterborough* (Dr. *White*), the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln* (Dr. *Barlow*), the Lord Biſhip of *Briſtol* (Sir *J. Trelawney*), and the Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* (Dr. *Lloyd*), be and are hereby deſired to draw up a Form of Prayer and Thankſgiving to Almighty God for having made his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* the glorious Inſtrument of the great Deliverance of this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power. —— And Six Days after, the Lords made another Order, whereby it was recommended to the ſame Lords the Biſhops to whom was referr'd the drawing up the Prayers for a Day of Thankſgiving, *&c.* that they draw up a particular Prayer for his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* to be inſerted in that Form. —— All which was done in very ſuitable Expreſſions of Gratitude to God for their Mighty *Deliverer.* —— And yet 'tis very obſervable, that out of the Eleven Biſhops thus employ'd, and who had hitherto acted in the Revolution and Convention, Six of them were afterwards deprived for refuſing to take the Oaths, which they had made neceſſary and lawful by their own Proceedings thus far.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had not appeared in the Houſe of Lords, to oppoſe any Proceeding, or to make any Motion, and he did as much decline the holding any Conſult with his Brethren, or intimating any Reaſon of diſſenting from them. Whether this was owing to his natural Reſervedneſs and timerous Jealouſy, or to any Promiſe made to King *James*, or to his being too much a Stranger to the Prince, or waiting only the Event of uncertain Things, we cannot well determine. But Mr. *Echard* is pleas'd to ſay right enough, "Among the many that waited upon the PRINCE, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had hitherto declin'd that Particular, tho' he had ſhewn himſelf as ready as any in joining with and ſubſcribing the Lords Invitation at *Guild-Hall.* This was by many aſcribed to his Indiſpoſition of Body; but by others, who ſeem'd to judge more rightly of the Matter, to the ſame Reaſon which obliged the Biſhops not to ſign the *Aſſociation.* However, his Grace did ſoon after ſend a Compliment to the Prince, and with Seven or Eight Biſhops more ſubſcrib'd the *Aſſociation*; having ſoften'd ſome Words in it, that ſeem'd to bear upon the Principles of Chriſtianity, whereof one was that of *Revenge*, which they chang'd into that of *Puniſhment*". To which ſome will ſay they did well to humour them in the Change of that Word, becauſe they did not mean any private *Revenge*, but a publick exemplary *Puniſhment* on the Enemies of the Nation.

"to

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"to this Time. And we do moſt humbly deſire "your Highneſs that you will take upon you the "Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs, both *Civil* "and *Military*; and the Diſpoſal of the *Publick* "*Revenue*, for the Preſervation of our *Religion*, "*Rights*, *Laws*, *Liberties*, and *Properties*, and the "Peace of the Nation; and that your Highneſs "will take into your particular Care the Preſent "State of *Ireland*, and endeavour by the moſt Spee-"dy and Effectual Means to prevent the Dangers "that threaten that Kingdom. All which we make "our Requeſt to your Highneſs to undertake and "execute, till further Application ſhall be made "by us, which ſhall be expedited with all con-"venient Speed: And we ſhall alſo uſe our ut-"moſt Endeavours to give Diſpatch to the Mat-"ters recommended to us by your Highneſs's Let-"ter.

On the next Day, *Jan.* 23. His Highneſs ſent this *Anſwer* to Both *Houſes*.

My Lords and Gentlemen:

The Prince his Anſwer.

"I Am glad that what I have done has pleaſed "you; and ſince you deſire me to continue the "*Adminiſtration* of *Affairs*, I am willing to accept "it. I muſt recommend to you the Conſideration "of *Affairs* Abroad, which makes it fit for you to "expedite your Buſineſs, not only for making a "Settlement at Home, upon a good Foundation, "but for the Safety of *Europe*.

The Commons debate on the Throne being Vacant.

On *Monday*, *Jan.* 28. the *Commons* reſolved themſelves into a *Committee* of the whole *Houſe*, to take *into Conſideration the State and Condition of the Nation*, and Mr. *Hamden* took the Chair. Mr. *Dolben* began in a *Speech* to prove that the *Throne* was *Vacant*, becauſe King *James*, both by his *Violation* of the *Laws*, and his Voluntary *Deſerting* theſe Kingdoms, had forfeited his *Right*, and *Abdicated* the *Government*. Several Members argued againſt the *Throne being Vacant*, as a Poſition new and unknown to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution. Sir *Richard Temple* ask'd, *If the Throne were not* Vacant, *what Buſineſs they had in that Place, and what Need or what Power there was for Calling this* Convention? and then proceeded to confirm Mr. *Dolben*'s Aſſertion. After Four Hours Debate, Mr. *Hamden* reported this *Reſolve* of the *Committee*, to which the *Houſe* Agreed.

Reſolution.

Reſolved,

"That King *James* the Second, having endea-"voured to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the King-"dom, by breaking the *Original Contract* between "King and People: And by the Advice of *Jeſuits* "and other wicked Perſons, having *violated* the "*Fundamental-Laws*, and withdrawn himſelf out "of the Kingdom, hath *abdicated* the Government, "and that the *Throne* is thereby *vacant*.

The Lords make Amendments.

Mr. *Hamden*, by Order of the *Houſe*, carried up this *Reſolution* to the *Lords* for their Concurrence; and on *Saturday*, *Febr.* 2. this Meſſage was brought from the *Lords*. Mr. SPEAKER, *The Lords have conſidered of the Vote of this Houſe of the 28th of* January *laſt to which they concur with Amendments, unto which Amendments they deſire the Concurrence of this Houſe.* The Two Amendments were, *l.* 8. inſtead of the word *Abdicated*, read *Deſerted*. *l.* 9. leave out theſe Words, *And that the Throne is thereby Vacant.* The *Commons* having conſider'd theſe Amendments, diſagreed by a great Majority, and appointed a *Committee*, who drew up theſe *Reaſons* why the *Houſe* could not concur with their *Lordſhips*.

Diſagreed to by the Commons.

Their Reaſons.

"To the firſt Amendment propoſed by the Lords, "inſtead of the word *Abdicated*, to inſert the word "*Deſerted*, the Commons do not agree; becauſe "the word *Deſerted* doth not fully expreſs the Con-"cluſion neceſſarily inferred from the Premiſſes, "which your Lordſhips have agreed to: For your "Lordſhips have agreed, *That King* James *the Second* "*hath endeavoured to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the* "*Kingdom*, *by breaking the* Original-Contract *be-*"*tween King and People, and hath* violated *the* Fun-"damental Laws, *and withdrawn himſelf out of the* "*Kingdom*. Now the word *Deſerted* reſpects only "the withdrawing, but the word *Abdicated* reſpects "the whole; for which Purpoſe the *Commons* made "Choice of it.

"The *Commons* do not agree to the Second A-"mendment to leave out the words [illegible] *that the* "*Throne is thereby* Vacant.

"1. Becauſe they conceive, That as they may "well infer from ſo much of their own *Vote*, as "your Lordſhips have agreed unto, *That King* "James *the Second has Abdicated the Government*, "*and that the Throne is thereby* Vacant: So that if "they ſhould admit your Lordſhips Amendment, "that he hath only *Deſerted* the Government; yet "even thence it would follow, that the Throne is "*vacant* as to King *James* the Second, *Deſerting* "*the Government* being in true Conſtruction *deſert-*"*ing the Throne*.

"2. The *Commons* conceive, they need not prove "unto your Lordſhips, that as to any other Perſon, the "*Throne* is alſo *vacant*: Your Lordſhips (as they "conceive) having already admitted it, by your "*Addreſſing* to the Prince of *Orange*, the 25th of "*December* laſt, *To take upon him the Adminiſtrati-*"*on of publick Affairs*, *both Civil and Military*; "*and to take into his Care the Kingdom of* Ireland, "*till the Meeting of this* Convention. In purſuance "of ſuch *Letters*, and by your *Lordſhips* renewing "the ſame *Addreſs* to his Highneſs (as to *Publick* "*Affairs*, and the Kingdom of *Ireland*) ſince you "met, and by appointing Days of *Publick Thankſ-*"*givings* to be obſerved throughout the whole King-"dom. All which the *Commons* conceive to imply, "that it was your *Lordſhips* Opinion, that the "*Throne was Vacant*, and to ſignify ſo much to the "People of this Kingdom.

"3. It is from thoſe who are upon the Throne "of *England* (when there are any ſuch) from whom "the People of *England* ought to receive *Protection*; "and to whom for that Cauſe they owe the *Allegi-*"*ance* of Subjects: But there being none now from "whom they expect *Regal Protection*, and to whom "for that Cauſe they owe the *Allegiance* of Sub-"jects, the *Commons* conceive *the Throne is Va-*"*cant*.

Diviſions among the Lords.

Intrigues of the French Ambaſſador.

The better to underſtand the Diviſions in the *Houſe of Lords*, it muſt be remembred, that while the King was the laſt Time at *Rocheſter*, Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador was extraordinary buſy in promoting Diviſions amongſt the *Peers*; upon which the Prince of *Orange*, as ſoon as he was informed of the King's Departure, ſent an *Order* to that Miniſter, to leave the Kingdom in Four and Twenty Hours. Monſ. *Barillon* demanded more Time; which being refuſed, he parted from *London* with the Marquis *Rangoni*, Envoy of *Modena*, to whom the Prince had granted a Guard, and was conducted to *Dover* by Monſ. *de L'Etang*, a *French* Refugee, and Lieutenant of his Highneſs's Horſe-Guards; from whence he embark'd for *Calais*. Soon after, King *James* wrote a Letter from St. *Germains*, directed to the *Lords*, and others of his *Privy-Council*, dated *Jan.* 5. importing, "That he had ta-"ken away, not only all juſt Cauſes, but even Pre-"tenſions of Diſcontent, and redreſs'd all thoſe "Things that were ſet forth as the Cauſes of the "*Invaſion*: That the Prince of *Orange* ſeeing all "the Ends of his *Declaration* anſwer'd; the Peo-"ple beginning to be undeceiv'd, and returning to "their Duty, and well fore-ſeeing that if a *Free*

Letter of K. *James*.

"*Par-*

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“ *Parliament* ſhould Meet at the Time appointed, “ ſuch a Settlement in all Probability would be “ made both in *Church* and *State*, as would totally de-“ feat his ambitious Deſigns, reſolv’d by all means “ poſſible to prevent the Meeting of the *Parlia-“ ment*: That to do this the moſt effectual way, “ the Prince thought fit to lay a Reſtraint upon his “ Royal Perſon; for as it were abſurd to call that a “ *Free-Parliament*, where there is any Force on “ either of the Two *Houſes*, ſo much leſs can that “ *Parliament* be ſaid to act freely, where the Sove-“ reign, by whoſe Authority they Meet and Sit, “ and from whoſe Royal Aſſent all their Acts re-“ ceive their Life and Sanction, is under actual “ Confinement: That the Senſe of the Indignities “ he had ſuffered, both in his own, and the Per-“ ſon of the Earl of *Feverſham*, and in the juſt Ap-“ prenſion of further Attempts, by them who al-“ ready endeavour’d to murther his Reputation by “ infamous Calumnies (as if he had been capable “ of ſetting up a Suppoſititious Prince of *Wales*;) “ together with a ſerious Reflection on a Saying of “ his Royal Father, when he was in the like Cir-“ cumſtances, that *there is little Diſtance between “ the Priſons and the Graves of Princes*, (which “ afterward prov’d but too true in his Caſe) could “ not but perſuade him to make uſe of that Right, “ which the Law of Nature gives to the meaneſt of “ his Subjects, of freeing himſelf from that unjuſt “ Confinement: That this he did not more for the “ Security of his own Perſon than that thereby he “ might be in a better Capacity for tranſacting and “ providing for every that might contribute to the “ Peace and Settlement of his Kingdoms: That as “ no Change of Fortune ſhould ever make him “ condeſcend to any Thing unbecoming his Royal “ Station; ſo neither the Provocation nor Ingrati-“ tude of his own Subjects, nor any other Conſi-“ deration ſhould ever prevail with him to make “ the leaſt Step contrary to the true Intereſt of the “ *Engliſh* Nation, which he ever did and ever muſt “ look upon as his own: That he requir’d them of “ his Privy Council, to make theſe his Intentions “ known to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and “ the Lord-Mayor and Commons of the City of “ *London*, and to all his Subjects in general; and “ to aſſure them, that he deſir’d nothing more than “ to return and hold a Free Parliament, wherein he “ might have the beſt Opportunity of undeceiving “ his People, and ſhewing the Sincerity of thoſe “ Proteſtations he had often made, of preſerving “ the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects, and “ the Proteſtant Religion (*a*), more eſpecially the “ Church of *England*, as by Law Eſtabliſhed: That “ in the mean Time they ſhould ſend him their “ Advice, what was fit to be done by him towards “ his Returning, and the accompliſhing of theſe “ good Ends; and that he requir’d them to endea-“ vour to ſuppreſs all Tumults and Diſorders, that “ the Nation might receive the leaſt Prejudice that “ was poſſible from the preſent Diſtractions,

This Letter was publickly printed and diſpers’d in *London*, but being counter-ſign’d by the Earl of *Melfort*, a profeſs’d Papiſt, and being dictated by the Counſels of *France*, it had very little Effect upon the People, whatever Impreſſions of Reſerve and Caution it might make upon ſome of the Peers, who deſired or feared the Return of the King. There being no avow’d Anſwer made to it, King *James* wrote another Letter addreſs’d to the Lords and Commons, dated *Feb.* 3. N. S. wherein he tells them, “ That he thought himſelf obliged in Con-“ ſcience to do all he could to open his People’s “ Eyes, that they may ſee the true Intereſt of the “ Nation in this important Conjuncture: That “ finding he could no longer ſtay with Safety, nor “ act with Freedom, he had left the Reaſons of his “ Withdrawing from *Rocheſter* under his own “ Hand: That underſtanding that Letter, which he “ repeated here at length, was not taken to be his, “ but was maliciouſly ſuppreſs’d by the Prince of “ *Orange*; he writ to ſeveral of his *Privy Council* “ and directed Copies thereof to divers of them, “ the Peers of the Realm, believing none durſt inter-“ cept or open any of thoſe Letters: That of all “ theſe he had no Account, nor did he wonder that all “ Arts were uſed to hinder them from knowing his “ Sentiments: That he was reſolved nothing ſhould “ be omitted on his Part, that could contribute to-“ wards the Redreſs of all former Errors, or pre-“ ſent Diſorders, or add to the ſecuring the Pro-“ teſtant Religion, or the Property of the Subject; “ intending to refer the whole to a Parliament *Legally “ Called, Freely Elected, and held without Conſtraint*. “ And that none might deſpair of his Mercy, he “ declar’d on the Word of a King, that his Pardon “ ſhould be extended even to thoſe that betray’d “ him, (ſome few excepted;) reſolving in that Par-“ liament to cover all Faults by an Act of Obli-“ vion.

K. *James* ſends another Letter.

This Letter the Lord *Preſton* ſent to the Houſe of Commons, directed to their *Speaker*; but the Houſe being informed, that it came from King *James*, they did not think fit to open it, or to take any other Notice of it. A Copy of the ſame *Letter* was ſent to the Marquis of *Hallifax*, as *Speaker* of the Houſe of Lords: Some of the Peers were for opening, others for rejecting of it: It was at laſt reſolved, that the Lord *Preſton* ſhould be ſent for, who appear’d, and own’d that the *Letter* was brought to him by a *Scotchman*; upon which his Lordſhip was order’d to attend the Houſe again with the Bearer on *Febr.* 4. But his Lordſhip on that Day appointed was never call’d in, nor any farther Notice taken of the Letter.

This Letter ſent to the Two Houſes: Who took no Notice of it.

But however, this Regard to the Perſon of King *James*, and the old *New-Notions* of an indefeaſible *Right* of *Hereditary-Monarchy*, began to work much upon the Minds of the *Peers*, and even of thoſe who had been moſt forward to invite or to join the Prince: For on *January* 29. the Lords began to conſider of the Commons voting the Throne to be Vacant, and reſolv’d into a Committee of the whole Houſe, of which the Earl of *Danby* was *Chairman*. The firſt Motion was made, Not to agree with the Commons, *that the Throne was Vacant*; and yet to ſuppoſe it for the preſent, and paſs to this other Queſtion, *Whether the* Throne *being* Vacant, *it ought to be fill’d up by a* Regent, *or a* King? The Earl of *Nottingham* fetch’d many Arguments

The Lords debate about a Regent.

(*a*) This Appeal to Sincerity was made in Jeſt to the *Engliſh* People, or if in Earneſt, they lamented ſuch Kind of Proteſtations againſt the Fact of his whole Reign.

That which made the Project of a *Regency* the more familiar to the Minds of ſo many Peers, was not only the Preſidents of former Times in Minority and Abſence, but that it had been offer’d in a very late Expedient, for ſecuring the Rights and Liberties of the Church upon the Suppoſition of a Popiſh Succeſſor, without Excluſion of him. See the Heads of the Expedients propoſed by the Court Party to the Parliament in *Oxford*, 1681. in lieu of the Bill for excluding the Duke of *York*.

1. That the Duke be baniſhed, during his Life, Five Hundred Miles from *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories to them belonging.

2. That the whole Government both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, ſhall, upon the Demiſe of the King, be veſted in a Regent for ſuch Time as the Duke of *York* ſhall ſurvive.

3. That the Regent be the Princeſs of *Orange*, and in Caſe of her Deceaſe without Iſſue, or with Iſſue in Minority, then the Lady *Anne*. ——— That by theſe Means the Three Kingdoms might be united in Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, &c.

from

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from our *Engliſh* Hiſtory, to ſupport his Opinion for a *Regency*; (*a*) adding a freſh Inſtance from *Portugal*, where *Don Pedro* had only the Title of *Regent* conferr'd upon him, while his Depoſed Brother was alive. This *Speech* is ſaid to have had a great Influence on the *Houſe*, and would have been follow'd by a Majority, had not the Marquis of *Halifax* and the Earl of *Danby* ſtrenuouſly oppos'd it; ſo that the Queſtion being put to the *Vote*, Fifty one were for a *King*, and Forty nine only for a *Regent*; *viz.* the Dukes of *Somerſet*, *Ormond*, *Southampton*, *Grafton*, *Beaufort*, and *Northumberland*; the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Clarendon*, *Rocheſter*, *Craven*, *Weſtmorland*, *Scarſdale*, *Cheſterfield*, *Litchfield*, *Yarmouth* and *Lindſey*; Viſcount *Weymouth*; the Barons *Coventry*, *Brooke*, *Leigh*, *Ferrars*, *Maynard*, *Chandois*, *Jermin*, *Arundel* of *Treviſe*, *Dartmouth*, *Godolphin*, *Griffin*, and Five more; (*b*) the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *Norwich*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, St. *Aſaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Oxford*, *Gloceſter* and *Lincoln*. The Earls of *Huntingdon* and *Mulgrave* did not appear in the *Houſe*: My Lord *Churchill* likewiſe kept at Home, upon ſome Indiſpoſition. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was alſo abſent. And indeed, the Abhorrence of a *Depoſing Power*, as an Art and Act of *Popery*, was ſo warm upon the Thoughts of the *Clergy*, that no Biſhops came in to the Opinion of filling up the Throne, except the Biſhops of *London* and *Briſtol*. But Four Dukes were ſoon brought over, *viz.* the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Three Natural Sons of King *Charles* II. Whilſt the *Lords* were debating that Preliminary Queſtion, the *Commons* paſs'd a *Vote*, declaring, *That* Popery *was inconſiſtent with the* Engliſh Conſtitution; *and therefore, all* Papiſts *ſhould be for ever excluded from the Succeſſion to the Crown of* England: To which the *Houſe of Peers* gave their Concurrence; and propos'd farther, to add a Clauſe, *That no King of* England *ſhould Marry a* Roman-Catholick.

Votes againſt Popery.

Lords Debates of Original Contract;

On the next Day, *January* 30. the *Lords* put this Queſtion, *Whether or no there was an* Original Contract *between King and People?* In this Diſpute, ſome labour'd to maintain, *That Kings held their Crowns by* Divine Right; while others did aſſert, *That All Power originally belong'd to the* Community, *and to the* King *only by Mutual Compact.* The *Houſe* being divided, 53 were for this laſt Poſition, and 46 only for the *Negative*: By which it appear'd, that the Party that were for a *Regency*, began to loſe Ground. The next Queſtion was, *Whether King* James *had broke that* Original Contract? Which, after a ſhort Debate, was carry'd in the *Affirmative*.

On *Thurſday*, *Jan.* 31. their Lordſhips took into Conſideration the word *Abdicated*; and (*c*) concluded, That the word *Deſerted* was more proper. They next examin'd the word *Vacant*; and put this Queſtion, *Whether King* James, *having broke that* Original Contract *between Him and his People, and* deſerted *the Government*, *the Throne was thereby* Vacant? This Queſtion was debated with more Heat and Contention than any of the former; and upon a Diviſion, it was carry'd in the *Negative* by Eleven Voices. From this, ſome Peers inferr'd, That if there was no *Vacancy*, the Crown was devolv'd upon the next Heirs; and mov'd, That the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſhould be *declar'd* King and Queen; which was alſo carry'd in the *Negative* by Five Voices. The next (*d*) Day, their Lordſhips agreed to communicate their *Reſolutions* to the *Houſe of Commons*: But before they roſe, the Marqueſſes of *Halifax* and *Wincheſter*, t[illegible] Earls of *Denbigh* and *Devonſhire*, and Thirty [illegible] more of the Peers, enter'd their *Proteſtations* againſt the *Vote* of the Day before; *viz. That the Throne was not* Vacant.

And of the Vacancy of the Throne.

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On *Feb.* 2. it was *order'd* by the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, "That the "*Day of Thankſgiving*, on the 6th of *February* Inſtant, on which Day the late King *James* II. came "to the Throne, ſhall not be obſerv'd in this Kingdom." On this ſame Day, they ſent up their *Amendments* to the *Vote* of the *Houſe of Commons*; upon which a *Free Conference* was appointed in the *Painted Chamber.*

Conference between the Two Houſes.

On *Feb.* 5. Mr. *Hambden* reported from the *Conference* with the *Lords*, that the Earl of *Nottingham* had ſpoke to this Effect: "That the *Lords* had "deſir'd *this Conference*, that they might be as "happily united to the *Commons* in *Opinion*, as "they were inſeparable in their *Intereſt*; and that "they were at this Time uneaſy, that they could "not concur with the *Commons* in every Thing. "That the *Lords* did inſiſt upon the firſt *Amendment*; becauſe they did not find, that the word "*Abdicated* was known to the Common Law of "*England*; and becauſe, in the moſt common Acceptation of the Civil Law, *Abdicated* was a voluntary expreſs Act of Renunciation; which was "not in this Caſe. That the *Lords* alſo inſiſted "on the Second *Amendment*: For altho' their *Lordſhips* had agreed, that the King had *deſerted* the "Government, and therefore had made Application to the Prince of *Orange* to take upon him the "Adminiſtration of the Government; yet there "could be no other Inference drawn from hence, "but only, the Exerciſe of the Government by "King *James* II. was ceas'd: So as the *Lords* were "willing to ſecure the Nation againſt the Return "of the ſaid King into this Kingdom; but not "that there was either ſuch an *Abdication* by him, "or ſuch a *Vacancy* in the Throne, as that the "Crown was therefore become Elective. Which "they could not agree to; (1.) Becauſe, by the "*Conſtitution* of the Government, the Monarchy is "*Hereditary*, and not *Elective*. (2.) No Act of the "King can bar, or deſtroy the *Right* of his Heirs to "the Crown; and therefore, if the Throne be *Vacant* of King *James*, Allegiance is due to ſuch

(*a*) The Diſpute of Regency is thus ſtated by Biſhop *Burnet*, in his Preface to ſome Sermons, publiſh'd by him in 1713. 8*vo* "Thoſe who either adher'd ſecretly to King *James*, or "were intangled with ſome received Opinions, propoſed a "Regency with the Regal Power, leaving the Title and Dignity of the King in him: But as this could not be legally "done, unleſs the Act were paſſed by the King, Lords and "Commons, which in this Caſe could not be expected: So "if the Oath of Allegiance was ſtill continued, by which all "his Power and Authority, as well as a Titular Dignity "was to be maintain'd; here was an open Mockery, not without an impious Prophanation, to ſwear to a Prince who was "to be diveſted of his Authority, *&c.*

(*b*) Mr. *Echard* brings the Republicans on the Side of Voting for a Regency. "Some (ſays he) were for making the "Prince of *Orange Regent*, or *Protector*, with particular Limitations; and others *King*, according to the Old Conſtitution. "The firſt ſeem'd to be ſtrengthen'd by the numerous Party "of the Republicans, who hop'd by that Means to make a "great Step towards introducing a Commonwealth.

(*c*) See a *Sermon preach'd in* Lincoln's-Inn Chapel, *on the* 31*ſt of* January, 1688. *being the Day appointed for a Publick Thankſgiving to Almighty God, for having made His Highneſs the Prince of* Orange *the Glorious Inſtrument of the Great Deliverance of this Kingdom from* Popery *and Arbitrary Power. By* John Tillotſon, *D. D. Dean of* Canterbury. London, *Printed for* Brab. Aylmer, 4*to.*

There was a *Sermon preach'd before the Houſe of* Commons, *on the* 31*ſt of* January, 1688. *being the Thankſgiving-Day. By* Gilbert Burnet, *D. D. Chaplain to His Highneſs.* On *Pſal.* cxliv. 15. Printed for *Rich. Chiſwell*, 4to.

(*d*) An Entry in the Journal of the Houſe of *Commons*, *Feb.* 1. 1688. "*Reſolved*, That the Unanimous Thanks of the "Houſe be now given to the Clergy of the Church of *England*, for the great Services they have done their Religion "and Country, by the Oppoſition they have made to the Execution of the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, and their refuſing to "read the King's *Declaration* for Toleration." Paſs'd *Nemine Contradicente.*

"Perſon

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"Perſon as the *Right* of *Succeſſion* does belong to." By this way of Reaſoning, it is plain, that the *Diſſent* of the *Lords* from the *Commons*, did not ariſe from any Favour to the *Perſon*, or the *Government* of (a) King *James*, but from a Tenderneſs to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, and the Legal Notions of *Hereditary Monarchy*.

When Mr. *Hambden* made his *Report* of this *Conference*, the Queſtion was put, Whether the *Commons* ſhould concur with the *Lords*? And it was carry'd in the *Negative*, by a very great Majority: And it was *reſolved*, That a *Free Conference* be deſir'd with the *Lords*, upon the Subject-Matter of the laſt *Conference*: To which the Lords agreed. This Second *Conference* was open'd by Mr. *Hambden*, who ſpoke thus:

Another Free Conference.

Speech of Mr. Hambden.

"My *Lords*, The *Commons* have deſir'd this *Free Conference* from your *Lordſhips*, upon the Subject-Matter of the laſt *Conference*; that they may make appear to your *Lordſhips*, That it is not without ſufficient Reaſon, that they are induced to maintain their own *Vote*, to which your *Lordſhips* have made ſome *Amendments*. --- 'Tis true, my *Lords*, the preſent Difference between your *Lordſhips* and the *Commons*, is only about a few *Words*: But the *Commons* think their Words ſo ſignificant to the Purpoſe for which they are uſed, and ſo proper to the Caſe unto which they are apply'd, that, in ſo weighty a Matter as that now in Debate, they are by no means to be parted with.

"The word *Abdicated*, the *Commons* conceive is of larger Signification, than the Word your *Lordſhips* are pleas'd to uſe, *Deſert*; but not too large to be apply'd to all the Recitals in the beginning of the *Commons* Vote, to which they meant it ſhould be apply'd. Nor ought it to be reſtrain'd to a voluntary expreſs *Reſignation*, only in Word or Writing; *Overt-Acts* there are, that will be ſignificant enough to amount to it.

"My *Lords*, That the Common Law of *England* is not acquainted with the Word; it is from the Modeſty of our Law, that it is not willing to ſuppoſe there ſhould be any unfortunate Occaſion of making uſe of it: And We would have been willing that We ſhould never have had ſuch an Occaſion as We have, to have Recourſe to it. Your *Lordſhips* next *Amendment* is, That your *Lordſhips* have left out the laſt Words in the *Commons* Vote, *And that the Throne is thereby Vacant*.

"My *Lords*, The *Commons* conceive it is a true Propoſition, and *That the Throne is Vacant*; and they think they make it appear, that *that* is no new Phraſe; neither is it a Phraſe that perhaps ſome of the Old Records may be Strangers to, or not well acquainted with: But they think it not chargeable with the Conſequences that your *Lordſhips* have been pleas'd to draw from it, *That it will make the Crown of* England *become Elective*. If the Throne had been full, We know your *Lordſhips* would have aſſign'd that as a Reaſon of your *Diſagreement*, by telling us who fill'd it; and it would be known by ſome Publick Royal Act, which might notify to the People, in Whom the *Kingly Government* reſided: Neither of which has been done; and yet your *Lordſhips* will not allow the *Throne to be Vacant*.

"My *Lords*, I am unwilling to detain your *Lordſhips* longer, from what may be better ſaid for your *Lordſhips* Satisfaction in theſe Matters, by thoſe whoſe Province it is. I am to acquaint your *Lordſhips*, That the *Commons* do agree, it is an Affair of very great Importance. Here are other Gentlemen that are appointed to manage this *Conference*; and will give their Aſſiſtance to bring it, we hope, to a Happy Concluſion, in the Agreement of *both Houſes* in this ſo very conſiderable a Point.

Then Mr. *Somers* ſpoke thus:

Argument of Mr. Somers.

"My *Lords*, What is appointed me to ſpeak to, is, your *Lordſhips* Firſt *Amendment*; by which the word (b) *Abdicated*, in the *Commons* Vote, is chang'd into the word *Deſerted*: And I am to acquaint your *Lordſhips*, what ſome of the Grounds are, that induced the *Commons* to inſiſt upon the word *Abdicated*, and not to agree to your *Lordſhips Amendment*.

1. "The firſt Reaſon your *Lordſhips* are pleas'd to deliver as for your changing the Word, is, *That the word* Abdicated, *your Lordſhips do not find it a Word known to the Common Law of* England, *and therefore ought not to be uſed*: And the next is, *That the Common Acceptation of the Word, amounts to a voluntary expreſs Act of* Renunciation; *which* (*your* Lordſhips *ſay*) *is not in this Caſe, nor will follow from the Premiſes*.

"My *Lords*, As to the firſt of theſe Reaſons, if it be an Objection, That the word *Abdicated* hath not a known Senſe in the Common Law of *England*; there's the ſame Objection againſt the word *Deſerted*: For there can be no Authority or Book of Law produced, wherein any determinate Senſe is given to the word *Deſerted*. So that your *Lordſhips* firſt Reaſon hath the ſame Force againſt your own *Amendment*, as it hath againſt the Term uſed by the *Commons*.

"The Words are both *Latin* Words, and us'd in the beſt Authors, and both of a known Signification: Their Meaning is very well underſtood, tho' it be true their Meaning be not the ſame. The word *Abdicate* doth naturally and properly ſignify, *entirely to renounce, throw off, diſown, relinquiſh any Thing or Perſon, ſo as to have no further to do with it; and that whether it be done by expreſs Words, or in Writing*, (which is the

(a) Mr. *Echard* has obſerv'd, "That as to the Lords, tho' they were generally for keeping out King *James*, yet there were a conſiderable Party amongſt them, who, to ſave the *Honour* of the *Church* of *England*, and the Rights and Relicks of Monarchy, were for ſending His Majeſty an Invitation to return into *England*; but ſtill upon ſuch hard Terms, and with ſuch Reſtrictions, as in all Probability he would never condeſcend to: Of which Party were the Earls of *Clarendon, Rocheſter*, and *Nottingham*, and moſt of the Biſhops.—— Yet in the Houſe of *Commons*, ſays he, the Party of thoſe who were for inviting King *James* to return upon Limitations, or not for making the Prince of *Orange* King, did not find themſelves ſtrong enough to cauſe the Houſe to divide. However, the chief of them (ſuch as Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Mr. *Finch*, Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, Sir *William Cooke*, the Lord *Fanſhaw*, the Lord *Cornbury*, &c.) did vigorouſly oppoſe the Paſſing of the Vote of the *Throne being Vacant*.—— Mr. *Echard* does again believe, "That the no common Difficulties ariſing in many of that Auguſt Body of the Houſe of Lords, were owing to their having entertain'd Large and Generous Notions of the Church and Monarchy of *England*:"—— Whereas others will ſay the contrary, That thoſe Difficulties aroſe, only from entertaining *Narrow* and *Servile* Notions of the Church and Monarchy of *England*.

(b) Even Mr. *Dodwell*, who adher'd to King *James*, did ſufficiently own the Validity of his Abdication, in his *Defence of the Vindication of the Deprived Biſhops*, 4to. p 71. "*Germanus* the Patriarch (ſays he) had ABDICATED, perhaps unwillingly; but that cannot prejudice the Validity of the Thing when done. Multitudes of ſuch Reſignations there have been, both of PRINCES and Biſhops, the Validity whereof was never queſtion'd by Men of the ſevereſt Principles; eſpecially where the Unwillingneſs was not total, but ſuch as was conſiſtent with Conditional Willingneſs. Such a Willingneſs, I mean, as Men rather choſe, than they would abide the Conſequences which were otherwiſe to be expected, in caſe they ſhould prove refractory."—— And elſewhere, in the ſame Tract, he granted, "That a Biſhop [and equally by his Argument, a King] "leaving the Enſign of his Office behind him, and retiring, He needs *not* ſo much as the Form of a *Deprivation*, but doth *ipſo facto* ABDICATE, even tho' he proteſts *not* to Abdicate; becauſe his *Proteſtation* is againſt *Fact*, and therefore Null and Void in it ſelf.

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" Senſe your *Lordſhips* put upon it, and which is " properly call'd *Reſignation*, or *Ceſſion*) or, by *do-* " *ing ſuch Acts as are inconſiſtent with the holding,* " *or retaining of the Thing* : Which the *Commons* " take to be the preſent Caſe, and therefore made " choice of the word *Abdicate*, as that which they " thought did (above all others) moſt properly " expreſs that Meaning. And in this latter Senſe " it is taken by others; and that it is the true Signi- " fication of the Word, I ſhall ſhew your *Lordſhips* " out of the beſt Authors.

" The firſt I ſhall mention, is *Grotius*, [*de Jure* " *Belli & Pacis* l. 2. c. 4. §. 4.] *Venit enim hoc non* " *ex jure civili, ſed ex jure naturali, quo quiſque* " *ſuum poteſt* Abdicare, *& ex naturali Præſumptione* " *qua voluiſſe quis creditur, quod ſufficienter ſigni-* " *ficavit.* And then he goes on, *Recuſari Hæreditas* " *non tantum verbis, ſed etiam re poteſt, & quovis* " *indicio voluntatis.*

" Another Inſtance, which I ſhall mention, to " ſhew that for the *Abdicating* a Thing, it is ſuffi- " cient to do an Act which is inconſiſtent with the " retaining it, tho' there be nothing of an *expreſs* " *Renunciation*, is out of *Calvin*'s *Lexicon Juridi-* " *cum*, where he ſays, (*Generum* Abdicat, *qui* " *ſponſam repudiat*;) *He that divorceth his Wiſe,* " abdicates *his Son in-Law*. Here is an *Abdication* " without *expreſs Words*; but is by doing ſuch " an Act, as doth ſufficiently ſignify his Purpoſe.

" The next Author that I ſhall quote, is *Briſonius*, " [*De Verborum Significatione*] who hath this Paſ- " ſage : *Homo liber qui ſeipſum vendit*, abdicat *ſe* " *ſtatu ſuo*; that is, *He who ſells himſelf, hath* " *thereby done ſuch an Act, as cannot conſiſt with* " *his former Eſtate of Freedom*; and is therefore " properly ſaid, *Se* abdicaſſe *ſtatu ſuo.*

" *Budæus* [in his Commentaries *ad Legem Se-* " *cundam, de Origine Juris*] expounds the Words " in the ſame Senſe : *Abdicare ſe Magiſtratu, eſt* " *idem quod abire penitus Magiſtratu*; that is, *He* " *that goes out of his Office of Magiſtracy, let it be* " *in what manner he will, has* abdicated *the Ma-* " *giſtracy.*

" And *Grotius* [in his Book *de Jure Belli &* " *Pacis*, l. 1. c. 4. §. 9.] ſeems to expound the " word *abdicare*, by *manifeſtè habere pro Derelicto*; " that is, *That he who hath* abdicated *any Thing,* " *hath ſo far relinquiſh'd it, that he hath no Right* " *of Return to it.* And that is the Senſe the *Com-* " *mons* put upon the Word : It is an *Entire Aliena-* " *tion of the Thing*; and ſo ſtands in Oppoſition to " *Dicare* : *Dicat, qui proprium aliquod facit*; Abdi- " cat, *qui alienat*; ſo ſays *Pralejus*, in his *Lexicon* " *Juris*. It is therefore inſiſted upon as the proper " Word, by the *Commons*.

" But the word *Deſerted* (which is the Word " us'd in the *Amendment*, by your *Lordſhips*) hath " not only a very doubtful Signification, but in " the common Acceptance both of the *Civil* and *Ca-* " *non Law*, doth ſignify only a *bare Withdrawing*, " a *Temporary Quitting of a Thing*; and *Neglect* " *only, which leaves the Party at Liberty of return-* " *ing to it again. Deſertum pro Neglecto*, ſays *Spi-* " *gelius*, in his *Lexicon*. But the Difference be- " tween *deſerere* and *derelinquere*, is expreſly laid " down by *Bartolus*, upon the Eighth Law of the " Fifty eighth Title of the Eleventh Book of the " *Code*; and his Words are theſe; *Nota diligenter* " *ex hac Lege, quod aliud eſt Agrum* deſerere, *aliud* " derelinquere; *qui enim* derelinquit, *ipſum ex pæ-* " *nitentia non revocat*; *ſed qui* deſerit, *intra bien-* " *nium poteſt.*

" Whereby it appears, my *Lords*, That that is " call'd *Deſertion*, which is *Temporary* and *Relieva-* " *ble*; that is call'd *Dereliction*, where there is *no* " *Power of Right to return.*

" So in the beſt *Latin* Authors, and in the *Ci-* " *vil Law*, *deſerere Exercitum* is us'd to ſignify, Sol- " diers leaving their Colours. *Cod.* lib. 12. §. 1.

" And in the *Canon Law*, to *deſert a Benefice*, " ſignifies no more than to be *Non-Reſident* : So " is *Calvin*'s *Lexicon*, *Verb.* Deſert. *Secund. Ca-* " *nones.* 1688. 4 *Jac.* II.

" In both Caſes, the Party hath not only a *Right* " *of returning*, but is *bound to return again.* Which, " my *Lords*, as the *Commons* do not take to be the " preſent Caſe, ſo they cannot think that your " *Lordſhips* do; becauſe it is expreſly ſaid, in one " of your Reaſons given in the laſt *Amendment*, " *That your* Lordſhips *have been, and are willing* " *to ſecure the Nation againſt the Return of King* " James : Which your *Lordſhips* would not in Ju- " ſtice do, if you did look upon it no more than " a *negligent Withdrawing*, which leaves them at *Liberty* " *to the Party to return.*

" For which Reaſons, my *Lords*, the *Commons* " cannot agree to the firſt *Amendment*, to inſert the " word *Deſerted*, inſtead of *Abdicated*; becauſe it " doth not in any ſort come up to their Senſe of " the Thing; ſo they do apprehend, it doth not " reach your *Lordſhips* Meaning, as it is expreſs'd " in your *Reaſons* : Whereas they look upon the " word *Abdicated* to expreſs properly what is to be " inferr'd from that Part of the *Vote* to which your " *Lordſhips* have agreed, *That King* James II. *by* " *going about to ſubvert the Conſtitution, and by* " *breaking the* Original Contract *between King and* " *People, and by violating the* Fundamental Laws, " *and withdrawing himſelf out of the Kingdom*, hath " thereby renounc'd to be a King according to the " Conſtitution : By avowing to Govern by a De- " ſpotick Power, unknown to the Conſtitution, and " inconſiſtent with it, He hath renounc'd to be a " King according to the Law; ſuch a King, as He " ſwore to be at the Coronation; ſuch a King, to " whom the *Allegiance* of an *Engliſh* Subject is due; " and hath ſet up another kind of Dominion, which " is to all Intents an *Abdication*, or *Abandoning of* " *his Royal Title*, as fully as if it had been done by " expreſs Words.

" And, my *Lords*, for theſe Reaſons the *Commons* " do inſiſt upon the word *Abdicated*, and cannot " agree to the word *Deſerted.*

Mr. Serjeant *Holt* argued thus : " My *Lords*, I " am commanded by the *Commons*, to aſſiſt in the " Management of this Conference, and am to ſpeak " to the ſame Point that the Gentleman did, who " ſpoke laſt to your *Lordſhips* firſt *Amendment.* *Argument of Serjeant Holt.*

" As to the firſt of your *Lordſhips* Reaſons for " that *Amendment*, (with Submiſſion to your *Lord-* " *ſhips*) I do conceive it not ſufficient to alter the " Minds of the *Commons*; or to induce them to " change the word *Abdicated*, for your *Lordſhips* " word *Deſerted.*

" Your *Lordſhips* Reaſon is, *That it is not a* " *Word that is known to the Common Law of* Eng- " land. But, my *Lords*, the Queſtion is not ſo " much, Whether it be a Word as Ancient as the " *Common Law*? (tho' it may be too.) For that " will be no Objection againſt the uſing it, if it " be a Word of a known and certain Signification; " becauſe that (we think) will juſtify the *Commons* " making uſe of it, according to your *Lordſhips* " own Expreſſion.

" That it is an Ancient *Word*, appears by the " Authors that have been quoted; and 'tis fre- " quently met with in the beſt of *Roman* Writers, " as *Cicero*, &c. and by the Derivation from *Dico*, " an Ancient *Latin* Word.

" That now it is a known *Engliſh* Word, and of " a known and certain Signification with us, I will " quote to your Lordſhips an *Engliſh* Authority; " and that is, the *Dictionary* ſet forth by our Coun- " tryman *Minſhew*, who hath the word *Abdicate*, " as an *Engliſh* Word; and ſays, that it ſignifies to " *Renounce*; which is the Signification the *Commons* " would have of it : So that I hope your *Lordſhips*

3 " will

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"will not find Fault with their uſing a Word that is "ſo ancient in it ſelf, and that hath ſuch certain "Signification in our own Language.

"Then, my Lords, for that Part of Your Lordſhips Objection, *That it is not a Word known to the* Common-Law *of* England, that cannot prevail; for your Lordſhips very well know, we have "very few Words in our Tongue that are of equal "Antiquity with the *Common-Law*; your Lordſhips "know the Language of *England* is alter'd greatly "in the ſeveral Succeſſions of Time, and the Intermixture of other Nations; and if we ſhould "be oblig'd to make uſe only of Words then known "and in uſe, what we ſhould deliver in ſuch a "Dialect, would be very difficult to be underſtood.

"Your Lordſhips ſecond Reaſon for your firſt "Amendment in changing the word *Abdicated*, for "the word *Deſerted*, is, *Becauſe in the moſt common Acceptation of the Civil Law*, Abdication *is a voluntary Expreſs Act of* Renunciation. That "is the general Acceptation of the Word, and, I "think, the Commons do ſo uſe the Word in this "Caſe, becauſe it hath that Signification: But I do "not know, whether your Lordſhips mean a voluntary Expreſs Act, or formal Deed of *Renunciation*: If you do ſo, I confeſs I know of none "in this Caſe: But, my Lords, both in the *Common-Law* of *England*, and the *Civil Law*, and in "common Underſtanding, there are expreſs Acts of "*Renunciation* that are not by Deed; for if your "Lordſhips pleaſe to obſerve, the Government and "Magiſtracy is under a Truſt, and any Acting contrary to that Truſt is a *Renouncing* of the Truſt, "tho' it be not a *Renouncing* by formal Deed; For "it is a plain *Declaration*, by Act and Deed, tho' "not in Writing, that he who hath the Truſt, "acting contrary, is a *Diſclaimer* of the Truſt: "Eſpecially, my Lords, if the Actings be ſuch as "are inconſiſtent with, and ſubverſive of this Truſt; "For how can a Man in Reaſon or Senſe expreſs a "greater *Renunciation* of a Truſt, than by the conſtant *Declarations* of his Actings to be quite contrary to that Truſt?

"This, my Lords, is ſo plain, both in Underſtanding and Practice, that I need do no more "but repeat it again, and leave it with your Lordſhips, *That the doing an Act inconſiſtent with the Being and End of a Thing, or that ſhall not anſwer the End of that Thing, but quite the contrary, that ſhall be conſtru'd an* Abdication, *and formal* Renunciation *of that Thing.* (a)

The Lords at laſt agree to the Words *Abdicated* and *Vacant.*

The Managers of the Lords, having made their Report to the *Houſe*; on the ſame Day, *February* 6th, there was a long Debate, Whether or no they ſhould inſiſt upon their *Amendments*? By this Time ſeveral of the *Chief Members*, who were before for a *Regency*, were come over to the *Party* that were for filling up the *Vacant Throne*, which was alſo increas'd by the Arrival of ſome other Lords, inſomuch that the *Two Queſtions* about the Words, *Abdicated* and *Vacant*, were now carry'd in the *Affirmative*. The Earl of *Danby* made an excellent *Speech*, to prove the *Vacancy* of the *Throne*, and the Neceſſity of *Supplying* it by the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, wherein he was ſtoutly ſeconded by the Marquis of *Hallifax*, who immediately put this Queſtion: *Whether their Highneſſes, the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *ſhould be declar'd King and Queen?* Upon which, by a Majority of Twenty Voices, It was *reſolv'd by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſembled at* Weſtminſter, *That the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *ſhall be declar'd King and Queen of* England, *and of all the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

Reſolution of the Lords for Settling the Throne.

On *Thurſday, Feb.* 7. The Lords came to this *Declaration* of Settling the Succeſſion of the *Crown*; *That the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange *ſhould be King and Queen of* England, *&c. for their Natural Lives, and Life of the longer Liver of them; and that the Sole and Full Regal Power be in the Prince only, in the Name of Both: And that after their Deceaſes, the Crown ſhall belong to the Heirs of the Body of the Princeſs; and for default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Princeſs* Anne *of* Denmark, *and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Prince of* Orange; *and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Perſon that ſhall be nam'd, and in ſuch Manner as ſhall be limited and regulated by* Act of Parliament; *and for Default of ſuch Limitation and Regulation, to the lawful Heirs of the ſaid Prince of* Orange. The Lords ſent up this *Declaratory Vote* to the *Commons*, to which, after a ſhort *Debate*, and ſome little *Amendment*, the *Commons* agreed: The ſame Day the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, That they had agreed to the Vote ſent them up of the 28th of *January* laſt, without any Alterations. They alſo communicated to the Commons the Oaths which the Lords thought fit to be taken, inſtead of thoſe of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, which were readily approv'd by the Commons.

Happy Agreement of the Two Houſes.

In the mean Time, a Committee of the Houſe of Commons were employ'd in drawing up a Declaration, containing the Reaſons, why King *James* had Vacated the Throne, and aſſerting the ancient Rights and Liberties of the People of *England*; which Declaration being ſent up to the Lords on the 1ſt of *February*, was after ſome Debates agreed unto the Day following, when the Princeſs of *Orange* arriv'd at *Graveſend*, and went directly to *Whitehall*, amidſt loud *Acclamations*, and all the Signs of Univerſal Joy. (b)

Arrival of the Princeſs of *Orange*.

On the next Day, being *Wedneſday, February* 13. The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, being ſeated on Two armed Chairs, under a Canopy in the *Banqueting-Houſe*, both Houſes of the Convention waited upon them in a Body, and caus'd the Clerk of the Crown to read with an audible Voice the following *Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, and *Commons aſſembled* at Weſtminſter.

Declaration of the Two Houſes.

"WHereas the late King *James* II. by the "Aſſiſtance of divers Evil Counſellors, "Judges, and Miniſters employ'd by him, did endeavour to ſubvert and extirpate the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Laws* and *Liberties* of this "Kingdom; by aſſuming and exerciſing a Power "of diſpenſing with, and ſuſpending of *Laws*,

(a) See the Debate at large, between the Houſe of Lords and Houſe of Commons, at the free Conference held in the *Painted Chamber*, in the Seſſion of the Convention, *Anno* 1688. relating to the word ABDICATED and the VACANCY of the Throne in the Commons Vote. Printed for *J. Wilkins*, 1695. 8*vo*.

Mr. *Echard* infers from this memorable Conference and Debate, that it plainly appears, "That the Opinion was almoſt "univerſal, that King *JAMES* had abdicated or forfeited his "own Perſonal Right, but the main Difficulty aroſe from the "Regard to his Heirs, and probably from the Prince of *Wales* "himſelf, about whoſe Title both Lords and Commons ſeem'd "reſolv'd not to have the leaſt Argument. —— To which may be added, That if the Lords and Commons were univerſally of Opinion, that the Perſonal Right of King *James* was not unalienable, there could be no Indefeaſible Right in his Heirs: However the Prince of *Wales* was neither in the Argument, nor indeed in the Queſtion; there was no Intimation of his Apparent or Preſumptive Right, but of Proteſtant Succeſſors only.

(b) Her Highneſs ſtopt a little in the River at *Greenwich* to receive the Prince and Princeſs of *Denmark* in the *Yatcht*, and then they all took Barge toward *London*.

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“and the Execution of *Laws*, without Conſent of *Parliament*; by committing and proſecuting divers worthy *Prelates*, for humbly petitioning to be excus'd from concurring to the ſaid aſſum'd Power; by iſſuing and cauſing to be executed, a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court call'd, *The Court of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*; By levying Money for, and to the Uſe of the Crown, by Pretence of Prerogative, for other Time, and in other Manner, than the ſame was granted by Parliament; By raiſing and keeping a Standing Army within this Kingdom in Time of Peace, without Conſent of Parliament; and Quartering Soldiers contrary to *Law*: By cauſing ſeveral good Subjects, being Proteſtants, to be diſarm'd at the ſame Time when Papiſts were both arm'd and employ'd contrary to Law: By violating the Freedom of Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament: By Proſecution in the Court of *King's-Bench*, for Matters and Cauſes cognizable only in Parliament, and by divers other illegal and arbitrary Courſes.

“And whereas of late Years, partial, corrupt, and unqualify'd Perſons have been return'd, and ſerv'd on *Juries* in *Trials*; and particularly divers *Jurors* in Trials for *High-Treaſon*, which were not Free-Holders: And exceſſive Bail hath been requir'd of Perſons committed in Criminal Cauſes, to elude the Benefit of the Laws for the Liberty of the Subject: And expenſive Fines have been impos'd; And illegal and cruel Puniſhments inflicted: And ſeveral Grants and Promiſes made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction or Judgment againſt whom the ſame was to be levy'd: All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statutes, and Freedom of this Realm:

“And whereas the late King *James* II. having *abdicated* the Government, and the *Throne* being thereby *Vacant*; his Highneſs, the Prince of *Orange* (whom it hath pleas'd Almighty God to make the glorious Inſtrument of delivering this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power) did (by the Advice of the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, and divers Principal Perſons of the *Commons*) cauſe Letters to be written to the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, being Proteſtants, and other Letters to the ſeveral Counties, Cities, Univerſities, Boroughs and Cinque-Ports, for the chuſing of ſuch Perſons to repreſent them, as were of Right to be ſent to *Parliament*, to meet and ſit at *Weſtminſter*, *Jan.* 22. 1689. in order to ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, as that their *Religion*, *Laws*, and *Liberties* might not again be in Danger of being ſubverted; upon which Letters, Elections have been accordingly made: And thereupon, the ſaid *Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons*, purſuant to their reſpective Letters and Elections, being now aſſembled in a full and free Repreſentation of this Nation, taking into their moſt ſerious Conſideration the beſt Means for the attaining the Ends aforeſaid, do in the firſt Place (as their Anceſtors in like Caſes have uſually done) for the vindicating their Ancient Rights and Liberties, declare;

“That the pretended Power of *Suſpending Laws*, or the Execution of Laws by Regal Authority, without Conſent of *Parliament*, is illegal.

“That the pretended Power of *Diſpenſing* with *Laws*, or the executing of Laws by regal Authority, as it hath been aſſum'd and exercis'd of late, is illegal.

“That the Commiſſion for erecting the late *Courts of Commiſſioners* for *Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*, and all other Commiſſions and Courts of the like Nature, are illegal and pernicious.

“That *Levying Money*, to or for the Uſe of the *Crown*, by Pretence of *Prerogative*, without Grant of *Parliament*, for longer Time, or in any other Manner, than the ſame is, or ſhall be granted, is illegal. 1688. 4 Jac. II.

“That it is the Right of the Subject to *Petition* the King, and all Commitments and Proſecutions for ſuch *Petitioning* are illegal.

“That the raiſing and keeping a *Standing Army* within the Kingdom in Time of *Peace*, unleſs it be by Conſent of *Parliament*, is againſt Law.

“That the Subjects being *Proteſtants*, may have *Arms* for their Defence ſuitable to their Condition, and as allow'd by Law.

“That the *Election* of Members of *Parliament* ought to be *Free*.

“That the *Freedom of Speech*, or Debates, and Proceedings in *Parliament*, ought not to be impeach'd or queſtion'd in any Court or Place out of *Parliament*.

“That *Exceſſive Bail* ought not to be requir'd, nor *Exceſſive Fines* impos'd, nor cruel and unuſual Puniſhments inflicted.

“That *Jurors* ought to be duly impannell'd and return'd, and *Jurors* which paſs upon Men in Trials for *High Treaſon*, ought to be *Free-Holders*.

“That all Grants and Promiſes of *Fines* and *Forfeitures* of particular Perſons before Conviction, are illegal and Void.

“And that for Redreſs of all Grievances, and for the Amending, Strength'ning, and Preſerving of the Laws, *Parliaments* ought to be held frequently.

“And they do claim, demand, and inſiſt upon all and ſingular the Premiſſes, as their undoubted *Rights* and *Privileges*; and that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings, or Proceedings, to the Prejudice of the People in any of the ſaid Premiſſes, ought in any wiſe to be drawn hereafter in Conſequence or Example.

“To which Demand of their *Rights* they are particularly encouraged by the *Declaration* of his Highneſs, the Prince of *Orange*, as being the only Means for obtaining a full Redreſs and Remedy therein.

“Having therefore an entire Confidence, that his ſaid Highneſs, the Prince of *Orange*, will perfect the *Deliverance* ſo far advanc'd by him, and will ſtill preſerve them from the *Violation* of their *Rights*, which they have here aſſerted, and from all other Attempts upon their *Religion*, *Rights* and *Liberties*:

“The ſaid *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, and *Commons* aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, do Reſolve;

“That *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* be, and be declared *King* and *Queen* of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the *Crown* and *Royal Dignity* of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, to them the ſaid Prince and Princeſs during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them; and that the ſole and full Exerciſe of the *Royal Power* be only in, and executed by the ſaid Prince of *Orange*, in the Names of the Prince and Princeſs during their Lives; And after their Deceaſes, the ſaid *Crown* and *Royal-Dignity* of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Princeſs; And for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; And for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Prince of *Orange*.

“And the ſaid *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, and *Commons*, do pray the ſaid Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to accept the ſame accordingly.

“And

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" And that the *Oaths* hereafter mentioned, be " taken by all Perſons of whom the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* might be required by Law, " inſtead of them ; and that the ſaid *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* be *abrogated.*

I A. B. do ſincerely Promiſe and Swear, That I will be Faithful and bear true Allegiance to their Majeſties, King William and Queen Mary.

So help me God.

I A. B. do Swear, That I do from my Heart Abhor, Deteſt, and Abjure as Impious and Heretical, this Damnable Doctrine and Poſition, That Princes Excommunicated or Deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be Depoſed or Murthered by their Subjects, or any other whatſoever ; And I do Declare, That no Foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority, Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, within this Realm.

So help me God.

After the Reading of this Declaration, the Marquis of *Hallifax, Speaker* of the Houſe of Lords, made a Tender of the *Crown* to their Highneſſes in the Name of *Both Houſes*, whereupon the Prince returned this *Anſwer.*

My Lords and Gentlemen ;

" THIS is certainly the greateſt Proof of the " Truſt you have in me that can be given, " which is the Thing that makes us value it the " more : And as I had no other Intention in coming " hither, than to preſerve your *Religion, Laws*, and " *Liberties*, ſo you may be ſure, that I ſhall endeavour to ſupport them, and ſhall be willing to " concur in any Thing that ſhall be for the Good of " the Kingdom, and to do all that is in my Power " to advance the *Welfare* and *Glory* of the Na- " tion. — Anſwer of the Prince.

On the ſame Day, being *Aſh-Wedneſday*, the Prince and Princeſs were ſolemnly *Proclaimed King* and *Queen* of *England, France*, and *Ireland*, firſt at *Whitehall*, then at *Temple-Bar*, and again at the *Royal Exchange*, each *Proclamation* being eccho'd with Univerſal Acclamations of Joy. (*a*) — The Princes and Princeſs proclaim'd *King* and *Queen*.

(*a*) The Proclamation it ſelf deſerves a Place. " Whereas " it hath pleaſed Almighty God in his great Mercy to this " Kingdom, to vouchſafe us a *Miraculous Deliverance from Popery and Arbitrary Power* ; and that our Preſervation is due, " next under God, to the Reſolution and Conduct of his " Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, whom God hath choſen to " be the glorious Inſtrument of ſuch an ineſtimable Happineſs " to us and our Poſterity : And being highly ſenſible and fully " perſuaded of the great and eminent *Virtue* of her Highneſs " the Princeſs of *Orange*, whoſe Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion will no doubt bring a Bleſſing along with her upon this " Nation. And whereas the Lords and Commons now aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, have made a *Declaration*, and preſented " the ſame to the ſaid Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, and " therein deſired them to accept the Crown, who have accepted the ſame accordingly : We therefore the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, together with the Lord " Mayor and Citizens of *London*, and others of the Commons " of this Realm, do with full Conſent publiſh and proclaim, " according to the ſaid Declaration, *WILLIAM* and *MARY*, " Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, to be KING and QUEEN of " *England, France*, and *Ireland*, with all the Dominions and " Territories thereto belonging ; who are accordingly ſo to be " own'd, deem'd, and taken by all the People of the aforeſaid " Realms and Dominions, who are from henceforth bound to " acknowledge and pay unto them all Faith and true Allegiance, beſeeching God, by whom Kings reign, to bleſs King " *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY* with long and happy Years to " reign over us.

THE

THE LIVES and REIGNS OF King WILLIAM AND Queen MARY.

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New Privy-Council.

ON *Thurſday*, *February* the 14th, a *Proclamation* was iſſued by King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, for continuing in their reſpective Offices and Places all Perſons, (being Proteſtants.) And then his Majeſty's firſt Care was to ſummon a Privy-Council, that conſiſted of theſe Honourable Perſons: His Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, *William* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas* Earl of *Danby* (Lord Preſident of the Council,) *George* Marquis of *Hallifax* (Lord Privy-Seal,) *Henry* Duke of *Norfolk* (Earl-Marſhal of *England*,) *Charles* Marquis of *Wincheſter*, *Robert* Earl of *Lindſey* (Lord Great-Chamberlain of *England*,) *William* Earl of *Devonſhire* (Lord-Steward of his Majeſty's Houſhold,) *Charles* Earl of *Dorſet* and *Middleſex* (Lord-Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold,) *Aubery* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles* Earl of *Shrewsbury* (His Majeſty's Principal-Secretary of State,) *William* Earl of *Bedford*, *John* Earl of *Bath*, *Charles* Earl of *Macclesfield*, *Daniel* Earl of *Nottingham*, *Thomas* Viſcount *Falconberg*, *Charles* Viſcount *Mordant*, *Francis* Viſcount *Newport* (Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſhold,) *Richard* Viſcount *Lumley*, *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*, *Philip* Lord *Wharton*, *Ralph* Lord *Mountague*, *Henry* Lord *Delamere*, *John* Lord *Churchil*, Mr. *Bentinck* (Groom of the Stole to his Majeſty,) Mr. *Henry Sidney*, Sir *Robert Howard*, Kt. Sir *Henry Capel*, Kt. Mr. *Henry Powle* (Speaker of the Houſe of Commons,) Mr. *Edward Ruſſel*, Mr. *Hugh Boſcawen*: To whom were added, on *Febr.* 20th, *Thomas Wharton*, Eſq; and Sir *John Lowther* of *Lowther*, Bar. (Vice-Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold.)

Offices and Honours.

And the Chief Offices at Court were fill'd up with Perſons of the beſt Quality and Merit: Monſieur *D'Auverquerque* was made Maſter of the Horſe to the King; Marſhal *de Schomberg*, Maſter of the Ordnance; the Lord *Mountague*, Maſter of the Great Wardrobe; Monſieur *Zeuleſtein*, Maſter of the Robes; the Biſhop of *London*, Dean of the Chapel; the Lord *Lovelace*, Captain of the Gentlemen-Penſioners; the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lords *Mordant*, *Lumley* and *Churchil*, and Mr. *Sidney*, Gentlemen of the King's Bed-Chamber; the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Lord-Chamberlain

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to the Queen; *John Howe*, Eſq; Vice-Chamberlain; Mr. *Villers*, Great Maſter of the Horſe; and the Counteſs of *Derby*, firſt Lady of the Bed-Chamber, and Groom of the Stole to her Majeſty. His Majeſty is ſaid to have offer'd the Great Seal to the Earl of *Nottingham*, though he had proteſted againſt the *Vacancy of the Throne*, and had oppos'd the *Settlement of the Crown*; but the Earl excus'd himſelf from accepting of it, alledging his Unfitneſs for an Employment that requir'd a conſtant Application. The Marquis of *Hallifax* had the ſame Offer made him, which he likewiſe declin'd. Whereupon the Seals were given (in Commiſſion) to Sir *John Maynard*, *Anthony Keck*, and *William Rawlinſon*, Eſqs; the Two laſt of whom were Knighted by his Majeſty. The Places of High-Admiral and Lord-Treaſurer were likewiſe given to Commiſſioners; the firſt, to Admiral *Herbert*, the Earl of *Carbery*, Sir *Michael Wharton*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Sir *John Chichley*, Sir *John Lowther*, and Mr. *Sacheverel*: The other, to the Lord *Mordant*, the Lord *Delamere*, the Lord *Godolphin*, Mr. *Hambden*, and Sir *Henry Capel*. As to the Earl of *Nottingham*, he was at laſt prevail'd with to be one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State. (*a*)

Convention turn'd into a Parliament.

The firſt Time the King adviſ'd with his Privy-Council, he propos'd to 'em, *Whether the* Convention *might be legally turn'd into a Parliament*? To which the Majority agreeing, his Majeſty on *Monday*, *Febr.* 18th, went to the Houſe of Lords in great Solemnity, and being Seated on the Throne, and the Commons attending at the Bar, with their *Speaker*, his Majeſty made this Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen;

The King's Speech.

" I Have lately told you, how ſenſible I am of
" your Kindneſs, and how much I value the
" Confidence you have repos'd in me: And I come
" hither to aſſure you, That I ſhall never do any
" Thing that may juſtly leſſen your good Opinion
" of me.

" I think it neceſſary to acquaint you, That the
" Condition of our Allies Abroad, and particularly
" that of *Holland*, is ſuch, that unleſs ſome ſpeedy

(*a*) An Order in Council by the King, for Alteration of the Names of the Royal Family in the *Common-Prayer*, and Publick Offices of Religion. Given at *Whitehall* the 16th Day of *Febr.* 1688.

Care

G. Kneller Eques pinx.
Trouvain Sculp.
HONI · SOIT · QUI · MAL · Y · PENSE
KING WILLIAM THE III.rd

QUEEN MARY.

" Care be taken of them, they run a greater Ha-
" zard than you wou'd have them expos'd to.

" You your ſelves muſt be ſenſible, That the Poſture of Affairs here, require your ſerious Conſideration; and that a good Settlement at Home is neceſſary, not only for your own Peace, but for the Support of the Proteſtant Intereſt, both here and abroad.

" And particularly the State of *Ireland* is ſuch, that the Dangers are grown too great to be obviated by any ſlow Methods.

" I muſt leave it to you, to conſider of the moſt effectual Ways of preventing the Inconveniences which may ariſe by Delays, and to judge what Forms may be moſt proper to bring thoſe Things to paſs for the good of the Nation, which I am confident are in all your Minds, and which I on my Part, ſhall be always ready to promote.

Bill to prevent Diſputes concerning this Parliament.

This Speech was receiv'd with a general Applauſe, and purſuant to the laſt Clauſe of it, the Lords immediately brought in *a Bill to remove and prevent all Queſtions and Diſputes concerning the Aſſembling and Sitting of this preſent* Parliament; which they read twice that Afternoon, and having paſs'd it the Day following, they ſent it to the Commons for their Concurrence. Upon which the Commons went into a Committee of the whole Houſe, and Mr. *Hambden* the *Chairman*, put this Queſtion, *Whether a King Elected and Declared by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled at* Weſtminſter, *Jan. 22d,* 1688. *coming to and conſulting with the ſaid Lords and Commons, did not make as compleat a Parliament, and Legiſlative Power and Authority, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the ſaid King ſhould cauſe new Summons to be given, and new Elections to be made by Writs?* This occaſion'd a long and warm Debate; the Party who were for the Negative, headed by Sir *Edward Seymour* and Sir *Thomas Clargis*, inſiſted upon the ſtrict ancient Conſtitution. The others argued upon ſeveral Precedents, the lateſt in 1660. When the Lords and Commons convened by the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, were upon Reception of King *Charles* the IId adjudg'd a Parliament; and they more eſpecially urg'd the preſent Neceſſity of Affairs, which would not admit of any Loſs of Time, without infinite Danger Abroad and at Home. The Queſtion was at laſt carried in the Affirmative, and Two Days after the Commons acquainted the Lords that they had agreed to their Bill, with ſome Alterations and Amendments, relating to the Oaths, which by the ſaid Bill were appointed to be taken by Both Houſes with Amendments; being confirmed by the Lords, the whole Bill receiv'd the Royal Aſſent on *Saturday*, *Feb.* 23. and ſo the Convention was chang'd into a Parliament. Yet ſome of the Commons had before proteſted that they would neither ſubmit to the Deciſions of ſuch a Parliament, nor ſit in it: And indeed ſome of 'em kept their Word as to this laſt Point, retiring into the Countrey upon frivolous Pretences, which occaſion'd the dilatory Proceedings of this Seſſion, and gave King *James* an Opportunity to get conſiderable Footing in *Ireland*, and the Hopes of re-aſcending his Throne. And the diſcontented Party grew ſtronger in the Houſe of Commons; for on *Feb.* 26. the Queſtion being put, *Whether the Revenue was expired by the Vacancy of the Throne, or whether it was devolved on their Majeſties?* The firſt Part of the Queſtion was carried in the Affirmative, and a Committee was thereupon appointed to regulate their preſent Majeſties Revenue, and ſome of that Committee contended to have it ſettled on them for Three Years only.

Some Diſcontented Members retire into the Country.

Bill for regulating Trials of Peers.

The Lords brought in a Bill on *Feb. 26. for the better Regulating of the Trials of the Peers of* England, which occaſion'd great Debates, and at the Third Reading had the Proteſtation of Fifteen Lords againſt it, and when it was ſent down to the Commons, it dropt there through the Influence of thoſe Peers who had oppos'd it. On *Febr.* 28. upon Information that ſeveral Papiſts continued in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, the Lords order'd Sir *William Waller* to ſecure, or cauſe to be ſecured, all ſuch Papiſts or reputed Papiſts, and return their Names to the Committee appointed to bring in a Bill for removing all ſuch from the ſaid Cities, which Bill was accordingly preſented to the *Houſe*, on *March* the firſt: On which Day the *King* ſent Two remarkable Meſſages to the *Parliament*. The firſt was to the Houſe of Lords, by the Lord *Mordant*, to this Effect, " That his Majeſty in that Conjuncture, and for the Safety of the Publick, had ſecured ſome Perſons as dangerous to the Government, and thought it might be convenient to ſecure more, but being very tender of doing any Thing not fully warranted by Law, he had given Order that the Lords might be acquainted with what he had thought himſelf oblig'd to do for the Publick Peace and Security of the Government". This Meſſage was occaſion'd by the ſecuring the Earl of *Arran*, Sir *Robert Hamilton*, and Two other *Scotchmen*, who by ſome intercepted Letters from *France*, had been diſcover'd to plot the Reſtoration of King *James*, and were thereupon committed to the *Tower*. The Lords immediately appointed a Committee to prepare an Addreſs to be preſented to the King, upon this Occaſion from Both Houſes, " expreſſing their moſt humble Thanks for his Majeſty's great Care of their *Liberties*, and for his gracious Communication of this Matter; and humbly to adviſe and deſire his Majeſty to take ſuch extraordinary Care of the Government in this Conjuncture, by ſecuring all diſaffected Perſons, as might prevent any Diſturbance of the Publick Peace, and that ſuch Perſons as were, or ſhould be ſo committed, might be retain'd till the firſt Day of the next *Term*, if his Majeſty ſhould ſee Cauſe for it". The Commons made ſome Difficulty to give their Concurrence to this Addreſs, which ſeem'd to allow the King a Power of Diſpenſing with the *Habeas-Corpus Act*; and therefore thought it more legal to bring in a Bill *to empower his Majeſty to apprehend and detain ſuch Perſons, as he ſhould find juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect were conſpiring againſt the Government*; which went in few Days thro' Both Houſes, and afterwards paſs'd into an Act by the Royal Aſſent.

Meſſage of the King to the Lords.

Addreſs of Both Houſes.

The other Meſſage was ſent to the Commons by Mr. *Wharton*, who acquainted the Houſe, " That the King being ſenſible what a grievous Burthen the Duty ariſing from *Hearth*-Money was unto his People, eſpecially to the poorer Sort, his Majeſty was pleaſed to agree, either to the Regulation of it, or to the taking of it wholly away, not doubting but the Commons would take care of his Revenue another Way". This prov'd to be an Act of great Prudence and Popularity, the Commons receiv'd it with an univerſal Satisfaction, and preſented this Addreſs of Thanks for it on *March* 5.

Meſſage of the King to the Commons.

Addreſs of the Commons to the King.

" WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in Parliament aſſembled, have taken into our ſerious Conſideration your Majeſty's gracious Meſſage, wherein your Majeſty is pleaſed to expreſs your great Goodneſs and Senſe of your People's Condition by your Tender Conſideration, That the *Revenue* of the *Hearth-Money* is very grievous to them; and are pleaſed to agree either to the Regulation of it, or to the taking of it wholly away. And as your Majeſty is pleaſed in this to conſider the Eaſe of your People, we acknowledge our ſelves obliged to declare, That

your

1688. 1 *W. M.* " your Majeſty has filled our Hearts with an entire " Satisfaction and Gratitude, by this your moſt gra- " cious and unprecedented Offer. And we humbly " crave Leave to preſent this Aſſurance to your Ma- " jeſty, That we will make ſuch grateful and affe- " ctionate Returns, and be ſo careful of the Support " of the Crown, that the World may ſee, to the " Diſcouraging of your Enemies, and Satisfaction " of all good Men, That your Majeſty reigns in " the Hearts of your People: *Which* GOD *grant* " *long to continue.*

The Second, Fourth and Fifth Days of *March*, were partly ſpent by both *Houſes* in taking the *Oaths* of *Fealty*, appointed by the late *Act*, *for Removing and Preventing all Queſtions and Diſputes concerning the* Aſſembling *and* Sitting *of this preſent* Parliament; and in Subſcribing the *Declaration*, required by an Act of the 30th of *Car*. II. In the *Houſe of Commons*, few or none refuſed to take the ſaid *Oaths*; but in the *Upper Houſe*, not above Ninety *Temporal*, and only Eight *Spiritual Lords* comply'd with the Act. Thoſe Eight Prelates were, the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Briſtol*, *Wincheſter*, *Rocheſter*, *Llandaff*, and St. *Aſaph*; whoſe Example was afterwards followed by the Biſhops of *Carliſle*, and even of St. *David*'s. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other of his *Suffragans*, abſolutely refuſ'd to own the preſent *Government*, from a Conſcientious Regard they had to the *Allegiance* they had ſworn to King *James*: And many other diſcontented Perſons fell in with 'em, from the Hopes or the Fears of his *Reſtoration*.

Some of the Biſhops refuſe to take the Oaths.

On *Feb.* 27. the King had acquainted the *Houſe of Commons* with the certain News of the late King *James* having ſailed from *Breſt*, with a conſiderable Number of *French* Troops, in order to land in *Ireland*: Whereupon the *Commons* unanimouſly voted, *That they would ſtand by and aſſiſt the* King, *with their Lives and Fortunes, in Supporting his Alliances abroad, in Reducing of* Ireland, *and in Defence of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and Laws of the* Kingdom. This *Vote* was communicated to the *Peers*, who confirm'd it by entring the ſame into their *Journal*; and on the 5th Day of *March*, concurr'd alſo with the *Commons* in the following *Addreſs*:

K. *James* goes to *Ireland*.

Vote of the *Commons* to aſſiſt K. *William*.

Addreſs of both Houſes.

" WE your Majeſties moſt dutiful and faithful Subjects, the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, and *Commons* aſſembled in *Parliament*, " being highly ſenſible of our late Great and Signal " Deliverance from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, " whereof it has pleaſed ALMIGHTY GOD " to make You the *Glorious Inſtrument*; and deſiring, to the utmoſt of our Abilities, to expreſs " our Gratitude to your Majeſty for ſo Great and " Generous an Undertaking, no leſs neceſſary to " ſupport the *Proteſtant Intereſt* in *Europe*, than " for Recovering and Maintaining the *Civil Rights* " and *Liberties* of theſe Nations, ſo notoriouſly invaded and undermined by *Popiſh* Counſels and " Counſellors; being likewiſe fully convinc'd of " the reſtleſs Spirits and continual Endeavours of " your Majeſty's and the Nation's Enemies, for the " Extirpation of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the " Subverſion of our *Laws* and *Liberties*; do unanimouſly declare, That we will ſtand by and aſſiſt your Majeſty with our Lives and Fortunes, " in Supporting the Alliances abroad, in Reducing " of *Ireland*, and in Defence of the *Proteſtant Religion* and *Laws* of the Kingdom.

The Lord *Great Chamberlain* having waited on the King, to know when He would be attended with this *Addreſs*; His Majeſty anſwer'd, " He was going out of Town, but intended to return the next " Day; and then He would ſignify his Pleaſure, " when both *Houſes* ſhould wait on him:" And accordingly His Majeſty gave this *Anſwer* to both *Houſes*, on *Friday*, *March* 8. 1688. 1 *W. M.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Anſwer to both Houſes.

" IF any Thing could add to the Eſteem and Affection I have for *Parliaments*, and particularly for *this*, they would be much increaſed by " the Kindneſs you ſhew to me, and the Zeal you " expreſs for the *Publick Good*, in the *Addreſs* you " have made, which in the Manner as well as the " Matter, has every Thing in it that ought to recommend it to me.

" I will aſſure you, that I will never abuſe the " Confidence you have put in me; being fully perſwaded, that there is no ſure Foundation of a " good Agreement between a King and his People, " but a mutual Truſt; when that is once broken, " a Government is half diſſolved.

" It ſhall be therefore my chief Care, never to " give any *Parliament* Cauſe to diſtruſt me; and " the beſt Methods I can uſe for that Purpoſe, is, " never to expect any Thing from them, but what " ſhall be their own Intereſt to grant.

" I came hither for the Good of the *Kingdom*; " and ſince it is your Deſire that I am in this Station, I ſhall purſue the ſame Ends that brought " me.

" GOD has been pleaſed to make me inſtrumental to redeem you from the Ills you fear'd; " and it is ſtill my Deſire, as well as my Duty, " to ſerve you in your *Religion*, *Laws* and *Liberties*, which was the only Inducement that " brought me into *England*; and to theſe I aſcribe " the Bleſſings that have attended this Undertaking.

" When I ſpoke laſt to you, I told you of the " Neceſſity of Aſſiſting our Allies, and more eſpecially the *States* of *Holland*, whoſe Readineſs to " relieve you (at ſo great a Hazard and Expence) " from the Extremities you lay under, needs no " other Argument to move you to the Conſideration of it.

" As I was then a Witneſs of their Zeal and Affection to promote the Expedition, and to ſecond " my Endeavours, even with the Neglect of their " own Safety; ſo I am now ſenſible of the inevitable Ruin they have drawn upon themſelves, in " giving you their Aſſiſtance, if you ſhould not return it to them.

" They have really exhauſted themſelves to ſuch " a Degree, both as to Men and Money, that it is " not eaſily to be imagin'd: And I am confident, " your Generoſity will have as little Bounds towards " them, as theirs had towards you; and that you " will not only enable me to make good the Treaty with them, and repay what they have actually " laid out upon this Occaſion, (of which an Account ſhall be given you;) but that you will farther ſupport them, to the utmoſt of your Ability, againſt the Power of their Enemies; who " muſt be yours too, by their *Intereſt* and their *Religion*, and do certainly deſign the Ruin of *Holland* to be a Step to your Deſtruction.

" I need not take Pains to tell you the Deplorable Condition of *Ireland*, which (by the Zeal and " Violence of the *Popiſh Party* there, and by the " Aſſiſtance and Encouragement they have from " *France*) is brought to that Paſs, that it is not " adviſable to attempt the Reducing of it, but by a " conſiderable Force; which, I think, ought not to " be leſs than Twenty Thouſand Horſe and Foot, " which (by the Bleſſing of GOD) will make " the Work ſhorter, and (in Conſequence) the " Charge eaſier; tho' the firſt Expence muſt of " Neceſſity be very great.

" You are to conſider, That towards the moſt " ſpeedy and effectual Succeſs in relation to *Ireland*, as well as with a Regard to *France*, there

2 " muſt

1688. 1 *W. M.* " muſt be ſuch a *Fleet* as may, in Conjunction " with the *States*, make us ſo entirely Maſters of " that Sea, that nothing may be ſent from *France* " to *Ireland*, or any where elſe, that may give Diſturbance to Us or our Allies.

" I muſt alſo recommend to you the Conſideration of the *Revenue* to me, that it may be ſo " ſettled, as that it may be collected without Diſputes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" Theſe Things will amount to a great Sum, and " muſt of Conſequence be a preſent Weight upon " the People: But conſidering, neither your *Religion* nor your *Safety* can probably be ſecured without theſe *Means*, I conclude, Nothing can be too " great a Price for their Preſervation. And I will " engage my *Solemn Word* to you, That whatever " you ſhall give to theſe Publick Ends, ſhall be " ſtrictly apply'd to them: And that as you ſo " freely offer to hazard all that is dear to you, " ſo I ſhall as freely expoſe My Self for the " Support of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the Safety and Honour of the Nation.

General Satiſfaction.

The *Parliament*'s *Addreſs*, and the *King*'s *Anſwer*, being made publick, it was a common Satiſfaction to the People of *England*; and the City of *London* expreſs'd their ſingular Content and Joy, by an *Addreſs* of Thanks to the *Houſe of Lords*; which was very grateful to the *Court*. But it was no ſmall Diſturbance to the *New Government*, that there began to be a Defection in the *Army*, as well as a Diviſion in the *Two Houſes*: For the Royal *Scotch* Regiment of Horſe, that was quarter'd at *Abingdon*, almoſt totally deſerted, marching toward *Scotland*; as did alſo above Five Hundred of *Dunbarton*'s Regiment, headed by Five Captains, ſteering the ſame Courſe, with Four Field-Pieces. The News of this Defection being brought to *Hampton-Court*, His Majeſty order'd Mr. *Herbert* to communicate it to the *Parliament*: Whereupon *both Houſes* agreed to an *Addreſs*, on *March* 15. *humbly beſeeching His Majeſty to take effectual Care for the ſpeedy Suppreſſion of that* Rebellion; *and to iſſue forth his* Proclamation, *declaring thoſe Officers and Soldiers, and their Adherents, to be Rebels and Traytors, and requiring all his Subjects to apprehend and proſecute 'em as ſuch.* Accordingly the King iſſued out a *Proclamation* to that Effect; and ſent a ſufficient Force of Horſe and Dragoons, under General *Ginkle*, who ſoon reduc'd thoſe Mutinous Troops, and brought them to ſubmit to the Mercy of King *William*, who ſent 'em over into *Holland*. And to obviate the like Miſchiefs for the future, an *Act* was paſs'd, *for Puniſhing Officers and Soldiers, who ſhould mutiny, or deſert Their Majeſties Service.*

Scotch Regiments deſert the Service of K. *William*.

Addreſs of the Two Houſes on this Occaſion.

On *Saturday*, *March* 16. His Majeſty went by Water to the *Houſe of Lords*, attended with the uſual Solemnity; and being in his Royal Robes, ſeated on the Throne, and the *Commons* being ſent for up, His Majeſty gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for Empowering His Majeſty to apprehend and detain ſuch Perſons, as he ſhall find juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect are Conſpiring againſt the Government:* And 2. to *An Act for the annulling and making void the Attainder of* William Ruſſel, *Eſq*; *commonly call'd Lord* Ruſſel. And then His Majeſty made this *Speech* to *both Houſes*:

Acts paſs'd by King *William*.

My Lords and Gentlemen;

His Majeſty's *Speech* to the Two Houſes.

" NOW I have the Occaſion of coming hither to Paſs this *Bill*, which I hope will be " for all our Safeties; I ſhall put you in mind of " one Thing, which will conduce much to our Settlement, as a Settlement will to the Diſappointment of our Enemies

" I am, with all the Expedition I can, filling 1 *W. M.* 1688. " up the *Vacancies*, that are in *Offices* and *Places of Truſt* by this late *Revolution*. I hope " you are ſenſible, there is a Neceſſity of ſome *Law*, " to ſettle the *Oaths* to be taken by all Perſons to be " admitted to ſuch Places: I recommend it to your " Care, to make a ſpeedy Proviſion for it. And as " I doubt not but you will ſufficiently provide againſt *Papiſts*, ſo I hope you will leave Room for " the Admiſſion of all *Proteſtants*, that are willing " and able to ſerve.

" This Conjunction in my Service, will tend to " the better uniting you amongſt your ſelves, and " the ſtrengthning you againſt your common Adverſaries.

Reaſons why the King was jealous of ſome *Churchmen*; and

The better to underſtand the Clauſe, of *leaving Room for the Admiſſion of all* Proteſtants, it muſt be remember'd, That the *Archbiſhop* and *Biſhops*, and many of the *Clergy*, had been ſo addicted to the High Notions of *Paſſive Obedience*, *Non-Reſiſtance*, and the *Divine Right of an Hereditary Monarchy*, that they knew not how to reconcile the *Revolution* to thoſe bigotted Principles. And for that Reaſon, tho' they had earneſtly deſir'd the *Prince*'s coming, and had the Chief of them addreſs'd to Him after He was come, to take the Adminiſtration of Affairs upon him; yet, as if they would have him their *Redeemer*, without being their *Protector*, they did not care to pay any *Allegiance* to him, nor to renounce their *Obligations* to King *James*. This Example of the *Prelates* and *Clergy* had a great Influence on many other Members of the *Church of England*; and it was their *Diſaffection*, that made the King more inclinable to favour the *Diſſenters*, whom He generally look'd upon as better affected to his Perſon and Title. This prepar'd the King and the Court to deſire, That all *Proteſtants* (of what Denomination ſoever) might be indifferently admitted to *Offices* and *Employments*. Upon this Deſire of the King, firſt ſignify'd to his Privy Council, a *Bill* was preſented in the *Houſe of Lords*, on *Thurſday*, *March* 14. *for Abrogating the former* Oaths *of* Supremacy and Allegiance, *and Appointing other* Oaths *in their ſtead*. Which being read a Second Time, a Select *Committee* of the *Houſe* was order'd to draw up Two *Clauſes*; the one, *To explain the* Abrogating *the ſaid* Oaths; and the other, *To take away the Neceſſity of* Receiving the Sacrament, *to make a Man capable of enjoying any Office*, *Employment*, *or Place of Truſt*. This *Clauſe* being drawn up, and reported to the *Houſe*, was rejected by a great Majority, who thought it neceſſary to preſerve the Government in the Hands of thoſe that were of the *National Church* and *Religion*. And yet Seven Lords proteſted againſt Limiting *Offices* by the *Sacramental Teſt*; the Lords *Delamere*, *Stamford*, *North* and *Grey*, *Cheſterfield*, *Wharton*, *Lovelace*, and *Vaughan*, who on *March* 21. diſſented, for theſe Reaſons: 1. " That an *hearty Union* among *Proteſtants*, was a greater Security to the *Church* and " *State*, than any *Teſt* that could be invented. " 2. That an Obligation to *Receive the Sacrament* " in *Churches*, was now a *Teſt* on the *Proteſtants*, " rather than on the *Papiſts*; and as long as it was " ſo continu'd, there could not be that hearty and " perfect Union among *Proteſtants*, as had always " been wiſh'd, and was at this Time indiſpenſibly " neceſſary. And, *laſtly*, That a greater Caution " ought not to be requir'd from ſuch as were admitted into *Offices*, than from the Members of " the *Two Houſes of Parliament*, who were not oblig'd to *Receive the Sacrament*, to enable 'em to " Sit in either *Houſe*.

More tender of ſome *Diſſenters*.

Clauſe of Favour to *Proteſtant Diſſenters*.

Proteſtation of Seven Lords.

When the Court had loſt this Point, they made another Attempt in Favour of the Moderate *Diſſenters*; which was, by inſerting a Clauſe in the ſaid *Bill*, *To prevent the* Receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, *upon any other Account, than in* Obedi-

Another Attempt in Favour of the *Proteſtant Diſſenters*.

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Obedience to the Holy Inſtitution thereof; And to provide, *That any Man ſhould be ſufficiently qualify'd for any Office, Employment, or Place of Truſt, who within a Year before or after his Admiſſion or Entrance thereinto, did* Receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, *either according to the Uſage of the* Church *of* England, *or in any other* Proteſtant Congregation, *and could produce a Certificate under the Hands of the Miniſter, and Two other Credible Perſons* But this Clauſe was alſo rejected by a great Majority; tho' Six Lords (*Oxford, Lovelace, Wharton, Mordant, Montague,* and *Paget*) enter'd their Diſſent, for theſe Reaſons: 1. "Becauſe it gives a "great Part of the *Proteſtant* Freemen of *England* "Reaſon to complain of Inequality and hard Uſage, when they are excluded from Publick Employments by Law: And alſo, becauſe it deprives "the King and Kingdom of divers Men fit and capable to ſerve the Publick in ſeveral Stations; "and that for a mere Scruple of Conſcience, which "can by no means render them ſuſpected, much "leſs diſaffected to the Government. 2. Becauſe "His Majeſty, as the common and indulgent Father of his People, having expreſs'd an earneſt "Deſire of Liberty for Tender Conſciences to his "*Proteſtant* Subjects; and my Lords the Biſhops "having, divers of them, on ſeveral Occaſions, profeſs'd an Inclination to, and own'd the Reaſonableneſs of ſuch a Chriſtian Temper; we apprehend "it will raiſe Suſpicion in ſome Mens Minds, of "ſomething elſe than the Care of Religion, or the "Publick, and different from a Deſign to heal our "Breaches, when they find, that by confining *Secular Employments* to *Eccleſiaſtical Conformity*, thoſe "are ſhut out from Civil Affairs, whoſe Doctrine "and Worſhip may be *tolerated* by Authority of "Parliament; there being a Bill before us, by Order of the Houſe, to that Purpoſe: Eſpecially "when (without this Excluſive Rigor) the Church "is ſecur'd in all her Privileges and Preferments; "no body being hereby let in to them, who is not "ſtrictly conformable. 3. Becauſe to ſet Marks of "Diſtinction and Humiliation on any ſort of Men, "who have not render'd themſelves juſtly ſuſpected to the Government, as it is at all Times to be "avoided by the Makers of juſt and equitable "Laws, ſo may be particularly of ill Effect to the "Reformed Intereſt at Home and Abroad, in this "preſent Conjuncture; which ſtands in need of the "united Hands and Hearts of all *Proteſtants*, againſt the open Attempts and ſecret Endeavours "of a reſtleſs Party, and a Potent Neighbour, who "is more zealous than *Rome* it ſelf, to plant Popery in theſe Kingdoms; and labours with the "utmoſt Force, to ſettle his Tyranny upon the Ruins of the *Reformation*, thro' all *Europe*. 4. Becauſe it turns the Edge of a Law (we know not "by what Fate) upon Proteſtants, and Friends to "the Government, which was intended againſt *Papiſts*, to exclude them from Places of Truſt, as "Men avowedly dangerous to our Government and "Religion. And thus the taking the Sacrament, which "was enjoin'd only as a Means to diſcover *Papiſts*, "is now made a diſtinguiſhing Duty amongſt *Proteſtants*, to weaken the whole, by caſting off a "Part of them. 5. Becauſe Myſteries of Religion, and Divine Worſhip, are of Divine Original, "and of a Nature ſo wholly diſtinct from the Secular Affairs of Politick Society, that they cannot "be applied to thoſe Ends; and therefore the "Church, by the Law of the Goſpel, as well as "common Prudence, ought to take care, neither to "offend *Tender Conſciences* within it ſelf, nor give "Offence to thoſe without, by mixing their Sacred "Myſteries with Secular Intereſts. 6. Becauſe we "cannot ſee how it can conſiſt with the Law of "God, common Equity, or the Right of any freeborn Subject, that any one be puniſh'd without "Crime. If it be a Crime, not to take the Sacrament according to the Uſage of the Church of "*England*, every one ought to be puniſh'd for it; "which no body affirms: If it be no Crime; "thoſe who are capable, and judg'd fit for Employments by the King, ought not to be puniſh'd "with a Law of Excluſion, for not doing that "which 'tis no Crime to forbear. If it be urg'd "ſtill, as an effectual *Teſt* to diſcover and keep out "*Papiſts*; the taking the Sacrament in theſe *Proteſtant* Congregations where they are Members, and "known, will be at leaſt as effectual to that Purpoſe.

Diſſent of Six Lords.

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State of *Scotland.*

As to the State of *Scotland*, the Prince's *Declaration* (diſpers'd in that Kingdom) had a great Influence upon the Body of the People: But the Biſhops and Epiſcopal Clergy, being the more immediate Creatures of the Court, had been drawn in to a more than ordinary Profeſſion of Adherence to King *James*: For upon News of the Expedition of the Prince of *Orange*, they were made to write this following *Letter* to the King.

Letter of the *Biſhops* to King *James*.

May it pleaſe your Moſt Sacred Majeſty,

"WE proſtrate (*a*) our ſelves, to pay our "moſt devout Thanks and Adoration to the "Sovereign Majeſty of Heaven and Earth, for Preſerving your Sacred Life and Perſon, ſo frequently expos'd to the greateſt Hazards, and as often "deliver'd; and you miraculouſly proſper'd with "Glory and Victory, in Defence of the Rights "and Honour of your Majeſty's Auguſt Brother, and of theſe Kingdoms: *And that* by his "merciful Goodneſs, the Ragings of the Sea, and "Madneſs of unreaſonable Men, have been ſtill'd "and calm'd; and your Majeſty, as the Darling "of Heaven, peaceably ſeated on the Throne of "your Royal Anceſtors, whoſe Long, Illuſtrious "and Unparallel'd Line, is the greateſt Glory of "this your Ancient Kingdom.

"We pay our moſt humble Gratitude to your "Majeſty, for the repeated Aſſurances of your "Royal Protection to our National Church and Religion, as the Laws have eſtabliſh'd them; which "are very ſuitable to the gracious Countenance, "Encouragement and Protection, your Majeſty was "pleas'd to afford to our Church and Order, whilſt "we were happy in your Preſence among us.

"We magnify the Divine Mercy, in bleſſing "your Majeſty with a *Son*, and us with a *Prince*, "whom we pray Heaven may bleſs and preſerve, "to ſway your Royal Sceptres after you; and that "he may inherit, with your Dominions, the Illuſtrious and Heroick Virtues of his Auguſt and "moſt Serene Parents.

"We are amaz'd to hear of the Danger of an "Invaſion from *Holland*, which excites our Prayers "for an univerſal Repentance from all Orders of "Men, that GOD may yet ſpare his People, preſerve your Royal Perſon, and prevent the Effuſion "of Chriſtian Blood; and to give ſuch Succeſs to "your Majeſty's Arms, that all who invade your "Majeſty's juſt and undoubted Rights, and diſturb "or interrupt the Peace of your Realms, may be "diſappointed, and *cloathed with Shame*, ſo that on "your Royal Head the *Crown may ſtill flouriſh.*

"As

(*a*) The Biſhops in *Scotland* were the more eaſily manag'd by Orders from Court; becauſe, however high in other Pretences, they held their Biſhopricks from the King (in effect) *durante Beneplacito*. They had ſeen their Archbiſhops depriv'd by Authority merely Civil, by King and Council: Otherwiſe their Principles were more adapted to an Union with the *Preſbyterians*, as not inſiſting on the Re-Ordination of *Presbyterian* Miniſters, nor on the Neceſſity of a Publick Liturgy; and the

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" As, by the Grace of GOD, we ſhall preſerve " in our ſelves a firm and unſhaken Loyalty; ſo we " ſhall be careful and zealous to promote, in all " your Subjects, an intrepid and ſtedfaſt Allegiance " to your Majeſty, as an Eſſential Part of their *Religion*, and of the Glory of our holy Profeſſion; " not doubting, but that GOD, in his great Mer- " cy, who hath ſo often preſerv'd and deliver'd your " Majeſty, will ſtill preſerve and deliver you, by " giving you the Hearts of your Subjects, and the " Necks of your Enemies. So pray we, who, in " all Humility, are,

(May it pleaſe your Moſt Sacred Majeſty)
Your Majeſty's moſt Humble, moſt Faithful, and moſt Obedient Subjects and Servants.

Edinburgh, *Nov.* 3. 1688. Sign'd by

The Ld Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*,	Ld Bp of *Dunkell*,
The Ld Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*,	Ld Bp of *Brechen*,
Ld Bp of *Edinburgh*,	Ld Bp of *Orkney*,
Ld Bp of *Galloway*,	Ld Bp of *Murray*,
Ld Bp of *Aberdeen*,	Ld Bp of *Roſs*,
	Ld Bp of *Dunblain*,
	Ld Bp of the *Iſles*.

This Letter fatal to Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*.

This Letter was fatal, not only to the *Scotch* Biſhops, but to Epiſcopacy it ſelf in *Scotland*: For the Diſtinction was very apparent, the *Presbyterians* fell in with the Revolution, the Epiſcopal-Party did all they could to obſtruct and oppoſe it. Hence upon the News of King *James*'s being withdrawn, the Lord Chancellor reſigned immediately the Great Seal (*a*), and retired to *Edinburgh*; and the Populace of that City inſulted not only the *Romaniſts*, but alſo the *Epiſcopal-Party*. The Prince being informed of theſe Things, and having firſt diſpatched Major-General *Mackey*, with ſome Troops under his Command, into that Kingdom, he aſſembled ſuch of the *Scotch* Lords and Gentlemen, as were in Town, on the 7th of *January*, and made this Speech to them.

My Lords and Gentlemen;

King *William's Speech* to the *Scotch* Lords.

" THE only Reaſon that induced me to under- " go ſo great an Undertaking, was, That I " ſaw the Laws and Liberties of theſe Kingdoms " overturned, and the Proteſtant Religion in immi- " nent Danger: And ſeeing you are here ſo many " Noblemen and Gentlemen, I have called you to- " gether, that I may have your Advice, what is to " be done for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religon, and " reſtoring your Laws and Liberties, according to " my Declaration.

Their Meeting and Conſults.

As ſoon as his Highneſs had retired, the Lords and Gentlemen went to the *Council-Chamber* at *Whitehall*, and having choſen the Duke of *Hamilton* their Preſident, they fell a conſulting what Advice was fit to be given to his Highneſs in this Conjuncture; and after ſome Hours reaſoning, they agreed upon the Materials of it, and appointed the Clerks, with ſuch as were to aſſiſt them, to draw up in Writing, what the *Meeting* thought expedient to adviſe his Highneſs, and to bring it into the *Meeting* the next Day in the Afternoon.

Tueſday the Eighth Inſtant, the Writing was preſented in the *Meeting*, and ſome Time being ſpent in Reaſoning about the fitteſt Way of Convening a general Meeting of the Eſtates of *Scotland*; at laſt the Meeting came to agree in their Opinion, and appointed the Advice to be writ clean over, according to the Amendments. But as they were about to part for that Time, the Earl of *Arran* propoſed to them, as his Lordſhip's Advice, *That they ſhould move the Prince of* Orange, *to deſire the King to return and call a Free Parliament, which would be the beſt way to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion and Property, and to heal all Breaches.* This Propoſal ſeem'd to diſſatisfy the whole Meeting, and eſpecially the Duke of *Hamilton*, their Preſident, Father to the Earl; but they preſently parted.

Wedneſday, the 9th of *January*, they met at Three of the Clock in the ſame Room, where Sir *Patrick Hume* took notice of the Propoſal made by the Earl of *Arran*, and deſired to know if there were any there, that would ſecond it; but none appearing to do it, he ſaid, " That what the Earl had " propoſed was evidently oppoſite and inimicous to " his Highneſs, the Prince of *Orange*'s Underta- " king, his Declaration, and the good Intentions " of preſerving the Proteſtant Religion, and of re- " ſtoring their Laws and Liberties expreſs'd in it; " and farther deſired, That the Meeting ſhould de- " clare this to be their Opinion of it". The Lord *Cardroſs* ſeconded Sir *Patrick*'s Motion: It was anſwer'd by the Duke of *Hamilton*, Preſident of the Meeting, " That their Buſineſs was to prepare an " Advice to be offer'd to the Prince; and the Advice " being now ready to go to the Vote, there was no " need that the *Meeting* ſhould give their Senſe of " the Earl's Propoſal, which neither before nor af- " ter Sir *Patrick*'s Motion, any had pretended to " own or ſecond, ſo that it was fallen out of Doors; " and that the Vote of the *Meeting*, upon the Ad- " vice brought in by their Order, would ſufficiently " declare their Opinion". This being ſeconded by the Earl of *Sutherland*, the Lord *Cardroſs* and Sir *Patrick* did acquieſce in it, and the Meeting voted unanimouſly the Advice following.

Advice of the *Scotch* Noblemen and Gentlemen to the Prince of *Orange*.

" WE the Lords and Gentlemen of the King- " dom of *Scotland*, aſſembled at your " Highneſs's Deſire, in this extraordinary Conjun- " cture, do give your Highneſs our humble and " hearty Thanks for your pious and generous Un- " dertaking for preſerving the Proteſtant Religion, " and reſtoring the Laws and Liberties of theſe " Kingdoms.

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the beſt of their Prelates being much inclin'd to a Comprehenſion. Biſhop *Burnet* muſt be allow'd to have had good Knowledge of that Countrey; and 'tis very Inſtructive what he writes in his Vindication, *8vo. 1696. p.* 84. The Reflecter reproaches me for joining my ſelf with one of the greateſt and beſt Men that this Age has produc'd, in that which he calls *Latitudinarianiſm*. This was the ſeconding Dr. *Leighton* in his great Deſign, for reforming and uniting the Church of *Scotland*: And it is that which I will never be aſham'd of: I have rather cauſe to glory in it, and to reckon my Knowledge of that Apoſtolical Man one of the greateſt Bleſſings of my whole Life. The Ignorance of our Scribler ſhews it ſelf too groſly here. He reproaches Biſhop *Leighton* for *being willing to take in the ejected Presbyterian Miniſters without Epiſcopal Ordination.* The Biſhops of *Scotland* never requir'd the Presbyterian Miniſters there to take Epiſcopal Ordination; they requir'd them only to join and act with them in Church Judicatories. Even Archbiſhop *Sharp* himſelf, when he was to be conſecrated Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, ſtood out for ſome Time here in *England*, before he would ſubmit to take Prieſts Orders. No Biſhop in *Scotland*, during my Stay in that Kingdom, ever did ſo much as deſire any of the Presbyterians to be Re-ordained. —— He reproaches Biſhop *Leighton* for accepting the See of *Glaſgow*, when Archbiſhop *Burnet* was turned out. But Dr. *Burnet* had reſigned it, and had accepted of a Penſion. Yet our Author ought not to have mentioned this, for the Sake of a Friend of his own, who in the late Reign [of K. *James* II.] procured the Archbiſhop of that See to be turned out, only for his Zeal and Actings againſt Popery, and obtained it to himſelf.

(*a*) One of the *Scotch* Biſhops took Refuge in *France*, turn'd Papiſt, and died Poor. The Writer of the Secret Hiſtory of *Europe*, P. 3. *pag.* 247. tells us, That after Dr. *Granville*, late Dean of *Durham*, was refus'd a Chapel for the Proteſtant Servants, and was forc'd to retire from *St. Germains*; the only Proteſtant Divine that remain'd there, was Dr. *Gordon* a *Scots* Biſhop, who met with worſe Treatment than the other, and was reduc'd to the Neceſſity of abjuring his Religion for Bread, with which he could not be ſupply'd but upon thoſe hard Terms.

1688. 1 *W. M.* "In order to the attaining theſe Ends, our humble Advice and Deſire is, That your Highneſs take upon you the Adminiſtration of all Affairs, both Civil and Military, the Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenues and Fortreſſes in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the doing every Thing that is neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom, until a general Meeting of the States of the Nation; which we humbly deſire your Highneſs to call, to be holden at *Edinburgh* the 14th Day of *March* next, by your Letters or Proclamation, to be publiſh'd at the Market-Croſſes of *Edinburgh*, and other Head-Boroughs of the ſeveral Shires and Stewartries, as ſufficient Intimation to all concerned, and according to the Cuſtom of the Kingdom: And that the Publication of theſe your Letters or Proclamation, be by the Sheriffs or Stewart-Clerks, for the Free-holders, who have the Value of Lands, holden according to Law, for making Elections; and by the Town-Clerks of the ſaid Boroughs, for the Meeting of the whole Burgeſſes of the reſpective Royal Boroughs, to make their Elections at leaſt Fifteen Days before the Meeting of the Eſtates at *Edinburgh*, and the reſpective Clerks to make Intimation thereof, at leaſt Ten Days before the Meeting for the Elections; and that the whole Electors and Members of the ſaid Meeting at *Edinburgh*, qualified as above expreſs'd, be Proteſtants, without any other Exception or Limitation whatſoever; to deliberate and reſolve what is to be done for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, and reſtoring the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, according to your Highneſs's Declaration.

Dated at the Council-Chamber, *the* 10*th Day of* January, 1689.

This Addreſs being ſubſcribed by above Thirty Lords, and about Eighty Gentlemen, was preſented "in their Preſence at St. *James's*, by the Duke of "*Hamilton*, their Preſident, to his Highneſs the "Prince of *Orange*, who thanked them for the "Truſt they repoſed in him, and deſired Time to "conſider upon ſo weighty an Affair.

Upon the 14th of *January*, his Highneſs met again with the *Scotch* Lords and Gentlemen at St. *James's*, and ſpoke to them as follows.

My Lords and Gentlemen;

The Prince his Speech. "IN purſuance of your Advice, I will, until the Meeting of the States in *March* next, give ſuch Orders concerning the Affairs of *Scotland*, as are neceſſary concerning the Calling of the ſaid Meeting, for the preſerving of the Peace, the applying of the *Publick Revenue* to the moſt preſſing Uſes, and putting the Fortreſſes in the Hands of Perſons, in whom the Nation can have a juſt Confidence: And I do further aſſure, that you will always find me ready to concur with you, in every Thing that may be found neceſſary for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, and reſtoring the Laws and Liberties of the Nation.

The Earl of *Crawford* deſired of his Highneſs, that himſelf, the Earl of *Louthian*, and others, who came to Town ſince the Addreſs was preſented, might have an Opportunity to ſubſcribe it, which was accordingly done; after which his Highneſs retired, and all ſhewed great Satisfaction with his *Anſwer*.

State of Ireland. *Ireland* was like to be in a bleeding Condition, and the Care of that Kingdom having not only been recommended to the Prince by the *Engliſh* Lords and Commons, but alſo by an Addreſs of the Nobility and Gentry of that Country, aſſembled for that Purpoſe at the Duke of *Ormond*'s Houſe, who, at the ſame Time preſented his Highneſs with a Draught of the Chief *Ports* of that Kingdom; the Prince thought fit to ſummon *Tyrconnel* by a *Letter*, to ſubmit to the preſent Adminiſtration, and to receive those Troops which his Highneſs deſign'd for the Security of that Kingdom, aſſuring him, the *Roman-Catholicks* ſhould enjoy the ſame Liberty as they did in King *Charles* the IId's Time. Colonel *Richard Hamilton*, a *Roman Catholick*, was the Perſon entruſted with the *Letter* and *Meſſage*, who no ſooner came to *Dublin*, but he wholly joined with *Tyrconnel*; which ſo afflicted Mr. *Temple*, a hopeful Gentleman, that had adviſed the Prince to employ him, that he drowned himſelf upon the News of it. 1688. 1 *W. M.*

As to the Affairs of the Church in this Year, there needs no diſtinguiſhing View of them; for the Dangers that threatned the Eſtabliſhed Church and the whole Reformation, made up the greateſt Part of thoſe publick Grievances that brought about the wonderful *Revolution*. So that moſt of the *Eccleſiaſtical Matters* are already intermix'd with the *Civil*; *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power* can hardly be ſeparated from one another. We need only farther obſerve, that nothing did ſo much exaſperate the Clergy of the *Church of England*, as the obtruding upon 'em a *Declaration* to give their People a Liberty of dividing from them. And therefore the whole Body of the *Clergy* were unanimous in refuſing to read it in their Churches. The Example of Courage began in the City of *London*, and was induſtriouſly recommended through all Parts of the Kingdom, in *a Letter from a* Clergyman *in the* City *to his* Friend *in the* Country, *containing his* Reaſons *for not* Reading *the* Declaration, *dated* May 22d, 1688. The more eminent Biſhops would not ſuffer their Officers to diſperſe the *Forms of Delaration* as was by Authority requir'd, and ſo ſhelter'd the Clergy from any Puniſhment of Neglect or Contempt, which they were willing to take upon themſelves: And even in thoſe other Dioceſes, where, by the obſequious Order of the Biſhops, or the Cowardice of their inferior Officers, the *Declarations* were laid in the reſpective Pariſhes, not one Miniſter in Five Hundred would ſubmit to the Reading of it; and even of thoſe who did ſordidly comply, not One in Twenty ſeem'd to do it from any Principle, but that of Fear to offend, or Ambition to pleaſe the Court. And yet it is very obſervable, that Biſhop *Cartwright* ſo labour'd the Point in his own Dioceſe of *Cheſter*, That by Threats and Terrors he drew in a ſmall Number of his *Clergy*, not only to read the *Declaration*, but to Triumph in the doing of it by this *Addreſs* to the *King*.

State of Religion.

The Declaration of K. *James* generally refuſed by the Clergy.

The Humble Addreſs *of the* Clergy *of the County-Palatine of* Cheſter, *who publiſh'd the late Gracious* Declaration *in their* Churches *for* Liberty of Conſcience.

Addreſs of the Clergy of *Cheſter*. "WE your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, well weighing what we, as ſuch, ought to render to ſo ſacred and gracious a King, reckoned we ow'd this and higher Inſtances of our Obedience; in purſuance of which, and of your Majeſty's Order in Council, we heartily read the *Declaration* for *Liberty of Conſcience*; not repining that all other our Fellow-Subjects ſhould with us enjoy a Portion of your Royal Favour. We are well aware that many have well deſerved, and as to the other Number, towards whom you uſe the courteous and nobleſt Way of Conquering, we hope you may be ſucceſsful, or at leaſt your Power will preſerve you ſafe. But if the Matter of the *Declaration* were not according to our Wiſhes, yet the publiſhing of it is according to our Duty, ſince it is iſſued out from the expreſs *Prerogative* of your *Supremacy* over us: And we are required by what is *Statute-Law*, the *Rubrick* of our *Liturgy*, to publiſh what is enjoin'd by the King or our Biſhop, (whoſe Care herein was remarkable) as much as what is pre-

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" preſcribed in the *Rules of this Book* : So that we " cannot but with Trouble of Mind hear of the " Proceedings of the *Seven Biſhops*, who, though they " tenderly promis'd the *Diſſenters* ſomething, yet " refuſed to do their Part about the *Declaration*, " leſt they ſhould be Parties to it ; which Reaſon, " we with due Modeſty, (and relying upon a higher " Authority,) eſteem inſufficient, ſeeing the *Parliament* of 62. did not think the *Reading* the " *Common Prayer* was approving of it, without " *Aſſent and Conſent*, publickly declared.

" We therefore, in all Submiſſion, become earneſt, though too mean, Interceſſors to Your Moſt " Gracious Majeſty, in Behalf of the *Church of England*, that the Faults of theſe, and others, may " not be laid to her Charge, in whoſe *Communion* " there are many, and we hope there will be more, " who concur in promoting the Purpoſes of your " Mild Government. We further beg Leave to make " our Congratulations for the happy *Birth of the* " *Young Prince* in his Hereditary Succeſſive Kingdom : We in this *Palatinate* are the Firſt Lot of " Inheritance to the Firſt-Born of our Kings ; and " as we have a greater Part in him, ſo we have a " more plentiful Joy that he is Born to us, praying " a long Life to him, and the Inheriting of his Royal Father's Crowns and Vertues ; we hereby bind " Ourſelves to continue ſtedfaſtly,

Your Majeſty's moſt Devoted, Obedient,

and Firm Subjects, and Servants.

Poor Endeavours of the *Biſhop* of *Lincoln*.

The ſame Fit of Loyalty came upon ſome other *Biſhops*, who attempted to poſſeſs their *Clergy* with the Neceſſity of Obeying the *King* ; but the Effect of it was only to make the *King*'s Authority and their Own the more contemptible. Among others, the Poor *Biſhop* of *Lincoln* having wrote much againſt *Popery*, was the more afraid of it ; and therefore to make his Peace at *Court*, He did endeavour to perſwade his *Clergy* to join with him, in ſome *Addreſs* of the like Nature : But after all his Sollicitng, He could bring over but One Mean *Clergyman*, and he of ſo little Reputation, that the *Biſhop* was himſelf aſham'd of him.

Biſhop of *London* moſt Inſtrumental in the *Revolution*.

The Biſhop of *London* was not only the moſt Inſtrumental in the *Revolution*, but the moſt Zealous in Promoting the Peace and Settlement of it ; and therefore on *Decem.* the 21ſt, he waited on His Highneſs, being attended with ſome of his own *Clergy*; and even with ſome of the *Diſſenting Miniſters*, and in his own and their Name, made a

His *Lordſhip's Addreſs* to the *Prince*.

Speech to the *Prince* to this Effect ; " That they " came to pay Him their humble Duties, and " grateful Reſpects, for His very great and moſt " hazardous Undertaking, for their Deliverance, " and the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant Religion*, " with the Ancient *Laws* and *Liberties* of this Nation : That they gave up daily many Thankſgivings to Almighty GOD, who had hitherto " been graciouſly pleas'd ſo wonderfully to preſerve " his Perſon, and proſper and favour his good Deſign ; and they promis'd the Continuance of their " moſt fervent Prayers to the ſame GOD, and all " concurrent Endeavours in their reſpective Circumſtances, for the promoting yet farther that Work " which was ſo happily begun ; and alſo for the " perfecting of it, not only in this Kingdom, but " in other Chriſtian Kingdoms". The *Biſhop* likewiſe ſuggeſted to the *Prince*, " That ſome of the " *Diſſenting Miniſters*, and their Brethren, were " there preſent, who having the ſame Senſe of his " Coming hither, with themſelves, had join'd " themſelves with them, by him to render him " their humbleſt and moſt grateful Reſentments.

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The *Prince* his *Anſwer*.

His Highneſs was pleas'd to Anſwer, *That He Thank'd them for their Attendance ; and did Aſſure 'em, That the Great End of His Difficult and Chargeable* Expedition, *was to Preſerve and Secure the* Proteſtant Religion *(His own Religion, and their Religion ;) and He ſhou'd not think any Thing, (no, not Life itſelf) too Dear to hazard, in Promoting and Perfecting ſo good a Work : And as He Himſelf had offer'd up, with great Devotion, His moſt ſolemn Acknowledgments to Almighty* GOD, *for His Preſence with Him, and Bleſſing upon his Endeavours and Arms hitherto, ſo He muſt deſire the Continuance of all their Prayers to* GOD *for Him.*

Addreſs of Diſſenting Miniſters.

Thoſe of the *Diſſenting Miniſters*, who had not waited on the *Prince*, under the Protection of the Biſhop of *London*, took another Opportunity of Attending His Highneſs at St. *James's*, on *Wedneſday Jan.* the 2d, when they were, to the Number of Ninety, or upwards, Introduc'd by the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Lord *Wharton*, and the Lord *Wiltſhire*, and Preſented an *Addreſs* to this Effect : " They " profeſs'd their grateful Senſe of His Highneſs's " Hazardous and Heroical *Expedition*, which the " Favour of Heaven had made ſo ſurprizingly Proſperous. They eſteem'd it a Common Felicity, " That the Worthy Patriots of the Nobility and " Gentry of this Kingdom, had Unanimouſly Concurr'd unto His Highneſs's Deſign ; by whoſe moſt " prudent Advice, the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs was devolved, in this Difficult Conjuncture, " into Hands, which the Nation and the World " knew to be apt for the Greateſt Undertakings, " and ſo ſuitable to the preſent Exigency of our " Caſe. They promis'd the utmoſt Endeavour, " which, in their Stations, they were capable of " affording, for promoting the Excellent and Moſt " deſirable Ends for which His Highneſs had Declar'd. They added their continual and fervent " Prayers to the Almighty, for the Preſervation of " His Highneſs's Perſon, and the Succeſs of His " future Endeavours, for the Defence and Propagation of the *Proteſtant* Intereſt throughout the " Chriſtian World. They ſhould All moſt willingly " have choſen *that* for the Seaſon of paying this Duty to His Highneſs, when the Lord *Biſhop* and " the *Clergy* of *London* Attended His Highneſs for " the ſame Purpoſe, (which ſome of them did, and " which His Lordſhip was pleas'd condeſcendingly " to make mention of to His Highneſs) had their " Notice of that intended Application been ſo early, " as to make their more general Attendance poſſible " to them at that Time ; Therefore, though they " did now appear in a diſtinct Company, they did " not on a diſtinct Account, but on that only which " was Common to them, and to all *Proteſtants*. " There were ſome of Eminent Note, whom " Age, or preſent Infirmities, hinder'd from " Coming with 'em, yet They Concurr'd in the " ſame grateful Senſe of this their *Common Deliverance*.

The Prince his Anſwer.

His Highneſs was pleas'd very favourably to receive this Application, and to Aſſure 'em, *That He came purpoſely for the Defence of the* Proteſtant Religion, *for that was His own Religion wherein He was born and bred, the Religion of His Country and His Anceſtors ; therefore He was Reſolv'd, by the Grace of* GOD, *(a) always to Adhere to it, and to do*

(*a*) In the laſt Year of King *James*, ſome Accommodation had been projected; and this juſt Account of it was afterwards given by Dr. *William Wake*, Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in his Speech made in the Houſe of Peers, upon the ſecond Article of Impeachment of Dr. *Henry Sacheverell*, *March* 17th, 1709. —— The Perſon who firſt concerted this ſuppoſed Deſign againſt the Church, was the late Moſt Reverend Dr. *Sancroft*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ; the Time was towards the End of that unhappy Reign. —— When the Archbiſhop foreſeeing ſome ſuch Revolution, as ſoon after happen'd, began to conſider how utterly unprepar'd they had been at the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the IId to ſettle many things to the Advantage of the Church, and what an happy Opportunity had been loſt for want of ſuch a previous Care ; as he was therefore deſirous ſhould be now taken for the better and more perfect Eſtabliſhment of it. The Scheme was laid out, and the ſeve-

His

1688. 1 *W. M.* *His utmoſt Endeavours for the Defence of it, and the Promoting a firm Union among* Proteſtants.

This a happy Juncture for Uniting all Proteſtants.

It muſt be own'd, that this was a glorious Opportunity, of Reconciling all *Moderate Diſſenters* to the *Communion* of the *Church of England*; which might have been happily effected, if this Extraordinary Juncture had been well managed, and Improv'd. For the *Biſhops*, and moſt Eminent *Clergy*, had publickly profeſs'd to King *James*, their being willing to come to a Temper with their *Diſſenting-Brethren*; and they had made their Applications to the Prince of *Orange*, upon the like Aſſurances of *Peace* and *Union*, by all proper and lawful Means. And at the ſame time, there was a like amicable Diſpoſition in the *Body* of the *Diſſenters*, who took Care to repreſent their Deſires of *Accommodation*, by the Mouth of Dr. *Bates*, who being Attended by very many *Diſſenting-Miniſters*, made theſe following *Speeches* to Their Majeſties.

To the KING.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty;

Speech of Dr. Bates.

"THE Series of *Succeſsful Events* that has attended Your *Glorious Enterprize*, for the "Saving theſe Kingdoms from ſo Imminent and "Deſtructive Evils, has been ſo Eminent and Extraordinary, that it may force an Acknowledgment of the *Divine Providence* from thoſe who "Deny it, and raiſes Admiration in all who Believe and Reverence it. The Beauty and Speed of "this Happy Work, are the bright Signatures of "His Hand, who *creates Deliverance for His People*. "The Leſs of *Humane Power*, the More of the "*Divine Wiſdom* and Goodneſs has been Conſpicuous in it. If the *Deliverance* had been obtain'd "by Fierce and Bloody Battels, *Victory* it ſelf had "been Dejected and Sad, and Our *Joy* had been "mix'd with Afflicting *Bitterneſs*: But as the *Sun*, "aſcending the *Horizon*, diſpels, without Noiſe, "the *Darkneſs* of the *Night*; ſo Your *Serene Preſence* has, without Tumults and Diſorders, chas'd "away the *Darkneſs* that Invaded us. In the Senſe "of this Aſtoniſhing *Deliverance*, We Deſire, with "all poſſible Ardency of Affection, to Magnify the "Glorious Name of GOD, the Author of it, by "whoſe entire Efficacy the *Means* have been Succeſsful: And We cannot, without a warm Rapture of Thankfulneſs, recount our Obligations to "Your Majeſty, the Happy *Inſtrument* of it. Your "Illuſtrious Greatneſs of Mind, in an *Undertaking* "of ſuch vaſt Expence; Your Heroick Zeal, in "Expoſing Your Moſt Precious Life in ſuch an Adventurous *Expedition*; Your Wiſe Conduct, and "unſhaken Reſolution, in Proſecuting Your Great "*Ends*, are above the loftieſt Flights of Language, "and exceed all Praiſe. We owe to Your Majeſty "the Two Greateſt and moſt Valuable Bleſſings that "we can enjoy; The Preſervation of the True *Religion*, our moſt Sacred Treaſure; and the Recovery of the Falling *State*, and the Eſtabliſhing it "upon Juſt Foundations. According to our Duty, "we promiſe *unfainting Fidelity* and *true Allegiance* to Your Majeſty's Perſon and Government. "*We are encourag'd by Your Gracious* Promiſe, *upon our Firſt* Addreſs, *humbly to deſire and hope*, "*That Your Majeſty will be pleas'd, by Your Wiſdom* "*and Authority, to Eſtabliſh a firm* Union *of Your* "Proteſtant Subjects *in the Matters of* Religion, *by* "*making the Rule of* Chriſtianity *to be the Rule of* "Conformity. *Our Bleſſed* Union, *in the Purity* "*and Peace of the Goſpel, will make this* Church *a* "*Fair and Lovely* Type *of* Heaven, *and Terrible to* "*our* Anti-chriſtian *Enemies*: *This will make* England *the Steady* Centre *from whence a Powerful* "*Influence will be deriv'd, for the Support of* Reformed Chriſtianity *Abroad*: *This will bring Immortal Honour to Your* Name, *above the Trophies* "*and Triumphs of the moſt Renowned* Conquerors. "*We do Aſſure Your Majeſty, That we ſhall cordially* "*embrace the Terms of* Union, *which the Ruling* "*Wiſdom of Our* SAVIOUR *has preſcribed in* "*His* Word. ---- We ſhall not treſpaſs farther on "Your *Royal Patience*, but ſhall offer up our fervent Prayers to the *King of kings*, that He will "pleaſe to direct Your Majeſty by His Unerring "Wiſdom, and always incline Your Heart to His "Glory, and encompaſs Your Sacred Perſon with "His Favour, as with a Shield, and make Your "Government an Univerſal Bleſſing to theſe Kingdoms.

The King's Anſwer.

His Majeſty was pleas'd graciouſly to make this *Anſwer*: *I take kindly Your Good Wiſhes*; *and whatever is in my Power, ſhall be employ'd for obtaining ſuch an* Union *among you. I do Aſſure you of My Protection and Kindneſs.*

To the QUEEN.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty;

Speech of Dr. Bates to the Queen.

"YOUR Happy Arrival in Your Native-Country, and Acceſſion to the *Crown*, has "diffus'd an Univerſal Joy through this Kingdom. "'Tis an Auſpicious Sign of Publick-Felicity, when "*Supreme-Vertue* and *Supreme-Dignity* meet in the "ſame Perſon. Your Inviolable *Firmneſs* in the "Profeſſion of the *Truth*, and Exemplary *Piety*, are "the moſt radiant Jewels in Your Crown. The "Luſtre of Your *Converſation*, unſtain'd in the "midſt of Tempting Vanities, and adorn'd with "every Grace, recommends *Religion* as the moſt "Honourable and Amiable Quality, even to thoſe "who are averſe from hearing Sermons, and apt to "deſpiſe Serious Inſtructions and Excitations to be "Religious. ---- *We humbly Deſire Your Majeſty* "*will be pleas'd, by Your Wiſdom and Goodneſs, to* "*Compoſe the Differences between Your* Proteſtant "Subjects, *in Things of leſs Moment concerning* "Religion. *We hope thoſe Reverend Perſons who* "*conſpire with Us in the Main-End, the* Glory *of* "GOD, *and the* Publick-Good, *will Conſent to the* "*Terms of* Union, *wherein all the* Reformed-"Churches *Agree*. ----We ſhall ſincerely Addreſs our Requeſts to GOD, that He will pleaſe "to pour down, in a rich Abundance, His Bleſſings "upon Your Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and "preſerve You to His Heavenly Kingdom.

The Queen's Anſwer.

Her Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd to *Anſwer* them thus: *I will uſe all Endeavours for the obtaining an* Union, *that is neceſſary for the Edifying of the* Church. *I deſire your Prayers.*

Church Preferments.

As to *Church-Preferments*, Dr. *Lamplugh*, *Biſhop* of *Exeter*, flying from that City while the Prince of *Orange* was Marching to it, was rewarded by King *James* with the Tranſlation to the Arch-Biſhoprick of *York*, on *Nov.* the 16th; and the Ceremonies of his Tranſlation were performed at *Lambeth*, on *Saturday Dec.* 8. by his Grace the Lord Arch-Biſhop of

ral Parts of it committed, not only with the Approbation but by the Direction of that great Prelate, to ſuch of our Divines as were thought the moſt proper to be intruſted with it. His Grace took one Part to himſelf, another was committed to a then Pious and Reverend Dean, afterwards a Biſhop of our Church, [Dr. *Patrick.*] The Reviewing of the daily Service of our Liturgy, and the Communion-Book, was referr'd to a ſelect Number of excellent Perſons, two of which are at this Time upon the Bench [Archbiſhop of *York*, and Biſhop of *Ely*] &c.

(*a*) See a Prayer for his Higneſs the Prince of *Orange*, to be uſed immediately after the Prayer for the Royal Family. By Order of the Lords. *Die Lunæ* 28 *January*, 1688.

"A Form of Prayer and Thankſgiving to Almighty God, "for having made his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* the Glorious Inſtrument of the great Deliverance of this Kingdom "from Popery and Arbitrary Power; to be uſed in *London* and "*Weſtminſter* 31 *January*, and throughout the Realm on the "14th of *Febr.* 1688, 4*to*.

Canterbury,

1688. 1 *W. M.* *Canterbury*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, (*a*) *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough*; and the Day after he did his Homage to His Majeſty at *Whitehall*, and within Two Days after he joined with the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal* Aſſembled at *Guild-Hall*, to Invite the Prince of *Orange* to take the Adminiſtration of the Government upon him. Upon his Tranſlation to *York*, King *James* commanded, though he ſtay'd not to compleat, the Tranſlation of Sir *Jonathan Trelawney* (Lord Biſhop of *Briſtol*) to the See of *Exeter*. The Learned Dr. *Seth Ward* (Biſhop of *Saliſbury*) having out-liv'd his Memory, and the greateſt Part of his excellent Underſtanding, died in his Houſe at *Knightsbridge* near *London*, on *Sunday*, *Jan.* 6th. Upon which Dr. *Gilbert Burnet* (*b*), who had come over with the Prince, and had ſo highly deſerv'd of him, was promoted to that See, at the Beginning of *March*; and on the laſt Day of that Month, was conſecrated in the Chapel of the *Biſhop*'s Palace at *Fulham*, by the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Llandaff*, *St. Aſaph*, and *Carliſle*, by Virtue of a Commiſſion granted to them by his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who began now to deny the Legality of the new Government, and therefore wou'd not be perſonally concern'd in the Conſecration of Dr. *Burnet*: Though by the Advice and Importunity of Dr. *Woodward* (Chancellor of that Dioceſe) his Grace yielded to that Expedient of giving out his Commiſſion; as if he cou'd authorize others to do what he thought cou'd not be lawfully done by himſelf. On *Apr.* 3. his Lordſhip was ſworn and admitted Chancellor of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter; and was always true and faithful to the King's Perſon, Intereſt and Honour, and very Exemplary in his Dioceſe, for Diſcipline, Hoſpitality and Charity.

1689. 1 *W. M.* *Proceedings in Parliament.* We left the Parliament ſitting. The Houſe of Lords had paſſed a Bill for *Removing* Papiſts *from the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and Ten Miles Diſtance from the ſame*: To which the Commons, on *March* 28. added a *Proviſo*, relating to the *Queen Dowager* and her Family, by which her Articles of Marriage did ſeem to be infring'd. To this *Proviſo* the Peers diſagreed; alledging, "That "Her Majeſty had for ſo many Years made ſuch "moderate Uſe of the ſaid Articles, that there had "not been any juſt Occaſion of Complaint in the "Enjoyment of 'em. That it was evident, in the "Time of the late King *James*, when Her Majeſty "might have been encourag'd to entertain more "Perſons of her own Religion, moſt of her Servants (and thoſe of the moſt conſiderable Places) were continu'd, and alſo others receiv'd into her Family, tho' *Proteſtants*: And that it "might be of ill Conſequence, if Her Majeſty, by "not living eaſily here, ſhould be oblig'd to retire "into Foreign Parts." On the other ſide, the Commons, on *April* 8. inſiſted upon the *Proviſo* added by 'em: 1. *Becauſe it was no new Clauſe, and therefore impoſed no new Condition upon Her Majeſty; it being the ſame that was enacted in the 30th of King* Charles II. *for the* more effectual Preſerving the King's Perſon and Government. 2. *Becauſe to make an Alteration in the Law as it then ſtood, might look like ſome kind of Countenance to thoſe of that Perſwaſion, at a Time when the Lords themſelves had judged the Reſort of* Papiſts *to* London *to be of ſo dangerous Conſequence to the Government, as to make this Act to remove 'em Ten Miles from it. And* 3dly, *Becauſe the* Papiſts *were not leſs active in their Deſigns and Practices to diſturb the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, than they were in the Thirtieth of King* Charles II. *And therefore the like Reaſons which induc'd the* Parliament *to make that Statute, remain'd at this Time, to perſwade the* Houſe of Commons *to keep the Force of it entire.* Upon Conſideration of theſe Reaſons offer'd by the Commons in a Free Conference, their Lordſhips agreed to propoſe, That the *Queen Dowager* ſhould have Thirty Servants of the King's *Engliſh* Subjects, provided none of them were *Prieſts*, *Monks*, or *Fryars*; to which Expedient, after ſeveral Conferences and warm Debates, the Commons gave their Concurrence.

The King offers a General Pardon and Oblivion. On *Thurſday*, *March* 28. the Earl of *Shrewsbury* acquainted the Houſe of Peers, "That His Majeſty, out of an earneſt Deſire to deliver his People from the Guilt, Reproaches and Penalties "which many of them may be liable to; and to "put an End to all Controverſies ariſing between "the Subjects, by reaſon of any Diſcord in later "Times, and to take away all Diſtinctions and "Occaſions of Diſcord among them; to the end "that they having an entire Confidence in His Majeſty, and a perfect Union among themſelves, "might be encourag'd in their Duty to his Government, and more fully and ſecurely enjoy "the Benefit of it. And His Majeſty judging, "that the beſt way to render this his Gracious Intentions moſt extenſive and effectual, was to paſs "a Free and General Pardon, Indemnity and "Oblivion; His Majeſty did moſt earneſtly recommend the Conſideration thereof to both "Houſes of Parliament, That with all the Expedition a Matter of that kind would admit, "they might prepare a Bill for that Purpoſe for "the Royal Aſſent; with ſuch Exceptions only, as "to them ſhould ſeem neceſſary, for the Vindication of Publick Juſtice, the Safety of Their Majeſties, and the Settlement and Welfare of the "Nation for the future." At the ſame Time the Earl of *Shrewsbury* deſir'd Leave of the Houſe, to bring in a Bill for the *Naturalizing the Prince of* Denmark, whom His Majeſty intended to create a Duke of this Kingdom, and ſo to make him capable of Sitting in that Houſe. Whereupon the Lords order'd the Marquis of *Wincheſter* and the Earl of *Bedford* to attend the King, with the Thanks of their Houſe, for His Majeſty's Gracious Meſſage to them concerning the Bill of Indemnity and Free Pardon, and for his Intention of creating His

(*a*) There was publiſh'd, *A Letter from the Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *to the Right Honourable the Earl of* Dorſet *and* Middleſex, *Lord Chamberlain of His Majeſty's Houſhold, concerning his Sitting in the late Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.* Dated, *Weſtminſter*, *Feb.* 21. 1688. Printed by *Edw. Jones* in the *Savoy*. 4to.

"My Lord, I think I ſhould be wanting to my ſelf at this "Time, in my own neceſſary Vindication, ſhould I forbear any "longer to give my Friends a true Account of my Behaviour "in the late Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion; tho' I profeſs, what I "ſhall now ſay, I only intend as a reaſonable Mitigation of the "Offence I have given, not entirely to juſtify my Sitting in "that Court, *&c.*

The Biſhop publiſh'd a Second Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Dorſet*; dated, *Weſtminſt. March* 26. 1689.

(*b*) The Biſhop of *Sarum*, in his *Vindication*, printed 1696. tells us, "When my Election to this See, wherein I ſerve, was "returned and confirmed, the Precept for my Conſecration "went to the Archbiſhop in Courſe. Archbiſhop *Sancroft* ſaid, "He would not obey it. Some Biſhops tried to perſuade him, "but in vain: The Earl of *Nottingham* tried, and ſucceeded "no better. The Party got it among them, that he had promiſed them not to do it. But as the Time came on, and he "ſaw that he muſt be ſued in a *Premunire*, when this was laid "before him, he all on the ſudden order'd Two Commiſſions "to be drawn, both which he Sign'd and Seal'd, and both are "yet extant; One directed to the Archbiſhop of *York*, and all "the Biſhops of *England*; the other to the Biſhop of *London*, "and all the Biſhops of his Province; to execute his Metropolitical Authority during Pleaſure. This laſt was made uſe "of, and purſuant to it I was conſecrated; ſo this was "as much his own Act, as if he himſelf had conſecrated "me." *Octavo*, p. 23. The Copy of this latter Commiſſion has been ſince printed by Mr. *Marſhall*, in his Defence of the Conſtitution, *Append.* Num. I. *Robertus Woodward, Legum Doctor, Notarius Publicus & Actuarius, hac vice ſpecialiter aſſumptus, &c.*

See a Sermon preach'd at *Fulham*, in the Chapel of the Palace, at the Conſecration of *Gilbert* Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*. By *Anthony Horneck*, D. D. 4to.

High-

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Highneſs Prince *George*, a Duke of this Realm.

On *Wedneſday*, *April* 3. His Majeſty came by Water to the Houſe of Lords, attended with the uſual Solemnity; and being in his Royal Robes ſeated on the Throne, and the Commons being ſent for up, His Majeſty gave the Royal Aſſent to the following Acts. 1. *An Act for exhibiting a Bill in this preſent Parliament, for Naturalizing the Moſt Noble Prince* George *of* Denmark. 2. *An Act for Reviving of Actions and Proceſs, lately depending in the Courts at* Weſtminſter, *and diſcontinued by the not holding of* Hillary-Term; *and for ſupplying other Defects relating to Proceedings at Law.* 3. *An Act for Puniſhing Officers and Soldiers, who ſhall mutiny, or deſert their Majeſties Service.*

Acts paſs'd by the King.

Titles and Honours.

His Majeſty, before his Coronation, thought fit to confer ſeveral Titles and Honours. He was pleaſed to create His Royal Highneſs, Prince *George* of *Denmark* and *Norway*, Baron of *Oakingham*, Earl of *Kendall*, and Duke of *Cumberland*; *Charles* Lord Marquis of *Wincheſter*, Duke of *Bolton*; *William Bentinck*, Eſq; Groom of the Stole to His Majeſty, Baron of *Cirenceſter*, Viſcount *Woodſtock*, and Earl of *Portland*; *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Faulconberg*, Earl of *Faulconberg*; *Charles* Lord Viſcount *Mordant*, Earl of *Monmouth*; *Ralph* Lord *Mountague*, Viſcount *Mount-Hermer*, and Earl of *Mountague*; *John* Lord *Churchill*, Earl of *Marlborough*; *Henry Sidney*, Eſq; Baron of *Milton*, and Viſcount *Sidney*, of *Sheppey* in the County of *Kent*; *Richard* Lord Viſcount *Lumley*, of *Waterford* in *Ireland*, Viſcount *Lumley*, of *Lumley*-Caſtle in the County Palatine of *Durham*; *Hugh* Lord Viſcount *Cholmondley*, of *Kellis* in *Ireland*, Baron *Cholmondley* of *Watchmalbank*, alias *Namptwich*, in *Cheſhire*. On *March* 27. the Lord *Coote* had been ſworn and admitted into the Place of Treaſurer and Receiver-General to Her Majeſty. On *April* 3. Duke *Frederick*, Mareſchal *de Schombergh*, General of His Majeſty's Forces, and Maſter-General of the Ordnance, and *William* Earl of *Devonſhire*, Lord Steward of His Majeſty's Houſhold, (in a Chapter held at *Whitehall*) were elected Knights Companions of the Moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*; and being firſt Knighted by the *Sovereign*, were inveſted with the *Garter* and *George* with the uſual Ceremony: And on *April* 5. the Duke of *Ormond* was inſtall'd Knight and Companion of that Moſt Noble Order, in St. *George*'s Chapel at *Windſor*. And on *Apr.* 10. His Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *Thomas Pilkington*, Eſq; Lord-Mayor of *London*.

More *Acts* paſs'd.

On *Tueſday*, *Apr.* 9. the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave his Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for Eſtabliſhing the* Coronation-Oath. 2. *An Act for the Naturalization of the Moſt Noble Prince* George *of* Denmark, *and Settling his Precedency.* 3. *An Act for Naturalizing of* Frederick *Count* Schomberg, *and others.* In the firſt of theſe Acts, the Coronation-Oath was provided (by Directions from the Court) to be adminiſtred either by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or the Biſhop of *London*. The Choice of one of theſe Two Prelates being left to the King, His Majeſty (leſt He ſhould be deny'd by the firſt) thought fit to pitch upon the Second, who accordingly officiated in that Magnificent Ceremony; which, on the Day appointed, *April* 11. was perform'd at *Weſtminſter* in (*a*) Manner following:

Coronation of King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

THeir Majeſties being come from *Whitehall* to *Weſtminſter*, and the Nobility, &c. being put in Order by the Heralds; they came down in State into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the *Swords* and *Spurs* were preſented to them.

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After which, the Dean and Prebendaries of *Weſtminſter* having brought the *Crowns*, and other *Regalia*, preſented them ſeverally to Their Majeſties; which, with the *Swords* and *Spurs*, were thereupon deliver'd to the Lords appointed to carry them.

Then the Proceſſion began in this manner: Drums and Trumpets; Six Clerks in *Chancery*, Two abreaſt, (as all the reſt of the Proceeding went;) Chaplains having Dignities; Aldermen of *London*; Maſters in *Chancery*; Sollicitor and Attorney-General; Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber; Judges.

Children of *Weſtminſter*, and of the King's Chapel; Choir of *Weſtminſter*, and Gentlemen of the Chapel; Prebends of *Weſtminſter*; Maſter of the Jewel-Houſe; Privy-Counſellors not Peers.

Two Purſuivants, Baroneſſes, Barons, Biſhops; A Purſuivant, a Viſcounteſs, Viſcounts; Two Heralds, Counteſſes, Earls; a Herald, a Marchioneſs; Two Heralds, Dutcheſſes, Dukes; Two Kings of Arms, the Lord Privy-Seal; Lord Preſident of the Council; Archbiſhop of *York*; His Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*; Two Perſons repreſenting the Dukes of *Aquitain* and *Normandy*.

Next the Lords who bore Their Majeſties *Regalia*, *viz.* the Earl of *Mancheſter*, St. *Edward*'s *Staff*; and the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthyn*, the *Spurs*; the Earl of *Clare*, the Queen's *Sceptre* with the *Croſs*, and the Earl of *Northampton* the King's; the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Derby* and *Pembroke*, the Three *Swords*. Next, Garter King of Arms, between the Uſher of the Black Rod and the Lord-Mayor of *London*; the Lord Great Chamberlain, ſingle; the Earl of *Oxford* with the *Sword* of *State*, between the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl-Marſhal, and the Duke of *Ormond*, Lord High Conſtable for that Day: Then the Earl of *Bedford* with the Queen's *Sceptre* of the *Dove*, and the Earl of *Rutland* with the King's; the Duke of *Bolton* with the Queen's *Orb*, and the Duke of *Grafton* with the King's; the Duke of *Somerſet* with the Queen's *Crown*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire*, Lord Steward of His Majeſty's Houſhold, (who was made Lord High Steward of *England* for that Day) with the King's; the Biſhop of *London* with the *Bible*, between the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* with the *Patin*, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* with the *Chalice*.

Then the KING, ſupported by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the QUEEN by the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, under a Canopy born by Sixteen Barons of the *Cinque Ports*; His Majeſty's Train born by the Maſter of the Robes, aſſiſted by the Lord *Eland*, Lord *Willoughby*, Lord *Lanſdown*, and the Lord *Dumblain*; and Her Majeſty's Train by the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, aſſiſted by the Lady *Elizabeth Pawlet*, Lady *Diana Vere*, Lady *Elizabeth Cavendiſh*, and the Lady *Harriot Hyde*.

After the KING, a Gentleman of the *Bed-Chamber*, and Two Grooms of the *Bed-Chamber*; and after the QUEEN, a Lady of the *Bed-Chamber*, and Two of Her Majeſty's Women.

Laſtly, The Captain of His Majeſty's *Guard*, between the Captain of the Yeomen of the *Guard*, and the Captain of the Band of *Penſioners*; followed by the Officers and Band of Yeomen of the *Guard*; the Serjeants at Arms going on each Side of the *Regalia*, and the Gentlemen Penſioners on each Side of the *Canopy*.

Thus Their Majeſties, in their *Robes* of *Crimſon Velvet*, the KING with a *Cap*, and the QUEEN with a *Circlet* on her Head, all the Nobility in *Crimſon Velvet Robes*, with their *Coronets* in their Hands, and the reſt of the Proceeding in their proper Habits, marched on Foot upon Blue Cloth to *Weſtminſter-Abby*; all the Way and Houſes on each Side

(*a*) See an exact Account of the Ceremonial at the Coronation of Their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, on the Eleventh of *April*, 1689. Printed by *Edward Jones*, 1689. 4to.

being

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being crowded with vaſt Numbers of Spectators, expreſſing their great Joy and Satiſfaction by loud repeated Acclamations.

Being enter'd the Church, and all duly ſeated, the Biſhop of *London* (who perform'd this Great *Solemnity*) began with the *Recognition*, which ended with a mighty Shout. Then Their Majeſties offer'd, and the Lords who bore the *Regalia* preſented them at the *Altar*. The *Litany* was ſung by Two Biſhops; and after the *Epiſtle*, *Goſpel*, and *Nicene Creed*, the (*a*) Biſhop of *Saliſbury* preach'd on this Text, 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 14.

After Sermon, Their Majeſties took the *Oath*; and being conducted to their *Regal Chairs*, placed on the *Theatre*, (that they might be the more conſpicuous to the Members of the *Houſe of Commons*, who were ſeated in the *North Croſs*) were anointed, and preſented with the *Spurs* and *Sword*, and inveſted with the *Palls* and *Orbs*, and then with the *Rings* and *Sceptres*: And at Four of the Clock, the *Crowns* were put upon their Heads; at ſight whereof the People ſhouted, the Drums and Trumpets ſounded, the Great Guns were diſcharged, and the Peers and Peereſſes put on their *Coronets*.

Then the *Bible* was preſented to Them, and after the *Benediction*, They vouchſafed to kiſs the Biſhops. Being *Enthroned*, firſt the Biſhops, and then the Temporal Lords did their Homage, and kiſs'd Their Majeſties Left *Cheeks*; while the Treaſurer of the Houſhold threw about the *Coronation-Medals*.

Next follow'd the *Communion*; and Their Majeſties having made their Second Oblation, received the *Holy Sacrament*. Then the Biſhop read the final *Prayers*; and Their Majeſties retiring into St. *Edward*'s Chapel, and being new array'd in Purple Velvet, return'd to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, wearing their Rich *Crowns* of State, and the Nobility their *Coronets*.

The Nobility, *&c.* being ſeated at their reſpective Tables, which were all ready furniſh'd before their coming in; the firſt Courſe for Their Majeſties Table was ſerved up with the proper Ceremony, being preceded by the Great Officers, and the High Conſtable, High Steward, and Earl Marſhal: And before the Second Courſe, *Charles Dymock*, Eſq; Their Majeſties *Champion*, between the High Conſtable and the Earl Marſhal, perform'd the Challenge: After which, the Heralds proclaim'd Their Majeſties Stiles.

Dinner being ended, and the whole Solemnity perform'd with great Splendor and Magnificence, about Eight in the Evening Their Majeſties return'd to *Whitehall*.

The next Day Afternoon, the Houſe of Commons (in a full Body) walk'd from *Weſtminſter* to the *Banquetting-Houſe*, where they attended Their Majeſties, to congratulate 'em upon their Coronation; which Mr. *Powle* (their *Speaker*) perform'd in the following Speech.

Speaker's Speech to their Majeſties.

"YOUR moſt loyal and dutiful Subjects, the "Commons of *England* aſſembled in this "preſent Parliament, having to their unſpeakable "Joy, ſeen your Majeſties plac'd upon the Imperial Throne of this Kingdom, they have deſir'd "Acceſs at this Time to your Royal Preſence, humbly to congratulate your Majeſties upon this Occaſion, and to wiſh your Majeſties a long and "proſperous Reign, with all the Bleſſings that ever "did attend a Crown.

"We are all ſenſible that your Majeſties Greatneſs is the Security of your Subjects. It is from "your Power that we derive to our ſelves an Aſſurance of being defended from our Enemies; and "from your Juſtice, that we expect a full Enjoyment of our Laws and Liberties: But that which "compleats our Happineſs, is the Experience we "have of your Majeſties continual Care to maintain the Proteſtant Religion; So that we can no "longer apprehend any Danger of being deprived "of that ineſtimable Bleſſing, either by ſecret Practices or by open Violences.

To the King.

"*May the ſame divine Providence which hath "hitherto preſerved your Majeſty in the greateſt "Dangers, and ſo often given you Victory over your "Enemies, ſtill crown your Undertakings with Succeſs.*

To the Queen.

"*And may thoſe unparallel'd Virtues, which "adorn your Majeſty's Royal Perſon, be the Admiration of the preſent Age, and an Example to the "Future.*

"And may the Luſtre of both your Names ſo "far out-ſhine the Glory of your Predeceſſors, that "the Memory of their greateſt Actions may be "forgotten, and your People no longer date the Eſtabliſhment of their Laws and Liberties from St. "*Edward*'s Days, but from the moſt auſpicious "King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*.

To this Speech his Majeſty made the following Anſwer, both in his own, and in his Queen's Name.

GENTLEMEN;

The King's Anſwer.

WE return you our hearty Thanks, for the Kindneſs that you have, upon all Occaſions, ſhew'd to both of us. We ſhall take care, to the beſt of our Power, of all Things that conduce to the Good of the Kingdom: And I do not doubt, but, by GOD's Aſſiſtance, and yours, we ſhall be able, in a ſhort Time, to make you a flouriſhing People.

Lords Addreſs.

On *Apr.* 19th, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty, in the *Banqueting-Houſe*, to render his Majeſty their moſt humble and hearty Thanks, for his gracious Declaration, and repeated Aſſurances, That he will maintain the Church of *England*, as by Law Eſtabliſh'd: And humbly to pray his Majeſty to ſummon a Convocation of the Clergy of this Kingdom. To which his Majeſty the next Day (*b*) return'd a moſt gracious Anſwer, (that ſhall be expreſly recited under the View of Religion.)

Acts paſs'd.

On *Wedneſday*, *Apr.* 24th, his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Lords, and gave his Royal Aſſent to theſe

(*a*) See a Sermon preach'd at the Coronation of King *William* III. and Q. *Mary* II. King and Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, in the Abbey Church of *Weſtminſter*, *Apr.* 11. 1689. by *Gilbert* Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*, 1689, 4to.

(*b*) *Apr.* 20. 1689. Liberty was given to proteſt againſt the Depriving Act; *i. e.* Act for abrogating the Oaths, *&c.* in the Houſe of Peers: yet no Proteſt was entred by any one of thoſe who were likely to ſuffer, nor of Ten Biſhops preſent was there a ſingle Biſhop who gave his Negative; and among the Temporal Lords but two Diſſentients. In Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, there was ſomething very ſingular, either in his Opinion, or in his Temper. Either his Opinion of the preſent Eſtabliſhment differed from his Brethrens, or he had a Fearfulneſs of Temper that neither became his Poſt, nor thoſe Times. He was one of thoſe Lords who met at *Guildhall*, and ſigned the Invitation to the then Prince of *Orange*, to come and look to the Preſervation of Religion and of the Nation. When his preſent Majeſty came to St. *James*'s, he neither came to wait on him, nor did he ſend any Meſſage, importing, that the State of Affairs was changed, and that he had thereupon changed his Mind. When the Convention was ſummoned, he would not appear all the while, though his Brethren did, and both ſpake and voted according to their Principles. The Matter ſtuck ſo many Days in the Houſe of Lords, and was at laſt carried upon ſo ſmall an Inequality, that the Weight of an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* might have held, if not turned, the Balance. ——— Here was a very unaccountable Behaviour if he thought it was *Rebellion* or *Treaſon* that was then in Debate. If he had but once come and declared againſt all that was then in Agitation, and then withdrawn, this would have

1689. 1 *W.M.* theſe following Acts. (1.) *An Act for empowering his Majeſty to apprehend and detain ſuch Perſons as he ſhall find juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect are conſpiring againſt the Government.* (2.) *An Act for the Abrogating of the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and appointing other Oaths.* (3.) *An Act for the amoving Papiſts, and reputed Papiſts, from the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and Ten Miles diſtance from the ſame.* (4.) *An Act for the taking away the Revenue ariſing by* Hearth-Money. (5.) *An Act for the Encouraging the Exportation of Corn.* (6.) *An Act for the explaining and making effectual a Statute made in the Firſt Year of King* James *the Second, concerning the* Havens *and* Peres *of* Great-Yarmouth.

There was yet no open War declar'd againſt *France*: But the Reception of King *James* in the *French* Court, and his tranſporting *French* Forces into *Ireland*, made it neceſſary to proclaim War againſt that potent Monarch; as was expected Abroad, and deſir'd here at home. Under this Diſpoſition, on *Friday, Apr.* 26th, the Commons, in a Body, waited on his Majeſty at *Whitehall*, and preſented this humble Addreſs:

Addreſs of the Commons for a War with France.

"WE your Majeſty's moſt loyal and dutiful "Subjects, the Commons in this preſent "Parliament aſſembled, moſt humbly lay before "your Majeſty, our earneſt Deſire, That your Ma"jeſty wou'd be pleas'd to take into your moſt ſe"rious Conſideration, the deſtructive Methods of "late taken by the *French* King, againſt the Trade, "Quiet and Intereſt, of this your Kingdom, and "particularly, the preſent Invaſion of the King"dom of *Ireland*, and ſupporting your Majeſty's "Rebellious Subjects there.

"Not doubting in the leaſt, but that, through "your Majeſty's Wiſdom, the Alliances already "made, with ſuch as may hereafter be concluded, "on this Occaſion, by your Majeſty, may be ef"fectual to reduce the *French* King to ſuch a Con"dition, that it may not be in his Power hereafter "to violate the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, nor preju"dice the Trade or Proſperity of this your Maje"ſty's Kingdom.

"To this End, we moſt humbly beſeech your "Majeſty to reſt aſſured, upon this our ſolemn and "hearty Engagement, That when your Majeſty "ſhall think fit to enter into a War againſt the "*French* King, we will give your Majeſty ſuch Aſ"ſiſtance, in a Parliamentary Way, as may enable "your Majeſty (under that Protection and Bleſſing "GOD Almighty has ever afforded you) to ſup"port and go through with the ſame.

To which Addreſs, his Majeſty gave this gracious Anſwer:

WILLIAM R.

The King's Anſwer.

I Receive this Addreſs, as a Mark of the Confidence you have in me, which I take very kindly; and ſhall endeavour, by all my Actions, to confirm you in it.

I aſſure you, That my own Ambition ſhall never be an Argument to incline me to engage in a War, that may expoſe the Nation either to Danger or Expence. 1689. 1 *W.M.*

But in the preſent Caſe, I look upon the War ſo much already declar'd, in effect, by France, *againſt* England; *that it is not ſo properly an Act of Choice, as an inevitable* Neceſſity, *in our own* Defence.

I ſhall only tell you, That as I have ventur'd my Life, and all that is dear to me, to reſcue this Nation from what it ſuffer'd; I am ready ſtill to do the ſame, in order to the preſerving it from all its Enemies: And as I do not doubt of ſuch an Aſſiſtance from you, as ſhall be ſuitable to your Advice to me, To declare War againſt a powerful Enemy; *ſo you may rely upon me, That no Part of that which you ſhall give, for the carrying it on with Succeſs, ſhall be diverted, by me, to any other Uſe.*

Under this Reſolution of a War with *France* the King publiſh'd, *A Declaration for the encouraging of* French *Proteſtants to tranſport themſelves into this Kingdom; promiſing them not only Protection for themſelves, Families and Eſtates, but alſo ſuch Aid and Aſſiſtance in their ſeveral and reſpective Trades, and Ways of Livelihood, as that their Living and Being in this Realm may be comfortable and eaſy to them:* And at the ſame Time, *A Proclamation, prohibiting the Importation of all Sorts of Manufactures and Commodities whatſoever, of the Growth, Production or Manufacture of* France. The King's Declaration for the *French* Proteſtants.

The Commons had voted the Yearly Sum of *One million two hundred thouſand* Pounds for the Support of the Crown; and *Six hundred thouſand Pounds* for the Maintenance of the Forces to be employ'd in the Reduction of *Ireland*. They prepar'd a Poll Bill; which having paſs'd both Houſes, his Majeſty came, on *May* 1ſt, attended with the uſual Solemnity to the Houſe of Lords, where he gave his Royal Aſſent to, (1.) *An Act for raiſing Money by a Poll, and otherwiſe, towards the reducing of* Ireland. (2.) *An Act for preventing Doubts and Queſtions concerning the collecting the Publick Revenue.* (3.) *An Act to enable* Younger Cook, *Eſq; to ſell Lands to pay his Debts, and provide for his younger Children.* Acts paſſed.

The Speaker, when he preſented the Money-Bill, made this remarkable Speech:

May it pleaſe your Majeſty:

"THE Commons aſſembled in this preſent "Parliament, have taken into their moſt ſe"rious Conſideration, the deplorable Condition of "*Ireland*, where thoſe fatal Counſels, that did ſo "long govern the Affairs of theſe Kingdoms, have "ſo far prevail'd, that your Arms and Gariſons "there have been taken from your Proteſtant Sub"jects, and put into the Hands of *Iriſh* Papiſts; "and the *Engliſh* Proteſtants that remain there, left "naked and defenceleſs in the Power of thoſe Ene"mies, which never yet ſhew'd them any Mercy, "when they had them at an Advantage. Speaker's Speech to the King.

"Nor is it the Strength of the *Iriſh* Natives on"ly, animated with the Zeal for Popery, and a "longing Deſire to free themſelves from any De"pendency upon the Crown of *England*, that is

become him and his Station. His Chaplains took the Oaths, and were not diſcountenanced by him. Thoſe who knew him beſt, gave it out upon that ſtrange Deportment of his, that he wiſhed well to the *Change*, only that he himſelf would not be active in it; and this they imputed to ſome Promiſe that they believed he had made to the late King. When King *James* went to *Ireland*, and during all the Time of that War, when the Party in *England* grew bold, and was full of Hopes, he continued in his former Silence and Reſervedneſs, and ſtill kept up his former Friendſhip with thoſe who had taken the Oaths. At that Time ſeveral Clergymen, who had Scruples concerning the Oaths, as they have told my ſelf, went to him and deſired to diſcourſe the Matter, but he declin'd it. When Biſhop *Turner*'s Letters were intercepted, he ſaid to a great many from whom I had it, That he had no Authority from him to write as he did in his Name. After he was deprived he never took on him to act with his Archiepiſcopal Authority. He never required the Biſhops or Clergy of his Province to adhere to him, or to diſown his Succeſſor: And neither Living nor Dying did he publiſh any Thing to the Nation charging theſe Sins upon them, or requiring them to return to their former State, *&c.* Biſhop of *Sarum*'s Vindication, 8*vo.* 1696. p. 97.

"likely

1689. 1 W. M. "likely to create your Majeſty an Oppoſition there, "but they have likewiſe caſt themſelves under the "Protection of the *French* King; who will, with-"out doubt, employ that Force, with which, of "late Years, he hath over-aw'd *Europe*, to ſupport "thoſe your rebellious Subjects; thereby, if poſſi-"ble, to give your Majeſty a Diverſion from oppo-"ſing, in other Parts of the World, his ambitious "Deſigns of an Univerſal Monarchy.

"The Commons therefore, ſeeing ſo evident a "Neceſſity of Reducing that Kingdom under your "Majeſty's Obedience, and the great Expence your "Majeſty muſt undergo, in maintaining ſuch a "War, do now humbly preſent to your Majeſty "their hearty Aſſiſtance, in a Poll-Bill, which they "look upon as the moſt ſpeedy and effectual Way "of raiſing *Ready Money* on this Occaſion; ſolemn-"ly engaging themſelves to ſupply your Majeſty "with ſuch future Aids, as may be proportionable "to the Charge of the War, as long as it ſhall con-"tinue.

The King, being well-aſſur'd of the Aſſiſtance of the Commons, acquainted the Lords with his Intention, of ſpeedily declaring War againſt *France*. Whereupon their Lordſhips, on *May* 7th, unanimouſly reſolv'd to aſſiſt and ſerve his Majeſty therein, to their utmoſt Power. The ſame Day, Their Majeſty's Declaration againſt the *French* King, was ſolemnly proclaim'd, in a maſterly Form, (ſaid to be drawn up by Mr. *Somers*.)

WILLIAM R.

Declaration of War againſt France. "IT having pleas'd Almighty GOD to make Us "the Happy *Inſtruments* of Reſcuing theſe Na-"tions from Imminent Dangers, and to place Us "upon the Throne of theſe Kingdoms; We think "Ourſelves oblig'd to endeavour, to the uttermoſt, "to promote the Welfare of Our People: Which "can never be effectually ſecured, but by prevent-"ing the Miſeries that threaten them from Abroad.

"When We conſider the many Unjuſt Methods "the *French* King hath, of late Years, taken to "gratify his Ambition: That he has not only in-"vaded the Territories of the *Emperor* and the *Em-"pire*, now in *Amity* with Us, laying waſte whole "Countries, and deſtroying the Inhabitants, by his "Armies; but declar'd *War* againſt Our *Allies*, "without any Provocation, in manifeſt Violation "of the *Treaties* confirm'd by the *Guaranty* of "the *Crown of England*; We can do no leſs than "join with our *Allies*, in oppoſing the Deſigns of "the *French* King, as the *Diſturber of the Peace*, "and the *Common Enemy* of the Chriſtian World.

"And beſides the Obligations We lie under, by "*Treaties* with Our *Allies*, which are a ſufficient "Juſtification of Us for taking up Arms at this "Time, ſince They have call'd upon Us ſo to do, "the many Injuries done to Us, and to Our Sub-"jects, without any Reparation by the *French* "King, are ſuch, that (however of late Years they "were not taken Notice of, for Reaſons well known "to the World, nevertheleſs) we will not paſs "them over, without a Publick and juſt Reſent-"ment of ſuch Outrages.

"It is not long ſince the *French* took *Licences* "from the *Engliſh* Governor of *Newfoundland*, to "Fiſh in the Seas upon that Coaſt, and paid a "Tribute for ſuch *Licences*, as an Acknowledgment "of the *Sole Right* of the *Crown* of *England* to that "Iſland: And yet of late, the Encroachments of "the *French* upon our ſaid Iſland, and our Subjects "Trade and Fiſhery, have been more like the Inva-"ſions of an Enemy, than becoming Friends, "who enjoy'd the Advantages of that Trade only "by Permiſſion.

"But that the *French* King ſhould invade our "*Charibbe Iſlands*, and poſſeſs himſelf of our Ter-"ritories of the Province of *New-York*, and of *Hud-"ſon's-Bay*, in a Hoſtile manner, ſeizing our Forts, "burning our Subjects Houſes, and enriching his "People with the Spoil of their Goods and Mer-"chandizes, detaining ſome of our Subjects under "the Hardſhip of Impriſonment, cauſing others to "be inhumanly kill'd, and driving the reſt to Sea in a "ſmall Veſſel, without Food and Neceſſaries to "ſupport them, are Actions not becoming even an "Enemy: And yet he was ſo far from declaring "himſelf ſo, that at that very Time he was nego-"ciating here in *England*, by his Miniſters, a Trea-"ty of Neutrality and good Correſpondence in "*America*. 1689. 1 W. M.

"The Proceedings of the *French* King againſt "our Subjects in *Europe*, are ſo notorious, that we "ſhall not need to enlarge upon them: His counte-"nancing the Seizure of *Engliſh* Ships by *French* "Privateers; forbidding the Importation of great "Part of the Product and Manufactures of our "Kingdom, and impoſing exorbitant Cuſtoms upon "the reſt, notwithſtanding the vaſt Advantage he "and the *French* Nation reap by their Commerce "with *England*, are ſufficient Evidence of his De-"ſign to deſtroy the Trade, and conſequently to "ruin the Navigation, upon which the Wealth and "Safety of this Nation very much depends.

"The Right of the Flag, inherent in the Crown "of *England*, has been diſputed by his Orders, in "Violation of our Sovereignty of the Narrow Seas, "which, in all Ages, has been aſſerted by our "Predeceſſors, and we are reſolved to maintain, for "the Honour of our Crown, and of the *Engliſh* "Nation.

"But that which moſt nearly touches us, is, his "Unchriſtian Proſecution of many of our *Engliſh* "Proteſtant Subjects in *France*, for Matters of Re-"ligion, contrary to the Law of Nations, and ex-"preſs Treaties; forcing them to abjure their Re-"ligion, by ſtrange and unuſual Cruelties; and im-"priſoning ſome of the Maſters and Seamen of our "Merchant-Ships, and condemning others to the "Gallies, on Pretence of having on Board ei-"ther ſome of his own miſerable Proteſtant Sub-"jects, or their Effects. And laſtly, As he has for "ſome Years laſt paſt, endeavour'd, by Inſinuations "and Promiſes of Aſſiſtance, to overthrow the Go-"vernment of *England*; ſo now, by open and vio-"lent Methods, and the actual Invaſion of our "Kingdom of *Ireland*, in Support of our Subjects "in Arms, and in Rebellion againſt us, he is pro-"moting the utter Extirpation of our good and "loyal Subjects in that our Kingdom.

"Being therefore thus neceſſitated to take up "Arms, and relying on the Help of Almighty "God, in our juſt Undertaking; we have thought "fit to declare, and do hereby declare War againſt "the *French* King; and that we will, in Con-"junction with our Allies, vigorouſly proſecute "the ſame by Sea and Land, (ſince he hath ſo un-"righteouſly begun it;) being aſſured of the hearty "Concurrence and Aſſiſtance of our Subjects, in "Support of ſo good a Cauſe. Hereby willing and "requiring our General of our Forces, our Com-"miſſioners for executing the Office of High Ad-"miral, our Lieutenants of our ſeveral Counties, "Governors of our Forts and Gariſons, and all "other Officers and Soldiers under them by Sea "and Land, to do and execute all Acts of Hoſtility, "in the Proſecution of this War againſt the *French* "King, his Vaſſals and Subjects, and to oppoſe "their Attempts. Willing and requiring all our "Subjects to take Notice of the ſame, whom we "henceforth ſtrictly forbid to hold any Correſpon-"dence or Communication with the ſaid *French* "King, or his Subjects. And becauſe there are re-"maining in our Kingdoms many of the Subjects "of the *French* King; we do declare, and give our "Royal Word, that all ſuch of the *French* Nation

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" as ſhall demean themſelves dutifully towards us, " and not correſpond with our Enemies, ſhall be " ſafe in their Perſons and Eſtates, and free from " all Moleſtation and Trouble of any kind.

Given at our Court at Hampton-Court, *the 7th Day of May*, 1689. *In the firſt Year of our Reign.*

Engagement of Engliſh & French Fleets in *Bantry-Bay*

Some Days before this Proclamation, the War was effectually declar'd, by an Engagement between the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleets in *Bantry-Bay*. Of which this Account was given from on Board their Majeſties Ship the *Elizabeth*, the 2d of *May*, 1689. " Admiral *Herbert* having refitted at *Milford-* " *Haven*, the Damages which ſome of his Ships " had ſuſtain'd by ill Weather, on the Coaſt of " *Ireland*, intended to have gone directly to *Breſt*; " but the Wind coming *Eaſterly*, which might " bring the *French* Fleet out, he ſtood on the 24th " paſt over to *Kingſale*, which he judg'd the liklieſt " way to meet them. On the 29th our Scouts " made a Signal, that they diſcover'd a Fleet keep- " ing their Wind; which made us likewiſe keep " ours all Night, to hinder their getting into *King-* " *ſale*. The 30th, we heard the Enemy weregone " into *Baltimore*, being 44 Sail; whereupon we " bore away towards that Place, but found there " no Signs of them; but in the Evening our Scouts " got Sight of them again to the *Weſtward* of " *Cape-Clear*. We ſteered after them, and found " they were got into *Bantry*. We lay off of the " Bay all Night, and the next Morning by Break " of Day ſtood in, where we found them at an An- " chor. They got preſently under Sail, and bore " down upon us in a Line, compoſed of Twenty " eight Men of War and Five Fireſhips. When " they came within Muſquet-ſhot of the *Defiance*, " the Headmoſt of our Ships, the *French* Admiral " put out the Signal of Battle, which was begun " by them, firing great and ſmall Shot at the *De-* " *fiance*, and the reſt as we came in our Line. We " made ſeveral Boards to gain the Wind, or at leaſt " to engage them cloſer; but finding that way of " working very diſadvantageous, Admiral *Herbert* " ſtood off to Sea, as well to have got our Ships " into a Line, as to have gained the Wind of the " Enemy; but found them ſo cautious in bearing " down, that we could never get an Opportunity " to do it; ſo continued battering upon a Stretch " till Five in the Afternoon, when the *French* Ad- " miral tacked from us, and ſtood farther into the " Bay. Admiral *Herbert's* Ship and ſome of the " reſt being diſabled in their Rigging, we could " not follow them; but we continued ſome Time " after before the Bay, and our Admiral gave them " a Gun at parting. In this Action, Captain *George* " *Aylmer*, of the *Portland*, with one Lieutenant and " Ninety four Seamen were killed, and about Two " hundred and fifty wounded, as appears by a Sur- " vey taken after the Fight; and our Ships received " little or no Damage except in their Sail and Rig- " ging. As for our Officers and Seamen this Right " muſt be done them, That they behaved them- " ſelves with all the Courage and Chearfulneſs that " could be expected from the braveſt Men: And on " on the other ſide, without leſſening the Enemy, " it may be ſaid, that they either wanted Courage " or Skill to make uſe of the Advantage of the " Place, the Wind, their Fireſhips, and their be- " ing at leaſt double our Force; for they had Eigh- " teen Ships, the leaſt whereof was as big as the " *Elizabeth*; and it ſo happen'd, that at the Time " of this Engagement, Admiral *Herbert* had with " him but Eight Third Rates, Ten Fourth Rates, " One Fifth Rate, and Two Tenders.

" We are now returning towards *Scilly*, where " the Rendezvous is appointed for our Fleet, which " having got together, we are in hopes to make a " ſecond Attempt upon the Enemy.

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King *William's* Care of the *Fleet*.

A Fortnight after, his Majeſty went to *Portſmouth*, both to haſten the Refitting of the Fleet, and to diſtribute Rewards to thoſe Officers and Soldiers who had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in the late Engagement. Admiral *Herbert* was declar'd, and ſoon after made Earl of *Torrington*; Captain *John Aſhby*, Commander of the *Defiance*, and Captain *Cloudeſly Shovel* of the *Edgar*, received the Honour of Knighthood; and each Seaman a Gratuity of Ten Shillings, which amounted to the Sum of Twenty ſix thouſand Pounds, with a Bounty ſuper-added to the Relicts of thoſe who had loſt their Lives. Some report, that when the King receiv'd the News of this Sea-Fight, He ſaid, That *ſuch an Action was neceſſary in the Beginning of a War, but it would be raſh in the Courſe of it.*

The *King's* Appointment of *Judges*.

In the mean time, to provide for Peace at Home, his Majeſty took care to conſtitute ſuch Judges as were moſt eminent for Learning and Integrity, and who in the moſt difficult Times had bravely ſtood up in Defence of the Laws and Liberties of the People. Sir *John Holt* was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's Bench*; Sir *William Dolben*, Sir *William Gregory*, *Giles Eyres*, Eſq; Juſtices of the ſame Court: Sir *Henry Pollexfen*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*; Sir *Robert Atkyns*, Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*; Sir *Edward Nevil*, *Nicholas Letchmere*, Eſq; *John Turton*, Eſq; Barons of the ſame; *John Trenchard*, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*; Sir *George Treby*, Attorney-General, and *John Sommers*, Eſq; Sollicitor-General to his Majeſty. Juſt before this Advancement, on *May* 2. his Majeſty called by his Writ, Sir *Henry Pollexfen*, Kt. *Nicholas Lechmere*, *Thomas Rokeby*, *John Thurbarne*, *William Wogan*, *William Powlet*, *Nathaniel Bond*, *Giles Eyres*, *Henry Hatſel*, *John Blencowe*, *Peyton Ventris*, *John Powel*, *Roger Belwood*, *John Tremain*, *John Trenchard*, and *John Turton*, Eſqs; to take upon them the State and Degree of Serjeants at Law, who gave Rings with this ſeaſonable Motto, *Veniendo Reſtituit Rem.*

Difference between the Two Houſes about *Taxing*.

To return to Parliament. To defray the extraordinary Expences of the War, the Commons had paſs'd an Additional Poll-Bill, which being ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence, their Lordſhips on *May* 9. addded a Clauſe to it, for Rating and Taxing the Peers by Commiſſioners of their own naming, appointing a Collector to receive the Rates and Taxes of the Peers, and freeing their Perſons from Impriſonment. To this Clauſe the Commons diſagreed. 1. Becauſe the Bill in queſtion taxed Commoners only. 2. Becauſe the *Poll-Bill* already paſſed, had ſufficiently provided for Taxing all the Nobility, to which the Lords had conſented. On the other hand, the Peers inſiſted on their Clauſe; alledging firſt, " That it is the common Courſe of " Parliaments to paſs Explanatory Acts, if any thing " has been omitted, or ill-expreſſed, in any other " Act paſſed in the ſame Seſſion; which was the " preſent Caſe. 2. That the Houſe of Commons " had in this Bill taken Care of the *Serjeants-Inns*, " and the *Inns of Court* and *Chancery*, That they " ſhould be rated by their own Members; there- " fore the Peers much more ought to be rated by " none but thoſe who are of their own Houſe. " 3. That the Houſe of Peers, out of their extra- " ordinary Zeal for the reducing of *Ireland*, (the " *Poll-Bill* coming up ſo late to 'em from the Houſe " of Commons, that they had not Time to deliberate " upon every Part of it) did make this Omiſſion, " which for that Reaſon only, ought not to turn to " their Prejudice, it being their undoubted Right, " which had been preſerved in all former *Poll Bills*, " and particularly in the laſt 29 *Car.* II. the Proviſo " in that Bill being conceiv'd in the ſame Form, " with the Clauſe now offer'd by their Lordſhips."

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To theſe Reaſons the Commons anſwer'd, *That the admitting of their Lordſhips Amendment would in a manner repeal the Bill for the Tax, and therefore they muſt inſiſt on their Diſagreement to it.* The Peers being as poſitive in adhering to their Clauſe, the Commons let drop the *Additional Poll-Bill*; and inſtead of that made and paſs'd *a Bill for a Grant to their Majeſties of an Aid of Twelve Pence in the Pound for One Year.*

On *Saturday, May* 11. His Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to (1.) *An Act for the better ſecuring the Government, by diſarming* Papiſts, *and* Reputed Papiſts. (2.) *An Act that the* Simoniacal Promotion *of one Perſon may not prejudice another.* (3.) *An Act for rectifying a Miſtake in a certain Act of this preſent Parliament, for the amoving* Papiſts *from the* Cities *of* London *and* Weſtminſter. (4.) *An Act for the Naturalization of* Henry de Naſſau, *and others.* (5.) *An Act for Annulling and making Void the* Attainder *of* Algernoon Sidney, *Eſq*;

Acts Paſs'd

Proceedings of the Commons.

The Commons had appointed a Committee to make an Eſtimate of Forfeitures, Ground-Rents, and Additional Exciſe, in order to raiſe further Aids to carry on the War. On *May* 15. Mr. *Papillon* reported, That as to Forfeitures, the Committee had peruſed the Liſts delivered in by the Members of the ſeveral Counties, and on Examination did find great Difficulties in the Matter; as, Whether ſome that were named, had acted in their Offices? Whether others were not inſolvent and unable to pay; whether others had not qualified themſelves; and whether there were not ſeveral omitted: But that on the Conſideration of the whole, it was their Opinion, that the Forfeitures in the ſeveral Counties might produce Three hundred forty eight thouſand Pounds, without including the Counties of *Bedford, Lincoln,* and *Cardigan,* there being no Liſt brought in of thoſe Counties: That as to the Additional Exciſe, it was the Opinion of the Committee, that Nine-Pence *per* Barrel might produce One hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; but that as to the Ground-Rents, the Committee could not as yet find out Means to come to any probable way of making a right Eſtimate, but they were endeavouring to do it.

Lords Debates upon their Privileges.

A Committee of Privileges had been appointed in the Houſe of Peers; and upon Examination of the Caſe of the Earl of *Devonſhire,* they reported their Opinion thus: *That the Proceedings againſt the ſaid Earl in the Court of* King's-Bench *in* Eaſter-Term, *in the Third Year of King* James II. *upon an Information of an Aſſault upon Mr.* Culpeper, *wherein his Lordſhip's Plea of Parliament was over ruled, and he was fin'd Thirty thouſand Pounds, and thereupon committed to the* King's-Bench *in Execution, was a great Violation of the Privilege of the Peers of* England; *and likewiſe that thoſe Judges who ſat in the ſaid Court when the ſaid Judgment was given, and the ſaid Commitment made, ſhould be required to attend the Bar of this Houſe, to anſwer for the great Offence which they had committed thereby.* Hereupon the Lords order'd, That Sir *Robert Wright,* who upon the withdrawing of King *James,* had been ſent Priſoner to *Newgate*, Sir *Richard Holloway*, Mr. *Bradbury*, Mr. *Petit*, and Mr. Juſtice *Powel*, ſhould attend their Houſe on *May* 6. which they did accordingly; and being asked what they had to ſay for themſelves in this Matter, Mr. Juſtice *Powel* ſaid, *It was his great Miſfortune, that he was miſguided by ſome Books which he look'd on as Authorities, and which he found by their Lordſhips Judgment were not ſo; and he humbly begg'd their Lordſhips and the Earl of* Devonſhire's *Pardon: That as to the Fine, he thought it exorbitant, and look'd upon* Three thouſand Pounds *Fine enough; and that his Silence in that Buſineſs was his greateſt Fault, for which he alſo begg'd Pardon.* Sir *Robert Wright* alledg'd, *That as to the Breach of Privilege, they were miſguided by Precedents; and as to the Fine, which was uſually ſet (according to Mens Quality and Eſtate) it came from the* Puny-Judge *Thirty thouſand Pounds, and ſo to him laſt, according to the Courſe of the Court; and if he was miſtaken, he begg'd Pardon, for he never had the leaſt Diſreſpect to the Earl of* Devonſhire. Then Sir *Richard Holloway* ſaid, *That he, as Second Judge, pronounced the Fine Thirty thouſand Pounds, which was ſet* Nemine Contradicente: *That if a leſſer Fine had been propoſed, he ſhould have accepted it; and begg'd my Lord* Devonſhire's *Pardon, and ſubmitted all to their Lordſhips.* After this Examination, Notice was given to the King's Counſel, if they had any thing to offer, *Whether a Peer of this Realm might by Law be committed in Execution for a* Fine? The ſaid Counſel did accordingly attend, but offered nothing on that Point. Wherefore, upon full Conſideration of the ſeveral Caſes and Precedents, wherein the Privilege of the Peers have been concern'd, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal did, on *May* 15. declare and adjudge, *That the Court of* King's-Bench, *in over-ruling the Earl of* Devonſhire's Plea of Privilege of Parliament, *it being within the uſual Time of* Privilege, *did thereby commit a manifeſt Breach of* Privilege; *and that the* Fine *of Thirty thouſand Pounds, impos'd by the Court of* King's-Bench *upon the ſaid Earl, was exceſſive and exorbitant, and againſt* Magna Charta, *the* Common Right *of the Subject, and the* Law *of the Land; and that no* Peer *of this Realm, at any time, ought to be committed for Non-Payment of a* Fine *to the* King.

The late Judges queſtion'd.

Reſolution of the Lords.

On the 9th of *May*, the Commons had ſent up a Bill to the Lords, *For Declaring the* Rights *and* Liberties *of the* Subject, *and Settling the* Succeſſion of the Crown; which their Lordſhips having conſider'd, they thought the latter Part of it defective, no Mention being made in it of her Electoral Highneſs the Princeſs *Sophia*, Dutcheſs of *Hanover*; and thought fit, amongſt other Amendments, to add a *Proviſo* in her Highneſs's Favour. The Bill thus amended, was returned to the Commons on *May* 25. where a certain Party was ſo prevailing, that the Houſe diſagreed to their Lordſhip's *Proviſo*; ſome of them alledging, That a Parliament of *England* had never determin'd the Degrees of Succeſſion beyond Two or Three Perſons; That the mentioning the Houſe of *Hanover* wold give an Opportunity to Foreigners of intermeddling too far in the Affairs of this Nation: And Laſtly, That before the *Crown* ſhould devolve on the Princeſs *Sophia*, ſome of the *Catholick* Princes, who were neareſt in Blood, and who by this Clauſe were to be excluded, might turn *Proteſtants.* The *King*, who wiſh'd nothing more earneſtly than to ſee the Crown ſettled in the *Proteſtant Line*, us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to bring the Commons to a Compliance with the Lords; declaring in Council, That his Queen, and both the Prince and Princeſs of *Denmark* deſir'd it as well as himſelf. The Lords likewiſe warmly inſiſted on their Clauſe, alledging on *July* 15th, "That tho' "in the *Inſtrument* offered to their Majeſties, the "Limitation went no farther than to their Perſons; "yet in *Law*, which has reſpect to all ſucceeding "Ages, and that ſettles for ever the *Liberties* of the "*Subject*, they thought it reaſonable to carry the "Limitation of the Succeſſion of the Crown further than was neceſſary in that *Inſtrument*; in "which the Crown was offered to their Majeſties, "and that had no other View but of the Succeſſion "of their Poſterity: That they could ſee no Danger nor any ill Conſequence that might follow a "further Limitation, but very much to the contrary. For, 1. This ſecured the Nation effectually from any Danger of having any *Papiſt* "to reign in it at any Time hereafter; ſince of "ſuch a Number of *Papiſts* as ſtood next the "Crown in the Lineal Succeſſion, ſome might "be

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" be prevailed on *to make a Show of changing their* " Religion, *if they had a Proſpect of* Succeeding *to* " *the* Crown *upon it*; and no Danger being ſo great " as the having One who is a *pretended* Proteſtant, " *but in Truth a concealed* Papiſt, to Reign over us; " the moſt effectual Way to Secure our *Religion*, " was to declare the *Succeſſion* in a Family that was " known to be *Proteſtant*. 2. It was the Intereſt of " *England* at preſent to do Right to that Great " *Houſe*, by limiting the *Succeſſion* according to the " *Proviſo*; for ſince this Limitation had been pro" poſed, if it ſhould be now laid aſide, it would " look like excluding of that *Houſe*, which might " provoke 'em to take *Reſolutions*, that might be " of great prejudice to the Nation, in this preſent " Conjuncture.

Theſe *Reaſons* having been deliver'd to the *Commons*, and ſeveral Conferences having paſſed between *both Houſes*, without any Effect; *Heaven* ſeem'd to Interpoſe, and to let fall theſe Differences, by bleſſing her Royal Highneſs (the Princeſs of *Denmark*) with a *Son*, Born on the 24th of *July*, and Chriſten'd on the 27th, by the Name of *William*; his Majeſty, and the Earl of *Dorſet* (on behalf of the King of *Denmark*) being Godfathers, and the Marchioneſs of *Halifax* Godmother. At the ſame time, his Majeſty conferr'd the Title of *Duke of Gloceſter* on the *Royal Infant*, whoſe auſpicious *Birth* contributed much to diſſipate the Fears of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*.

Acts Paſſed.

On *Friday May* 24th, his Majeſty came to the *Houſe of Lords*, and with uſual Solemnity, gave the Royal Aſſent to, (1.) *An Act for Exempting Their Majeſties* Proteſtant *Subjects* Diſſenting *from the* Church of England, *from the Penalties of certain Laws.* (2.) *An Act for Annulling and Making void the* Attainder *of* Alicia Liſle, *Widow.* (3.) *An Act for the Sale or Leaſing the Capital Meſſuage, late* Henry Coventry*'s Eſq; in* Pickadilly. And on *Tueſday May* 28th, His Majeſty came again to the *Houſe of Lords*, and gave His Royal Aſſent to, (1.) *An Act for Impowering their Majeſties to Commit, without Bail, ſuch Perſons as they ſhall find juſt Cauſe to Suſpect are Conſpiring againſt the* Government. (2.) *An Act for Building on* Arundel Grounds.

Judgment againſt *Oates* not Revers'd.

On *May* the 31ſt, (*a*) the *Houſe of Lords*, having heard the Opinion of all the Judges, concerning the Illegality of Two *Judgments* given againſt *Titus Oates*, upon the Point of *Perjury*, for which he had brought his *Writs of Error*; the *Houſe* had this main Queſtion Propoſed, *Whether the ſaid Two* Judgments *ſhould be* Revers'd? Which being *Reſolv'd* in the *Negative*, and the ſaid *Judgments* Confirm'd, Thirteen Lords Enter'd their Diſſents upon theſe Reaſons: 1*ſt*, " Becauſe the *King's-Bench*, be" ing a *Temporal Court*, made it part of their Judg" ment, That *Titus Oates*, being a *Clerk*, ſhould, " for his *Perjuries*, be Diveſted of his *Canonical* " and *Prieſtly Habit*; which is a Matter wholly out " of their Power, belonging to the *Eccleſiaſtical* " *Courts* only. 2*dly*, Becauſe the ſaid *Judgments* " are Barbarous, Inhuman, and Unchriſtian; and " there is no *Precedents* to Warrant the Puniſhments " of *Whipping*, and Committing to *Priſon* for *Life*, " for the Crime of *Perjury*, which yet were but " Part of the Puniſhment inflicted upon him. 3*dly*, " Becauſe the particular Matters upon which the " *Indictments* were *found*, were the Points objected " againſt *Oates*'s Teſtimony, in ſeveral of the *Tryals*, " which were allow'd to be Good and Credible " *Witneſſes*, though Teſtify'd againſt him by moſt " of the ſame Perſons who Witneſſed againſt him " upon theſe *Indictments*. 4*thly*, Becauſe this would " be an Encouragement, and an Allowance for gi" ving the like Cruel, Barbarous and Illegal Puniſh" ments hereafter, unleſs thoſe *Judgments* were *Re*" *vers'd*. 5*thly*, Becauſe Sir *John Holt*, Sir *Henry* " *Pollexfen*, the Lords-Chief-Juſtices, Sir *Robert At*" *kyns* (Chief Baron,) with Six Judges more, for " theſe and many other Reaſons, did, before that " *Houſe*, ſolemnly deliver their Opinions, and Una" nimouſly Declare, That the ſaid *Judgments* were " contrary to *Law* and *Ancient Practice*, and there" fore Erroneous, and ought to be *Revers'd*. And " *laſtly*, Becauſe it was contrary to the *Declaration* " *of Rights*, on the 12th of *February* laſt, wherein " it doth appear, *That Exceſſive* Bail *ought not to be* " *requir'd, nor Exceſſive* Fines *impos'd, nor Cruel* " *and Unuſual* Puniſhments *inflicted*.

The Judgment againſt *Oates*, at laſt Agreed by the *Lords*, to be Revers'd:

This *Proteſtation* work'd ſo powerfully in the *Houſe of Lords*, that the following Day, their *Lordſhips*, after Hearing Councel at the Bar, to Argue the Errors aſſign'd by *Oates*, did Order and Adjudge, That the *Judgment* given againſt the ſaid *Oates*, ſhould be *Revers'd*: And Leave was given for the bringing in a *Bill for the Securing Perſons, hereafter, from the Prejudice which might come from his Teſtimony.* A *Bill of Reverſal* paſs'd the *Lower-Houſe*: And upon a Second Reading in the *Upper*, there were ſeveral *Amendments* made, and a *Proviſo* inſerted, whereby it was Declar'd, *That until the Matters for which* Titus Oates *was Committed for* Perjury, *were Heard and Determin'd in Parliament, the ſaid* Oates *ſhould not be receiv'd in any* Court *or* Cauſe *whatſoever*, to *be a* Witneſs. Againſt which *Proviſo* and *Amendments*, a *Proteſtation* was Entered, by the Earls of *Oxford*, *Suffolk*, *Monmouth*, *Montague*, *Macclesfield*, *Bedford*, *Stamford*, and *Suſſex*, and by the Lords *Newport*, *Berkley*, *Cornwallis*, *Paget*, and *Herbert*. When the *Bill* was ſent back to the *Commons*, they Diſagreed to the *Amendments*. Upon which a memorable *Conference* began between the *Two Houſes*, on *July* the 29th, which occaſion'd great Heats, that might have riſen into greater Flames, if the *Parliament* had not been ſuddenly *Adjourn'd*; and all that *Oates* was able to obtain in this *Seſſion*, was only, on *June* the 6th, an *Addreſs* from the *Lords*, at the *Commons* Deſire, Requeſting his Majeſty,

(*a*) Upon the Vote of the Houſe of Lords for not Reverſing the Judgment againſt *Titus Oates*, *Die Sabbati*, *May* 25. 1689, no one Peer argued againſt the Belief of the Popiſh Plot, nor againſt the general Truth of what Mr. *Oates* had depoſed in it; but only againſt the particular Facts, or rather the Circumſtances of Time and Place in them. Beſides, he was known to be an ill Man, full of Pride and Paſſion, which created him many Enemies, and made his Cauſe ſuffer for his Perſon.

June the 11th, 1689, Reſolved, " That the Judgment given " againſt Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, Clerk in the *Kings-Bench*, 1686, " was Illegal and Cruel: That the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion " was Illegal; and conſequently the Suſpenſion of the Biſhop " of *London*, and the Authority committed to the three Biſhops " of *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, and *Peterborough*, was Null and Ille" gal: That Mr. *Johnſon*'s not being degraded by his own Di" oceſan, if he had deſerved it, was Illegal. That a Bill be " brought in to reverſe the Judgment, and to declare all the " Proceedings before the three Biſhops Null and Illegal: And " that an Addreſs be made to his Majeſty to recommend Mr. " *Johnſon* to ſome Eccleſiaſtical Preferment ſuitable to his Ser" vices and Sufferings.

" The Houſe preſented two Addreſſes to the King in behalf " of Mr. *Johnſon*; but tho' his Majeſty was inclinable enough " to have comply'd with their Requeſt, Mr. *Johnſon* could ne" ver obtain any Church Preferment. The King gave him " three Hundred Pounds a Year out of the Poſt-Office for his " and his Son's Life, beſides a thouſand Pounds in Money, and " likewiſe beſtow'd a Place of about a Hundred Pounds a Year " on his Son. And the Lord Biſhop of *Durham* gave Mr. " *Johnſon* and his Lawyer a Meeting, and made his Peace with " him to their mutual ſatisfaction. *Memorials of Mr.* Sam. " Johnſon, *p.* xv.

" I wonder, *ſays Mr.* Johnſon, *in his Notes on the Paſtoral* " *Letter*, that Doctor *Burnet* ſhould ſend to me in the time of " the firſt Parliament in this Reign, when my Illegal and bar" barous Uſage lay before them, *not to name Perſons*. I know " the Language of that Day was, *Do not Smut*; that is, let the " Oppreſſors of your Country and of You go off clear and " eſcape Scot-free. I gave an *Engliſh* Reply to that Meſſage, " *Let him mind his Buſineſs, I will mind mine.* His Bookſeller " Mr. *Chiſwell*, by whom I had the Meſſage, ſeem'd loth to " carry him that blunt Anſwer. Oh, *ſays* I, he has got the " Title of a Lord lately, I muſt qualify my Anſwer, *Let him* " *pleaſe to mind his own Buſineſs, I will mind mine.*

" That

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"That whereas *Titus Oates*, Clerk, had already re- "ceiv'd a *ſevere Puniſhment* for the *Perjury* where- "of he had been formerly *Convicted*, and ſome of "the ſaid *Puniſhments* wou'd ſtill be continued upon "him, unleſs they ſhould be Remitted by his Maje- "ſty; his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleas'd to "grant his *Pardon* to the ſaid *Oates*". The King readily Comply'd with the *Lords* Deſire; and more- over, aſſoon as, by Their *Lordſhips* Order, *Oates* was Diſcharg'd from his Confinement, his Majeſty receiv'd him into his Protection, and allow'd him a conſiderable *Penſion*; which occaſion'd various Re- flections.

The King's Pardon at Requeſt of the Lords.

The Lords conſider of the State of the Nation.

On *June* the 15th, the *Lords* having Conſider'd, in a *Grand Committee*, the State and Condition of the Kingdom, and what Means to uſe, for ſecuring the Nation againſt the Deſigns of the *Papiſts*, and the Power of the *French-King*, *Reſolv'd* upon an *Ad- dreſs* to be made to his Majeſty, "To put the *Iſles* "of *Wight*, *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, *Scilly*, *Dover-* "*Caſtle*, and other Places which might be expos'd "to the *Enemy*, into a Poſture of Defence: That "*Papiſts* might be Diſarm'd, their Horſes taken "from them, and they not be permitted to Travel "above Five Miles from their Houſes, and that "Care be taken to prevent *Proteſtants* Concealing or "Owning *Papiſts* Horſes". At the ſame time their *Lordſhips* impower'd the *Committee* to look into the Miſcarriages in *Ireland*, and to ſend for Perſons and Papers for their Information. This *Committee* drew up an *Addreſs*, according to their Directions; and having acquainted the *Houſe*, that they could not come to a full diſcovery of the Miſcarriages of *Ireland*, without a Sight of the *Minute-Books* of the *Committee for Iriſh-Affairs*, to the 1ſt of *May* laſt; the *Lords* order'd thereupon that another *Addreſs* be preſented to the King, *Deſiring that the ſaid* Minute- Book *might be communicated to the* Committee. His Majeſty's *Anſwer* to this *Addreſs* on *June* the 18th was, *That he would conſider of it*. Which obſtructed the *Proceedings* of the *Committee* for near a Month, till the *Commons*, in the mean time Voted, *That thoſe Perſons who had been the Occaſion of delaying the ſending Relief to* Ireland, *and had Adviſ'd the King to defer the giving leave for ſome Members of the* Houſe of Lords *to inſpect the* Minute-Books *of the* Committee for Iriſh-Affairs, *were Enemies to the King and Kingdom*. And they were farther debating to *Addreſs* the King, *for the removing the Mar- queſſes of* Halifax *and* Carmarthen *from His* Council. Upon this his Majeſty on *July* the 16th, acquainted the *Lords* by the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the *Com- mons* by Mr. Comptroller, *That he gave leave that a* Committee *of the* Upper-Houſe *might inſpect the* Book *according to their Deſire*. This *Book* not be- ing ſufficient to diſcover the Miſcarriages of *Ireland*, the *Lords* on *July* the 29th, order'd the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Nottingham* to *Addreſs* his Majeſty, *That he would be pleaſed to give order, That the* Wit- neſſes *in relation to* Ireland, *ſince his Majeſty's taking the Adminiſtration of the* Government *upon him, to the time the* Council-Books *began, might be commu- nicated to the* Committee *of their* Houſe. Upon the two Earls delivering this Deſire of the *Houſe* his Majeſty anſwer'd, *That there were no* Minutes *of the* Iriſh-Affairs, *in the Time mention'd by Their* Lordſhips.

On *Saturday* June the 22d, his Majeſty came to the *Houſe of Lords*, and ſending for the *Commons*, gave his Royal Aſſent to, (1.) *An Act for a Grant to Their Majeſties of an Aid of* Twelve-pence in the Pound *for One Year, for the neceſſary Defence of their Realms*. (2.) *An Act for Enabling* Lords Com- miſſioners *for the* Great-Seal, *to execute the Office of* Lord-Chancellor *or* Lord-Keeper. 3. *An Act for Reviving two former Acts for the* exporting *of* Lea- ther. 4. *An Act for the* Exportation *of* Beer, Ale, Cyder *and* Mum. 5. *An Act to make good a* Re- covery, *ſuffered by the Earl of* Peterborough *and Lord* Mordant. 6. *An Act for* Reverſing *the* At- tainder *of* Henry Corniſh, *Eſq; late Alderman of the City of* London. 7. *An Act to enable* Robert Penwarne *to ſell Lands to pay his Brothers and Siſters Portions, and alſo to pay Debts*. 8. *An Act to enable* Theodore Bathurſt *to make a Jointure for his Wife, and to charge Moneys on part of his Eſtate in* Yorkſhire. 9. *An Act for the better aſſuring the Manor of* Silton, *and divers other Lands and Tene- ments in* Silton *in the County of* Salop, *unto* Joſeph Soley, *Gent. and his Heirs*. 10. *An Act for the* Naturalization *of* Anne Aſtley, *and others*.

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Acts Paſ- ſed.

The *Speaker*, upon preſenting the *Money-Bill*, Ad- dreſs'd himſelf thus to his Majeſty:

The Speaker's Speech to the King.

"THE *Commons* in this preſent *Parliament* "Aſſembled, do with all Duty and Humility "acknowledge your Majeſty's great Care for the "protection of the People, in that your Majeſty "hath made it one of the firſt Acts of your Reign, "to Declare *War* againſt the *French King*, and to "ſeek Reparation for the Loſſes and Injuries your "Subjects have ſuſtained from that Nation.

"If we conſider the *Balance of Trade* between "the Two Kingdoms, we ſhall find the *French* "*King*, of late Years, continually loading the *En-* "*gliſh* Manufactures with New *Duties* and *Impo-* "*ſitions*; thereby prohibiting, in effect, all Com- "merce in his Dominions, but for *Ready Money*.

"If we conſider our *Laws* and *Liberties*, he hath "always aſſiſted and encouraged thoſe that have de- "ſigned their Subverſion. If we conſider our *Re-* "*ligion*; the Miſeries he hath inflicted upon his "own Subjects of the ſame *Profeſſion*, do ſuffici- "ently demonſtrate how great an Enemy he is to "Ours: And whoever look upon the preſent State "of *Europe*, and ſee the Injuries made upon your "Majeſty's *Allies*, the horrible Devaſtations of "their Countries, and the open ſupporting your "Majeſty's rebellious Subjects, muſt needs confeſs, "that the *War* which your Majeſty hath declared "againſt *France*, is at this time not only Juſt but "Neceſſary.

"To this War, as your Dutiful and Loyal *Com-* "*mons* did humbly offer their *Advice* and *Aſſiſtance*, "before your Majeſty entered into it; ſo they are "now come to preſent your Majeſty with a *Supply* "towards the carrying it on: Humbly deſiring your "Majeſty to reſt aſſured, that they ſhall never be "wanting to expoſe both their Lives and Eſtates in "defence of your Majeſty, againſt all your Enemies.

Attempts for Reſto- ring King *James*.

Several Letters from King *James*, ſome of them written with his own Hand, and directed to divers Perſons in *London*, and in the Countrey, having been intercepted at *Leverpole*, and ſent to Court, his Majeſty communicated the ſame to the Parliament: And becauſe (*a*), among other enigmatical Expreſſions, mention was made in them, of *Contraband Goods* ready

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(*b*) The greateſt Offence was taken at thoſe Clergy-Men who had been very forward in calling for the Prince of *Orange*, and yet would not be now ſatisfied with the happy Revolution. Mr. *Samuel Johnſon* writes well in his *Notes on the Paſtoral Letter*. "—— The Clergy were ſome of them zealous for Tyranny, "becauſe it was a Tyranny on their ſide. —— But when "*Judgment begun at the Houſe of God*, as Dr. *Sherlock* preach'd "upon the Biſhops being ſent to the *Tower*, then their Note "was quite alter'd, *King* James *had forfeited, and ought to be* "*Depoſed*". With a great deal more to that purpoſe, &c. "Afterwards, when they grew jealous of this Revolution, and "could not tell what to make of it, having miſs'd two Hits, "both of having King *James*, and afterwards of having his "intended Deputy the Prince of *Orange* in their Hands; and "wanted a third Hit; then the Words were theſe: *Well! will* "*not the Convention ſend for the King back again? If they will* "*not we have Forty Thouſand Men to fetch him back*. Dr. *Sher-* "*lock* beſt knows where thoſe Forty Thouſand Men now are; "but

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ready to be ſhipt-off, in order to be run into ſuch Places where they might not be ſeiz'd by Cuſtom-Houſe-Officers; which ſufficiently diſcover'd the Deſign of an Invaſion; Mr. *Hambden*, who at that Time happen'd to be Chairmain of the *Committee* of the whole Houſe, repreſented the imminent Danger that threaten'd the Kingdom, and what Difficulties his Majeſty lay under, to prevent it, for want of Money, and therefore mov'd for a farther Supply. This Motion, from a Privy-Councellor, and at a Time when the Houſe was going to adjourn, was thought very unpolitick and prepoſterous; and was ſo far from being back'd by any Member, that it rather occaſion'd ſome ſharp Reflections: For Mr. *Hambden*, among the Dangers to which the Nation was expos'd, having nam'd that of falling into the Hands of the *French* and *Iriſh*, Mr. *S*——— mov'd, to add the *Dutch*: And Mr. *Garraway*, though one of the well-affected, ſaid, "That they had given "Money enough for that Year; and if they had "thought there had been Occaſion for more, they "wou'd have prevented the King's Demands: That "it was not the *Want of Money*, but the *ill Conduct* "*of thoſe that had the Management of Affairs*, that "caus'd the Difficulties the *Government* lay under: "That the Miſcarriages, in not aſſiſting the Prote-"ſtants of *Ireland*, had been of ſo ill Conſequence, "that, if not ſpeedily remedy'd, the Houſe wou'd "be oblig'd to take Notice of them." When Mr. *Garraway* had done ſpeaking, Mr. *Howe* ſtood up and ſaid, "Their preſent Dangers, proceeded from "their not addreſſing the King to remove his Evil-"Counſellors;" as he himſelf had mov'd, not long before. However, the Houſe having taken the intercepted Letters into Conſideration, reſolv'd to addreſs his Majeſty, to deſire him to *ſecure all Papiſts of Note, and to diſarm and take away the Horſes from the reſt*: And, as a Conſequence of this Affair, a Bill was brought in, *for attainting ſeveral Perſons in Rebellion againſt their Majeſties.*

The King communicated the ſame Letters and Papers to the City of *London*. Upon which the Lord-Mayor, attended with the Sheriffs, on *June* 22d, preſented to his Majeſty this good Addreſs.

Good Addreſs from the City of *London*.

"WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal "Subjects, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and "Commons of the City of *London*, in *Common* "*Council* aſſembled, being deeply ſenſible of your "Majeſty's great Care, and tender Regard for our "*Religion*, *Laws*, and *Liberties*, and your particu-"lar Favour and Condeſcenſion to this City, do "render your Majeſty our moſt humble Thanks for "vouchſafing to communicate to us the ſeveral Let-"ters, and other Papers, which have been now "read in this Common Council, maniſeſting the "Progreſs of your Enemies, in your Kingdom of "*Ireland*, and alſo diſcovering a Conſpiracy within "this Kingdom of *England*, to aid and abet your "ſaid *Enemies*, in their Deſign to invade and bring "the War upon this Kingdom.

"And we moſt humbly beg leave to aſſure your "Majeſty, That we will, as far as our Power ex-"tends, oppoſe our ſelves to, and ſuppreſs all De-"ſigns of that Nature, and will ſearch after, diſarm, "ſeize, ſecure and bring to Juſtice, all Perſons "concern'd therein, or contributing thereto: And "we are unanimouſly, firmly, and unalterably re-"ſolv'd and determin'd to ſtand by, defend and "maintain your Majeſty, and your Government, "with the uttermoſt hazard and Expence of our Lives "and Eſtates, againſt all Perſons whatſoever, that "ſhall conſpire or attempt any thing againſt the "ſame.

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Inſolence of the *French* Papiſts.

About the ſame Time, the *French Papiſts*, taking Advantage of the Countenance given to the *Proteſtants* of that Nation, became very inſolent, publickly traducing the preſent Government, and diſperſing ſeveral Sorts of Libels and ſeditious Papers. The Houſe of Lords being inform'd of their audacious Behaviour, and ſuſpecting they might proceed to more dangerous Attempts, order'd, on *June* 14th, "That an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, de-"ſiring that he would iſſue out his Proclamation, "that no *French* Papiſts might come into *Whitehall*, "St. *James*'s, or St. *James's-Park*; and that all "*French* Papiſts, that were not Houſholders or "Merchants, ſhou'd leave the Kingdom within Six "Weeks, and all others within Six Months, under "the Pain of being proſecuted as Alien Enemies, "according to Law." The Lords of the *White Staves* having preſented this Addreſs, his Majeſty anſwer'd, *He wou'd ſpeedily give Order therein*: But a ſhort Time after, on *June* 25th, the Lord-Chamberlain acquainted the Houſe, "That his Ma-"jeſty finding, upon farther Conſideration, That "to baniſh all *French* Papiſts, might be diſadvan-"tageous to the Nation, they trading to other "Countries which were his Majeſty's Allies; and "beſides, his Majeſty having promiſed to protect "them, whilſt they liv'd peaceably here, thought "fit to ſuſpend the Iſſuing ſuch a Proclamation, "until he had ask'd their Lordſhips further Opinon "in that Matter." Upon Conſideration of this Meſſage, the Peers thought fit to leave that Affair to his Majeſty's Diſcretion: Many of them having heard the King often declare, *That he came over to deliver the Proteſtants, and not to perſecute the* Romaniſts. And indeed, not only Foreigners, but *Engliſh* Papiſts, were us'd with ſo much Clemency, that they too were really Gainers by the *Revolution*: Not only in being exempted from thoſe publick Appearances which, in the late Reign, had been very troubleſome and expenſive to them; but ev'n in a Protection of their Perſons and Eſtates from the Fury of the People, to which they had, in great Part, been ſacrific'd, if King *William* wou'd but have conniv'd at it.

Publiſhers of the Declaration of King *James*.

Whilſt the Lords were buſy about the *French* Papiſts, the Commons were drawing up Articles of High-Treaſon, againſt Sir *Adam Blare*, Captain *Henry Vaughan*, Captain *Frederick Mole*, and *John Eliot*, and *Robert Gray*, Doctors in Phyſick, for publiſhing and diſperſing the Declaration of King *James*, which he publiſh'd in *Ireland*, *May* 8th, and directed, *To all his Loving Subjects in the Kingdom of* England. When theſe Articles were ſent up to the Lords, and read by them, a Committee was appointed to inſpect Precedents of Impeachments, which much retarded the Proſecution of the Priſoners. On *July* 4th, Captain *Vaughan*, Captain *Mole*, and Dr. *Elliot*, were brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords; and after the Articles of Impeachment had been read to 'em, they deſir'd to have a Copy of their Accuſation, and both Time and Council allow'd them to make their Defence: Which being granted, they were remanded to *Newgate*. On *July* 12th, they deliver'd their Anſwers to the Articles exhibited againſt them, wherein they pleaded their *Innocence*, and ſubmitted themſelves, for their Trial, to their Lordſhips Judgment. Three Days after, Sir *Adam Blare* and Dr. *Gray*, who had fled, and, by a Proclamation, had been apprehend-

"but I believe King *James* would be very glad of half the "Number. To proceed in my Story, The very Man that had "aſſerted that King *James* had forfeited, and ought to be de-"poſed long before he was, or even before the Prince of "*Orange* was expected, began with Change of Intereſt to have "Change of Thoughts, and then he could not allow King "*James* to be lawfully ſet aſide, nor wou'd ſwear to this pre-"ſent Government; and his forfeited Place at the *Temple* was "ſupply'd by I know who. At laſt, after he had ſtuck, as "himſelf ſays, a great while, for *ſtick he did*, he was happily "relieved by a lucky Coincidence of Biſhop *Overall's* C[illegible] "and the Victory of the *Boyne*. And then he ſettled the Go-"vernment upon its own Settlement, calling in Providence, &c.

ed,

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The ſlow Proceedings of the Parliament, and the Heats and Animoſities which divided both Houſes, ſo much obſtructed the Progreſs of the King's Deſigns, and the common Intereſt, that, on *Friday June* 28th, his Majeſty thought fit to come to the Houſe of Peers, and to make this Speech to Both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen:

The King's Speech to the Two Houſes.

"THE Time of the Year being ſo far advanc'd, and there being ſeveral Acts yet to be paſs'd for the Safety and Settlement of the Nation, I deſire you wou'd expedite them as ſoon as you can; it being neceſſary there ſhould ſhortly be a Receſs, both that I may be at Liberty to purſue the Buſineſs of *Ireland* with all poſſible Vigor, and that the Members of Both Houſes may repair to their ſeveral Counties, to ſecure the Peace, and to put the Militia into ſome better Poſture.

"I am very ſenſible of the Zeal and good Affection which you, *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, have ſhew'd to the Publick, in giving thoſe Supplies you have done already: And I do not doubt, but, from the ſame Inducements, you will be ready to give more, as the Occaſions require, which, I muſt let you know, will be ſooner than perhaps you may expect; becauſe the neceſſary Expence of this Year, will much exceed the Sums you have provided for it. And that you may make the truer Judgment in that Matter, I am very willing you ſhou'd ſee how all the Moneys have been hitherto laid out; and to that End, I have commanded thoſe Accompts to be ſpeedily brought to you, by which you will ſee how very little of the Revenue has been apply'd to any other Uſe than that of the Navy and Land Forces.

"I muſt remind you, of making an effectual and timely Proviſion of the Money for the *States* of *Holland*; and I doubt not, but you will take Care to ſee a fitting Revenue ſettled for my ſelf.

My Lords and Gentlemen:

"I will add no more, but to recommend earneſtly to you, to avoid all Occaſions of Diſpute or Delay, at a Time that requires Union and Vigor in your Counſels, upon which the Preſervation of all that is dear to us, doth ſo much depend: And I do promiſe, That nothing ſhall ever be wanting on my Part, which may contribute towards it.

Both Houſes return'd his Majeſty *Thanks*, for his gracious Speech, and did a little the more expedite ſome Bills that lay before 'em: For, on *Thurſday July* 25th, his Majeſty came again to the Houſe of Peers, and gave his Royal Aſſent to,

Acts paſs'd.

(1.) *An Act for an additional Duty of Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors.* (2.) *An Act to regulate the Adminiſtration of the Oaths requir'd to be taken by Commiſſion or Warrant Officers, employ'd in their Majeſty's Service by Land, by virtue of an Act made this preſent Seſſion of Parliament, entitul'd*, [An Act for the Abrogating the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and appointing other Oaths.] (3.) *An Act for taking away the Court holden before the Preſident and Council of the* Marches *of* Wales. (4.) *An Act to veſt in the Two Univerſities, the Preſentations of Benefices belonging to Papiſts.* (5.) *An Act for erecting a* Court of Conſcience *at* New-Caſtle *upon* Tine. (6.) *An Act for erecting Courts of Conſcience in the Cities of* Briſtol *and* Glouceſter, *and the Liberties thereof.* (7.) *An Act for the better regulating the Salt-Works in* Droitwich. (8.) *An Act to enable* Thomas Chattel *to ſell Part of his Eſtate, for Payment of his Debts, and making Proviſion for his Wiſe and Children.*

Matters of Diſpute between the Two Houſes.

But ſeveral Things remained for Matter of Diſpute and Difference between the Two Houſes in this warm Seaſon of the Year. *A Bill for the charging and collecting the Duties upon Coffee, Tea and Chocolate at the* Cuſtom-Houſe, being ſent up by the Commons to the Lords, their Lordſhips on *July* 24. added a Clauſe to it, *For a Draw-back on the Exportation of the ſaid Commodities*, with an Alteration of the Date from the 24th of *July* to the 25th of *Auguſt*. Theſe Amendments were diſagreed to by the Commons, who in a Conference alledg'd, "That they had always taken it for their undoubted Privilege, (of which they have been ever jealous and tender) That in all Aids given to the King by the Commons, the Rate or Tax ought not to be any Ways altered by the *Lords*: That the Amendments made by the Lords, being in Point of Time, the Commons hoped their Lordſhips would not at this Time renew a Queſtion concerning the Method of granting Aids, which had formerly, in Inſtances of this Nature, occaſion'd great Debates, and which might now beget many Conferences, ſpend much Time, and end in Inconveniences: That this Amendment propoſed by the Lords made the Bill incoherent; for both Houſes having agreed, that the Forfeitures ſhould commence from the 20th of *July*, it would look ſtrange that the Forfeitures ſhould be given before the Duty was made payable: That Ships were then arriving daily with the Commodities mention'd in the Bill, which would be a Loſs to the King, by putting the Commencement of the Duty ſo far off. And that as to the Proviſo their Lordſhips had ſent to the Commons, the Commons did diſagree to it, and for that did refer to their firſt Reaſons; for the Proviſo being an Alteration and Leſſening of the Grant made by the Commons, they hop'd for theſe Reaſons, their *Lordſhips* would agree with them, and not revive old Diſputes." On the other Hand, the Lords inſiſted on their *Proviſo*, and ſaid, "They were much ſurpriz'd at the Aſſertion of the Commons, that in all Aids given to the King by the Commons, the Rate or Tax ought not to be altered by the Lords, ſince they conceiv'd it had always been their undoubted Right, in Caſe of any Aids given to the King, to leſſen the Rate or Tax granted by the Commons, whereof ſeveral Precedents might be given, which for the Preſent they were willing to forbear, that they might not revive old Diſputes. But that as to the *Proviſo* now offered by the Lords, their Lordſhips were of Opinion, this general Point was not the Caſe now in Difference, it being neither an Alteration nor Leſſening of the Duty laid upon theſe Commodities: For what was propoſed to be drawn back on the Exportation of them, could not be ſaid to leſſen the Rates impoſed upon them: That it did indeed take away ſo much from the King's Income, but added much more to the Benefit of Trade, of which the Lords conceived they were equal and competent Judges, and therefore thought they had ſufficient Grounds to inſiſt on the *Proviſo*." This Diſpute put a Stop to the Bill in this Seſſion, but it paſſed at laſt with their Lordſhips Clauſe about the Draw-back, on the 16th of *January* following.

Commons Reſolution for an Addreſs.

On *Auguſt* 3. the Commons in a Committee of the whole Houſe, having conſider'd the State of the Nation, came at laſt to this Reſolution, That an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty upon theſe Heads: Firſt, *That there had been Delays in the*

1689. 1 *W. M.* *Succours of* Ireland. Secondly, *That there were not ſufficient Preparations to tranſport the Forces to* Ireland. And Thirdly, *That ſeveral Ships had been taken for want of Guards and Convoys to preſerve them.* At the ſame Time the Queſtion was put, *Whether it ſhould be repreſented to his Majeſty, that it was thought inconvenient to his Majeſty's Affairs, that the Marquis of* Halifax *was in his Majeſty's* Council? But this was decently carry'd in the Negative. On *Aug.* 12. Sir *Thomas Littleton* made a Report from the Committee, who examin'd the Matter of Miſcarriages relating to *Ireland* and *Londonderry*; upon which it was reſolved, That an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that Colonel *Lundee* be ſent over to *Londonderry* to be tried there for the Treaſons laid to his Charge.

Bill for the Woollen Manufacture. On *Auguſt* 13. the Commons ſent up a Bill to the Lords, for *the enjoining the wearing the* Woolen Manufacture *of this Kingdom at certain Times in the Year.* Upon which the Bailiffs, Wardens, and Aſſiſtants of the Company of Silk-Weavers of *London* and *Canterbury*, preſented a Petition to their Lordſhips in a tumultuous Manner, praying to be heard, before the ſaid Bill ſhould be paſſed into a Law. The Houſe order'd their Speaker to tell the Petitioners, *That the Lords did not then think fit to give an Anſwer, becauſe they obſerv'd there was an unuſual Manner of Application of Men, who ought to be better directed by them who were Bailiffs, Wardens and Aſſiſtants of the Company: That the Lords did firſt require, That thoſe Crowds ſhould go home; and when that was done, neither they, nor other People of this Nation needed to doubt, but that their Lordſhips would do Juſtice, and hear the Objections of the Parties concern'd in this or any other Bill, that ſhould come before 'em.* And to prevent the Return of ſuch unruly Multitudes who were ſuppos'd to be ſet on by the Enemies of the Government, the Lords deſir'd his Majeſty to command ſome of the Horſe and Foot Guards to be aiding to the Civil Powers; and order'd the Governor of the *Tower* to take care to prevent any unlawful Concourſe of People in thoſe Hamlets; the Lord-Mayor of *London* to have a ſufficient Number of the Trained Bands in Readineſs to hinder the paſſing of any extraordinary Numbers of People through the City; and the Deputy-Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace of the County of *Middleſex*, to provide for the Security of the City, and Liberties of *Weſtminſter*. The Weavers ſeeing theſe Preparations, remain'd quiet in their Houſes; whereupon the Lords on *Aug.* 17. diſcharg'd the Train'd-Bands which had been poſted in the *Palace-Yard*. However, upon the ſecond Reading of the *Bill for wearing the* Woolen Manufactures, it was on *Auguſt* 19. unanimouſly rejected by their Lordſhips.

Riotous Aſſembly of Silk-Weavers.

Bill of Attainder. The Houſe of Commons having paſſed the *Bill for attainting ſeveral Perſons in Rebellion againſt their Majeſties*, and ſent it up to the Lords for their Concurrence; the Committee whom their Lordſhips appointed to examine the ſame, reported their Opinion on *July* 30. *That the Commons might be deſir'd by a Conference to give a Liſt to the Houſe of Lords of the Perſons that gave Evidence to the Commons, againſt the ſeveral Perſons deſign'd in the Bill to be attainted: That the Lords might be fully ſatisfied by Evidence,* viva Voce, *to attaint the ſeveral Perſons, (as they ſuppos'd the* Commons *were;) for that if the* Lords *ſhould by themſelves enquire of ſuch Evidence, they might fail of hearing all the Evidence the Houſe of Commons had had.* The Lords having agreed to this Motion of the Committee, a Conference was deſir'd and manag'd betwixt Both Houſes, at which the Commons gave a Liſt of the Witneſſes, that depos'd at their Bar againſt the Perſons mention'd in the Bill of Attainder. Theſe Witneſſes were *William Watts*, *Matthew Gun*, *Bazil Purefoy*, and *William Dalton*, whoſe Evidence not ſatisfying the Lords, the Bill lay neglected for ſome Days, till the Commons having preſſed their *Lordſhips* by Two Meſſages to give Expedition to it; the Houſe on *Aug.* 19. agreed with the Committee in leaving out *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, the Earl of *Dover*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, Sir *Roger Strickland*, Sir *Edward Herbert*, Colonel *Hugh Southerland*, and Sir *William Jennings*, becauſe there did not appear ſufficient Evidence againſt 'em. But after many Alterations the Bill it ſelf was dropt. 1689. 1 *W. M.*

Bill for paying the *States* of *Holland*. In Compliance to the King's repeated Deſires of giving Satisfaction to the *States* of *Holland*, the Commons did at laſt paſs *a Bill for appropriating certain Duties for paying the* States-General *of the* United Provinces *the Charges of his Majeſty's* Expedition *into this Kingdom.* Which being read in the Houſe of Lords, *Aug.* 13. a Motion was made, that ſeveral Members of this Houſe, and divers Servants of King *Charles* II. had Securities appropriated out of ſeveral Duties which paſſed away from them by this *Bill*, and therefore it was fit they ſhould be heard by their Council. This Motion being receiv'd and Council heard, their Lordſhips gave their Conſent to the Bill without any Amendment; but at the ſame Time, for an Argument of their preferring the King's Intereſt before their own, they agreeed to preſent the following Addreſs to his Majeſty on *Aug.* 16.

Addreſs of the Lords. "THE Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, upon their Concurrence "with the Houſe of Commons, in a Bill entitul'd, "*An Act for appropriating certain Duties for Paying the* States General, *&c.* and for other Uſes, "think it incumbent on them in Honour and Juſtice, to lay before your Majeſty, how ſeveral of "their own Body found themſelves aggrieved thereby, in Relation to ſome Debts owing to them, "on the Account of having been Servants to King "*Charles* II. and that their Claim to their Arrears "on that Score was weaken'd and prejudic'd by this "Bill, which cuts them off from all Pretences "whatſoever, except ſuch as can be comprehended "within the Sums of Sixty Thouſand Pounds; "which is very far ſhort of anſwering their juſt "Demands, and which they conceive to have been "better and more amply provided for, in an Act "paſs'd in the firſt Year of the Reign of the late "King *James*, Entitul'd, *An Act for granting to his Majeſty an Impoſition on all* Tobacco *and* Sugar, *imported between the* 24*th Day of* June, "1685, *and the* 24*th of* June, 1693. Yet being "more concerned for the Welfare of your Majeſty's Affairs than their own particular Benefit, "and being ſenſible of the Importance it may be "to your Majeſty, as well as to the Good of "*Chriſtendom* in this Conjuncture, that the Debt "owing to the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, upon account of aſſiſting your Majeſty "at your coming into this Nation, for our Deliverance from Popery and Arbitrary Power, ſhould "be provided for to their Satisfaction, they have "willingly deſiſted from giving any Obſtruction to "the paſſing of the ſaid Bill, and have entirely "ſubmitted their Share of their Recompence for "their long and faithful Services to their deceaſed "Royal Maſter, to the Conveniency of your Majeſties preſent Circumſtances.

"Whereupon this Houſe hath thought fit to preſent to your Majeſty, this moſt reſpectful and "dutiful Acquieſcence of the Peers herein concerned, to your Majeſty's Juſtice and Goodneſs; "and to beſeech your Majeſty that you would be "pleaſed to take their Condition, and the Manner "of their preſent Reſignation of it, into your gracious Conſideration and Royal Protection, wherein this Houſe doth promiſe themſelves that the "particular *Peers* concern'd will find an entire "Security.

"And

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"And whereas there is a Clauſe in this Bill "which provides, That Sixty Thouſand Pounds "therein mentioned for the late King *Charles*'s Servants, ſhould be applied to ſuch only as were his "Servants at the Time of his Deceaſe: It is the "humble Deſire and Recommendation of this "Houſe to your Majeſty, that this Reſtraint may "bring no Prejudice to the juſt and equitable Pretenſions of ſuch of the Servants of his ſaid late "Majeſty, as are Members of this Houſe, or of "others in their Circumſtances; but that your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to look upon them, "as entitl'd to an equal Share of your Favour and "Conſideration, which others, their Fellow-Servants, have generally had, or may pretend to, by "Virtue of this or the former Act of Parliament "before-mention'd.

The Marquis of *Hallifax*, Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, having waited on the King with this Addreſs, his Majeſty receiv'd the ſame very kindly; and as for thoſe particular Peers that were concern'd in the *Bill*, he ſaid, *He was ſenſible of their Behaviour toward him on this Occaſion, and would not forget it.*

On *Tueſday Auguſt* 20. His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Lords, and the Commons being ſent for up, the Speaker preſented the *Bill for paying the States-General,* and made this Speech to his Majeſty, acknowledging the great Services done to this Nation by the *Dutch*, and at the ſame Time very artfully reminding the *Dutch* of their former Obligations to the *Engliſh*.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty;

Speaker's Speech to the King.

"THE Commons in this preſent Parliament "aſſembled, taking into Conſideration the "great Aſſiſtance that was given by the *States* of "the *United-Provinces* to your Majeſty, in your "glorious Deſign of reſtoring theſe Kingdoms to "their ancient Rights and Liberties, and how for "that End they entruſted their Army and Fleet to "your Majeſty's Diſpoſal, at a Time when they "had War declar'd, and an Invaſion threatned by "the *French* King, meerly to divert them: They "do here humbly preſent your Majeſty with a "Bill, appointing certain Duties of Exciſe and Cuſtoms, for the raiſing Six Hundred Thouſand "Pounds, which they deſire may be applied by "your Majeſty, for the Satisfaction of the Charges which have been expended by the *States* in "this Expedition.

"It is little more than an Age ſince the Illuſtrious Prince of *Orange*, your Majeſty's Great "Grandfather, whoſe Name will ever be Famous "for his Love to his Countrey, did, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, redeem thoſe Provinces "from the like Oppreſſions; which ſhews how inſeparable the Intereſt of thoſe Two Nations are. "And ſince it was the Policy of thoſe that laboured "our Deſtruction to divide us, it ought to be the "Endeavour of all true Lovers of their Countrey, "to keep us firmly united in order to our Preſervation.

"The Commons have likewiſe conſider'd of the "great Arrears, that were left due by King *Charles* "the Second to his Servants, and have therefore "made a Proviſion of Sixty Thouſand Pounds for "them, which they humbly deſire your Majeſty "would pleaſe to diſtribute among them, in ſuch "Proportions as your Majeſty in your princely Wiſdom ſhall think moſt fit.

"And having proceeded thus far in the weighty "Affairs depending before them, they now become "humble Suitors to your Majeſty for a Receſs, that "thereby they may have the Opportunity of repairing into their ſeveral Counties, and promoting your Majeſty's Service: And what remains at "preſent for want of Time to diſpatch, they "doubt not but that they ſhall be able to perfect it "at their next Meeting, and, as they hope, to the "entire Satisfaction of your Majeſty, and your "whole Kingdom.

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After this Speech, the King gave his Royal Aſſent to the ſaid Bills; being, 1. *An Act for appropriating certain Duties, for paying the* States-General *of the* United-Provinces *their Charges, for his Majeſty's Expedition into this Kingdom, and for other Uſes.* (2.) *An Act for prohibiting all Trade and Commerce with* France. (3.) *An Act for the better preventing the Exportation of Wool, and encouraging the Woolen Manufacture of this Kingdom.* (4.) *An additional Act for the appointing Commiſſioners, for the executing an Act of this preſent Parliament*; entitl'd, *An Act for a Grant to their Majeſties of an Aid of* 12d *in the Pound, for One Year, for the neceſſary Defence of their Realms.* (5.) *An Act for the Relief of the Proteſtant* Iriſh *Clergy.* (6.) *An Act to repeal the Statute made in the Fifth Year of* King Henry IV. *againſt multiplying Gold and Silver.* (7.) *An Act for explaining part of an Act made in the firſt Year of King* James I. *concerning Tann'd Leather.* (8.) *An Act to enable Truſtees to grant Leaſes of the Eſtate of* Richard Hele, *Eſq*;. (9.) *An Act for enabling of* Hannah Sherley, *Widow, and* Mary Battilley, *alias* Sherley, *her Daughter, to ſettle and diſpoſe of certain Lands and Tenements in the Counties of* Middleſex *and* Eſſex. And then the Lord *Privy-Seal*, by the King's Command, acquainted the Two Houſes, "That it was his Majeſty's "Pleaſure, that they ſhould adjourn till the 20th "of the next Month; and that his Majeſty intended they ſhould farther adjourn till Winter, unleſs "there were ſome emergent Occaſion for their Sitting; of which he would give them timely Notice by Proclamation." After which, the Two Houſes adjourned accordingly till the 20th of *September* next.

Acts paſs'd.

Two Houſes adjourn.

During this Seſſion, ſeveral Honours and Preferments were beſtow'd, beſides thoſe already mention'd. On *April* 18. His Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute the Earl of *Shrewsbury* (Principal Secretary of State) Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Worceſter*. On *April* 19. His Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint the Honourable *George Booth*, Eſq; Sir *Richard Temple*, Bar. and Knight of the *Bath*, Sir *John Werden*, Bar. Sir *Robert Southwell*, Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *Patience Ward*, and *Thomas Pelham*, Eſq; to be Commiſſioners for Managing of the Cuſtoms; and alſo Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Henry Aſhurſt*, Sir *Humphry Edwin*, *Thomas Frankland*, Eſq; *Francis Parry*, Eſq; *John Danvers*, Eſq; and *John Wilcocks*, Jun. Eſq; to be Commiſſioners for Managing of the Exciſe. On *April* 23. the King created *Thomas* Earl of *Denbigh* Lord Preſident of his Council, and Marquis of *Carmarthen*. On *May* 16. His Majeſty was pleaſed to create *Frederick* Count *de Schombergh*, (General of His Majeſty's Forces, Maſter-General of the Ordnance, and one of the Lords of the Privy-Council,) a Baron, Earl, Marquis and Duke of this Kingdom, by the Name and Title of Baron *Teys*, Earl of *Brentford*, Marquis of *Harwich*, and Duke of *Schombergh*. On *June* 1. *Arthur Herbert*, Eſq; Admiral of Their Majeſties Fleet, was created Earl of *Torrington*, and Baron *Herbert* of *Torbay* in the County of *Devon*. On *June* 4. *John Aſhburnham*, Eſq; was created Baron *Aſhburnham*, of *Aſhburnham* in the County of *Suſſex*. On the ſame Day, His Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Edward Moſly*, of *Hulme* in the County of *Lancaſter*, Eſq;. His Majeſty (by Writ) call'd to the Houſe of Lords the Right Honourable *Charles* Lord *Durſley*, and *Robert*

Honours and Preferments.

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Revolution in *Scotland.*

To take a ſhort View of the *Revolution* in *Scotland*: The Convention of that Kingdom met on the 14th of *March*, and after Publick Prayers perform'd by the Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, (wherein he pray'd for the Safety and Reſtoration of K. *James*) they began with the Choice of a Preſident. The Marquis of *Athol* was propos'd by the (*a*) Biſhops, and the Party which adher'd to the old King; but the Duke of *Hamilton* was ſet up in Competition by the Friends of King *William*, and carry'd it by near Forty Voices. They came preſently to take into Conſideration the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which was yet commanded by the Duke of *Gordon*, a Papiſt, whom they requir'd to put that Caſtle into their Hands: The Duke deſir'd an Indemnity for what was paſt, and Security for the future; upon which the Convention ſent the Earls of *Tweedale* and *Lothian* to him, with a Pardon in writing for himſelf and the Gariſon: But after ſeveral Meſſages and Evaſions, the Duke at laſt declar'd, That he would not ſurrender the Caſtle. Whereupon the Convention ſent up the Heralds at Arms, to charge him immediately to ſubmit; which he perſiſting to refuſe, the Heralds went to the *Market-Croſs*, and ſolemnly proclaim'd him a Traytor and Rebel.

On *March* 16. one *Crane*, an *Engliſhman*, who was ſaid to be a Servant to King *James*'s Queen, deliver'd a Letter from that Monarch to the Convention; and at the ſame Time the Preſident acquainted the Aſſembly, That the Lord *Levin* was arriv'd Expreſs with another Letter from King *William*. Thereupon it was debated, which of the ſaid Two Letters ſhould be read firſt: The Majority carry'd it for King *William*; whoſe Letter was read with General Applauſe in Manner following.

My Lords and Gentlemen;

K. William's Letter to the *Scotch* Convention.

" WE are very ſenſible of the Kindneſs and " Concern which your Nation has evinc'd " towards Us, and our Undertakings for the Preſervation of your Religion and Liberty, which " were in ſuch imminent Danger. Neither can " We in the leaſt doubt of your Confidence in Us, " after having ſeen how far ſo many of your Nobility and Gentry have own'd our *Declaration*; " countenancing and concurring with Us in our Endeavours, and deſiring Us that We will take upon Us the Adminiſtration of Affairs Civil and " Military, and to call a Meeting of the *Eſtates*, " for Securing the Proteſtant Religion, and the Ancient Laws and Liberties of your Kingdom; which " accordingly We have done.

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" Now it lies in you to enter into ſuch Conſultations, as are moſt probable to ſettle you on ſure " and laſting Foundations; which, We hope, you " will ſet about with all convenient Speed, with regard to the Publick Good, and the General Intereſt and Inclinations of the People: That after ſo " much Trouble and great Suffering, they may live " happily and in Peace; and that you may lay " aſide all Animoſities and Factions, that may hinder ſo good a Work.

" We are glad to find ſo many of the Nobility " and Gentry (when here in *London*) were ſo much " inclin'd to an Union of both Kingdoms; and that " they did look upon it as one of the beſt Means " for procuring the Happineſs of both Nations, and " ſettling of a laſting Peace among them: Which " will be advantageous to both; they living in the " ſame Iſland, having the ſame Language, and the " ſame common Intereſt of Religion and Liberty; " eſpecially at this Juncture, when the Enemies of " both are ſo reſtleſs, endeavouring to make and " increaſe Jealouſies and Diviſions, which they will " be ready to improve to their own Advantage, and " the Ruin of *Britain*. We being of the ſame Opinion as to the Uſefulneſs of this Union, and " having nothing ſo much before our Eyes as the " Glory of GOD, eſtabliſhing the Reform'd Religion, and the Peace and Happineſs of theſe Nations, are reſolv'd to uſe our utmoſt Endeavour, " in advancing every Thing that may conduce to " the effectuating the ſame. So we bid you heartily Farewel.

From Our Court at Hampton-Court, *the 7th Day of* March, 1688.

After the Reading of this Letter, a Committee was nam'd to draw up an Anſwer to it in the moſt thankful and dutiful Manner; and then, before they would admit of the Letter from King *James* to be open'd, they paſs'd an Act for Aſſerting and Maintaining the Lawfulneſs of that Convention; and declaring, That they would not diſſolve, but continue ſitting, until the Government, Religion, Laws, Liberties and Properties, were ſettled and eſtabliſhed. After this, King *James*'s Letter was read, that promis'd Pardon to all ſuch as ſhould return to their Duty before the laſt Day of *March*; and threatning to puniſh with the utmoſt Rigor of his Laws, all ſuch as ſhould ſtand out in Rebellion againſt Him, or his Authority. This menacing Letter was the more ungrateful, it being counterſigned by the Earl of *Melfort*, (a Perſon odious to all the Presbyterians of *Scotland*, who made up the Major Part of the Convention:) So that inſtead of ſerving the Intereſt of King *James*, it rather provoked that Aſſembly to be the more unanimous and forward in ſettling the Government after the Example of *England*. The Meſſenger that brought the ſaid Letter was firſt ſecur'd, and then (as if not thought worth detaining) he was diſmiſs'd with a Paſs, inſtead of an Anſwer.

K. *James*'s Letter read.

The next Caſe of the Convention, was, to put that Kingdom into a Poſture of Defence; for which Purpoſe, they order'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd, requiring all Perſons (from the Age of Sixteen to Sixty) to be in a Readineſs to take Arms;

(*a*) Yet a Part of the Epiſcopal Clergy ſent an Offer of their Services to King *William*, who could not pay them the Protection they expected from the prevailing Party of the Presbyterians; tho' He was very inclinable to it. The Perſon who brought up their Addreſs, gives this Account of it. "An Humble Petition ſent from the Clergy of *Scotland*, by the Hands " of Dr. *Scot*, Dean of *Glaſgow*, to the Prince of *Orange*, in " *February* 168$\frac{8}{9}$. to which a very Gracious Anſwer was given, " *viz.* That all Things relating to the Clergy ſhould be " brought back to the State in which they were in the preceding Month of *October*; and that if any of them had " been expell'd by Force, or driven away by Fear, they ſhould " be reſtored to their Cures and Benefices; and to that Purpoſe a Proclamation was iſſued out; but the Conſequence of " it was no other than a Second Rabbling." *Printed Paper of* Dr. Scot.

The Truth of it ſeems to be, That there being no Seated Liturgy in *Scotland*, nor any mighty Difference between Epiſcopal and Presbyterian Communion, but only Covenant and Name of Prelacy; the Epiſcopal Men had loſt themſelves among the People, not as a Religious Society, but as a Political Party, as reputed Creatures of the Court, and Perſecutors of their Brethren.

and

1689. 1 *W. M.* and raiſ'd Eight Hundred Men, under the Command of the Earl of *Leven*, to guard the City of *Edinburgh*. On the 19th of *March*, they paſs'd an Act, approving the Addreſs of the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry in *London*, who had *thankfully acknowledged the great Benefit done to their Nation by the Prince of* Orange, *and had deſired His Highneſs to accept the Adminiſtration of the Government of that Kingdom*. The ſame Day, upon reading of ſome Letters from ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen in *Ireland*, craving Aſſiſtance of the Convention; they order'd 2000 Muskets, and 20 Barrels of Powder to be immediately ſent 'em: That a further Proviſion of Arms and Ammunition ſhould be bought for 'em in *Holland*; and that Two ſmall Frigots ſhould cruiſe between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for mutual Intelligence.

Whilſt the Convention was thus providing for their own Security, and the Relief of their Proteſtant Brethren in *Ireland*, Viſcount *Dundee* held a private Conference with the Duke of *Gordon*, at the Poſtern-Gate of the Caſtle: Upon which the Convention order'd *Dundee* to appear before them; but he retir'd with Thirty or Forty Horſe to *Linlithgo*. Thereupon a Party of Horſe was ſent after him; and the Convention apprehending he might ſurprize the Caſtle of *Stirling*, they immediately diſpatch'd away the Governor thereof, the Earl of *Marr*, to ſecure that important Fortreſs.

In the mean Time, the Duke of *Gordon* amus'd the Convention, by beating a Parley, and deſiring to Capitulate; till on *March* 22. he ſent a Meſſage to the Magiſtrates of the City, to acquaint them, "That he had receiv'd Advices from *Ireland* of "King *James*'s being landed there; and that to "expreſs his Joy upon that News, he ſhould be ob"lig'd to fire the Cannon round the Caſtle; but bid "them not be alarm'd at it, ſince he deſign'd no "Hurt to the City." The Convention being inform'd of this Meſſage, order'd the Caſtle to be block'd up; and on *March* 23. an Act was paſs'd and proclaim'd, *That none be ſuffer'd to Travel with Horſes or Arms, who have not* Paſſes, *or cannot at leaſt give a good Account of themſelves*. On the ſame Day, the Anſwer of the Convention to the King of *England*'s Letter, was ſign'd in a Meeting of the whole Houſe (very few excepted) and was order'd to be ſent away immediately by my Lord *Roſs*, who took Poſt for *London*, and preſented it to his Majeſty in this Form.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

Anſwer to *K. William*'s Letter.

"AS *Religion*, *Liberty* and *Law*, are the deepeſt "Concerns of Mankind; ſo the deep Senſe "of the extreme Hazards theſe had been expos'd to, "muſt produce ſuitable Returns from the Kingdom "of *Scotland* to his Majeſty; whom in all Sincerity "and Gratitude they acknowledg'd to be, under "GOD, their great and ſeaſonable *Deliverer*. "And they heartily congratulated, that as GOD "had honour'd his Majeſty to be an Eminent *Inſtrument* for the Preſervation of his Truth; ſo "he had rewarded his Undertaking with Succeſs, "in the conſiderable Progreſs which he had made "in delivering them, and in preſerving to them the "Proteſtant Religion. They return'd their moſt "dutiful Thanks to his Majeſty, for his accepting "the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, and con"vening the Eſtates of that Kingdom. That they "ſhould with all convenient Diligence take his gra"cious Letter into their Conſideration; hoping "ſhortly, by the Bleſſing of GOD, to fall upon "ſuch Reſolutions, as might be acceptable to his "Majeſty, ſecure the Proteſtant Religion, and eſta"bliſh the Government, Laws and Liberties of that "Kingdom, upon Solid Foundations, moſt agree"able to the General Good and Inclinations of the "People. That as to the Propoſal of the *Union*, "they doubted not but his Majeſty would ſo diſpoſe "that Matter, that there might be an equal Readi"neſs in the Kingdom of *England* to accompliſh it, "as one of the beſt Means for ſecuring the Happi"neſs of theſe Nations, and ſettling a laſting Peace. "That they had hitherto, and ſtill ſhould endea"vour to avoid Animoſities or Prejudices, which "might diſturb their Councils. That as they de"ſign'd the Publick Good, ſo it might be done with "the General Concurrence and Approbation of the "Nation: And that in the mean Time, they de"ſir'd the Continuance of his Majeſty's Care and "Protection towards them in all their Concerns, "whereof the kind Expreſſions in his Gracious Let"ter had given them full Aſſurance.

Forces in *Scotland*.

The Forces King *William* had ſent into *Scotland*, under Major-General *Mackay*, (conſiſting of Four Regiments of Foot, and One of Dragoons) being arriv'd there, the Convention, on *March* 25. order'd them to be quarter'd in *Leith*, and the Suburbs of *Edinburgh*: And on *March* 28. they gave a Commiſſion to that General, to be Commander in Chief of ſuch *Militia*, or other Forces, as ſhould be raiſ'd for the Safety of that Kingdom in the preſent Juncture. On *March* 26. a Committee was nam'd for ſettling the Government, compos'd of Eight Lords, Eight Knights, and Eight Burgeſſes; the Biſhops being left out, as moſt profeſs'dly diſaffected to King *William*. This Committee made their Report, *That the Throne was Vacant*; and the whole Houſe (except Twelve) approv'd of what the Committee had done, and paſs'd the following Act. *The Eſtates of the Kingdom of* Scotland *find and declare, That King* James VII. *being a profeſs'd* Papiſt, *did aſſume the Royal Power, and acted as King, without ever taking the Oath requir'd by Law; and hath, by the Advice of Evil and Wicked Counſellors, invaded the Fundamental Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and alter'd it from a Legal and Limited Monarchy, to an Arbitrary Deſpotick Power; and hath govern'd the ſame to the Subverſion of the Proteſtant Religion, and Violation of the Laws and Liberties of the Nation; Inverting all the Ends of Government, whereby he hath forfeited the Right of the Crown, and the Throne is become Vacant.*

Immediately after this, the Eſtates voted and order'd, That the ſame Committee ſhould bring in an *Act*, for ſettling the Crown upon their Majeſties *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*; and to conſiſter the Terms of the *Deſtination* of the Heirs of the Crown: And likewiſe to prepare and bring in an Inſtrument of Government to be offer'd with the Crown, for redreſſing the Grievances and ſecuring the Liberties of the People. According to this Vote the Committee drew up an Act, which was read and agreed unto by the Convention; by which their Majeſties were proclaim'd King and Queen of *Scotland*, on *April* 11. the very ſame Day they were crown'd in *England*. This Act recited the Methods by which King *James* had invaded the Conſtitution of that Kingdom. 1. "By erecting "Publick Schools and Societies of the *Jeſuits*; "and not only allowing *Maſſes* to be publickly ſaid, "but alſo converting Proteſtant Churches and Cha"pels into Publick Maſs-Houſes, contrary to the "expreſs Laws againſt ſaying and hearing Maſs. "2. By allowing Popiſh Books to be printed, and "diſpers'd by a Patent to a Popiſh Printer, deſign"ing him Printer to his Majeſty's Houſhold, Col"lege and Chapel, contrary to Law. 3. By taking "the Children of Proteſtant Noblemen and Gentle"men, ſending them abroad to be bred Papiſts, "and beſtowing Penſions upon Prieſts to pervert "Proteſtants from their Religion, by Offers of "Places and Preferments. 4. By diſcharging Pro"teſtants, at the ſame time he employ'd Papiſts in "Places of greateſt Truſt, both Civil and Mili"tary, &c. and entruſting the Forts and Maga"zines

K. William and *Q. Mary* proclaim'd in *Scotland*.

1689.
1 *W. M.*

"zines in their Hands. 5. By impoſing Oaths contrary to Law. 6. By exacting Money without Conſent of Parliament or Convention of Eſtates. 7. By levying and keeping up a Standing Army in time of Peace, without Conſent of Parliament, and maintaining them upon Free Quarter. 8. By employing the Officers of the Army as Judges throughout the Kingdom; by whom the Subjects were put to Death, without legal Trial, Jury or Record. 9. By impoſing exorbitant Fines, to the Value of the Parties Eſtates; exacting extravagant Bail, and diſpoſing of Fines and Forfeitures before any Proceſs or Conviction. 10. By impriſoning Perſons without expreſſing the Reaſon, and delaying to bring them to Trial. 11. By cauſing ſeveral Perſons to be proſecuted, and their Eſtates to be forfeited, upon Stretches of old and forfeited Laws; upon weak and frivolous Pretences, and upon lame and defective Proofs; as particularly the late Earl of *Argyle*, to the Scandal of the Juſtice of the Nation. 12. By ſubverting the Rights of the Royal Boroughs, the Third Eſtate of Parliament; impoſing upon them not only Magiſtrates, but alſo the whole Town-Council and Clerks, contrary to their *Liberties* and expreſs *Charters*, without any Pretence of Sentence, Surrender or Conſent: So that the Commiſſioners to Parliaments being choſen by the Magiſtrates and Councils, the King might, in effect, as well nominate the Eſtate of Parliament. Beſides, that many of the Magiſtrates, by him put in, were Papiſts; and the Boroughs were forced to pay Money for the Letters impoſing thoſe illegal Magiſtrates upon them. 13. By ſending Letters to the chief Courts of Juſtice, not only ordering the Judges to ſtop *ſine Die*, but alſo commanding how to proceed in Caſes depending before them, contrary to the expreſs Laws; and by changing the Nature of the Judges Patents *ad Vitam* or *Culpam*, into a Commiſſion *de Beneplacito*, to diſpoſe them to a Compliance with arbitrary Courſes, and turning them out of their Offices, if they refuſ'd to comply. 14. By granting Perſonal Protections for Civil Debts, contrary to Law. *(a)*

Their Claim of *Rights* and *Liberties.*

Then in the ſame Act they claim'd and declar'd theſe their Ancient Rights and Liberties. "1. That by the Law of *Scotland*, no Papiſt could be King or Queen of the Realm, nor bear any Office therein; neither could any Proteſtant Succeſſor exerciſe the Regal Power, till they had ſworn the Coronation-Oath. 2. That all Proclamations aſſerting an Abſolute Power, to null and diſable Laws, in order to erecting Schools and Colleges for Jeſuits, converting Proteſtant Churches and Chapels into Maſs-Houſes, and the allowing Maſs to be ſaid; and that the allowing Popiſh Books to be printed and diſpers'd, was contrary to Law. 3. That the taking the Children of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, and keeping them abroad, to be bred Papiſts; the making Funds and Donations to Popiſh Schools and Colleges, the beſtowing Penſions on Prieſts, and the ſeducing Proteſtants from their Religion, by Offers of Places and Preferments, was contrary to Law. 4. That the diſarming of Proteſtants, and employing Papiſts in the greateſt Places of Truſt, both Civil and Military, &c. was contrary to Law. 5. That the impoſing an Oath without Authority of Parliament, was contrary to Law. 6. That the raiſing of Money without Conſent of Parliament, or Convention, was contrary to Law. 7. That employing the Officers of the Army as Judges, &c. was contrary to Law. 8. That the impoſing extraordinary Fines, &c. was contrary to Law. 9. That the impriſoning of Perſons, without expreſſing the Reaſons, &c. was the ſame. 10. That the proſecuting, and ſeizing Mens Eſtates, as forfeited, upon old Stretches of old and obſolete Laws, &c. was contrary to Law. 11. That the nominating and impoſing Magiſtrates, &c. upon Boroughs, contrary to their expreſs Charter, was the ſame. 12. That the ſending Letters to the Courts of Juſtice, ordaining the Judges to deſiſt from determining of Cauſes depending before them, &c. was contrary to Law. 13. That the granting of Perſonal Protections was the ſame. 14. That the forcing the Subjects to depoſe againſt themſelves in capital Cauſes, however the Puniſhments were reſtricted, was contrary to Law. 15. That the uſing Torture, without Evidence, or in ordinary Crimes, was contrary to Law. 16. That the ſending of an Army in a Warlike manner, into any Part of the Kingdom, in time of Peace, and exacting Locality and Free Quarters, was the ſame. 17. That charging the Subjects with Law-Boroughs, at the King's Inſtance, and impoſing Bonds, without Authority of Parliament, and the ſuſpending Advocates, for not appearing when Bonds were offer'd, was contrary to Law. 18. That the putting Gariſons into private Mens Houſes, in time of Peace, without Authority of Parliament, was illegal. 19. That the Opinions of the Lords of the Seſſions, in the two Caſes following, was illegal, (*viz.*) That the concerting the Demand of the Supply of a Fore-faulted Perſon, altho' not given, was Treaſon; That Perſons refuſing to diſcover their private Thoughts, in relation to Points of Treaſon, or other Mens Actions, are guilty of Treaſon. 20. That the fining Huſbands, for their Wives withdrawing from Church, was illegal. 21. That *Prelacy*, and Superiority of an Office in the Church above *Presbyters*, is and has been a great and inſupportable Burthen to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People ever ſince the Reformation, they having reform'd Popery by Presbytery; and therefore ought to be aboliſh'd. 22. That it is the Right and Privilege of the Subject to proteſt for Remedy of Law to the King and Parliament, againſt Sentences pronounc'd by the Lords of the Seſſions, provided the ſame do not ſtop Executions of the ſaid Sentences. 23. That it is the Right of the Subject to petition the King; and that all Proſecutions and Impriſonments for ſuch Petitioning, were contrary to Law.

"*Therefore, the ſaid Eſtates of the Kingdom of* Scotland *had reſolv'd, That* WILLIAM *and* MARY, *King and Queen of* England, *be declared King and Queen of* Scotland, *to hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the ſaid Kingdom, to them the ſaid King and Queen, during their Lives, and the longeſt Liver of them; and that the ſole and full Exerciſe of the Power be only in, and exerciſed by him the ſaid* King, *in the Names of the ſaid King and Queen, during their Lives; and after their Deceaſe, that the ſaid Crown and Royal Dignity be to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Queen: Which failing, to the Princeſs* Anne *of* Denmark, *and the Heirs of Her Body. Which alſo failing, to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid* William *King of* England.

By the ſame Act, they abrogated the *Oath of Allegiance*, and ſubſtituted this ſhort Form of *Fidelity*:

Oath of Fidelity.

I A. B. do ſincerely Promiſe and Swear, That I will be faithful, and bear True Allegiance to Their Maje-

ties

(a) Every one of theſe particular Inſtances of Male-Adminiſtration was Matter of Fact and Complaint in *England*, as well as *Scotland*.

ſties, King William and Queen Mary. So help me God.

Then theſe Commiſſioners were ſent to their Majeſties, the Earl of *Argyle*, Sir *James Montgomery*, Sir *John Dalrymple*, who had a publick Reception on *May* 11. in the *Banquetting-Houſe* at *Whitehall*, their Majeſties being placed on the Throne, under a a rich Canopy.

They firſt preſented a Letter from the Eſtates to his Majeſty; then the Inſtrument of Government; and then a Paper containing the Grievances which they deſir'd might be redreſs'd: (*a*) And laſtly, an Addreſs to his Majeſty for turning the Meeting of the ſaid Eſtates into a Parliament. All which being ſign'd by his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton*, as Preſident of the Meeting, and read to their Majeſties, the King return'd to the Commiſſioners the following Anſwer.

The King's Anſwer to the Parliament of *Scotland*.

" WHen I engaged in this Undertaking, I had " particular Regard and Conſideration for " *Scotland*; and therefore I did emit a Declaration " in relation to that, as well as to this Kingdom, " which I intend to make good and effectual to " them. I take it very kindly, that *Scotland* hath " expreſs'd ſo much Confidence in, and Affection " to me: They ſhall find me willing to aſſiſt them " in every thing that concerns the Weal and Intereſt " of that Kingdom, by making what Laws ſhall be " neceſſary for the Security of their Religion, Pro- " perty and Liberty, and to eaſe them of what may " be juſtly grievous to them.

Coronation Oath.

After which, the Coronation-Oath was tender'd to Their Majeſties, which the Earl of *Argyle* ſpoke word by word diſtinctly, and the King and Queen repeated it after him, holding their Right Hands up, after the Manner of taking Oaths in *Scotland*. The Commiſſioners, by Authority of the *Eſtates*, repreſented to His Majeſty, " That the Clauſe of the " Oath in relation to the *Rooting out of Hereticks*, " did not import the *Deſtroying of Hereticks*; and " that by the Law of *Scotland*, no Man was to be " perſecuted for his private Opinion; and even " obſtinate and convicted *Hereticks* were only to " be denounc'd Rebels, or Outlaw'd, whereby their " Moveable Eſtates are confiſcated." Hence His Majeſty, at the repeating that Clauſe in the Oath, did declare, *That He did not mean by theſe Words, that He was under any Obligation to become a Perſecutor*. To which the Commiſſioners made Anſwer, *That neither the Meaning of the Oath, nor the Law of* Scotland *did import it*. Then the King reply'd, *That He took the Oath in that Senſe*; and call'd the Commiſſioners, and others there preſent, to be Witneſſes of his ſo doing.

Upon this Settlement, the Siege of *Edinburgh*-Caſtle was ſo vigorouſly carry'd on, that the Duke of *Gordon*, ſeeing his Ammunition ſpent, his Houſe wholly ruin'd by the Bombs, great Breaches made in the Walls by the Cannon, the Beſiegers advanc'd to the Ditch, and deſpairing of Relief, on *June* the 13th he deliver'd up that important Fortreſs to Sir *John Laniere*, and ſurrender'd himſelf and his whole Gariſon entirely to King *William*'s *Diſcretion*, on Condition of having their Lives, Liberties and Fortunes ſecured.

Duke of *Gordon* delivers up the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

Army under *Dundee*.

Nothing was now wanting to reduce *Scotland* to the Obedience of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, but the ſuppreſſing of *Dundee*, who was got into the *Highlands*, and had got together the Figure of an Army. Several Skirmiſhes happen'd between him and ſome Detachments of their Majeſties Forces, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Mackay*, Sir *Tho. Levingſton*, Colonel of Dragoons, Colonel *Ramſey*, and Colonel *Balfour*, who were join'd by the Lairds of *Strithnaver*, *Grant*, and *Whitoſch*, and their Followers; in which being worſted, he betook himſelf to the Hills again. His Party was almoſt dwindled to nothing, when having receiv'd a Reinforcement of 300 *Iriſh*, headed by (*b*) Colonel *Canon*, he rais'd the *Highland Clans*, and with a Body of 6000 Foot, and 100 Horſe, advanc'd to meet *Mackay*, who was marching towards him with a Body of 4000 Foot, and four Troops of Horſe and Dragoons. Theſe two ſmall Armies engag'd two Miles on this ſide the *Blair* of *Athol*, and fought with great Obſtinacy from Five in the Afternoon till Night. And tho' *Mackay* loſt the Field, and was forc'd to retire in ſome Diſorder towards *Sterling* with the broken Remains of his Army; yet the Death of *Dundee*, who was ſlain in the Battle, did more than compenſate for the other's Loſs; conſidering he was the ſole and whole Dependance of that Party, who afterwards were worſted every where, and particularly once and again at St. *John*'s-Town. In the laſt of theſe Conflicts, one ſingle Regiment of the Earl of *Angus*, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Cleeland*, gave ſo entire a Defeat to their whole Force, which conſiſted of near 4000 Men, that they never after could appear in any conſiderable Body; and therefore many of the chiefeſt among them ſubmitted to their Majeſty's Clemency.

General *Dundee* ſlain.

State of *Ireland*.

In *Ireland* the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, with great Zeal for his *Unfortunate Maſter*, had ſecur'd the moſt important Places of that Kingdom, and not only Diſarm'd and Pillag'd moſt of the *Proteſtants*, but alſo impriſon'd the chiefeſt of 'em; and then ſent an earneſt Invitation to (*c*) King *James*, to come over

(*a*) The Act for aboliſhing Prelacy in *Scotland* was paſs'd *July* 22. 1689. declaring it to have been a great and inſupportable Grievance to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People.

See *Plain-Dealing: Being a Moderate and General Review* of the *Scots* Prelatical Clergy's Proceedings in the latter Reigns. With a Vindication of the preſent Proceedings in Church-Affairs there. Licens'd *Sept.* 11. 1689. *London*, 1689. 4*to*.

See *the late Proceedings and Votes of the Parliament of* Scotland, *contain'd in an Addreſs deliver'd to the King, ſign'd by the Plurality of the Members thereof, ſtated and vindicated.* Which Addreſs was deliver'd to King *William* at *Hampton-Court*, the 15th of *Octob.* 1689. by the Earl of *Annandale*, the Lord *Roſſe*, and Sir *James Montgomery*.— The Publiſher inſerted at large the ſeveral conteſted Votes of Parliament, to which King *William* had refuſed his Aſſent; and offers to demonſtrate the Legality, Reaſonableneſs and Neceſſity of them,— Complaining of the Miniſters of State, whom the King had receiv'd into his Councils and Service; alledging, that He had made choice of thoſe very Men who had been the Inſtruments of King *James*'s Miſeries and Ruin, by adviſing him to thoſe Courſes that had robb'd him of the Hearts of his Subjects.

(*b*) Colonel *Canon* met with a worſe Fate than Death in the Field. He retir'd into *France*, and having ſerv'd King *James* ſo faithfully, every Body expected he would be rewarded with ſome great Command upon his Arrival at St. *Germains*. But he poſitively refuſing to abandon the little Religion he had, was reduc'd to the ſcandalous Allowance of Half a Crown a Day, while Papiſts who had ſerv'd him were preferr'd to good Poſts. This unhappy Gentleman finding himſelf thus neglected, took it ſo much to Heart, that he died of Grief and Want, having taken the Sacrament from the Hands of Dr. *Granville*, two Days before his Death; but a Prieſt who would not ſtir from him when he was dying, thruſt a Water down his Throat when he was ſpeechleſs; and to have the Merit of his Converſion, gave out he died a Catholick, which got him the Favour of Burial, or his Corps had been expos'd, as was the Earl of *Dumferling*'s.

That Earl of *Dumferling* had left his noble Family and large Fortune to follow King *James* in his Exile; yet happening to quarrel at St. *Germains* with one Captain *Brown* a Papiſt, about a Trifle, the Captain was encourag'd and countenanc'd in it by the Court, and made Commander of a Company of *Scotch* Reformed Officers in *Catalonia*, while my Lord liv'd in Contempt purely on account of his Religion; which ill Treatment broke his Heart, and he ſunk under the Weight of his hard Fate at St. *Germains*. He was denied Chriſtian Burial after he was dead, and his Friends were forc'd to hide his Corps in a Chamber, till an Opportunity was found of digging a Hole in the Fields in the Night, in which they were glad to depoſit it, for fear of worſe uſuage. See the *Secret Hiſt. of* Europe. *T.* 11. *p.* 250.

(*c*) See the Anſwer of *Leopold* Emperor, to the Complaint and Requeſt of Aſſiſtance from King *James*. " We have received

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with Forces and Money from *France*. Upon this Meſſage *Tyrconnel* ſent over Baron *Rice* a *Roman-Catholick*, and the Lord *Mountjoy* a *Proteſtant*: The latter wou'd not conſent to go, but upon *Tyrconnel*'s granting him theſe Four Things: *1ſt*, That no more New Commiſſions ſhould be given out, or New Men raiſed: *2dly*, That no more of the Army ſhou'd be ſent into the *North*: *3dly*, That None ſhou'd be queſtion'd for what had paſs'd: And *4thly*, That no Soldiers ſhou'd be Quarter'd in Private Houſes. Theſe Ambaſſadors ſet out from *Dublin* about the 10th of *January*: Aſſoon as they were gone, *Tyrconnel* broke all the *Conditions* he had made with the Lord *Mountjoy*; and, with greater Perfidiouſneſs, his Lordſhip, immediately after his Arrival at *Paris*, was committed Priſoner to the *Baſtile*, on Account of the great Zeal he had lately ſhewed for the Proteſtant Intereſt. Soon after, King *James* took ſhipping at *Breſt* with about 1500 Men, commanded by Experienced *French*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh* Officers, and ſafely landed at *Kingſale* on the 12th of *March*. The next Day, his Majeſty with a numerous Attendance went to *Cork*, where he was received by the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, who in Glory executed one of the Magiſtrates, for declaring for the Prince of *Orange*. On *March* the 24th King *James* entered into the City of *Dublin* in a Triumphant Manner; and next Morning, having called a Council, turned out the Earl of *Granard* Chairman, Judge *Keating*, &c. and in their Rooms placed Count *De Avaux* the *French* Ambaſſador, *(a)* Dr. *Cartwright* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Dorrington*, on whom the King had beſtowed the Royal Regiment, in the room of the Duke of *Ormond*. Then his Majeſty made the Earl of *Tyrconnel* a Duke, and ſummoned a Parliament to meet at *Dublin* on the 7th of *May*.

Proteſtants in the *North* of *Ireland* Declare for King *William*.

The *Engliſh* Proteſtants had been ſo very hardly us'd in the Provinces of *Munſter*, *Lemſter*, and *Connaught*, that moſt of them retired towards their Brethren in *Ulſter*, who declaring for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, had ſeiz'd on the Towns of *Kilmore*, *Colerain*, *Inniskilling*, and *London-Derry*. And yet the *Engliſh* that remained were ſo little inclined to truſt to the Promiſes of King *James*, that they rather choſe to ſtand upon their Defence; and gathering into one Body, made ſhew of oppoſing the King's Forces in the open Field: But being routed by Lieutenant-General *Hamilton*, at a Place called *Drummore*, their Reſiſtance and Defeat gave a juſt Occaſion to his Majeſty and *Tyrconnel*, to uſe thoſe in their Power with far greater Severity, and to March towards the *North* with an Army of about 20000 Men, to force the reſt out of their Strong-Holds.

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King William ſends Forces to them:

King *William* being ſenſible of the deſperate Condition of the *Iriſh* Proteſtants, had already ſent Captain *James Hamilton*, with Ammunition and Arms to *London-Derry*, and named Colonel *Lundee*, on whoſe Fidelity he depended, Governor of that City; but it ſoon appeared how much his Majeſty was miſtaken in him.

On *April* 13th, Mr. *George Walker*, Rector of *Donahmore* in the County of *Tyrone*, who had rais'd a Regiment for Defence of the poor Proteſtants, receiving Intelligence, that King *James* having taken *Colrain* and *Kilmore*, after a ſtout Reſiſtance, was drawing his Forces towards *Derry*, haſten'd thither to give *Lundee* an Account of it. The Governor at firſt believ'd it only a falſe Alarm, but was ſoon convinced of the contrary. The Enemy being advanced to *Cledyford*, Mr. *Walker* returned to *Lyfford*, where he joined Colonel *Crafton*, and afterwards according to *Lundee*'s Directions, took his Poſt at the *Long-Cawſey*, which he vigorouſly maintained a whole Night; but being overpowered by the Enemy's Numbers, he retreated to *London Derry*, where he vainly endeavoured to perſwade *Lundee* to take the Field.

They retreat to *London-Derry*.

On *April* the 17th, *Dundee* thought fit to call a *Council of War*, and order'd that Colonel *Cuningham* and Colonel *Richards*, who (Two Days before) came into the River *Loughfoyle* with their Regiments from *England*, ſhould be Members of it. Accordingly they met, and (with other Gentlemen either equally diſaffected, or at beſt as little acquainted with the Condition of the Town, and the Reſolution of the People) they at laſt concluded, *That there was no Proviſion in the Town of* Londonderry *for the preſent Gariſon, and the Two Regiments aboard, for above a Week, or Ten Days at moſt; and it appearing that the Place was not tenable againſt a well-appointed Army, therefore it was not convenient (for His Majeſty's Service) to Land the*

The Town diſpos'd to Surrender.

"ceived your Majeſty's Letter Dated from St. *Germains* the "6th of *Febr.* laſt by the Earl of *Carlinford.* —— We do aſ-"ſure your Majeſty, that as ſoon as we heard of this ſevere "Turn of Affairs, we were moved at it, not only with the "common Senſe of Humanity, but with much deeper Impreſ-"ſions ſuitable to the ſincere Affection which we have always "born to You; and we were heartily ſorry, that at laſt that "was come to paſs, which (tho' we hoped for better Things) "yet our own ſad Thoughts had ſuggeſted to us would enſue. "If your Majeſty had rather given credit to the Friendly Re-"monſtrances that were made You by our late Envoy the "Count *de Kauwitz* in our Name, than the deceitful Inſinu-"ations of the *French*, whoſe chief Aim was by fomenting "continual Diviſions between You and your People, to gain "thereby an Opportunity to inſult the more ſecurely over the "reſt of *Chriſtendom*; and if your Majeſty had put a Stop by "Force and Authority, to their many Infractions of the Peace, "which by the Treaty at *Nimeguen* You are made Guarantee, "&c. Dat. *Vienna*, 9th *Apr.* 1689. Sufficiently taxing the Male-Adminiſtration of King *James*, and implying that he fell a Sacrifice to his Bigotry in Religion, and his Partiality to the *French*.

(*a*) This unhappy Man with broken Heart and Fortunes died ſoon after at *Dublin* on the 15th of *April*, 1689, and was buried upon Charity, collected among the Proteſtants. A Man of a brave Spirit to have ſerved a juſt Maſter in a good Cauſe. It may be a Warning to Church-of-*England* Divines never to become the Tools of *Popery*, nor ſo much as to tamper for the Favour of Popiſh Princes. The Three Divines who for their good Affection and Service to King *James*, were by him promoted to Biſhopricks, where this Dr. *Thomas Cartwright*, Dr. *Samuel Parker*, and Mr. *Timothy Hall*, who all died before their time in Grief and Poverty.

When K. *James* returned from *Ireland* to *France*, the few Proteſtants about him uſed their Intereſt with him to have a Chapel for the Exerciſe of their Worſhip according to the Church of *England*, propoſing Dr. *Granville*, the Earl of *Bath's* Brother, who had loſt his Deanery of *Durham*, as a fit Perſon to be their Chaplain. King *James* was ſo averſe to the granting this ſmall Favour to his Church of *England*'s Subjects, that they were forced to ſend a Gentleman from St. *Germains* to *London*, to treat with the Party here, and particularly with Dr. *Turner*, Biſhop of *Ely*, to engage him to repreſent the Matter, as of abſolute neceſſity to the King's Intereſt. Queen *Mary* was not only againſt allowing this Chapel, but in a Paſſion told the King her Husband publickly at Dinner; *He would provoke Heaven yet more againſt him, by tolerating that Hereſy in* France, *which for being tolerated in* England *had ruin'd him there.* At laſt the Biſhop of *Ely*'s Letter, in the Name of the *Non-Jurors*, and their Abettors here, prevail'd on that Court; and Father *Innes* was employ'd to ſollicite the Affair at that of *Verſailles*. It was referr'd to Monſieur *Louvois* and Father *Le Chaiſe* for Form ſake. The *French* Court reſolving at firſt to take hold of that Opportunity to make the *Project of Peace* take the better. But the *Project* meeting with univerſal Diſlike and Contempt, the *French* King thinking it would do no good to keep longer fair with the Hereticks, came into his Brother King *James*'s Sentiments, and a Chapel was poſitively refus'd. In conſequence of which, Dr. *Granville* was obliged not only to retire from the Court, but alſo from the Town of St. *Germains*, to avoid the daily Inſults of the Prieſts, and the dreadful Effects of the Jealouſies with which they poſſeſs'd King *James*'s Courtiers againſt him.

The only Proteſtant Divine that remain'd there was Dr. *Gordon* a *Scotch* Biſhop, who met with a worſe Treatment than the other, and was reduc'd to the neceſſity of abjuring his Religion for Bread, with which he could not be ſupply'd but upon ſuch hard Terms.

The Uſage of Dr. *Cockburn*, a *Scotch* Divine, is beyond any thing that can be imagined. He was baniſh'd *Scotland* for treaſonable Practices, and forc'd to fly from *England*, for writing Libels againſt the State. He thought to have found an Aſylum at St. *Germains*, if not a Recompence; but inſtead of this, he was perpetually teaz'd by the Prieſts to change his Religion, and when they could not prevail, they repreſented him as a dangerous Perſon, and got him ſent from *France*, whence he retired to *Holland*, and there lived in Want and Miſery. —— *See Secret Hiſt. of Europe*, P. II. p. 256.

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Two Regiments: But, on the contrary, conſidering their preſent Circumſtances, and the Likelihood that the Enemy would ſoon poſſeſs themſelves of that Place, it was thought moſt convenient, That the Principal Officers ſhould privately withdraw themſelves, as well for their own Preſervation, as in Hopes that the Inhabitants, by a timely Capitulation, might make Terms the better with the Enemy. After this Reſolution, an Inſtrument was prepar'd, to be ſubſcribed by the Gentlemen and chief Citizens, and to be ſent to King *James*, who was advanced in Perſon with his Army as far as St. *John*'s Town. Captain *White* was ſent out to the King to receive Propoſals from him; and it was at the ſame time agreed with Lieutenant-General *Hamilton*, That he ſhould not march the Army within Four Miles of the Town. But, contrary to this *Agreement*, King *James*, upon the confidencee given him, that the Town wou'd Surrender at the ſight of his formidable Army, advanced at the Head of it, before the Walls, on the 18th of *April*. But meeting with a warm Reception, which put his Men into ſome Diſorder, his Majeſty retired to St. *John's-Town*. In the mean time, Mr. *Muckeridge* (the Town-Clerk) gave the People ſome Intimation of the Proceedings at the *Council of War*: Which *Diſcovery* ſo enraged them againſt the *Governor* and his *Council*, that they finding themſelves in danger began to make their eſcape in confuſion. The *Governor* could not ſo eaſily retire, and therefore thought fit to keep his Chamber. A *Council* being appointed there, Mr. *Walker* and Major *Baker* endeavour'd to perſwade him to continue his Government: But he poſitively refuſing to concern himſelf, they out of Reſpect to his Commiſſion, ſuffer'd him to diſguiſe himſelf, and in a Sally for Relief of *Culmore*, to paſs in a Boat, with a Load of Match on his Back, from whence he went to *Scotland*, and was there ſecur'd and ſent to *London*, to anſwer for the Miſcarriages laid to his Charge.

The Gariſon of *London-Derry* reſolved to defend the Place;

The Gariſon of *London-Derry* being thus encouraged to maintain the Town, unanimouſly reſolv'd to chuſe Mr. *Walker* and Major *Baker* to be their Governors: But theſe Gentlemen modeſtly declined the Office, and ſent a Letter to Colonel *Cuningham* deſiring him to undertake the Charge; but he pretending that he was by his Inſtructions, obliged to obey the Orders of Colonel *Lundee*, refus'd the Propoſal, and returned into *England*, where both he and Colonel *Richards* were deſervedly caſhier'd. Upon this Refuſal, Mr. *Walker* and Major *Baker* accepted the Government of the Gariſon, and Regimented the Men in the Town to the Number of 7000, under 8 Colonels, and 333 inferior Officers. It was a bold Undertaking, in this brave Divine, and Major *Baker*, to maintain, againſt a formidable Army, commanded by a King in Perſon, an ill fortify'd Town, with a Gariſon compos'd of poor People frighten'd from their own Homes, and without a proportionable Number of Horſe to Sally out, or Engineers to inſtruct 'em in the neceſſary Works; beſides, they had not above Twenty Great Guns, and not one of them well mounted, nor above Ten Days Proviſion, in the Eſtimate of the former Governor; ſo that ſeveral deſerted every Day, and others not only gave conſtant Intelligence to the Enemy, but induſtriouſly endeavoured to betray the Place. Yet under all theſe Difficulties, the two Governors with undaunted Courage, reſolved to defend themſelves to the utmoſt Extremity.

Though in a very ill Condition.

Beſieged by King *James* with a formidable Army.

On *April* 20. King *James* inveſted the Place, and the next Day began to batter it; of which the Governors ſent an Account to *England* by Mr. *Bennet*, acquainting King *William* with their Reſolutions of Defence, and imploring a ſpeedy Aſſiſtance. Several Attacks were made by the Beſiegers, and as many Sallies by the Beſieged, in both which the latter had always the Advantage; and they would have had leſs Reaſon to fear either the Numbers or Rage of their Enemies without, if they had not had the more cruel ones of Famine and Sickneſs within.

K. *James* retires to *Dublin*. Makes a *Speech* to the *Parliament*.

On *Apr.* 29. King *James* retir'd from the Camp to meet his Parliament at *Dublin*,(a) where on *May* 7. he made a Speech, wherein he told 'em, "That "the Exemplary Loyalty which that Nation ex- "preſs'd to him, at a Time when others of his "Subjects ſo undutifully miſbehaved themſelves to "him, or ſo baſely betrayed him; and their ſecond- "ing his Deputy as they did, in this bold and re- "ſolute aſſerting his Right, in preſerving that King- "dom for him, and putting it in a Poſture of De- "fence, made him reſolute to come to them and "to venture his Life with them in Defence of their "Liberties and his own Right: That to his great "Satisfaction he had not only found them ready to "ſerve him, but that their Courage had equall'd "their Zeal: That he had always been for *Liberty* "*of Conſcience*, and againſt invading any Man's "Right or Liberty, having ſtill in Mind that Saying "of Holy Writ, *Do as you would be done to, for* "*this is the Law and the Prophets*: That it was "this *Liberty of Conſcience* he gave, which his Ene- "mies, both at Home and Abroad, dreaded to have "Eſtabliſhed by Law in all his Dominions, and made "them ſet themſeves up againſt him, though for "different Reaſons; ſeeing that if he had once ſettled "it, his People (in the Opinion of the one) would "have been too happy, and (in the Opinion of the "other) too great: That this Argument was made "uſe of to perſwade their own People to join with "them, and ſo many of his Subjects, to uſe him "as they had done; but nothing ſhould ever per- "ſwade him to change his Mind as to that; and "whereſoever he was Maſter, he deſign'd, GOD "willing, to eſtabliſh it by Law, and have no other "*Teſt* or *Diſtinction* but that of *Loyalty*, expecting "their Concurrence in ſo Chriſtian a Work, and in "making Laws againſt Prophaneneſs and againſt all "ſorts of Debauchery: That he ſhould moſt readily "conſent to the making ſuch good wholeſome Laws "as might be for the Good of the Nation, the Im- "provement of Trade, and relieving ſuch as had "been injur'd by the late *Act of Settlement*, as far "forth as might be conſiſtent with Reaſon, Juſtice, "and the publick Good of his People: That as he "ſhould do his Part to make them Happy and "Rich, he made no doubt of their Aſſiſtance, by "enabling him to oppoſe the unjuſt Deſigns of his "Enemies, and to make that Nation flouriſh: That "to encourage them the more to it, they knew with "how great Generoſity and Kindneſs, the *Moſt* "*Chriſtian King* gave ſure Retreat to the *Queen, his* "*Son, and Himſelf*, when they were forc'd out of "*England*, and came to ſeek for Protection and "Safety in his Kingdoms; how he embrac'd his "Intereſt, and gave him ſuch Supplies of all Sorts, "as enabled him to come to them, which without "his obliging Aſſiſtance he could not have done; "and that this he did at a time when he had ſo ma- "ny conſiderable Enemies to deal with, and ſtill "continued ſo to do. His Majeſty concluded as he "had began, and aſſured them, he was as ſenſible "as they could deſire, of the ſignal Loyalty they had "expreſs'd to him; and that he ſhould make it his

(a) As ſoon as King *James* arrived at *Dublin*, the *Iriſh* Popiſh Biſhops and Clergy, as Biſhop *Tyrrel*, Dr. *Moore*, and others, advis'd him to conſider his Catholick Subjects of that Kingdom, for all their Sufferings, and to reſtore them the Churches and Poſſeſſions uſurp'd from them by the *Engliſh*; and Monſieur *D' Avaux* at his publick Audience, deſir'd Him in his Maſter's Name, to ſhew diſtinguiſhing Marks of his Favour to his Catholick Subjects. Immediately all the Proteſtants, who had Employments were commanded to lay them down. Not one of that Religion was allowed to ſit in Council or bear Arms. The Lord *Grenard*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating*, who had gone great Lengths in *Tyrconnel*'s Time, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Thomas Newcomen*, Colonel *Ruſſel*, &c, were ſet aſide, and none permitted to hold any Place but *Papiſts*.

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"chief Study, as it had always been, to make "(*a*) them and all his Subjects happy.

This Speech being ended, and the King withdrawn, Sir *Richard Neagle*, Attorney-General, who was choſen *Speaker* of the *Commons*, extoll'd to that Houſe, "Their great Obligations to the King of "*France*, and recommended it as very proper for "both Houſes to return his Majeſty Thanks for his "gracious Speech, and to deſire Count *D' Avaux* "to do the ſame to his *Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* on "their behalf for his generous Aſſiſtance". Theſe "Addreſſes were drawn up and preſented accordingly; and then a Bill was brought in containing *a Recognition of the King's Title, and an Abhorrence of the Prince of* Orange's *Uſurpation, and Defection of the* Engliſh. The next Day the King publiſhed a *Declaration* to all his loving Subjects in the Kingdom of *England*, promiſing a full Pardon to all his Subjects, if in Twenty-four Days after his Appearance in Perſon among them, they would return to their Obedience, by deſerting his Enemies, and joining with him: And then he concludes, *But if after this our gracious Condeſcenſion, they ſhall yet continue to aſſiſt our Enemies and Rebels, We do, before* GOD, *charge all the Blood which ſhall be afterward ſhed, upon them and their Adherents; and We doubt not, by the Bleſſing of* GOD *upon our Arms, to force the moſt obſtinate to their Duty; tho' as We have made appear in reducing our rebellious Subjects in this Kingdom, We deſire to uſe no other than* Lenity *and* Mercy.

Act of Settlement repeal'd.

On *May* 12. A *Bill* was brought into the *Houſe of Commons* by Chief Juſtice *Nugent*, for Repealing the (*b*) *Act of Settlement*, which, without any Oppoſition, was read three Times and ſent to the *Lords*. In the Upper Houſe the Biſhop of *Meath* very learnedly argued againſt the *Bill*, alledging, amongſt other Objections, "That no Penalty was provided on ſuch "as enter'd Eſtates without Injunctions; nor Con- "ſiderations for Improvements; nor Saving for Re- "mainders; nor Time given to Tenants and Poſ- "ſeſſors to remove their Stock and Corn; nor Pro- "viſions for Proteſtant Widows; and that it al- "low'd only Repriſals for Original Purchaſe-Mo- "ney, which was hard to make out, and was an "Injury to the Second or Third Purchaſer." But notwithſtanding the Validity of theſe Reaſons, back'd by an Addreſs to King *James* from Judge *Keating*, in Behalf of the Purchaſers under the Act of Settlement; and notwithſtanding His Majeſty's Anſwer to *Keating*, *That he would not do Evil, that Good might come on't*; yet Chancellor *Fitton*'s Arguments prevail'd, and the Bill receiv'd the Royal Aſſent, and paſs'd into an Act. Nor indeed could it be expected otherwiſe, the Majority of both Houſes conſiſting of *Roman-Catholicks*, on whom K. *James* had his ſole Dependance, and who were the Sons and Deſcendants of thoſe Perſons that had forfeited their Eſtates for their bloody Rebellion in 1641.

Act of Attainder.

To give ſtill a more fatal Blow, there was an Act of Attainder paſs'd in Parliament; in order to which, every Member of the Houſe of Commons return'd the Names of all ſuch Proteſtant Gentlemen as lived near them, or in the County or Borough for which they ſerv'd. When this Bill was preſented to the King for his Aſſent, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons told him, *That many were attainted in that Act upon ſuch Evidence as ſatisfied the Houſe, and the reſt upon Common Fame.* In this black Act, there were no fewer attainted than Two Archbiſhops, One Duke, Seventeen Earls, Seven Counteſſes, Twenty eight Viſcounts, Two Viſcounteſſes, Seven Biſhops, Eighteen Barons, Thirty three Baronets, Fifty one Knights, Eighty three Clergymen, Two Thouſand One Hundred Eighty two Eſquires and Gentlemen; and all of them (unheard) *declar'd Traytors, and adjudg'd to ſuffer the Pains of Death and Forfeiture.* The famous *Proſcription* at *Rome*, during the laſt *Triumvirate*, came not up in ſome Reſpects to the Horrors of this; for there were condemn'd in this little Kingdom, more than double the Number that were *proſcrib'd* thro' the vaſt Extent of the *Roman* Empire. And to make this of *Ireland* yet the more terrible and unavoidable, the Act it ſelf was conceal'd, and no Proteſtant allow'd a Copy of it till Four Months after it was paſs'd; whereas in that of *Rome*, the Names of the Perſons *proſcrib'd* were affix'd upon all the Publick Places of the City, the very Day the Proſcription was decreed; and thereby Opportunity was given to many to preſerve themſelves by a ſpeedy Flight. This *Anti-Parliament*, (if I may ſo call it) after they had made ſome other Acts, (and amongſt the reſt, one for *Liberty of Conſcience*) was prorogued on the 20th of *July*, to the 12th of *January* enſuing; and ſo ended this Seſſion, whoſe Proceeding occaſion'd no leſs Diſturbance in the Kingdom of *Ireland* than the War it ſelf.

Inſolence of Popery in Ireland.

It was not thought enough that *Tyrconnel* had ſtopp'd the Maintenance of the Univerſity of *Dublin*, but upon King *James*'s Arrival, the Vice-Preſident, Fellows and Scholars, were all further proceeded againſt, and turn'd out, their Furniture, Library and Communion-Plate ſeiz'd, and every Thing that belong'd to the College, and to the Private Fellows and Scholars, taken away. All this was done, notwithſtanding that when they waited upon King *James* at his firſt coming to *Dublin*, he was pleas'd to promiſe them, *That he would preſerve them in their Liberties and Properties, and rather augment than diminiſh their Privileges and Immunities, that had been granted them by his Predeceſſors.* In the Houſe they put a Gariſon, and turn'd the Chapel into a Magazine, and the Chambers into Priſons for Proteſtants. One *More* (a Popiſh Prieſt) was made Provoſt, and one *Mackarty* (alſo a Prieſt) Library-Keeper; and the whole deſign'd for them and their Fraternity. One Archbiſhoprick, ſeveral Biſhopricks, and a great many other Dignities and Livings of the Church were deſignedly kept vacant, and the Revenues firſt paid into the *Exchequer*, and afterwards diſpos'd of to Titular Biſhops and Prieſts; while in the mean Time the Cures lay neglected; ſo that it appear'd plainly, that the Deſign was to deſtroy the Succeſſion of the Proteſtant Clergymen. At length Things came to that Height, that moſt of the Churches in and about *Dublin* were ſeiz'd upon by the Government; and *Lutterel*, Governor of that City, iſſued out his Order, commanding *all Proteſtants, who were not Houſe-keepers, to depart out of the ſaid City; and all ſuch as were Houſe-*

(*a*) There was publiſh'd, "King *James*'s Declaration to all "his Loving Subjects in the Kingdom of *England*. Given at "*Dublin*-Caſtle, the 8th of *May*, 1689." Declaring, That *in* Ireland *he had taken Care that his Subjects of the Church of* England *be not diſturb'd in the Exerciſe of their Religion——And that Proteſtant Diſſenters enjoy the Liberty of their Conſciences;——* And promiſing to *purſue the ſame Methods in* England, &c. *See an Anſwer to the late King* James's *Declaration to all his Pretended Subjects in the Kingdom of* England. *Dated at* Dublin-*Caſtle*, May 8. 1689. Order'd by a Vote of the Right Hon. *Houſe of Commons* to be *burnt by the Common Hangman.* Printed for D. *Newman*, 1689. 4to.

(*b*) The Act of Settlement was indeed the *Magna Charta* of the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, and the true Baſis of their Liberties and Properties: And therefore the King, in his Speech, firſt open'd the Deſign of Repealing that Act on *May* the 7th. And *May* 10. we find it mov'd in the Houſe, "That nothing could "be more advantageous to the King and Country, than to de- "ſtroy the Horrid Barbarous Act of Settlement; and whoſo- "ever ſhall alledge the contrary, ſhall be deem'd an Enemy "to both." Thereafter we find it mov'd by one of the wor- "thy Members of that Parliament, "That the Act of Settle- "ment ſhould be publickly burnt by the Common Hangman." See *Anſwer to King* James's *Declaration*, 1689. 4to.

Keepers,

keepers, to deliver up their Arms, both Offenſive and Defenſive ; and likewiſe forbidding above Five Proteſtants meeting any where, upon Pain of Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment as a Court-Martial ſhould think fit. (a) The Governor being ask'd, Whether this was deſign'd to hinder Meeting in Churches ? He anſwer'd, This was deſign'd to prevent their Aſſembling there, as well as in other Places : And accordingly, all the Proteſtant Churches were ſhut up throughout the whole Kingdom.

Progreſs of the Siege of *Londonderry.*

The Siege of *Londonderry* was carry'd on with the utmoſt Efforts, and the Place reduc'd to the laſt Extremity, when (about the Middle of *June*) Major-General *Kirke*, with a Squadron from *England*, with Men, Proviſion and Arms, came into the *Lough* ; but, for above Six Weeks, lay there at a Diſtance, not able to reach and relieve the Town. In the mean Time, Major *Baker* died on *June* the 20th, to the great Loſs and Grief of the Beſieged : And on the other Hand, Monſieur *de Roſe*, the *French* General, came in Perſon to command the *Iriſh* Camp, much to the Encouragement of the Beſiegers. When the Gariſon was brought to the Neceſſity of feeding upon Horſe-Fleſh, Dogs, Cats, Rats and Mice, Tallow, Starch, Dry'd and Salted Hides, Lieutenant-General *Hamilton* ſent ſome plauſible Offers to 'em, for a Temptation to ſurrender ; but they unanimouſly reſolv'd to eat the *Iriſh*, and then one another, rather than yield : And their Anſwer to *Hamilton*, was, *That they much wonder'd he ſhould expect they ſhould place any Confidence in him, that had ſo unworthily broke his Faith with King* William *their Sovereign : That he was once generouſly truſted, tho' an Enemy, and yet betray'd his Truſt ; and they could not believe he had learn'd more Sincerity in an* Iriſh *Camp.*

This bold Anſwer ſo enrag'd the *French* General, that he publiſh'd an Order, directed to the Governors and Gariſon of *Londonderry*, importing, *That if they did not deliver the Town to him by the Firſt of* July, *according to Lieutenant-General* Hamilton's *Propoſals, he would diſpatch his Orders as far as* Bali-Shanny, Charlemont, Belfaſt, *and the Barony of* Iniſhoven, *and plunder all Proteſtants that were either related to the Gariſon, or of their Faction ; and then drive 'em under the Walls of their Town, where they ſhould be ſuffer'd to ſtarve :* But the Beſieged receiv'd this Letter with the ſame Contempt and Indignation as they had done *Hamilton*'s Propoſals. The News of this Order being brought to *Dublin*, the Biſhop of *Meath* humbly apply'd himſelf to King *James*, to prevent the Execution of it. His Majeſty told that Prelate, *That he had heard of the Order before, and had already countermanded it : That General* Roſe *was a Foreigner, and had been uſed to ſuch Proceedings as were ſtrange to us, tho' common in other Places ; and that if he had been his own Subject, he would have call'd him to an Account for it.* But in Spite of Royal Clemency, about Seven Thouſand poor Proteſtants were brought under the Walls of *Londonderry*, where they muſt have famiſh'd, if the Gariſon had not erected a Gallows in View of the Beſiegers, threatning to hang all the Priſoners they had taken during the Siege, by way of Repriſal. This Sight of the Gallows, and an importunate Letter of the Priſoners who were to ſuffer, did at laſt prevail upon *Hamilton* ; ſo that on the 4th of *July*, the poor half-ſtarv'd Proteſtants had Leave to return Home : And this Stratagem prov'd only to the Benefit of the Gariſon, who crowded Five Hundred of their uſeleſs People among the naked Proteſtants under the Walls, who paſs'd undiſtinguiſh'd with them ; and in Exchange they got ſome able and ſtrong Men out of their Numbers.

Deplorable Eſtate of the Town.

By this Time, the Scarcity of the vileſt Eatables was increas'd to ſuch a Degree, that they began to be afraid of the Neceſſity of preying upon one another : And it is remarkable, that a certain Gentleman, who was young and corpulent, thought himſelf mark'd out for a Meal to the gaping Soldiers ; and therefore thought fit to hide himſelf for Three Days. Under this diſmal Scene of Deſpair, Mr. *Walker* (the Governor) remember'd himſelf to be a Divine as well as a Military Commander, and therefore preach'd in the Cathedral before the Gariſon ; and *reminded them of the many Inſtances of the Divine Providence, ſhown to them ſince the Beginning of the Siege ; and endeavour'd to aſſure them, That if they plac'd their Confidence in* GOD, *he would not, after ſo miraculous a Preſervation of them, ſuffer them to fall into the Hands of their Enemies ; if they had but Faith and Courage, they need not doubt a ſpeedy Deliverance.* This Diſcourſe ſeem'd to come not only from a Chriſtian Zeal, but ev'n from a Spirit of Prophecy ; for about an Hour after Sermon, the Gariſon diſcover'd Three Ships, which Major-General *Kirke* had ſent to their Relief. The *Montjoy* of *Derry*, commanded by Captain *Browning*, and the *Phenix* of *Colrain* by Captain *Douglas*, being both loaden with Proviſion, were convoy'd by the *Dartmouth* Frigot : And after a furious firing from the Enemy on both Sides the River, and the great Difficulty of breaking and paſſing the *Bomb*, they did at laſt get up to the City ; and brought unſpeakable Joy and Tranſport to a Gariſon, which reckon'd only upon Two Days Life, having nothing left but Nine lean Horſes, and a Pint of Meal to each Man. This brave and ſucceſsful Undertaking ſo diſcourag'd the Enemy, that on the laſt of *July* they rais'd the (b) Siege in the Night-time with great Confuſion, and in their Retreat made a miſerable Havock of the Countrey. The Gariſon of *Iniskillin*, under the Command of *Guſtavus Hamilton*, Eſq; had ſignaliz'd themſelves in many deſperate Rencounters : And the Day before the Siege of *Derry* was rais'd, they advanc'd near Twenty Miles to meet a Body of about Six Thouſand *Iriſh*, upon their March, under the Command of Major-General *Mackarty* ; and at a Place call'd *Newton Butler* fought and routed 'em, took *Mackarty* Priſoner, and kill'd and drown'd nigh Three Thouſand of them, tho' themſelves were not above Two Thouſand in all ; and loſt not above Twenty Men, with about Fifty wounded. In the mean Time King *William* and the *Engliſh* Parliament were ſenſible of the great Importance of the Reduction of *Ireland* ; and there were Eighteen Regiments of Foot, and Five of Horſe, rais'd for that Service with good Expedition ; but the providing Ships to tranſport 'em, a Train of Artillery to attend 'em, and Proviſions to maintain 'em, was manag'd with great Slowneſs, and ſupine Negligence. This Fault was charg'd on Mr. *Harbord*, who (out of Avarice) had engroſs'd to himſelf the Two Offices of Paymaſter and Purveyor-General of the Army, till the Duke of *Schomberg* prevail'd with him to reſign that of Purveyor to Mr. *Shales*. The News of raiſing the Siege of

The Siege rais'd.

Iniskillin Men.

(a) See a Letter from the Biſhops, to be ſent along with His Majeſty's Letters Patents for a General Collection, toward Relief of the Proteſtants who have been forc'd to fly from *Ireland*, driven from their Houſes and Poſſeſſions by the Enemies of our Religion and Country ; and therefore exciting the People to a Liberal Charity. Subſcribed, *Tho. Ebor. H. London. P. Wincheſter. W. Aſaph. Gi. Sarum.* Printed Half-Sheet.

(b) See a *True Account of the Siege of* Londonderry, *by the Reverend Mr.* George Walker, *Rector of* Douagh Moore *in the County of* Tyrone, *and late Governor of* Derry *in* Ireland. *Licenſed by Command of the Earl of* Shrewsbury, Sept. 13. 1689. *Dedicated to King* William *and Queen* Mary. —— "I thank "God I have this double Comfort, in the Teſtimony of a good "Conſcience, and your Majeſties Gracious Acceptance of the "poor Services God enabled me to do for your Majeſties Intereſt, and the Safety of thoſe Proteſtants whom the Fury of "the *Papiſts* drove into *Londonderry*. Nor am I more pleas'd "with your Majeſties Royal Bounty to me, (much above, not "only my Merit, but Expectation) than with your Majeſties "Tenderneſs for my poor Fellow-Sufferers and Partners, &c.

1689. I *W. M.*

Londonderry, put new Life into this long-depending Expedition; and many of the new Levies began to be ſhipp'd off at *Cheſter* and *Leverpoole*: And General *Schonberg* having obtain'd Leave of the Lords on *July* 16. to apply himſelf to the Commons, he return'd that Honourable Houſe his grateful Acknowledgments, both for the great Reſpects and large Donative he had receiv'd from them; and preſently after began his Journey toward *Cheſter*. On *Aug.* 12. he ſail'd from thence with about Ninety Veſſels of all ſorts, and near Ten Thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot; and on the next Day, after Noon, he arriv'd in the Bay of *Carrick-Fergus*, where the Army preſently landed on *Bangor*-ſide, without Oppoſition. After ſending out ſome Parties for Intelligence, he march'd his Forces to *Belfaſt*, which the Enemy had quitted, retiring to *Carrick-Fergus*, and where ſeveral Perſons join'd him that durſt not declare before. On *Aug.* 22. Duke *Schonberg* began the Siege of *Carrick-Fergus*; and in Four Days time made ſuch conſiderable Breaches, and was ſo ready for a general Aſſault, that the Gariſon was contented to accept what Conditions he pleas'd to offer; which were, "To "be conducted with their Arms, and as much Bag-"gage as they could carry on their Backs, to the "next *Iriſh* Gariſon, which was *Newry*." In the mean time the reſt of the Horſe, Foot and Dragoons, which, for want of Tranſport-Ships, had ſtaid behind, were embark'd at *Highlake*, and ſafely landed in *Ireland*; but the Artillery and Horſes belonging to them were ſtill at *Cheſter*. The Duke ſent over his Orders for the greateſt Part of the Train of Artillery to be ſhipp'd, and the Fleet to ſail with 'em, and all other Neceſſaries to *Carlingford-Bay*, while he march'd on his Army beyond *Liſburn*, and ſo thro' *Hillsborough*, and pitch'd his Camp at *Drummore*; and the next Day continu'd his March to *Loughbritaine*, where the *Iniskillin* Horſe and Dragoons join'd him, and chearfully offer'd themſelves to be an Advance-Guard to the Army. Upon this Approach, the *Iriſh* abandon'd *Newry*, a very ſtrong Paſs, having firſt ſet Fire to the Town; which News being brought to the General, he diſpatch'd a Trumpeter to the Duke of *Berwick*, who commanded there, to acquaint him, *That if they went on to burn in this barbarous manner, he would not give any Quarter.* This Meſſage had ſo good effect, that the *Iriſh* abandon'd *Dundalk*, without doing any harm to the Town; and Duke *Schonberg* march'd thither, and encamp'd his Army, who were here well refreſh'd, and on *Sept.* 9. reinforc'd by Three Regiments of Major-General *Kirk*, Sir *John Hanmore*, and Brigadier *Stewart*. The Duke deſign'd to have continu'd his Progreſs, but the Fleet with the Train of Artillery failing to come up in time to *Carlingford*, according to his Directions, was a great Diſappointment to him; ſo that he continu'd in an uncertain Poſture, till *September* 20. when he received Advice, That King *James* having gather'd all his Forces near *Drogheda*, advanc'd towards him. The Day following, the Army of King *James* appear'd in Order of Battel, and a great Party of their Horſe advanc'd towards the Intrenchments of the *Engliſh* Camp. Several of our Officers were for an immediate Engagement, but *Schonberg* told them, *Let them alone, we ſhall ſee what they will do*; and when he ſaw their whole Body drawing within Cannon-ſhot of his Camp, yet he ſaid ſtill, *He could not believe they deſign'd to Fight*. However, one Day ſeeing them form their Army into two Lines, he order'd his Foot to ſtand to their Arms, and his Horſe to return to the Camp upon a certain Signal. The Soldiers, who were already ſtruggling with Diſeaſes and Want in their Tents, receiv'd theſe Orders with great Chearfulneſs; but in a little Time the *Iriſh* drew off, and march'd away. Tho' the *Engliſh* Army were impatient to fight, yet General *Schonberg* ſeem'd wiſely to conſider, that the Enemy was much ſuperior in Horſe; that his own Men were undiſciplin'd, and weakned by Hunger and Sickneſs, while the other Army was in Health and Plenty; and that the Loſs of a Battel might be attended with the Loſs of *Ireland*. Beſides, he diſcover'd a dangerous Conſpiracy in his own Camp, carried on by ſome *French* Papiſts who had liſted themſelves in the Proteſtant Regiments of that Nation. A Captain of one of theſe Regiments being informed, that Four of theſe Soldiers, and a Drummer, who were *Roman Catholicks*, deſign'd to go over to the Enemy, he caus'd them to be ſecur'd, and found Letters about one of them to Monſieur *d'Avaux*. Upon ſtricter Examination, the Fellow declared, he had the Letters from one *du Pleſſis*, likewiſe a Papiſt, who now ſerv'd as a private Soldier in one of the *French* Regiments, tho' he had formerly been a Captain of Horſe in *France*, from whence he was forc'd to retire for Murther. *Du Pleſſis* being ſeiz'd, ingenuouſly confeſs'd, That he had written to King *James*, and to the *French* Ambaſſador, and acquainted them, that there were divers Papiſts in the Three *French* Regiments, whom he promis'd to bring over to the *Iriſh* Camp, upon Condition he might have the Command of them, and his Pardon in *France*. He and his Five Accomplices were thereupon brought to their Trial, ſentenc'd to Death by a Council of War, and accordingly executed; after which the *French* Colonels made ſtrict Enquiry, what Papiſts there were in their Regiments, and found about 250, who, by Order of the General, were ſecur'd, diſarm'd, and ſent over Priſoners into *England*, and from thence to *Holland*, where they were ſet at Liberty.

Duke of *Schonberg* goes toward *Ireland*.

Iriſh offer to fall upon the *Engliſh* Camp.

Treachery of the *French* Papiſts.

The *Engliſh* Army ſuffer'd extremely much from a raging Sickneſs of Gripes and Flux, occaſion'd by the Dampneſs of the Place, the Badneſs of the Weather, and ill Proviſions, which ſwept away a great Number of brave Officers. Among the reſt there died Sir *Edward Deering*, a Gallant Gentleman, who had contributed more than any Man in the County of *Kent*, towards the bringing about the Happy Revolution; Colonel *Henry Wharton*, a bold, briſk, and brave Man, Brother to the preſent Lord *Wharton*; Sir *Thomas Gower*, and Colonel *Hungerford*, two young Gentlemen of diſtinguiſh'd Merit. Of common Soldiers there periſh'd above Two thouſand, and as many Sick were ſhipp'd off to be tranſported to *Belfaſt*; but of them not above Eleven hundred came aſhoar, the reſt dying at Sea. Nay, ſo great was the Mortality, that by the Beginning of the following Year, near Two thirds of the Army that were tranſported over, were entirely loſt.

Great Sufferings of the *Engliſh* Army.

The *Engliſh* Parliament, in purſuance of their late Adjournment, met at *Weſtminſter*, on *Friday Sept.* 20. when his Majeſty ſignify'd his Pleaſure to both Houſes, that they ſhould farther Adjourn to the 19th of *Octob.* next; and that he intended they ſhould then ſit, whereof he had order'd Notice to be given by Proclamation; which was accordingly publiſh'd on *Sept.* 26. and on (a) *Saturday*

Meeting of the *Parliament*

Octob.

2

(a) On the 18th of *October* 1689, a Miniſter of State received a Letter from the Aſſizes held by Adjournment at *Mancheſter*; by which he was intreated to adviſe the Council, *That many of the Roman Catholick younger Gentry, ſome of good Quality, were abſconded for ſome Months; That to ſome of the Gentlemen now abſconded, there had been ſent from* London *ſeveral Boxes with ſcarlet Cloaks, Piſtols and Swords, directed for ſafer Conveyance to Proteſtants, who knew nothing of them; and by that means diſcover'd, that ſome had been modelling Officers and Men, Preparatory to their Hope of an Invaſion or Inſurrection: That tho' the Goals were full of* Iriſh *Papiſts, yet many were entertain'd* [illegible] *Popiſh Houſes*, &c. The Correſpondence which the late King enter-

1689. *Octob.* 19. the King came to the Houſe of Lords,
1 *W. M.* and made this Gracious Speech on the Occaſion of their Meeting.

King's Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen ;

"THough the laſt Sitting continu'd ſo long, "that perhaps it might have been more a"greeable to you, in relation to your private Con"cerns, not to have met again ſo ſoon ; yet the "Intereſt of the Publick lays an indiſpenſable Obli"gation upon me to call you together at this "time.

"In your laſt Meeting you gave me ſo many "Teſtimonies of your Affection, as well as Con"fidence in me, that I do not at all queſtion, but "in this I ſhall receive freſh Proofs of both.

"I eſteem it one of the greateſt Misfortunes can "befall me, that in the Beginning of my Reign, "I am forc'd to ask ſuch large Supplies ; tho' I "have this Satisfaction, that they are deſir'd for "no other Purpoſes, but the carrying on thoſe "Wars, into which I enter'd with your Advice, "and Aſſurance of your Aſſiſtance. Nor can I "doubt of the Bleſſing of GOD upon an Under"taking, wherein I did not engage out of a vain "Ambition, but from the Neceſſity of oppoſing "thoſe who have ſo viſibly diſcover'd their Deſigns "of deſtroying our Religion and Liberties.

"It is well known how far I have expos'd my "ſelf to reſcue this Nation from the Dangers that "threatned not only your Liberty, but the Prote"ſtant Religion in general ; of which the Church "of *England* is one of the greateſt Supports, and "for the Defence whereof, I am ready again to "venture my Life.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"That which I have to ask of you at preſent "is, That what you think fit to give towards the "Charges of the War for this next Year, may be "done without delay. And there is one Reaſon "which more particularly obliges me to preſs you "to a ſpeedy Determination in this Matter, be"cauſe this next Month there is appointed, at the "*Hague*, a General Meeting of the Miniſters of all "the Princes and States concern'd in this War a"gainſt *France*, in order to concert the Meaſures "for the next Campaign : And till I know your In"tentions, I ſhall not only be uncertain my ſelf "what Reſolution to take ; but our Allies will "be under the ſame Doubts, unleſs they ſee me "ſupported by your Aſſiſtance. Beſides, if I know "not in time what you will do, I cannot make "ſuch Proviſions as will be requiſite ; but ſhall be "expos'd to the ſame Inconveniences the next Year, "which were the Cauſe that the Preparations for "this were neither ſo effectual nor expeditious "as was neceſſary. The Charge will alſo be con"ſiderably leſſen'd, by giving time to provide "things in their proper Seaſon, and without Con"fuſion.

"I have no other Aim in this, but to be in a "Condition to attack our Enemies in ſo vigorous a "manner, as by the Help of GOD, in a little "time may bring us to a laſting and honourable "Peace ; by which my Subjects may be freed from "the extraordinary Expences of a lingring War : "And that I can have no greater Satisfaction than in "contributing to their Eaſe, I hope I have already "given Proof.

"That you may be ſatisfy'd how the Money "has been laid out, which you have already given, "I have directed the Accounts to be laid before "you, whenever you think fit to call for them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have one thing more to recommend to you, "which is, the Diſpatch of a Bill of Indemnity ; "that the Minds of my good Subjects being quiet"ed, we may all unanimouſly concur to promote "the Welfare and Honour of the Kingdom.

After a ſhort Prorogation, both Houſes met again on *Wedneſday Octob.* 23. when the King came, and was pleas'd to ſpeak to both Houſes to this Effect : *That he having ſpoken to them ſo lately, he need not ſay any thing to 'em now, Matters having not been alter'd ſince that Time ; and therefore he referr'd 'em to what he had ſaid to 'em when he was laſt there, and deſired they would be ſpeedy in their Reſolutions.* Then both Houſes went into a Conſideration of his Majeſty's Speech ; and both Houſes return'd their Thanks ; the Commons reſolving to ſtand by and aſſiſt his Majeſty in reducing *Ireland*, and joining with his Allies abroad in a vigorous Proſecution of the War againſt *France*. It is remarkable, That this Speech, which met with univerſal Applauſe, was compoſed by the King himſelf, who, the Day before, produc'd it to the Council, written with his own Hand ; telling 'em, *He knew moſt of his Predeceſſors were us'd to commit the drawing up of ſuch Speeches to their Miniſters, who generally had their private Aims and Intereſts in view ; to prevent which, he had thought fit to write it himſelf in* French, *becauſe he was not ſo great a Maſter of the* Engliſh *Tongue : Therefore he deſired them to look it over, and change what they found amiſs, that it might be tranſlated into* Engliſh. At the ſame Council, the Marquis of *Haliſax* declar'd, That for ſeveral Reaſons which he forbore to mention, he muſt deſire to be excus'd from doing the Office of Speaker in the Houſe of Lords ; which was readily granted him, and Sir *Robert Atkins*, Lord Chief-Baron, ſupply'd his Place.

King's Speech at their next Meeting.

On *October* 26. The Commons reſolv'd, That the Earl of *Peterborough* and Earl of *Saliſbury* ſhould be impeach'd of High-Treaſon, for departing from their Allegiance, and being reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome* ; and order'd, That Sir *Edw. Hales* and *Obadiah Walker*, be committed to the *Tower* for High-Treaſon, in being reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*, and for other High Crimes and Miſdemeanors. And on *October* 28. the Earl of *Caſtlemain* was remanded to the *Tower* for the ſame Reaſon : But the Benefit of *Habeas-Corpus* was granted to the Lords *Preſton* and *Forbes*, and Sir *John Fenwick*, upon ſufficient Bail ; and Mr. Baron *Jenner* had a Week's Time to anſwer the Matters laid to his Charge, and in the mean time, was only to continue in the Cuſtody of a Serjeant at Arms. The ſame eaſy Confinement was alſo granted to Mr. *Graham* and Mr. *Burton*, the Two great Exactors and Oppreſſors in the late Reign. And tho' it was reſolved by the Commons, *That a Bill be brought in for inflicting Pains and Penalties upon ſuch Perſons as have been the Occaſion of the violating the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, in the Two late Reigns* ; yet nothing was inflicted upon any of 'em : But ſoon after, the Attorney-General was order'd to bring in a Bill of *Indemnity*, in ſuch ample Manner, as might anſwer his Majeſty's Gracious Intentions and Clemency ; while the King order'd the Account of the Expences of the

Reſolution of the Commons againſt Apoſtates to Popery.

entertain'd with the Papiſts in *Lancaſhire*, was manag'd by one *Bromfield*, a Quaker, who liv'd at *Redland*, near *Cheſter*, in the Houſe of one *Wilſon*, who was engag'd in the Conſpiracy. But upon Suſpicion, the firſt fled to *Ireland*, and the ſecond abſconded in *Lancaſhire*. After them, the Management of the Intrigue was commited to *Gordon*, *Lunt*, and *Thrillſal*, who came from *Ireland* with Declarations and Commiſſions from King *James*, to the Papiſts in ſeveral Counties, *&c.* See *the Hiſtory of the late Conſpiracy againſt the King and the Nation. With a particular Account of the* Lancaſhire *Plot*, &c. *London*, 1696. 8vo.

1689.
1 *W. M.*

Reſolution of a Supply.

laſt Summer, and of the State of the War for the enſuing Year, to be laid before them: Who having peruſed the ſame, unanimouſly voted, That for thoſe Purpoſes, a *Supply ſhou'd be given to their Majeſties, not exceeding the Sum of* Twenty hundred thouſand Pounds, *to be added to the Publick Revenue.* (a.)

Reſolution againſt Colonel *Ludlow*;

On *Nov.* 6th, the Commons reſolved, That an Humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to iſſue out *a Proclamation for the apprehending Colonel* Ludlow, *who ſtands attainted of High-Treaſon, by Act of Parliament, for the Murther of* K. Charles I. *And that his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to propoſe a Reward to ſuch as ſhall apprehend him.* The King comply'd with this Addreſs, and publiſh'd his Proclamation to that Effect, on *Nov.* 14th, which was known to be after his ſafe Arrival in *Holland* with the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, from whence he return'd to his Retirement at *Vevay*, a ſmall Town in the County of *Vaux* in *Switzerland*, where he liv'd to a great Age, and left behind him thoſe *Memoirs* which have been ſince publiſh'd, and do apparently ſhew that he was one of the *pure Republicans*, and as much an Enemy to *Cromwel*, as to his Lawful King. On the ſame Day, it was Reſolv'd, *That a Bill be brought in, for the Forfeiture of the Eſtate and Honour of* George *late Lord* Jeffreys (*late Lord Chancellor of* England;) and it was recommended to Colonel *Tipping* to take Care of it. And, for a farther Terror to all the late *Inſtruments* of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, the Houſe agreed, on the 8th of *November*, "That the Pecuniary Penalties incurr'd by all Privy Counſellors, Lords-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Militia-Officers, Juſtices of the Peace, and by any other Perſons who had accepted or exercis'd any Office, or Place of Profit, either Military or Civil, (other than ſuch as are now Officers in their Majeſties Army or Fleet) contrary to an Act of 25 *Car.* II. [Entitl'd, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants*] ſhou'd be ſpeedily levy'd, and apply'd to the Publick Service." And the Lords, in the mean Time, appointed a Committee, "To examine, who were the *Adviſers* and *Proſecutors* of the *Murders* of the Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sidney*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, Mr. *Corniſh*, and others; and who were the Adviſers of iſſuing out Writs of *Quo Warranto's* againſt Corporations, and who were their Regulators; and alſo, who were the publick Aſſerters of the Diſpenſing Power."

And againſt the Inſtruments of Popery and Arbitrary Power.

Dr. *Walker* has Thanks and a Gratuity, for his great Services.

On *Monday Nov.* 18th, on a Petition of Doctor *Walker*, it was reſolv'd by the Commons, "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, That he would pleaſe to diſtribute the Sum of Ten Thouſand Pounds among the Widows and Orphans of ſuch as were ſlain and died in the Siege of *London-Derry*, and among the Clergymen that were there." And on *Nov.* 19, Doctor *Walker* was call'd in, and Mr. *Speaker* gave him the Thanks of the Houſe; and deſir'd him, in the Name of the Houſe, to thank all thoſe who had ſerv'd under him at the Siege of *London-Derry*, in Defence of the ſaid Town.

1689.
1 *W. M.*

Complaints of ill Victualling the Navy.

On *Nov.* 23d, the Houſe being inform'd, That great Quantities of corrupt and unwholſome Victuals had been furniſh'd to the Navy, this laſt Summer, which had been the Occaſion, as was conceiv'd, of great Sickneſs and Mortality in the Fleet; and the ſame being atteſted by ſeveral Members of the Houſe, upon their own Knowledge: It was reſolved, "That Sir *John Parſons*, Sir *Richard Haddock*, Alderman *Sturt*, and Mr. *Nicholas Fenn*, Victuallers of the *Fleet*, ſhou'd be ſent for in the Cuſtody of the *Serjeant at Arms*, to anſwer to the ſaid Complaint." It was ſome Cover and Protection to 'em, that within few Days after, his Majeſty was pleas'd to appoint *Thomas Papillon*, *Simon Maine*, *John Agar*, *Humphrey Ayles*, and *James Howe*, Eſqrs; Commiſſioners for Victualling their Majeſties Navy.

While the Commons were enquiring into the Miſcarriages of *Ireland*, they found, by the Information of Dr. *Walker*, that they were chiefly owing to the Neglect of Mr. *Shales* (Purveyor-General to the Army,) by whoſe Default, Duke *Schonberg* had waited for Artillery, Horſes and Carriages, above a Month; that the Soldiers had all along wanted Bread, the Horſes Shoes and Provender, and the Surgeons proper Medicines for the Sick. Whereupon it was reſolved, *Nov.* 26th, "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, That Mr. *John Shales* (Commiſſary-General of the Proviſions for the Army in *Ireland*) be forthwith taken into Cuſtody, and all his Accompts, Papers and Stores ſecur'd, and that a fit Perſon be put i[n] his Place; and that his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to empower Duke *Schonberg* to do the ſame. On the next Day, Major *Wildman* acquainted the Houſe, That he had attended his Majeſty with that Addreſs: Who was pleas'd to give this Anſwer; *That he had ſome Time ſince taken Order therein, being inform'd of the ſaid Captain* Shales*'s Miſdemeanors in his Employment, and had written to the Duke of* Schonberg *for that Purpoſe*; a Copy of which Letter was brought to the Houſe, and there read: And that his Majeſty was pleas'd farther to add, *That he verily believ'd, what was deſir'd, was already effectually done; though the Wind being contrary, he had not as yet receiv'd any Account thereof from* Ireland.

Addreſs againſt Commiſſary *Shales*.

On *Nov.* 30th, Mr. Comptroller deliver'd this Meſſage from his Majeſty, in Writing:

(*a*) The Fifth of *November* being now become a Day of Double Bleſſing to this Church and Nation; there were drawn up by the Biſhops Additional Prayers, to be uſed together with thoſe appointed in the Service for the Fifth of *November*, with a new Collect and Goſpel in the Communion Service. Appointed by his Majeſty, *Whitehall*, *Octob.* 30. 1689. —— Yet ſome few of the Clergy declin'd to uſe the new Collect, or rather the new Clauſe in it, *Make us, we beſeech thee, truly thankful for this, and for all other thy great Mercies towards us; particularly for making this Day again Memorable, by a freſh Inſtance of thy Loving Kindneſs towards us; we bleſs thee for giving his preſent Majeſty a ſafe Arrival here, and for making all Oppoſition fall before him, till he became our King and Governor.* To the like Effect another Prayer after that for the Church Militant, as thankful for a double Deliverance on that Day. The wilful Omiſſion of thoſe Collects, or of the diſtinguiſhing Paragraphs in them, by thoſe of the Clergy who had taken the Oaths, and in all other Reſpects ſubmitted to the Government, was thought to be very diſingenuous and very ſcandalous. It was chiefly on this Occaſion that there was publiſh'd near the End of 1689. Reflections upon the Opinions of ſome Modern Divines, concerning the Nature of Government in General, and that of *England* in Particular, with an *Appendix*, concluding, That the Paſſive Obedience Men ought to repent of the Miſchiefs they had brought upon the Nation; for Eight ſeveral Reaſons, of which the laſt is, 8. They muſt repent, for that their Opinions at this Day are the Cauſes of the preſent Conſpiracies, Rebellions, and Treaſons againſt the Government, by which God has been pleas'd ſo graciouſly to ſecure our Liberty and Religion from the inevitable Ruin wherewith they were threatned. However, we have cauſe to bleſs God, that thoſe who are guilty of thoſe Sins, are but inconſiderable in their Numbers. And I ardently wiſh for them, they may once ſeriouſly enter into themſelves, and that by the Example of their Brethren, they may for Time to come employ all their Endeavours to make Reparation for the Miſchief and Scandal their Errors and Prejudices have in a great Meaſure brought both upon the Church and State. This excellent Treatiſe ſaid to be written by *P. A.* D. D. (I think Dr. *Peter Allix*) was put again into the firſt Volume of *State Tracts*, with the Copies of *Magna Charta*, and an Advertiſement concerning the Articles of the *Magna Charta* of King *John*, obſerving that theſe Articles were found in the Study of Biſhop *Warner*, late Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and were communicated (meaning the Original in Parchment) by a Gentleman of that Family (meaning Colonel *Lee*, neareſt Kinſman an Heir of Biſhop *Warner*) to Mr. *Geddes* (Chancellor of *Sarum*) and by him to the preſent Biſhop of *Saliſbury* (Dr. *Burnet*.)

WIL-

1689. 1 *W. M.*

WILLIAM R.

Meſſage of the King to the Commons.

"HIS Majeſty having already declar'd his Reſolutions to proſecute the War in *Ireland* "with the utmoſt Vigor, and being deſirous to uſe "the Means that may be moſt Satisfactory and Effectual in order to it; is graciouſly pleas'd, That "this Houſe do recommend a Number of Perſons, not exceeding Seven, to be commiſſion'd by "his Majeſty to take Care of the Proviſions, and "ſuch other Preparations as ſhall be neceſſary for "thrt Service.

"His Majeſty is farther pleas'd to let the Houſe "know, That upon Conſideration of the Addreſs "of the 11th of *November*, he gives them Leave "to nominate ſome Perſons to go over into *Ireland*, "to take an Account of the Number of the Army "there, and the State and Condition of it; who "ſhall receive his Majeſty's Orders accordingly. But on *Dec.* 2d, it was reſolv'd, "That this Houſe "doth humbly deſire to be excus'd from recommending any Perſons to his Majeſty, to be employ'd in the Service of *Ireland*; and humbly "leave it to his Majeſty's great Wiſdom, to nominate fit Perſons for that Service. And whereas "an Addreſs had been prepar'd, and preſented to "his Majeſty, That he wou'd pleaſe to let this "Houſe know, who recommended Commiſſary "*Shales* to his Majeſty, and adviſ'd his being employ'd? Mr. *Dolben* reported, That the Committee had attended his Majeſty with that Addreſs, and that his Majeſty was pleas'd to give this Anſwer: *Gentlemen, it is impoſſible for me to give you an Anſwer to this Queſtion.* On the ſame Day, Mr. *Speaker* attended his Majeſty at the *Banqueting-Houſe* in *Whitehall*, and preſented the Thanks of the Houſe to his Majeſty, for his moſt gracious Meſſage of *Saturday* laſt, with the Reſolution of the Houſe upon it. And his Majeſty was pleas'd to give this Anſwer: *Gentlemen, I ſhall take all the Care that may be, to carry on the War in* Ireland *with Vigor, and to employ ſuch Perſons as may be moſt proper for the Service; and I doubt not but that I ſhall have the Aſſiſtance of the Houſe of Commons, to carry it on in ſuch a Manner, as may be according to your Deſires, and my Intentions.*

The King's Anſwer to the Commons.

But the Complaints of Miſmanagement (*a*) were ſo great, that, on *Dec.* 14th, the Houſe reſolved, "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to lay before him the ill Conduct and Succeſs of our Affairs, in reference to *Ireland*, the Armies and Fleet: And humbly to deſire his Majeſty, That he will pleaſe to take it into his Conſideration, and in his Wiſdom to find out the "Authors of theſe Miſcarriages, and to appoint "Affairs to be manag'd by Perſons unſuſpected, "and more to the Safety of his Majeſty, and Satisfaction of his Subjects.

Acts paſſed.

On *Dec.* 16th, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and the Commons being ſent for up, he gave his Royal Aſſent to, (1.) *An Act, granting to their Majeſties an Aid of* Two Shillings in the Pound, *for One Year.* (2.) *An Act for declaring the* Rights of the Subject, *and* Settling *the* Succeſſion of the Crown. (3.) *An Act for naturalizing* William Watts *an Infant.* (4.) *An Act for declaring* John Rogerſon *to be a natural born Subject of this Realm.* The Commons returning to their Houſe, deſir'd Mr. *Speaker* to print his Speech made this Day to his Majeſty, upon preſenting the *Money-Bill*, which was as follows.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty;

The Speaker's Speech to the King.

"YOur dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, "taking into Conſideration, the great and neceſſary "Expences your Majeſty will ſuſtain, in the Proſecution of the War, wherein your Majeſty is now "engaged, did, at their firſt Meeting in this preſent Seſſion, unanimouſly agree, to preſent your "Majeſty with a Supply of Two Millions; the "greateſt Part of which they reſolv'd to charge upon their Lands, as the moſt ſpeedy and effectual "Way of raiſing preſent Money for this Occaſion. "But finding that great Abuſes had been committed, in aſſeſſing the late Supply of the like Nature, they have endeavour'd to provide againſt "thoſe Abuſes in raiſing of this preſent Tax; the "Conſideration whereof hath taken up much of "their Time, and produced a Bill of an unuſual "Length, which I now offer to your Majeſty's gracious Acceptance.

"They have likewiſe agreed upon a Bill for declaring of their Rights and Liberties, which were "ſo notoriouſly violated in the late Reign; humbly "deſiring your Majeſty to give Life to it, by the "Royal Aſſent: That ſo it may remain not only a "Security to them from the like Attempts hereafter, but be a laſting Monument to all Poſterity, "of what they owe to your Majeſty for their Deliverance.

Proceedings againſt the Ld *Griffin*.

In the mean Time, the Houſe of Lords had often requir'd the Lord *Griffin* to attend: But he ſtill refuſing to appear, their Lordſhips deſir'd the King, by an Addreſs, to ſummon him, by his Royal Proclamation, at ſuch a Day as his Majeſty ſhould appoint, either to their Houſe, (if then actually Sitting) or to one of the Secretaries of State. His Lordſhip being accordingly ſummon'd, ſurrender'd himſelf to the Lord *Nottingham*: And on the 19th of *October*, having made his Appearance before the Houſe of Lords, the Speaker told him, *That he knew what he had to do, before his Sitting in that Houſe.* Whereupon his Lordſhip *deſir'd Time to conſider of taking the Oaths, he not being prepar'd for for it*: Which was readily granted. But immediately after this, a Packet was intercepted, which plainly diſcover'd how little he was inclin'd to own the preſent Government. This Diſcovery happen'd in the following Manner —— His Lordſhip having caus'd a large *Pewter-Bottle* to be made, with a double Bottom, order'd his Cook, at an unſeaſonable Hour of the Night, to get the falſe Bottom ſolder'd. The Pewterer finding a Pacquet between the Two Bottoms of the Bottle, began to ſuſpect ſomething; and the Cook not giving him a Satisfactory Anſwer about its Contents, he made bold to open it. The Superſcription of ſeveral Letters directed to King *James*, the Duke of *Berwick*, &c. juſtify'd the Pewterer's Suſpicion; who immediately ſeiz'd the Lord *Griffin*'s Cook, and carried him to one of the Secretaries of State: But he being gone to Bed, and his Servants refuſing to admit the Pewterer to their Maſter's Preſence, the Lord *Griffin*, who by this Time began to apprehend what had befaln his Meſſenger, took this Opportunity to make his Eſcape. Beſides the Letters, there was found an Account of ſome private Reſolutions of the Council, and an exact Liſt of all the Land and Sea-Forces of *England*. Whereupon the Lord *Griffin*'s Houſe and

(*a*) In the mean Time a Book was to be wrote in *France* againſt the Revolution in *England*; and he who was moſt fit to write for King *James* and his Cauſe, was Father *Marthe*, who wrote in Vindication of the Repealing the Edict of *Nants*; he proves, that upon the Abdicating King *James*, *Antichriſt* was now in *England*, and that here the Beaſt with the Seven Heads and Ten Horns had his principal Seat, which he ſet forth with equal Strength of Reaſon and Truth, in a Book he call'd, *Entretins touchant l'Enterpriſe du Prince d'Orange ſur l'Angleterre, on l'on prouve que ce le Action fait porter aux Proteſtans les characters d'Antichriſtianiſms*, &c. It was printed at *Paris* about *November* 1689. by the *French* King's own Approbation. Licens'd by one of his own Miniſters, and written by his own Penſioner.

Pa-

1689. 1 *W. M.* Papers were ſearch'd, his Lady committed to the *Tower*, ſeveral ſuſpected Perſons arreſted, and the *Cuſtom-Houſe Officers* order'd to ſtop all unknown Perſons, that offer'd to croſs the Seas without Paſſes. The Lord *Griffin* having abſconded himſelf ſome few Days, and finding it difficult to go out of the Kingdom, ſurrender'd himſelf to the Earl of *Shrewſbury* (Secretary of State,) who having examin'd him, committed him to the Cuſtody of a *Meſſenger*, from whence he was ſent to the *Tower*. Thereupon the Commons appointed a Committee, to enquire how the Lord *Griffin* came to know a Reſolution, which the King had communicated to Four Perſons only: And the Lords addreſs'd his Majeſty, to let him underſtand, That the ſaid Lord being one of their Members, they were conſequently his proper Judges. The King having left the Cognizance of this Affair to the Peers, they began to examine the Papers intercepted in the Pewter-Bottle, which were the only Evidence againſt the Lord *Griffin*: And becauſe, ſome few Days before, it had been reſolv'd in that Houſe, "That Colonel *Algernoon* "*Sidney* was unjuſtly condemn'd, nothing but Wri-"tings found in his Cloſet, having been produc'd "againſt him;" the Earl of *Rocheſter* argu'd, from a Parity of Reaſon, in Favour of the Lord *Griffin*, who, after ſeveral warm Debates, was ſet at Liberty, upon ſufficient Bail.

Ld *Preſton* queſtioned.

While the Lord *Griffin*'s Affair was depending, the Lord *Preſton*, Viſcount of *Scotland*, having preſented to the Houſe of Lords, a Patent from King *James*, dated from *Verſailles*, *Jan.* 21ſt, whereby he was created Baron of *England*; their Lordſhips voted him Guilty of High-Treaſon: But however, they thought fit to refer the Examination of that Matter to the Judges, their Aſſiſtants. My Lord *Preſton* pretended, That the Patent being dated one Day before the Meeting of the Convention, which had voted the Throne Vacant, it ought therefore to be Valid. To which it was anſwer'd, That the Vacancy was ſuppos'd to begin from the Moment King *James* left the Kingdom, whereby he abdicated the Government. The next Day the Judges brought in the Lord *Preſton* guilty of a High-Miſdemeanor, for which he was committed to the *Tower*. Not long after, his Lordſhip acknowledg'd, and begg'd Pardon for his Fault, by a Petition to the Lords, which was rejected, upon his ſubſcribing himſelf, Viſcount *Preſton*, without expreſſing of what Kingdom; the next Day he preſented another, wherein he ſtiled himſelf Viſcount of *Scotland*: And moreover, it being alledged in his Behalf, that by accepting a Patent from King *James*, he never meant an Affront to King *William*, but only to ſecure his own Perſon from Impriſonment, (being at that Time proſecuted at Law, by the Lord *Mountague* for a conſiderable Sum of Money,) he was releaſed from his Confinement without giving Bail.

Enquiry into the late *Quo Warranto's*.

The Lords acquainted the Commons, That they had appointed a Committee to enquire who had adviſ'd the iſſuing of *Quo Warranto's* againſt Corporations, and deſir'd that Mr. *Hamden*, Junior, and Mr. *Trenchard*, Two of their Members, might appear before the Committee they had nam'd, to find out the Authors and Promoters of the Execution of the Lord *Ruſſel*, *Algernoon Sidney*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, and Mr. *Corniſh*. It is certain Mr. *Hamden* was able to give the Lords a great Light into that Affair, having been deeply engaged in that which was call'd the *Presbyterian-Plot*. Yet it is ſaid, this Enquiry was not ſo much intended againſt Mr. *Hamden*, as againſt the Marquis of *Hallifax*, who had endeavour'd Mr. *Hamden*'s Ruin, by procuring a Note from the Duke of *Monmouth*, which made *Hamden* the chief Accomplice with the Lord *Ruſſel*. But the Duke afterwards repenting of having accuſed one of his beſt Friends, earneſtly demanded his Note from King *Charles* II. to whom the Marquis had deliver'd it, and which he at laſt obtain'd on this Condition, never to return into his Majeſty's Preſence. Mr. *Hamden* appear'd before the Lords Committee, and made a long Speech, wherein he rather aim'd at recommending himſelf than of diſcovering the Authors and Promoters of the Execution of his late Friends. He extoll'd his Services to the preſent Government, and plainly inſinuated, that the whole Intrigue of inviting over the Prince of *Orange*, had been manag'd by himſelf, and Mr. *Johnſon a Scotchman*. Indeed Mr. *Hamden* was apt to over-value his own Services and Abilities, and therefore made ſeveral Offers at being Secretary of State; but the King thought him of too warm a Temper for a Place that requires a Sedate Judicious Man. One Day Mr. *Hamden*, with Deſign to remind the King of his own Merits, repreſented to his Majeſty, that thoſe of Mr. *Johnſton* were ſtill left unrewarded; to which the King reply'd, *That he had not forgot either Mr.* Hamden *or Mr.* Johnſton. However, neither of 'em had much Reaſon to complain, the King having named the firſt to be his Envoy into *Spain*, and the other into *Switzerland*, which Employments they both refuſed; and thereupon Mr. *Cocks*, upon Mr. *Hamden*'s Recommendation, was ſent to the *Switz-Cantons*, and Mr. *Stanhope*, Brother to the Lord *Cheſterfield*, but recommended by his own Merit, was diſpatch'd to *Madrid*. About the ſame Time the Lord *Paget* was ſent Envoy to the Emperor, and the Lord *Durſley* to *Holland*, to relieve the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was made a Privy-Councellor, and ſoon after Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, in the Room of Admiral *Torrington*, who voluntarily reſigned that Place.

The Important Bill to ſettle the Rights of the Subjects, and the Succeſſion of the Crown, being paſſed the Houſe of Commons, and ſent to the Lords, their Lordſhips wiſely conſidering how far King *James* had gone towards the introducing the Popiſh Religion into the Nation, took ſpecial Care to prevent the like for the future, by adding a Clauſe to the Bill, "That the Kings and Queens of *Eng-* Lords add a Clauſe to the Bill of Rights and Succeſſion.
"*land* ſhould be obliged at their coming to the "Crown, to take the Teſt in the Firſt Parliament "that ſhould be call'd at the Beginning of their "Reign; and that if any King or Queen of *Eng-*"*land* ſhould embrace the *Roman-Catholick* Religi-"on, or marry with a *Roman-Catholick* Prince or "Princeſs, their Subjects ſhould be abſolv'd of "their Allegiance; and that the Crown and Go-"vernment of theſe Realms ſhould from Time to "Time deſcend to, and be enjoy'd by ſuch Perſons, "being Proteſtants, as ſhould have inherited the "ſame, in Caſe the ſaid Perſons ſo reconcil'd to "the Church of *Rome*, or marrying a Papiſt, as "aforeſaid, were naturally dead." Some Days after, the Lords made a farther Progreſs in the Bill; and becauſe the Diſpenſing Power was mention'd in it, as one of the chiefeſt Grievances, ſome were of Opinion, that ſuch a Power was a Prerogative inſeparable from the Crown, and that in ſome Caſes the King may diſpenſe, if not with a Law, yet with ſome Part of it. To ſupport this Opinion, they alledg'd, that there was a Statute prohibiting all Foreign-built Ships, or ſuch as had not been laden in this Kingdom, to trade to the *Engliſh* Plantations in *America*; but that nevertheleſs, for the Good of the Nation, the King might diſpenſe with that Statute, upon Account of the Negro-Trade, which the *Engliſh* drove with the *Spaniards*, and of which they had cut off the *Dutch*. Though little could be ſaid in Oppoſition to thoſe Reaſons, yet becauſe they ſtrain'd too high the Royal Prerogatives, (which the prevailing Party deſign'd to moderate,) and ſeem'd to juſtify the late Miſmanagements, they were rejected with ſome Heat. About this Time the Diſcontented grew ſo inſolent, being heartned by the ſlow Proceedings of the Commons, that the Lords thought

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thought it neceſſary to deſire his Majeſty to cauſe the Laws againſt Papiſts to be put in Execution.

Debates upon Members having Places at Court.

Towards the beginning of *December*, there had been a Queſtion propounded in the Houſe of Commons, *Whether a Perſon having a Place at Court, or any Dependance upon the King, ſhould be a Member of that Houſe?* The Debate thereupon was very warm; but at laſt the Queſtion was carried in the Affirmative; it having been rightly urged, That if the Negative prevailed, the fitteſt Perſons for Publick Employments would remain excluded, and be debarr'd the Opportunity of ſerving either the King or their Country. About the middle of the Month, the Commons in a general Committee, conſidering the State of the Nation, ſome of the diſſatisfied Members made grievous Complaints of the late Miſcarriages, and caſt them directly upon the preſent Miniſtry. And he that ſpoke the loudeſt on this Occaſion was Mr. *Hamden*, Junior, who made a long Speech againſt thoſe that had the Management of Affairs, by ſaying, "He could not but wonder "to ſee thoſe very Perſons in the Miniſtry whom "the late King *James* had employ'd, even when his "Affairs were moſt deſperate, to treat with the "then Prince of *Orange*. He alledg'd the Example "of *William*, Firſt Prince of *Orange*, who never "made uſe of the Duke of *Alva*'s Miniſters; of "*Henry* IV. of *France*, who never employed thoſe "of his Competitor the Duke of *Mayenne*; and "of ſeveral other Princes; and mov'd for an Addreſs to deſire his Majeſty to remove the Perſons "he had mark'd out from his Preſence and Councils. This Speech might have made a greater Impreſſion, but that at the ſame time he complained that ſeveral *Common-Wealth's-Men* were employ'd by the Government; upon which the whole Houſe broke out into a general Laughter, as knowing that He, his Father, and their Predeceſſors had been always reputed of the *Republican-Party*. Aſſoon as the Commons had recover'd their Gravity, ſeveral Members ſtood up in Defence of the illuſtrious Perſons on whom Mr. *Hamden* had reflected; alledging, "That the Reaſon why they had been deputed to "the Prince of *Orange*, was not becauſe they were "in King *James*'s Intereſt, but rather, becauſe they "had all along diſapprov'd his Conduct, and as "ſuch had the general Eſteem of the Nation, and "were moſt likely to be agreeable to his Highneſs". However, Mr. *Hamden* did not altogether loſe his Point, for the Houſe Voted an Addreſs, to lay before his Majeſty the ill Conduct and Succeſs of Affairs, and to find out the Authors of thoſe Miſcarriages. Mr. *Hamden* being named, among others, to draw up this Addreſs, gave People occaſion to think, that his principal Aim was to have the Earl of *Nottingham* removed, that he might himſelf ſtep into his Place of Secretary of State, to which he eagerly aſpired, as preſuming much upon his own Knowledge of Foreign Affairs. Before the Holy-days, Mr. *Hamden*, Jun. brought in the Form of an Addreſs to the Commons, but it contain'd ſuch a tedious Detail of Miſcarriages and Misfortunes, that ſeveral Members, and Mr. *Hamden* the Father, ſpoke againſt it, and inſiſted to have it drawn over again; to which the other Party agreed, tho' on a different Reaſon; that it ought indeed to be drawn up in another Form, not in order to contract, but rather to enlarge it; and the Addreſs was return'd for that Purpoſe.

Debates upon the Revenue for the Princeſs *Anne*.

Another Matter which occaſion'd warm Debates, was the ſettling a Part of the Publick Revenue on the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, which divided the Houſe into three Parties. The Lord *Elan*, Son to the Marquis of *Halifax*, Mr. *Finch*, and Mr. *Godolphin*, who ſpoke in Favour of her Royal Highneſs, inſiſted that Seventy Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, was as little as could be allowed her, as it had been repreſented in the former Seſſion. Some who conſidered the Publick Neceſſities, would have that Sum reduced to Fifty thouſand Pounds; and others again being thought to be influenced and inſtructed by the King, were for leaving that Matter wholly to his Majeſty's Diſcretion. Mr. *Hamden*, Jun. who few Days before had thundered againſt the Court and Miniſtry, did now ſide with this laſt Party, and pleaded the Danger of ſettling a Revenue on a Princeſs that had ſo near a Claim to the Crown, independently upon the King, whoſe Title was diſputed by many Malecontents; and ſupported his Argument by the Example of the Queen, on whom it had lately been propoſed to ſettle an Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year; but which was thought improper, and therefore rejected, though her Majeſty had no ſeparate Intereſt from that of her Royal Conſort. However, his Opinion was not followed, and the Debate was adjourned to the next Day. In the mean time his Majeſty, who was unwilling that ſo nice an Affair ſhould be ſo loudly canvaſs'd in Parliament, ſent the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and Mr. *Wharton* to her Royal Highneſs, with Deſign to perſwade her to rely on his Generoſity: But the Princeſs, who was for a fixed Settlement, prudently anſwered, "That ſince that Affair was before the *Commons* it "muſt e'en take its Courſe, and be concluded by "that Wiſe-Body. So on *Wedneſday*, *Dec.* 18. the Houſe Order'd an Humble Addreſs, "That his "Majeſty would be pleaſed to make a Proviſion for "the Prince and Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, of "Fifty thouſand Pounds a Year, beginning at *Chriſtmas* next". And Mr. *Speaker*, with the Members, going to *Whitehall* to preſent this Addreſs, his Majeſty was pleaſed to return this Anſwer: "GENTLEMEN, Whatſoever comes from the "*Houſe of Commons* is ſo agreeable to Me, and particularly this *Addreſs*, That I ſhall do what you "deſire of Me.

Her Royal Highneſs's Prudent Anſwer.

On the ſame Day, *Monday*, *Dec.* 23. his Majeſty came to the *Houſe of Peers*, and gave his Royal Aſſent to, (1.) *An Act to prevent Doubts and Queſtions concerning the Collection of the* Publick Revenue. (2.) *An Act for puniſhing* Officers *and* Soldiers *who ſhall Mutiny or Deſert their Majeſty's Service*; *and for puniſhing* Falſe Muſters. (3.) *An Act to enable the Lord Viſcount* Hereford, *to make a Jointure upon his Marriage with Mrs.* Elizabeth Norbone, *notwithſtanding his Minority.*

Acts paſſed.

Upon the *Bill for Reſtoring* Corporations *to their Ancient* Rights *and* Liberties, a *Clauſe* was offered and agreed to, *Jan.* 2. *To incapacitate for Seven Years ſuch as had any ways acted in the Surrenders of* Charters, *from bearing any Office in the ſaid* Corporations: But at the third Reading, on *Jan.* 10. this *Clauſe* was rejected, and the *Bill* carried up to the *Lords* without it. On *Jan.* 4. a *Bill* was brought in, *For Sale of the Eſtates that were forfeited by thoſe that were now in Rebellion againſt their Majeſties in the Kingdom of* Ireland. On *Jan.* 9. *Francis Cholmondley*, Eſq; a Member of the *Houſe of Commons*, was by the *Speaker*'s Warrant Committed Priſoner to the *Tower* of *London*, for his Contempt in refuſing to take the *Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy*, appointed to be taken by the Members of the *Houſe*; and it was Ordered, That *a Bill be brought in to Enjoin the taking of the* Oath of Allegiance *by all Perſons above the Age of Sixteen Years, and to require the* Juſtices of the Peace *to tender the ſame*; *and to commit ſuch Perſons to Priſon without* Bail *or* Mainpriſe, *as ſhall refuſe to take the ſame.*

Other Proceedings in Parliament.

On *Thurſday*, *Jan.* 16. his Majeſty came to the *Houſe of Lords*, and gave the Royal Aſſent to, (1.) *An Act for a Grant to their Majeſties of an* Additional Aid *of Twelve-pence in the Pound for One Year.* (2.) *An Act for the Charging and Collecting the* Duties *upon* Coffee, Tea, *and* Chocolate, *at the* Cuſtom-Houſe. (3.) *An Act for Settling a Maintenance on the Children of* Sidney Wortley, *alias* Montague, *Eſq; in Caſe his Wife ſurvived him.*

Acts paſſed.

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Debates on reverſing the Attainder of Sir *Thomas Armſtrong.*

On Debate of the *Bill for annulling the* Attainder *of Sir* Thomas Armſtrong, *and for enquiring who were his Proſecutors*, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, then Attorney-General, was named by Mrs. *Matthews*, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, as one of her Father's greateſt Adverſaries: Upon which it was Reſolved, on *Monday*, *Jan.* 20. "That Sir *Robert* "*Sawyer*'s Name be put into the Bill, as one of the "Proſecutors of Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*; and that he "be expell'd the Houſe for the ſame.

Debates upon Protections given by the Members.

Upon Debate of the Privileges of the Houſe, and the Abuſe of Protections given by ſeveral Members; it was Order'd, "That all Protections and "written Certificates of the Members of this Houſe, "be declar'd Void in Law, and be forthwith withdrawn and call'd in; and that none be granted "for the future: And that if any ſhall be granted "by any Member, ſuch Member ſhall be liable to "the Cenſure of this Houſe. And that the Privilege of Members for their Menial Servants be "obſerv'd according to Law: And that if any "Menial Servant ſhall be arreſted and detained, "contrary to Privilege, he ſhall (upon Complaint "thereof made to the Speaker) be diſcharg'd by "Order from him. And that this be declar'd to be "the Standing Order of the Houſe." On the ſame Day, *Jan.* 25. the Houſe proceeding upon the Bill of Indemnity, and the Bill of Pains and Penalties to be inflicted upon ſuch as ſhall be excepted out of the Bill of Indemnity; they agreed, "That Perſons might be juſtly excepted out of the ſaid Bill "for any of theſe following Crimes. 1. The Aſſerting, Adviſing, and Promoting of the *Diſpenſing Power*, and Suſpending of Laws without Conſent of Parliament. 2. The Commitment and Proſecution of the Seven Biſhops. 3. The Adviſing, "Promoting and Executing the Commiſſion for Erecting the late Courts for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. "4. The Adviſing the Levying Money, and the Collecting the ſame, for and to the Uſe of the Crown, "by Pretence of Prerogative, for other Time, and "in other Manner than the ſame was granted by "Parliament. 5. The Adviſing the Raiſing and "Keeping up a Standing Army in the Time of "Peace, without Conſent of Parliament; and the "Quartering of Soldiers. 6. The Adviſing, Procuring, Contriving and Acting in the Surrendring "Charters, and in the Alteration and Subverſion of "Corporations, and in procuring of New Charters, "and the Violating of the Rights and Freedoms of "Elections to Parliaments, and to queſtion the "Proceedings of Parliament out of Parliament, by "Declarations, Informations, or otherwiſe. 7. Undue Conſtructions of Law, and the Undue and "Illegal Proſecutions and Proceedings in Capital "Caſes. 8. The Undue Returns of Juries, and "other Illegal Proceedings in Civil Cauſes. 9. The "requiring exceſſive Bail, impoſing exceſſive Fines, "giving exceſſive Damages, and uſing undue Means "for Levying ſuch Fines and Damages, and inflicting cruel and unuſual Puniſhments. 10. The adviſing King *Charles* the II. and King *James* the II. "by ſome of their Judges and Council, that Parliaments needed not be called according to the Statutes. 11. The procuring the Commiſſion to execute Martial-Law in the Iſland of St. *Helena*, or "Signing the Inſtructions for putting the ſame in "Execution. 12. The Regulating of Corporations "and Boroughs in the Reign of the late King "*James* the II. and the promiſing to take off the "*Penal-Laws* and *Teſt*. 13. The undertaking in "the Reign of the late King *James* the II. to "repair the Ships of War, and receiving Money "for that Service, and the not performing the ſame.

Perſons to be excepted out of the *Bill of Indemnity.*

Acts paſſed.

On *Monday*, *Jan.* 27. his Majeſty came to the *Houſe of Lords*, and gave the *Royal Aſſent* to, (1.) *An Act for the Review of the* Poll-Bill, *and for an Additional* Poll. (2.) *An Act to prevent Vexatious Suits againſt ſuch as acted in order to the bringing in their Majeſties, or for their Service.* 3. *An Act for the better Security and Relief of the* Iriſh Proteſtants. (4.) *An Act to diſcharge the Duke of* Norfolk, *upon Payment of certain Sums of Money to the Lady* Elizabeth Tereſa Ruſſel, *Wife of* Bartholomey Ruſſel, *Eſq*; (5.) *An Act to enable the Earl of* Radnor *to make a Joynture to his Wife, and to raiſe a Sum of Money out of divers Lands and Tenements in* Cornwal. (6.) *An Act to enable* Thomas Edon, *Eſq*; *to Sell Lands to pay his Debts, and to make Proviſion for his Wife, and for his Children, in caſe he ſhould have any.* (7.) *An Act to enable* William Batſon, *Eſq*; *to Sell Lands in the County of* Oxon, *and to purchaſe and ſettle an Eſtate in the County of* Suffolk *to the ſame Uſes.*

After which his Majeſty made a moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes, which follows;

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen;

"I Am ſo ſenſible of the Readineſs you have "ſhew'd to Supply me with Money for the "carrying on the Wars I am engaged in, that I am "glad of this Occaſion, to give you Thanks for "your chearful Diſpatch of that Matter, which "was abſolutely neceſſary for the Common Safety.

"The beſt Return I can make to your Kindneſs, "is, to aſſure you, That as far as it will go, it ſhall "all be employ'd to the Purpoſes it was given.

"It is a very ſenſible Affliction to Me, to ſee my "good People burthen'd with heavy Taxes; but "ſince the ſpeedy Recovering of *Ireland*, is in my "Opinion, the only Means to eaſe them, and to "preſerve the Peace and Honour of the Nation, "I am reſolv'd to go thither in Perſon, and with "the Bleſſing of GOD Almighty, endeavour to "reduce that Kingdom, that it may no longer be "a Charge to this.

"And as I have already ventur'd my Life for the "Preſervation of the *Religion*, *Laws*, and *Liberties* "of this *Nation*; ſo I am now willing again to expoſe it, to ſecure you the quiet Enjoyment of them.

"The *Spring* draws on, and it being requiſite I "ſhould be be early in the Field, I muſt immediately "apply my Thoughts to the giving Orders for the "neceſſary Preparations: Which that I may have "the more Leiſure to do, I have thought convenient now to put an end to this Seſſion.

And then the Right Honourable Sir *Robert Atkyns*, Lord Chief Baron of their Majeſty's Court of *Exchequer*, and Speaker of the *Houſe of Peers*, ſaid;

Parliament prorogu'd.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It is his Majeſty's Pleaſure, That this Parliament be prorogued to the Second Day of *April* "next: And this Parliament is prorogued to the "Second Day of *April* next.

Loyalty of the City of *London.*

The City of *London* were ſo ſenſible of their Liberties reſtor'd to them, that they paid all poſſible Duty and Honour to King *William*: And Sir *Thomas Pilkington* being continued Lord-Mayor for the Year, 1690, in the Name of the City invited the King and Queen, the Prince and Princeſs of *Denmark*, and both Houſes of Parliament, to Dinner at *Guildhall*, on the uſual Solemnity, *Octob.* 29. when their Majeſties, attended by their Royal Highneſſes, and a numerous Train of the Nobility and Gentry, went firſt to a Balcony prepar'd for them in *Cheapſide* to ſee the Show; which for the great Number of Livery-Men, the full Appearance of the Militia and Artillery; the rich Adornments of the Pageants, and the ſplendid and good Order of the whole Proceeding, out-did all that had been ſeen before upon the like Occaſion; and what deſerves to be particularly mention'd, was a Royal Regiment of Volunteer Horſe, made up of the chief Citizens; who being very richly accouter'd, and led by the Earl of *Monmouth*, attended their Majeſties from *Whitehall*. The *Cavalcade* being paſt by, the King and Queen were conducted by the two Sheriffs to *Guildhall*, where they and their numerous Retinue were entertained

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tained with a magnificent Feaſt. His Majeſty, to expreſs his Satisfaction, conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on *Chriſtopher Lethuillier* and *John Houblon*, Eſq; the two Sheriffs, and on *Edward Clarke* and *Francis Child* two of the Aldermen. At their Majeſties Return in the Evening, the Soldiers had, at convenient Diſtances, lighted Flambeaus in their Hands; the Houſes were all Illuminated, the Bells Ringing; and nothing was omitted through the whole Courſe of this Day's Solemnity, either by the Magiſtrates, or the People, that might ſhow their Reſpect and Veneration, as well as their dutiful Affection and Loyalty to their Majeſties; and the Senſe they have of the Happineſs they enjoy under their moſt benign and gracious Government. Not many Days after, ſome violent Malecontents offer'd an Indignity to the King's Picture in the *Guildhall*, by cutting away the Sceptre and Crown: Whereupon the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen promiſed a Reward of Five-hundred Pounds to any that ſhould diſcover the Author of that Inſolence.

Honours and Preferments.

As to other Honours and Preferments conferr'd this Year: At the beginning of *November*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to create *Richard* Lord *Coote* (Baron of *Coloony* in *Ireland*) an Earl of that Kingdom, by the Name of Earl of *Bellamont*. About the middle of the Month, his Majeſty appointed *Thomas Kirke*, Eſq; to be his Conſul at *Genoa*; *Lambert Blackwel*, Eſq; to be his Conſul at *Leghorne*; *Walter Dolman*, Eſq; his Conſul at *Alicant*; *Hugh Broughton*, Eſq; his Conſul at *Venice*; *Lancelot Stepney*, Eſq; his Conſul in the City and Port of *Oporto* in the Kingdom of *Portugal*; and *James Paul*, Eſq; his Conſul for the Iſlands of *Zant*, *Corfu*, *Cefalonia* and *Theaca*, with the other adjacent Iſlands belonging to the *Venetian* Territories; and the Province of *Morea*, with the Iſlands, Ports, and Diſtricts of and belonging to the ſame: And ſoon after his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute *Robert Godſhall*, Eſq; his Conſul at *Seville*, St. *Lucar*, and Places adjacent, within the Kingdom of *Spain*. On *Dec.* 14, his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood, in his Bed-Chamber, upon *William Cranmore*, Eſq; who preſented a Loyal Addreſs of divers *Engliſh* Merchants in and about the City of *London*. On *Dec.* 23d, his Majeſty Knighted *Thomas Miller* of *Chicheſter*, Eſq; in conſideration of his great Loyalty and Services. On *Feb.* 13th, Sir *Henry Goodrick*, Kt. and Bar. (Lieutenant-General of their Majeſties Ordnance) was Sworn of the Privy-Council. On *Feb.* 19th, his Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute *William Cheney*, Eſq; Sir *John Knatchbull*, Bar. and Sir *Wil. Pulteney*, Kt. his Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Keeper of the Privy-Seal. On *March* 19th, his Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute Sir *John Lowther* of *Lowther*, Bar. Vice Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold; *Richard Hamden*, Eſq; (who was alſo made Chancellor of the *Exchequer*,) *Thomas Pelham*, Eſq; and Sir *Stephen Fox*, Lords-Commiſſioners of the *Treaſury*; and *Henry Guy*, Eſq; to be one of the Commiſſioners of their Majeſties *Cuſtoms*, in the Place of Mr. *Pelham*.

State of Religion.

As to the State of Religion, it was natural for the *Roman-Catholicks* to repine at the preſent Settlement, as apprehending their late Hopes were extinguiſh'd, and the Fears of Perſecution were coming on 'em; ſince they had loſt a King, whom they always eſteem'd to be rais'd by GOD Almighty, to re-eſtabliſh the *Roman* Faith and Worſhip in theſe Kingdoms: But it was ſtrange, to ſee ſome of the (a) Higher Churchmen diſguſted with a

Some Churchmen diſguſted at the Revolution.

Revolution, that ſeem'd to have been accompliſh'd under the particular Direction of *HEAVEN*, for the Preſervation of the Reform'd Eſtabliſh'd Religion. Theſe Men murmur'd at the preſent Poſture of Affairs, whiſpering, *That all was illegal and unjuſtifiable*; *That the Doctrine of the* Jeſuits, *in Abſolving from Oaths of Allegiance, was now practically tranſlated into* Engliſh: *But that King* James *would ſhortly return with a powerful Army, and ſettle Things upon a right Foundation*; *for the Intereſt of the Church of* England *was involv'd with that of His Majeſty, and that the one could not ſubſiſt without the Reſtoration of the other.* Theſe Seditious Inſinuations were countenanc'd by ſome Divines, who refus'd to take the Oaths: And therefore to give Satisfaction in this Point, ſeveral of the Biſhops and Clergy, in Sermons and Diſcourſes, did abundantly juſtify the *Revolution*, upon the Principles of Nature, Scripture, and the *Engliſh* Conſtitution. Among others, Dr. *Burnet* (Biſhop of *Salisbury*) addreſs'd a *Paſtoral Letter*, dated *May* the 15th, to the Clergy of his Dioceſe, concerning the Allegiance due to King *William* and Queen *Mary*; wherein he happen'd to offend by one Topick, the *Right of Conqueſt*; tho' he did but modeſtly alledge, "That there were few of thoſe who did not "think, That the King, when he was Prince of "*Orange*, had a juſt Cauſe of War when he firſt undertook this Expedition: For even at Common "Law, an Heir in Remainder has juſt Cauſe to "ſue him that is in Poſſeſſion, if he makes Waſte on "the Inheritance which is in Reverſion. That it is "much more reaſonable, (ſince the Thing is much "more important,) That the Heir of a Crown ſhould "interpoſe, when he ſees him that is in Poſſeſſion "hurry'd on blindfold, to ſubject an Independent "Kingdom to a Foreign Juriſdiction, and thereby to "rob it both of its Glory and of its Security: That "when it is manifeſt, that this muſt occaſion the "greateſt Ruin and Miſeries poſſible to that Kingdom; and when a Pretended Heir was ſet up in "ſuch a Manner, that the whole Kingdom believ'd "him ſpurious; in ſuch a Caſe, it could not be "deny'd, even according to the higheſt Principles "of Paſſive Obedience, that another Sovereign "Prince might make War upon a King ſo abuſing his Power. That this being the Caſe in "Fact, here was a War begun upon juſt and lawful Grounds; and being ſo begun, it was the uncontroverted Opinion of all Lawyers, *That the* "*Succeſs of a juſt War, gives a lawful Title to that* "*which is acquir'd in the Progreſs of it*; and therefore King *James* having ſo far ſunk in the War, "that he abandon'd his People, and deſerted the "Government, all his Right and Title did accrue "to King *William*, in the Right of a Conqueſt over "him. But tho' with Relation to King *James*'s "Rights, he was veſted with them by the Succeſſes of a War, yet His Majeſty was willing (with "Relation to the Peers and People of *England*) to "receive the Crown by their Determination, rather than to hold it in the Right of his Sword." The like Argument was more boldly purſu'd about Three Years after, in a Pamphlet entitled, *King* William *and Queen* Mary *Conquerors*, ſuppos'd to be written by Mr. *Blount*; at which the Parliament then ſitting were ſo offended, that they order'd both that Pamphlet and the Biſhop's Letter to be publickly burnt by the Common Executioner; tho' this latter ſeems then to be ſacrific'd to a poor Jeſt upon the Author's Name.

Others did vindicate and adhere to it.

Biſhop *Burnet's* Paſtoral Letter.

On *April* 4 the Houſe of Lords enter'd into a Conſideration of the Report of the Amendments in

(a) See a Letter concerning Allegiance, written by Dr. *Henry Compton*, Lord Biſhop of *London*, to a Clergyman in *Eſſex*, preſently after the *Revolution*; tho' not publiſh'd till upon Occaſion of the Addreſs of the *London* Clergy in 1710. beginning, "*Sir*, I am extremely ſorry ſo unhappy a Spirit ſhould "reign at this Time of Day, that after ſo miraculous a Deliverance as we have had, may endanger our Return again into *Egypt*, &c."

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Proceedings of the Lords in Matters of Religion.

the Bill for (*b*) *Uniting Their Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects*; and upon Debate, the Queſtion was put, "Whether to agree with the Committee, in leaving "out the Clauſe about the *Indifferency of the Poſture at Receiving the Sacrament?*" The Votes were equal; and therefore, according to the Ancient Rule in the like Caſes, it was carry'd in the *Negative*. The next Day, the Lords reſum'd the Debate of the Report of the ſaid Amendments, particularly of the Clauſe concerning a *Commiſſion to be given out by the King, to ſome Biſhops and others of the Clergy*; and it being propoſed, *Whether ſome of the Laity ſhould be added?* The Votes were again equal on both Sides, and ſo it was again carry'd in the *Negative*; but ſome Peers enter'd their Diſſents for theſe Reaſons:

Commiſſion for Reviewing the Liturgy.

"Firſt, Becauſe the Act it ſelf being (as the "Preamble ſets forth) deſign'd for the Peace of the "State; the putting the Clergy into Commiſſion, "with a total Excluſion of the Laity, lays this Hu-"miliation on the Laity, as if the Clergy of the "Church of *England* were alone Friends to the "Peace of the State, and the Laity leſs able, or leſs "concern'd to provide for it.

"2. Becauſe the Matter to be conſider'd being "barely of Human Conſtitution, (*viz.* the Liturgy "and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, which "had their Eſtabliſhment from King, Lords Spiri-"tual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled in "Parliament) there can be no Reaſon why the Com-"miſſioners for altering any Thing in that Civil "Conſtitution, ſhould conſiſt only of Men of one "Sort of them; unleſs it be ſuppoſed, that Hu-"man Reaſon is to be quitted in this Affair, and "the Inſpiration of Spiritual Men to be alone de-"pended on.

"3. Becauſe tho' upon *Romiſh* Principles the "Clergy may have the Title to meddle alone in "Matters of Religion, yet with us they cannot; "where the Church is acknowledg'd and defin'd to "conſiſt of Clergy and Laity; and ſo thoſe Mat-"ters of Religion which fall under Human Deter-"mination, being properly the Buſineſs of the "Church, belong equally to both; for in what is "of Divine Inſtitution, neither Clergy nor Laity "can make any Alteration at all.

"4. Becauſe the pretending, That Differences "and Delays may ariſe, by mixing Laymen with "Eccleſiaſticks, to the fruſtrating the Deſign of "the Commiſſion, is vain and out of doors; unleſs "thoſe that make uſe of this Pretence, ſuppoſe "that the Clergy-Part of the Church have diſtinct "Intereſts or Deſigns from the Lay-Part of the "ſame Church; and will be a Reaſon, if good, "why one or other of them ſhould quit this Houſe, "for fear of obſtructing the Buſineſs of it.

"5. Becauſe the Commiſſion being intended for "the Satisfaction of *Diſſenters*, it would be conve-"nient, that Laymen of different Ranks, nay, per-"haps of different Opinions too, ſhould be mix'd "in it, the better to find Expedients for that End; "rather than Clergymen alone of our Church, who "are generally obſerv'd to have all very much the "ſame way of Reaſoning and Thinking.

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"6. Becauſe it is the moſt ready way to faci-"litate the Paſſing the Alterations into a Law, that "Lay-Lords and Commoners ſhould be join'd in "the Commiſſion; who may be able to ſatisfy "both Houſes of the Reaſons upon which they "were made, and thereby remove all Fears and "Jealouſies ill Men may raiſe up againſt the Cler-"gy, of their endeavouring to keep up, without "Grounds, a diſtinct Intereſt from that of the Laity, "whom they ſo carefully exclude from being join'd "with them in Conſultations of common Concern-"ment, that they will not have thoſe have any Part "in the Deliberation, who muſt have the greateſt "in Determining.

"7. Becauſe ſuch a reſtrain'd Commiſſion lies "liable to this great Objection; That it might be "made uſe of to elude repeated Promiſes, and the "preſent General Expectation of Compliance with "Tender Conſciences, when the Providing for it is "taken out of the ordinary Courſe of Parliament, "to be put into the Hands of thoſe alone who were "lateſt in admitting any Need of it, and who may "be thought to be the more unfit to be the Sole "Compoſers of our Differences, when they are "look'd upon (by ſome) as Parties.

"*Laſtly*, Becauſe, after all, this carries a dange-"rous Suppoſition along with it, as if the Laity "were not a Part of the Church, nor had any Pow-"er to meddle in Matters of Religion; a Suppoſi-"tion directly oppoſite to the Conſtitution both of "Church and State: Which will make all Altera-"tions utterly impoſſible, unleſs the Clergy alone "be allow'd to have Power to make Laws in Mat-"ters of Religion; ſince what is eſtabliſh'd by Law, "cannot be taken away, but by Conſent of Lay-"men in Parliament; the Clergy themſelves ha-"ving no Authority to meddle in this very Caſe, in "which the Laity are excluded by this Vote, but "what they derive from Lay-Hands.

Subſcrib'd,

Wincheſter, Mordant, Lovelace.

I *Diſſent, for this and other Reaſons; becauſe it is contrary to Three Statutes made in the Reign of King* Henry VIII. *and One in King* Edward VI. *which impower Thirty two Commiſſioners to alter the Canon and Eccleſiaſtical Law,* &c. *whereof Sixteen to be of the Laity, and Sixteen of the Clergy.* (*b*)

STAMFORD.

Act of Toleration.

On *May* the 24th, the Act of *Toleration*, or *Liberty of Conſcience*, receiv'd the Royal Aſſent, entitled, *An Act for Exempting their Majeſty's* Proteſtant

(*a*) A Treatiſe was purpoſely written and publiſh'd, to recommend the Deſign of uniting Proteſtants, by a Bill of Comprehenſion, entitled, *A Letter from a Divine to a Member of Parliament, in Defence of the Bill for Uniting Proteſtants. Licenſed by Command of the Earl of* Shrewsbury, April 1. 1689. The firſt Paſſage in this Treatiſe was read in the Houſe of Peers, by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in his Speech upon the Impeachment of Dr. *Henry Sacheverell*.—— And another Paſſage deſerves to be here tranſcrib'd; namely, "We cannot but "hope that we ſhall have ſome Fruit of this Bill among the "ſincere Diſſenters at preſent; but to be ſure we ſhall by this "Means ſecure the next Generation. And for the *French*, and "*German*, and other Foreign *Chriſtians* of the Reform'd Re-"ligion; I am well aſſur'd, both by Converſation, and by "Letters lately ſent from *Holland, Geneva, Switzerland*, and "other Places, (not to ſpeak of the Churches of the *Lutheran* "Communion, which write the ſame) that they look upon "the Church of *England* at this Time as the Centre of Prote-"ſtant Unity; and eſteem the Conditions propos'd in this "Bill, (which have been communicated to them) as Terms "full of Chriſtian Moderation, and fit for the Uniting of Pro-"teſtants."

See the Account given by Dr. *Nicholls*, in his *Defence of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of* England; tranſlated from his firſt *Latin* Edition, 120. He ſays, "That whilſt this Bill "was paſſing, Dr. *Tillotſon*, a Perſon of an excellent Judg-"ment, and then Clerk of the Cloſet to the King, declared "his Opinion againſt it.——He urg'd the Referring this Mat-"ter to Synodical Authority; and if paſs'd in Convocation, "it would not only be more acceptable to the Body of the "Clergy, but would be more religiouſly obſerved by the "Laity.——Adviſing, firſt, To commiſſionate ſeveral of the "moſt Eminent of the Clergy to conſider of it.—What they "ſhould agree upon, to be conſider'd again in Convocation; "and what theſe ſhould conſent to, ſhould be eſtabliſh'd, firſt "by the Synodical, and afterwards by the Parliamentary Au-"thority.

(*b*) See *the Grievances of the Church of* England, *which are not in the Power of the Governors of it to remedy. In* XXIV *Articles. Licenſed* April 27. 1689. Printed for *R. Baldwin.*

See

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ſtant Subjects *diſſenting from the Church of* England, *from the Penalties of certain Laws.* The Reaſon of it was thus given in the Preamble: *Foraſmuch as ſome Eaſe to Scrupulous Conſciences, in the Exerciſe of Religion, may be an effectual Means to unite their Majeſties* Proteſtant Subjects *in Intereſt and Affection*; It was therefore enacted, "That none of "the Penal Laws ſhall be conſtrued to extend "to any Perſon or Perſons diſſenting from the "Church of *England*, that ſhall take the Oaths to "the preſent Government, and ſubſcribe the *Declaration* mention'd in *Stat.* 30. *Car.* II. *Cap.* 1. Pro-"vided, That no Aſſembly of Perſons ſo diſſenting "ſhould be had in any Place for Religious Worſhip "with the Doors lock'd, barr'd or bolted, during "the Time of ſuch Meeting together; and Provi-"ded, That nothing ſhould be conſtrued to exempt "any of the Perſons aforeſaid from Paying of "Tythes, or other Parochial Duties. If any Diſ-"ſenter ſhould be choſen or appointed to bear the "Office of Conſtable, Churchwarden, Overſeer, *&c.* "and ſhould ſcruple the Oaths requir'd by Law to "be taken, in reſpect of ſuch Office; he ſhall or "may execute ſuch Office or Employment by a "ſufficient Deputy. That all Preachers or Teachers "of any Congregation of Diſſenting Proteſtants, who "ſhall take the Oaths, and ſubſcribe the Declara-"tion aforeſaid, and alſo ſubſcribe the Articles of "Religion, mention'd in Stat. 13 *Eliz.* Cap. 12. "Except the 34th, 35th, and 36th, and theſe "Words in the 20th Article, [viz. *The Church* "*hath Power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and* "*Authority in Controverſies of Faith*; and yet] "ſhall not be liable to any of the Pains and Penal-"ties mention'd in Stat. 17 *Car.* II. 2. 22 *Car.* II. "13 and 14 *Car.* II. Cap. 4. Every ſuch Teacher "ſhall be exempted from Serving upon any Jury, "or from being choſen and appointed to bear the "Office of Churchwarden, Overſeer of the Poor, *&c.* "But any Juſtice of Peace may require any Perſon, "that goes to any Meeting for Exerciſe of Religion, "to ſubſcribe the Declaration, and to take the "Oaths; and in caſe of Refuſal, is requir'd to com-"mit ſuch Perſon to Priſon, without Bail or Main-"priſe, *&c.*" The like Liberty was given to *Anabaptiſts*: And the *Quakers* were admitted to it, on Condition of making this Declaration of Fidelity: **I A. B. do ſincerely Promiſe, and ſolemnly Declare, before God and the World, That I will be True and Faithful to King** William **and Queen** Mary; **and I do ſolemnly Profeſs and Declare, That I do from my Heart, Abhor, Deteſt and Renounce, as Impious and Heretical, that Damnable Doctrine and Poſition,** [That Princes Excommunicated or Deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of **Rome**, may be Depoſed or Murthered by their Subjects, or any other whatſoever.] **And I do Declare, That no Foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Power, Juriſdiction, Superiority, Pre-eminence or Authority, Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, within this Realm.** And ſubſcribing a Profeſſion of their Chriſtian Belief in theſe Words: **I A. B. Profeſs Faith in God the Father, and in Jeſus Chriſt his Eternal Son the True God, and in the Holy Spirit, One God Bleſſed for evermore; and do Acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, to be given by Divine Inſpiration.** "Provided, That all "the *Laws* made for the frequenting *Divine Ser-*"*vice* on the *Lord's-Day*, ſhall be ſtill in Force and "Executed againſt all Perſons that Offend againſt "the ſaid *Laws*, except ſuch Perſons come to ſome "Congregations permitted by this *Act*. Provided, That "if any Perſon ſhall maliciouſly or contemptuouſly "come into any *Cathedral*, or *Pariſh-Church*, or "other *Congregation*, and diſquiet or diſturb the "ſame, or miſuſe any Preacher or Teacher, he "ſhall, upon Conviction, ſuffer the Penalty of "Twenty Pounds. And finally, Provided, That "no Congregation or Aſſembly for Religious Wor-"ſhip, ſhall be permitted or allowed by this *Act*, "until the Place of ſuch Meeting ſhall be certify'd "to the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, or to the Arch-"Deacon of that Archdeaconry, or to the Juſtices "of the Peace at the General or Quarter-Seſſions, "and Regiſtred in the ſaid Biſhop's or Arch-Dea-"con's Court, or Recorded at the ſaid General or "Quarter-Seſſions.

A Bill for Union more deſirable.

Tho' the Body of *Diſſenters* were contented with this Liberty, yet the more moderate and wiſer part of them would be glad to be taken into the National Eſtabliſhment; and there was indeed a *Bill of Union* ſtill depending in Parliament, (*a*) which paſs'd the *Houſe of Lords*; and when it came down to the *Houſe of Commons*, they deſir'd his Majeſty to ſummon a *Convocation*, and lay the Matter before them. Accordingly a *Convocation* was ſummon'd by the King's Writ, to meet on *Dec.* 4. In the mean time His Majeſty thought fit to fill up the vacant Sees: And therefore on *Octob.* 13. (*b*) Dr. *Edw. Stillingfleet* late

Conſecration of Biſhops.

See *an Account of Mr.* Edward Sclater's *Return to the Communion of the Church of* England, *and of the Publick Recantation he made at the Church of St.* Mary Savoy, *the 5th of* May, 1689. *By* Anthony Horneck, *D. D. With an* Appendix *of ſeveral Letters, written by the ſaid Mr.* Sclater *upon his Repentance.* Printed in the *Savoy*, by *Edw. Jones.* 4to.

There began now a New Nonconformity among ſome of the Church-Divines, who ſcrupling the Oaths, did for ſome Time decline to pray for King *William* and Queen *Mary.* Of this Number, Dr. *William Sherlock* was the Chief Perſon; who tho' the moſt forward in wiſhing well to the Undertaking of the Prince of *Orange*, and who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the moſt early Waiting on the Prince when he came firſt to *Whitehall*, yet being not countenanc'd according to his Expectation, and being entangled in his Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, (which he had carry'd higher than moſt other Writers) he had fallen back to be a Malecontent, and a Nonjuror; and yet continued to preach his Lecture at St. *Dunſtan's* in the *Weſt.* ——See his Caſe, entitled, *The New Nonconformiſt, or Dr.* Sherlock's *Caſe in Preaching after a Deprivation incurr'd by the expreſs Words of a Statute, fairly ſtated and examin'd.*—— With ſhort Reflections on Mr. *Cook's* Sermon, *Feb.* 2. 1689. which was Licenſed by the Archbiſhop's Chaplain. *London*, Printed 1690. *Quarto.*

And tho' he afterwards complied, and was greatly preferr'd, yet Mr. *Sam. Johnſon* was very bitter upon him in many of his Writings, particularly in theſe Words of his *Notes on the Paſtoral Letter.* "The *Engliſh* Prieſtcraft is the courſeſt that ever "I ſaw: The *Romiſh* is fine, and has made a delicate Book "of Father *Paul's Trent* Hiſtory; but ours will never make a "Book worth the reading: Theirs is the Depths of *Satan*, "and ours is his Shallows. For would any Man (to bring "Two very pitiful Caſes upon the Stage both at once, his "*Caſe of Reſiſtance*, and his *Caſe of Allegiance*; the firſt being "to authorize Tyranny in *Exerciſe*, and the other to authorize "Tyranny in *Title*, which we commonly call *Uſurpation*; and "having declar'd againſt Tyranny in *Exerciſe* in the mean "Time, and having likewiſe ſtood out againſt Tyranny in *Ti-*"*tle* for ſome Years) take this ſilly Method at laſt to recon-"cile all together? Firſt to caſtrate his firſt Book, and clear "it of a very material Paſſage againſt Uſurpation, that he "might make way for his Second Book of Uſurpation.—— Al-"legiance, which for a long Time he himſelf hath withſtood: "And Secondly, To make ſuch pitiful Excuſe for this Vari-"ance, both betwixt his Two Books and himſelf, as to ſay "That it was the Effect of his Study; and that he grew, "wiſer."

(*a*) On the 20th of *April*, 1689, there was an Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal to his Majeſty to ſupport the *Church of England* as by Law eſtabliſh'd, and to call a Convocation. —— His Majeſties Anſwer concluded: *And as ſoon as conveniently may be, I will ſummon a Convocation.*

(*b*) See the Conſecration Sermon Preached by Dr. *John Scot.*

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late Dean of St. *Paul's*, Biſhop Elect of *Worceſter*; Dr. *Simon Patrick*, late Dean of *Peterborough*, Biſhop Elect of *Chicheſter*; and Dr. *Gilbert Ironſide*, late Warden of *Wadham-College* in *Oxford*, Biſhop Elect of *Briſtol*, were Conſecrated in the Chapel of *Fulham-Palace* by the Biſhops of *London*, St. *Aſaph*, and *Rocheſter*, by virtue of a Commiſſion granted to them in that behalf. And becauſe the time allowed by *Act of Parliament* for the Clergy to take the Oaths was expired, thoſe who refuſed to qualify themſelves were ſuſpended *ab Officio*; particularly the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Gloceſter*, *Ely*, *Norwich*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Peterborough*.

Nonjuring Biſhops ſuſpended

(*a*) In order to prepare Matters to be conſider'd by the *Convocation*, his Majeſty iſſued out this Legal and reaſonable Commiſſion to the moſt eminent Biſhops and Divines.

Form of Commiſſion for reviewing the *Liturgy*.

"WHereas the particular Forms of Divine Worſhip, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be us'd therein, are Things in their own Nature indifferent and alterable, and ſo acknowledged: It is but reaſonable, that upon weighty and important Conſiderations, according to the various Exigencies of Times and Occaſions, ſuch Changes and Alterations ſhould be made therein, as to thoſe that are in Place and Authority, ſhould from time to time ſeem either Neceſſary or Expedient.

"And whereas the Book of *Canons* is fit to be Review'd, and made more ſuitable to the State of the *Church*. And whereas there are Defects and Abuſes in the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts* and *Juriſdictions*; and particularly, there is not ſufficient Proviſion made for the removing of ſcandalous Miniſters, and for the reforming of Manners either in Miniſters or People. And whereas it is moſt fit, that there ſhould be a ſtrict Method preſcrib'd for the Examination of ſuch Perſons as deſire to be admitted into Holy Orders, both as to their Learning and Manners.

"We therefore, out of our Pious and Princely Care, for the good Order, and Edification, and Unity of the *Church of England*, committed to our Charge and Care; and for the reconciling as much as is poſſible of all Differences among our good Subjects, and to take away all Occaſions of the like for the future, have thought fit to Authorize and Empower you, *&c.* and any Nine of you, whereof Three to be Biſhops, to meet from time to time, as often as ſhall be needful, and to prepare ſuch Alterations of the *Liturgy* and *Canons*, and ſuch Propoſals for the Reformation of *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, and to conſider of ſuch other Matters, as in your Judgments may moſt conduce to the Ends above-mention'd.

The Names of the Commiſſioners, *A. D. 1689.*

Tho. Lamplugh, Ld. Arch-Biſhop of *York.*
Henry Compton, Ld. Biſhop of *London.*
Peter Mew, Ld. Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*
William Lloyd, Ld. Biſhop of St. *Aſaph.*
Thomas Sprat, Ld. Biſhop of *Rocheſter.*
Thomas Smith, Ld. Biſhop of *Carliſle.*
Jonathan Trelawny, Ld. Biſhop of *Exeter.*
Gilbert Burnet, Ld. Biſhop of *Saliſbury.*
Humphrey Humfreys, Ld. Biſhop of *Bangor.*
Nicholas Stratford, Ld. Biſhop of *Cheſter.*
Edward Stillingfleet, late Dean of St. *Paul's*, *London*, now Biſhop of *Worceſter.*
Simon Patrick, late Dean of *Peterborough*, now Biſhop of *Chicheſter.*
John Tillotſon, D. D. late Dean of *Canterbury*, now Dean of St. *Paul's*, *London.*
Rich. Meggot, D. D. Dean of *Wincheſter.*
John Sharp, D. D. late Dean of *Norwich*, now Dean of *Canterbury.*
Rich. Kidder, D. D. Dean of *Peterborough.*
Henry Aldridge, D. D. Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, *Oxford.*
William Jane, D. D. *Regius-Profeſſor* of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Oxford.*
John Hall, D. D. *Margaret-Profeſſor* of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Oxford.*
Joſeph Beaumont, D. D. *Regius-Profeſſor* of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Cambridge.*
John Mountague, D. D. and Maſter of *Trinity-College* in the Univerſity of *Cambridge.*
John Goodman, D. D. Arch-Deacon of *Middleſex.*
Will. Beveridge, D. D. Arch-Deacon of *Colcheſter.*
John Battely, D. D. Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury.*
Charles Alſton, D. D. Arch-Deacon of *Eſſex.*
Tho. Teniſon, D. D. Arch-Deacon of *London.*
John Scot, D. D. Prebendary of St. *Paul's*, *London.*
Edward Fowler, D. D. Prebendary of *Glouceſter.*
Robert Grove, D. D. Prebendary of St. *Paul's* *London.*
John Williams, D. D. Prebendary of St. *Paul's* *London.*

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Proceedings of theſe *Commiſſioners.*

Theſe (*b*) Commiſſioners often met, and drew up ſeveral Alterations to make *Conformity* the more eaſy and acceptable to all manner of conſcientious Perſons; but ſome that were named in the Commiſſion, did either not appear, or did ſoon deſert their other Brethren, upon a high Notion, That either no Alterations ought to be made, or at leaſt that this was not a ſeaſonable Time for the making of them; of which Number were Dr. *Jane*, *Regius Profeſſor of Divinity* in *Oxford*, and ſome others. But the better and much greater Majority apply'd themſelves to the Buſineſs of Accommodation, with great Induſtry and Prudence: That Point which created the greateſt Difficulty, was about the admitting of *Diſſenting-Miniſters* to officiate in the *Church*, when duly reconciled to it. Some of the Commiſſioners were inclined not to inſiſt on the Reordination of them, alledging, That they ought not to ſhew leſs Regard to the Vocation of *Presbyterian-Miniſters*, than to that of *Roman-Catholick Prieſts*, whoſe Ordination was never queſtion'd upon their joining in Communion with the *Church of England*. But the Majority thought it more proper to keep a middle Courſe, which was, firſt with reſpect to *Romiſh* Prieſts, to leave it undecided whether their Ordination was good or no: But becauſe they were not oblig'd to give Credit to their Certificates, That therefore ſuch of them as for the future ſhould turn *Proteſtants*, ſhould live in *Lay-Communion* only, unleſs they were Re-ordained to a Legal Title of any

(*a*) See "A Form of Prayer to be uſed on *Wedneſday* the Fifth Day of *June* within *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and on *Wedneſday* the 19th Day of *June* throughout the Kingdom, being the Faſt-Day appointed to implore the Bleſſing of Almighty God upon their Majeſties Forces by Sea and Land, and Succeſs in the War now declared againſt the *French* King, 4*to*.

A Faſt-Sermon Preached at *Hampton-Court*, before King *William* and Queen *Mary*, on the firſt *Wedneſday* in *June*, 1689. not publiſh'd till 1713, with ſome other Sermons in 8*vo*. In which (*ſays the Biſhop of* Sarum) "I ſtudied to diſcharge my Duty with ſuch Fidelity and Freedom, that ſome oppoſed the ordering it to be Printed, as containing in it ſome bold Strokes that ought not to be encouraged by a Court. Yet I found by the King and Queen's Behaviour to me, that I had loſt none of their Favour by it.

(*b*) See "A Diſcourſe concerning the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* open'd in the *Jeruſalem-Chamber*, *Octob.* 10, 1689. with the Subſtance of the Commiſſion, and the Names of the Commiſſioners, proving the ſaid Commiſſion to be agreeable to the Law of the Land, uſeful to the Convocation, tending to the well-being of the Church, and ſeaſonable at this Juncture. *London*, Printed for *Rich. Chiſwell*, 1689, 4*to*. [Written by Dr. *Tho. Teniſon*].

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Church or Cure. And Secondly, That tho' they did not determine the Ordination of *Presbyterians* to be altogether invalid; yet they thought it neceſſary for their Miniſters to receive Orders from a Biſhop, who, in conferring the ſame, might add a Clauſe to the Common Form, as the Church had already ordain'd in the Caſe of uncertain Baptiſm, to this Effect, *If thou art not already ordain'd, I ordain thee*, &c. and this was the greateſt Conceſſion that was made by the Commiſſioners. One of the chief *Diſſenters* has given this Opinion of their Proceedings: "Theſe Commiſſioners often met "and debated Matters, but were deſerted by "Dr. *Jane*, and ſeveral others. They drew up "ſundry Alterations, a Copy of which I have by "me; but they having never thought fit to communicate them to the Body of the Convocation, "or to expoſe them to the View of the World "from the Preſs, I know not how proper it would "be for me to print them. But this much I ſhall "venture to ſay, That ſuch Amendments as theſe "were, with ſuch an Allowance in the Point of "Orders for Ordination by Presbyters, as is made "13 *Eliz.* Cap. 12. would in all Probability have "brought in Two Thirds of the *Diſſenters in England*; which being done, and at the ſame Time "a *(a) Liberty* continued to ſuch as could not be "comprehended, would have been greater Service "than can eaſily be imagined.

Judgment of the *Diſſenters* upon this Matter.

Account of this Affair from the Biſhop of *Sarum*'s Triennial Viſitation Charge, 1704.

One of the Commiſſioners has more lately given this better Account of it. "In the Reign of King "*James*, thoſe of the Church who ſaw the Papiſts "drawing in the Diſſenters to concur with them "in their Deſigns againſt the Church, applied to "the then Prince of *Orange*, deſiring him to make "uſe of his Intereſt in them for diverting them "from that. And in thoſe Letters, which are yet "extant, Aſſurances were given, That the Church "was then in ſuch a Temper, ſo well convinced of "former Errors, that if ever ſhe got out of that "Diſtreſs, all thoſe Differences would be certainly "made up; and to make this Aſſurance more publick, the Archbiſhop and Biſhops in that Petition "for which they were impriſoned and tried, declared, that they were ready to come to a Temper in thoſe Matters, both in Parliament and "Convocation. Upon this it was, that the Prince "of *Orange* promiſed in his Declaration, to uſe his "Endeavours to heal all thoſe Diviſions. In order "to the performing this, he, by a ſpecial Commiſſion, appointed all thoſe Biſhops who owned "his Authority, he being then ſet on the Throne, "together with a great many of the Clergy, to "draw out the Grounds upon which the Diſſenters "had ſeparated from us, and to offer Expedients "in order to the healing our Breaches. We had "before us all the *(b)* Books and Papers that they "had at any time offered, ſetting forth their Demands; together with many Advices and Propoſitions which had been made at ſeveral Times, by "moſt of the beſt and moſt learned of our Divines; of which the late moſt learned Biſhop of "*Worceſter* had a great Collection. So that we "prepared a Scheme to be laid before the Convocation; but did not think that we ourſelves, much "leſs that any other Perſon, was any way limited, "or bound to comply with what we reſolved to "propoſe. On the contrary, we ſaid, if we ſaw "better Reaſon, we would change our Minds. "Yet this, which was only a Council created by "the King to prepare Matters, was complained "of, as an impoſing on the Convocation, and as a "limiting of it; and tho' a Royal Licenſe was "ſent them, yet a previous Reſolution was taken, "to admit of no Alterations. *(c)* When we ſaw that, "we reſolved to be quiet, and leave that Matter "to better Times. But then the Enemies of the "Civil Government began to work on the Jealouſies and Fears of many well-minded Men; and "the preſerving the Church, was given out as the "Word, by thoſe who meant *(d) France* or St. "*Germains* by it; and under this fatal Deluſion "many are apt to be miſled to this Day.

Meeting of the Convocation.

The Convocation met on *Thurſday Nov.* 21. and began in an unhappy Difference about the Choice of a Prolocutor. The Perſon deſign'd by the Biſhop of *London* and moſt of his Brethren, and the ſober Part of the Clergy, was Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dean of *Canterbury*, whom the King had lately made Clerk of his Cloſet, and uſed to call him *the honeſteſt Man, and the beſt Friend that ever he had in his Life*; but it was carried by a Majority of Votes for Dr. *Jane* of *Oxford*, who being preſented on the 25th to the Biſhop of *London*, as Preſident, for his Approbation, made a Cuſtomary Speech in *Latin*, wherein he extoll'd the Excellency of the Church of *England* as eſtabliſh'd by Law, above all Chriſtian Communities, and imply'd that it wanted no Amendments; and then ended with the Application of this Sentence by way of Triumph, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.* The Biſhop of *London*, to whom the Prolocutor had been Chaplain, made a Speech in the ſame Language, with more Charity and Candor. He told the Clergy, *they ought to endeavour a Temper in thoſe Things that are not eſſential in Religion, thereby to open the Door of Salvation to a Multitude of ſtraying Chriſtians: That it muſt needs be their Duty, to ſhew the ſame Indulgence and Charity to the* Diſſenters *under King* William, *which ſome of the Biſhops and Clergy had promiſed to them in their Addreſſes to King* James; and concluded with a pathetical Exhortation to Unanimity and Concord.

Dr. *Jane* Prolocutor. Biſhop of *London* Preſident.

Biſhop of *London's* Speech.

At the next Meeting, the Biſhop of *London*, being ſenſible that the Majority of the Lower Houſe were reſolved to oppoſe the intended Union with the Diſſenters, acquainted the Convocation, "That having communicated the Royal Commiſſion "by which they were empower'd to act, to an "eminent Civilian, he had found it defective in "not having the Great Seal; and therefore he "ſhould prorogue 'em till that was procured." During this Interval, many Arguments were uſed to bring the moſt ſtiff of the inferior Clergy to a charitable Condeſcenſion, and the much-deſir'd Union, but to very little Purpoſe. There was a Jealouſy and a Diſtruſt not to be conquer'd: Tho' there could be but Two Arguments of any Force to juſtify their Averſeneſs to enter upon the Terms of Accommodation: One was, That it ſeem'd to dero-

The Preſident Prorogues.

(*a*) See a Letter to a Friend relating to the preſent Convocation at *Weſtminſter*, dated *Nov.* 27. 1689. [Pleading for Reaſonable Alterations toward Unity and Peace, ſuppos'd to be writ ten by Dr. *Tillotſon*] *London*, Printed for *Brab. Aylmer.* 1690. 4*to.*

(*b*) See the Caſe of the Proteſtant Diſſenters repreſented and argued by Mr *Richard Stretton*, in a ſingle Sheet. Publiſh'd 1689. and reprinted in the Abridgment of Mr. *Baxter*'s Life.

(*c*) *See Concio ad Synodum ab Epiſcopis & Clero Provinciæ Cantuarienſis celebratam in Æde Weſtmonaſtenſi* XII. *Decemb.* 1689. *per Gulielmum Beveregium Archidiaconum Colceſtrienſem. Juſſu Epiſcoporum. Londini ſumptibus* R. Clavell, 1689. 4*to.*

(*d*) A Copy of the Alterations ſuggeſted by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners upon Review of the Liturgy; or rather the Original of them, was in the Hands of Dr. *Teniſon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but he never car'd to truſt it out of his own keeping; giving this good Reaſon, That if they came to be publick, they would give no Satisfaction on either ſide, but be rather a Handle for mutual Reproaches; one Side upbraiding their Brethren for having given up ſo much; and the other juſtifying their Nonconformity, becauſe thoſe Conceſſions were too little, or however were not yet paſs'd into Law. There was an Abſtract of theſe Proceedings drawn up by Dr. *John Williams*, afterward Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, who is ſaid to have communicated his Papers to Dr. *William Nichols*, beneſic'd in his Dioceſe, who from thence drew up the Account he gives in his *Defenſio Eccleſiæ Anglicanâ*, 8*vo. Latin.* Engliſh, 12o.

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The Majority againſt any Accommodation with the *Diſſenters.*

gate from the Dignity of the Church of *England* to make any Step toward the altering of her Conſtitution, till it did appear that the Diſſenters themſelves did deſire a Reconcilement, and were ready to offer ſome Propoſals, or to accept of others. A ſecond Argument might be, That the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome of his Suffragans, and ſome other Divines, would not own the preſent Government, and were therefore ready to fall into a new Separation from their Brethren; ſo that at this Juncture it might be dangerous to make any Change that might give a Pretence of being for the *Old Church*, as well as for the *Old King*.

On *Dec.* 4. while both Houſes were together in *Henry* VIIth's Chappel, the Earl of *Nottingham* brought in the King's Commiſſion, and a Meſſage from his Majeſty in Writing, both which were read, there being preſent Twelve Biſhops, and a good Number of the inferior Clergy. The Commiſſion was as follows.

The King's *Commiſſion* to Act.

" WILLIAM and MARY, (*a*) by the Grace of
" GOD, King and Queen of *England*,
" *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the
" *Faith*, &c. To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall
" come, Greeting; Whereas, in and by one Act of
" Parliament, made at *Weſtminſter* in the Twenty
" fifth Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the VIIIth,
" reciting, That whereas the King's humble and
" obedient Subjects, the Clergy of this Realm of
" *England*, had not only acknowledged according
" to the Truth, that the Convocation of the ſame
" Clergy, were always, had been, and ought to be
" aſſembled only by the King's Writ; but alſo
" ſubmitting themſelves to the King's Majeſty,
" had promiſed in *Verbo Sacerdotis*, That they
" would never from thenceforth preſume to at-
" tempt, alledge, claim, or put in Ure, or enact,
" promulge, or execute any new Canons, Conſti-
" tutions, Ordinances, Provincial, or others, or
" by whatſoever other Name they ſhould be
" called in the Convocation, unleſs the ſaid King's
" moſt Royal Aſſent and Licenſe might to them be
" had, to make, promulge and execute the ſame;
" and that the ſaid King did give his Royal Aſſent
" and Authority in that Behalf.

" It was therefore enacted by the Authority of
" the ſaid Parliament, according to the ſaid Sub-
" miſſion and Petition of the ſaid Clergy, among
" other things, That they, or any of them from
" thenceforth ſhould not enact, promulge, or execute
" any ſuch Canons, Conſtitutions, or Ordinances
" Provincial, by whatſoever Name they might be
" called, in their Convocation in Time coming,
" which always ſhould be aſſembled by Autho-
" rity of the King's Writ, unleſs the ſame Clergy
" might have the King's moſt Royal Aſſent and
" Licenſe, to make, promulge, and execute ſuch
" Canons, Conſtitutions and Ordinances, Provincial
" or Synodal, upon pain of every one of the ſaid
" Clergy doing contrary to the ſaid Act, and being
" thereof convict, to ſuffer Impriſonment, and
" make Fines at the King's Will.

" And further, by the ſaid Act it is provided,
" That no Canons, Conſtitutions or Ordinances
" ſhould be made, or put in Execution within
" this Realm, by Authority of the Convocations of
" the Clergy, which ſhould be contrariant or re-
" pugnant to the King's Prerogative Royal, or the
" Cuſtoms, Laws or Statutes of this Realm, any
" thing contained in the ſaid Act to the contrary
" thereof notwithſtanding.

" And laſtly, It is alſo provided by the ſaid

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" Act, That ſuch Canons, Conſtitutions, Ordinances
" and Synodals Provincial, which then were al-
" ready made, and which then were not contra-
" riant or repugnant to the Laws, Statutes and
" Cuſtoms of this Realm, not to the Damage or
" Hurt of the King's Prerogative Royal, ſhould
" then ſtill be uſed and executed as they were be-
" fore the making of the ſaid Act, until ſuch time
" as they ſhall be viewed, ſearched, or otherwiſe
" order'd and determin'd by the Perſons mentioned
" in the ſaid Act, or the moſt part of them, accord-
" ing to the Tenor, Form and Effect of the ſaid
" Act; as by the ſaid Act, among divers other
" things, more fully and at large, it doth and may
" appear.

" And whereas the particular Forms of Divine
" Worſhip, and Rites and Ceremonies appointed
" to be uſed therein, being Things of their own
" Nature indifferent and alterable, and ſo acknow-
" ledged, it is but reaſonable, that upon weighty
" and important Conſiderations, according to the
" various Exigency of Times and Occaſions, ſuch
" Changes and Alterations ſhould be made there-
" in, as to thoſe that are in Place and Authority,
" ſhould from time to time, ſeem either neceſſary
" or expedient.

" And whereas the Book of Canons is fit to be
" reviewed, and made more ſuitable to the State
" of the Church: And whereas there are divers
" Defects and Abuſes in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts
" and Juriſdictions; and particularly, there is not
" ſufficient Proviſion made for the removing of
" ſcandalous Miniſters, and for the Reformation of
" Manners either in Miniſters or People. And
" whereas it is moſt fit that there ſhould be a ſtrict
" Method preſcribed for the Examination of ſuch
" Perſons as deſire to be admitted into Holy Or-
" ders, both as to their Learning and Manners:
" KNOW YE, that we, for divers urgent and weighty
" Cauſes and Conſiderations, us thereunto moving,
" of our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and
" meer Motion, have by virtue of our Prerogative
" Royal, and Supreme Authority in Cauſes Eccle-
" ſiaſtical, given and granted, and by theſe Preſents
" give and grant, full, free and lawful Liberty, Li-
" cenſe, Power and Authority unto the Right Re-
" verend Father in God, *Henry* Lord Biſhop of
" *London*, Preſident of this preſent Convocation
" for the Province of *Canterbury* (upon the Suſpen-
" ſion of the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) du-
" ring this preſent Parliament now aſſembled; and
" in his Abſence, to ſuch other Biſhop as ſhall be
" appointed Preſident thereof, and to the reſt of
" the Biſhops of the ſame Province, and all Deans
" of Cathedral Churches, Archdeacons, Chapters and
" Colleges, and the whole Clergy of every ſeveral
" Dioceſe within the ſaid Province: That they the
" ſaid Lord Biſhop of *London*, or other Preſident
" of the ſaid Convocation, and the reſt of the Clergy
" of this preſent Convocation within the ſaid Pro-
" vince of *Canterbury*, or the greateſt Number of
" them, whereof the Preſident of the ſaid Convoca-
" tion to be always one, ſhall and may from time
" to time, during this preſent Parliament, confer,
" treat, debate, conſider, conſult, and agree of
" and upon ſuch Points, Matters, Cauſes and Things,
" as we from time to time ſhall propoſe, or cauſe
" to be propoſed by the ſaid Lord Biſhop of *Lon-*
" *don*, or other Preſident of the ſaid Convocation,
" concerning Alterations and Amendments of the
" Liturgy and Canons, and Orders, Ordinances and
" Conſtitutions for the Reformation of Eccleſiaſti-
" cal Courts; for the removing of ſcandalous Mini-

(*a*) Queen *Mary* was very exemplary in her Attendance upon the Publick Services of the Church, and in her Private Devotions. Dr. *Payne*, in his Funeral Sermon upon her Death, writes thus. " She doubled the *Sunday* Sermons at *Whitehall*, " and was every way for increaſing and advancing Religion. " I well remember the firſt Afternoon Sermon that perhaps " was ever in *England* before a King or Queen, having the Honour to preach it myſelf before her, *Octob.* 20. 1689.

1689. 1 W. M.

“ſters; for the Reformation of Manners either in Miniſters or People; and for the Examination of ſuch Perſons as deſire to be admitted into Holy Orders; and all ſuch other Points, Cauſes and Matters, as we ſhall think neceſſary and expedient, for advancing the Honour and Service of ALMIGHTY GOD, the Good and Quiet of the Church, and the better Government thereof.

“And We do alſo by theſe Preſents, give and grant unto the ſaid Lord Biſhop of *London*, or other Preſident of the ſaid Convocation, and to the reſt of the Biſhops of the ſaid Province of *Canterbury*, and unto all Deans of Cathedral-Churches, Archdeacons, Chapters and Colleges, and the whole Clergy of every ſeveral Dioceſe within the ſaid Province, full, free and lawful Liberty, Licenſe, Power and Authority, That they the ſaid Lord Biſhop of *London*, or other Preſident of the ſaid Convocation, and the reſt of the ſaid Biſhops, and other the Clergy of the ſame Province, or the greateſt Number of them that ſhall be preſent in Perſon, or by their Proxies, ſhall and may, from time to time, draw into Forms, and Canons, Rules, Orders, Ordinances, Conſtitutions, ſuch Matters as to them ſhall be thought neceſſary and expedient for the Purpoſes above-mention'd; and the ſame ſet down in Writing from time to time, to exhibit and deliver, or cauſe to be exhibited and delivered unto us; to the end that we, as Occaſion ſhall require, may thereupon have the Advice of our Parliament. And that all ſuch, and ſo many of the Canons, Orders, Ordinances, Conſtitutions, Matters, Cauſes and Things, as ſhall be thought requiſite and convenient by our ſaid Parliament, may be preſented to us in due Form, for our Royal Aſſent, if, upon mature Conſideration thereof, we ſhall think fit to Enact the ſame. In Witneſs whereof, we have caus'd theſe our Letters to be made Patent.

Witneſs ourſelves at Weſtminſter *the Thirtieth Day of* November, *in the Firſt Year of our Reign.*

Per Breve de Privato Sigillo.

BURKER.

His Majeſty's Meſſage to the Convocation, is as follows.

WILLIAM R.

The King's *Meſſage* to the *Convocation.*

“HIS Majeſty has ſummon'd this Convocation, not only becauſe 'tis uſual, upon holding of a Parliament, but out of a pious Zeal, to do every thing that may tend to the beſt Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England*, which is ſo eminent a Part of the Reformation, and is certainly the beſt ſuited to the Conſtitution of this Government; and therefore does moſt ſignally deſerve, and ſhall always have both his Favour and Protection. And he doubts not, but that you will aſſiſt him in promoting the Welfare of it, ſo that no Prejudices, with which ſome Men may have labour'd to poſſeſs you, ſhall diſappoint his good Intentions, or deprive the Church of any Benefit from your Conſultations. His Majeſty therefore expects, that the Things that ſhall be propos'd, ſhall be calmly and impartially conſidered by you; and aſſures you, that he will offer nothing to you, but what ſhall be for the Honour, Peace and Advantage both of the Proteſtant Religion in general, and particularly of the Church of *England*.

The Biſhops agreed on this Addreſs to his Majeſty.

The *Convocation's Addreſs to* the King.

“WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful Subjects, the Biſhops and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, in Convocation aſſembled, having receiv'd your Majeſty's gracious Meſſage, together with a Commiſſion from your Majeſty, by the Earl of *Nottingham*, hold our ſelves bound in Gratitude and Duty, to return our moſt humble Thanks and Acknowledgments, of the Grace and Goodneſs expreſs'd in your Majeſty's Meſſage, and the Zeal you ſhew in it for the Proteſtant Religion in general, and the Church of *England* in particular, and of the Truſt and Confidence repoſed in us, by this Commiſſion. We look upon theſe Marks of your Majeſty's Care and Favour, as the Continuance of the great Deliverance Almighty GOD wrought for us, by your Means, in making you the bleſſed Inſtrument of preſerving us from falling under the Cruelty of Popiſh Tyranny. For which, as we have often thank'd Almighty GOD, ſo we cannot forget that high Obligation and Duty which we owe to your Majeſty; and on theſe new Aſſurances of your Protection and Favour to our Church, we beg Leave to renew the Aſſurance of our conſtant Fidelity and Obedience to your Majeſty; whom we pray GOD to continue long and happily to reign over us.

Diſcontents and Diviſions in the Lower Houſe.

The (*a*) *Lower Houſe*, whoſe profeſs'd Buſineſs was to do nothing, would not conſent to this *Addreſs*, but firſt pleaded for the Privilege of preſenting a ſeparate *Addreſs* of their own drawing up; and then dropping that Pretenſion, they fell to making Amendments, and gave a Reaſon why they could not concur with the (*b*) *Biſhops* in their Form, in theſe Words: *We are deſirous to confine our Addreſs to his Majeſty's moſt Gracious Meſſage, and to thoſe Things only therein which concern the Church of* England. Hereupon a Conference was deſir'd, that was chiefly manag'd between the Biſhop of *Salisbury* and the *Prolocutor*; and theſe Reaſons were reported, why their Lordſhips inſiſted on the

(*a*) One of the Divines, who having been extremely zealous againſt the Diſſenters, was for no Alterations; Mr. *Thomas Long* of *Exeter*, publiſh'd ſome Account of Proceedings in Convocation, under the Name of *Vox Cleri*, Or the Senſe of the Clergy concerning the making Alterations in the Eſtabiſh'd Liturgy. To which is added an Hiſtorical Account of the whole Proceedings of the preſent Convocation. *London*, 1690. 4*to*. To which ſeveral Anſwers were ſoon given. 1. *Vox Populi*, Or the Senſe of the ſober Lay-Men of the Church of *England*, concerning the Heads propoſed in his Majeſty's Commiſſion to the Convocation. For *Randal Taylor*, 1689, 4*to*. 2. Two Letters, and a Vindication of them, concerning Alterations in the Liturgy, in anſwer to *Vox Cleri*, by a *London* Preſbyter [Said to be Mr. *Baſſet*.] *London*, 1689. 4*to*. 3. An Anſwer to *Vox Cleri*, examining the Reaſons againſt making any Alterations and Abatements, in order to a Comprehenſion, and ſhewing the Expediency thereof. [Said to be by Dr. *Payne*.] *London*, 1690. 4*to*.

(*b*) Archbiſhop *Sancroft* kept himſelf private and ſilent, offering none of his own Thoughts, but only publiſhing the Judgment of Biſhop *Overall*, and the Convocation in 1606. who were very extravagant in the Notions of Regal Power, and the Submiſſion of Subjects; and therefore he gave his Licence to it. *Imprimatur, Junij* 24. 1689. *W. CANT.* Biſhop *Overall's* Convocation-Book, MDCVI. concerning the *Government of God's Catholick Church, and the Kingdoms of the whole World. London*, For *Walt. Kettilby*, 1690. 4*to*. The Archbiſhop prefix'd *an Advertiſement to the Reader*; but gives an Account only of the Conveyance of the Papers, not a Word of the Subject-Matter of them.

See a Pamphlet entitled, *The Spirit of the Church-Faction detected in its Nature and Operation, more particularly in the Myſtery of the Convocation-Book, lately publiſhed and expoſed to the View and Cenſure of the World, By the late Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *London*, 1691. 4*to*. Wherein the Author complains of the ill Deſign of this Book; that it was a Concert between the King and Clergy for aſſerting the Abſolute Power of Princes; and that therefore this Work was an *Arcanum Imperii*, managed and tranſacted in a ſecret myſterious and diſguiſed manner.

1689. 1 *W. M.* expreſs Mention of the Proteſtant Religion. 1. "Becauſe it is the known Denomination of the "Common Doctrine of the *Weſtern* Part of Chriſtendom, in Oppoſition to the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. 2. Becauſe "the leaving out this, may have ill Conſequences, "and be liable to ſtrange Conſtructions, both at "home and abroad, among Proteſtants as well as "Papiſts. 3. Becauſe it agrees with the general "Reaſon offer'd by the Clergy for their Amendments, ſince this is expreſly mention'd in the "King's Meſſage; and in this the Church of *England* being ſo much concern'd, the Biſhops think "it ought to ſtand ſtill in the Addreſs." The Lower Houſe debated theſe Reaſons, and diſagreed to 'em, and then reſolved, "That inſtead of Proteſtant Religion, they would rather ſay, *Proteſtant Churches*." Their Lordſhips deſir'd a Reaſon of this Alteration? Which was return'd to 'em in theſe Words: "We being the Repreſentative "of a Form'd Eſtabliſh'd Church, do not think fit "to mention the Word Religion, any farther than "it is the Religion of ſome Form'd Eſtabliſh'd "Church." The Lords return'd the Amendments with this Alteration. "We doubt not the Intereſt "of the Proteſtant Religion, in this and all other "Proteſtant Churches.

The Lower Houſe ſeeming to fear it was a Diminution to the Church of *England*, to join it with Foreign Proteſtant Churches, would have the Words [*this and*] to be omitted; and at laſt, with great Difficulty, this Addreſs was agreed on, and preſented to his Majeſty in the Banqueting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, on *Thurſday Dec.* 12.

Form of an *Addreſs*. "WE your Majeſty's moſt loyal and moſt dutiful Subjects, the Biſhops and Clergy of "the Province of *Canterbury*, in Convocation aſſembled, having receiv'd a moſt gracious Meſſage from your Majeſty, by the Earl of *Nottingham*, hold ourſelves bound in Duty and Gratitude, to return our moſt humble Acknowledgments for the ſame, and the pious Zeal and Care "your Majeſty is pleaſed to expreſs therein, for the "Honour, Peace, Advantage and Eſtabliſhment of "the Church of *England*; whereby we doubt not, "the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion in all other "Proteſtant Churches, which is dear to us, will "be the better ſecur'd, under the Influence of your "Majeſty's Government and Protection. And we "crave Leave to aſſure your Majeſty, That in Purſuance of that Truſt and Confidence you repoſe "in us, we will conſider, whatſoever ſhall be offer'd to us from your Majeſty, without Prejudice, "and with all Calmneſs and Impartiality. And "that we will conſtantly pay the Fidelity and Allegiance which we have all ſworn to your Majeſty "and the Queen; whom we pray GOD to continue long and happily to reign over us.

1689. 1 *W. M.* His Majeſty well underſtood why this Addreſs omitted the Thanks which the Biſhops had recommended for his Royal Commiſſion, and the Zeal he had ſhewn for the Proteſtant Religion; and why there was no Expreſſion of Tenderneſs to the Diſſenters; and but a cool Regard to other Proteſtant Churches. However, his Majeſty return'd this gracious Anſwer. My LORDS, *I take this Addreſs very kindly from the Convocation. You may depend upon it, That all I have promis'd, and all I can do for the Service of the Church of* England, *I will do. And I give you this new Aſſurance, That I will improve all Occaſions and Opportunities for its Service.* (The King's *Anſwer* to the Addreſs.)

The Majority of the Lower Houſe had a reſerved Kindneſs for the Non-Juring Biſhops and Clergy (*a*); and therefore, one of the Members made a zealous Speech, in Behalf of the Biſhops under Suſpenſion, "That ſomething might be done, to qualify 'em "to ſit in Convocation; yet ſo, as that the Convocation might not incur any Danger thereby." But this Matter was too hard for 'em, and therefore it was left to farther Conſideration; while they labour'd to find out ſome other Buſineſs, to divert 'em from that for which they were call'd together: And therefore, on *Dec.* 11th, the Prolocutor attended the Preſident and Biſhops, and in the Name of the Houſe, repreſented to their Lordſhips, "That "there were ſeveral Books of very dangerous Conſequence to the Chriſtian Religion, and the "Church of *England*; particularly, Notes upon "*Athanaſius*'s Creed, and Two Letters relating to "the preſent Convocation, lately come Abroad; "and deſir'd their Lordſhips Advice, in what Way, "and how far ſafely, without incurring the Penalty of *Stat.* 25. *Hen.* VIII. the Convocation may "proceed, in the preventing the publiſhing the like "Scandalous Books for the future, and inflicting "the Cenſure of the Church, according to the Canons provided in that Behalf, upon the Authors (Proceedings of the Lower-Houſe.) (A Complaint of ill Books.)

(*a*) Some of the Biſhops and Clergy were Nonjurors upon very different Principles: Some few upon Conſcience, that they could not be abſolved from their former Oaths. Some others upon a Shame of having gone ſo far into the Meaſures of King *James*, that they could not decently deſert his Cauſe. And even ſome out of a timerous Spirit, not ſo much queſtioning the Lawfulneſs of the new Oaths before the taking, as the new Scruples and Uneaſineſs they might chance to be under after they had taken them. This was plainly the Caſe of Biſhop *Ken*; he ſcrupled the new Oaths, he ſatisfied himſelf in thoſe firſt Scruples, he reſolv'd to take them; he came toward *London* in order to it; he fell into new Doubts, yet he could have complied, but he was afraid of an after-Reckoning in his own Thoughts that might be heavy on him. See his own Account of himſelf in his Anſwer to a Letter of the Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*, dated *Oct.* 5. 1689. to which his Lordſhip's Kinſman, Writer of his Life, adds, That whilſt he ſtayed in Town, and lodged with his old Friend Dr. *Hooper*, who had daily and earneſtly diſcours'd him on the Subject of Compliance with the Oaths, he at laſt us'd this Expreſſion to him, *I queſtion not but that you and ſeveral others have taken the Oaths with as good a Conſcience as I my ſelf ſhall refuſe them; and ſometimes you have almoſt perſuaded me to comply with the Arguments you have uſed, but I beg you to urge them no farther; for ſhould I be perſuaded to comply, and after ſee Reaſon to repent, you would make me the moſt miſerable Man in the World.*

See, 1. The Declaration of the Right Reverend Father in God, *John* Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter* upon his Death Bed, *Auguſt* 25. 1689. *Manu propriâ ſubſcripſit Jo. Ciceſtrenſis*, putting his Refuſal of the Oaths upon the *great Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience*, which he always look'd upon as *the diſtinguiſhing Character of the Church of* England; —— and that therefore he would not have taken the Oath, though the Penalty had been *Loſs of Life*, &c. Printed 1689. —— 2. A Letter from a Perſon of Quality in the *North* [Mrs. *Eyre*, Daughter to the Lady *Packington*,] to a Friend in *London* [Dr. *Patrick*, Dean of *Peterborough*,] concerning Biſhop *Lake*'s late Declaration of his Dying in the Belief of the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, as the diſtinguiſhing Character of the Church of *England*. Licens'd *Septemb.* 19. 1689. 4to. —— 3. A Vindication of the Letter out of the *North*, concerning Biſhop *Lake*'s Declaration, *&c.* Licens'd *Jan.* 27. 1689 90. 4to.

The Biſhops and Clergy, who were excluded from the State as Nonjurors, began to think of dividing from the Church as a ſeparate Communion. To obviate that Humour, there was an excellent Diſcourſe publiſh'd, entituled, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Unreaſonableneſs of a new Separation on Account of the Oaths, with an Anſwer to the Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience, ſo far as relates to them. Licens'd* Octob. 25. 1689. *Lond* for *Richard Chiſwell*. 4to.

Mr. *Dodwell* during the Suſpenſion of the Biſhops, gave Warning of a Schiſm on their Deprivation, in a Diſcourſe, entitl'd, *A Cautionary Diſcourſe of Schiſm, with a particular Regard to the Caſe of the Biſhops, who are ſuſpended for refuſing to take the New Oath.* To prove the contrary, that no Schiſm was formed in the Primitive Church on Account of the Deprivation of Biſhops, if there were no Hereſy in their Succeſſors; a *Greek* Manuſcript, found among the *Baroceian* in the *Bodley* Library at *Oxon*, was tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and publiſhed by Mr. *Humphrey Hody*, Fellow of *Wadham* College. On Occaſion of which Mr. *Dodwell* wrote his *Vindication of the Deprived Biſhops*; to which *Vindication* Dr. *Hody* wrote an *Anſwer*, Mr. *Dodwell* made a *Reply*, &c.

"of

1 *W. M.* 1689. " of 'em. " Upon which the Prolocutor ſoon after acquainted the Houſe, " That the Preſident had declar'd his Senſe of the Ill Conſequence of thoſe " Books that were ſent up from this Houſe to their " Lordſhips; and that, upon Enquiry, he cou'd " not receive any Satisfaction, how far the Convocation might proceed in that Affair, but he wou'd, " as far as lay in him, take farther Order about it." When the Preſident and his Brethren ſaw the Diſpoſition of the Lower-Houſe, they found it was to no Purpoſe to communicate any Propoſals to 'em; and therefore the Convocation was prorogu'd to *Jan.* 24th, and ſoon after, with the Parliament, prorogu'd and diſſolv'd. " It muſt be confeſs'd, (*ſays* " *a late Writer*) That the Presbyterians did not a " little contribute to exaſperate the Convocation " againſt 'em; having, at this very Time, given " Orders to near Fifty young Students; and Mr. " *Baxter* (the Head of their Party) having publiſh'd a Book, reflecting on the Church of *England.* It was alſo reported, That the Presbyterians of *Scotland* were the Authors of a Sham-" Plot, which they father'd upon the Epiſcopal " Party of *Glaſgow*, that they might have a Pretence to diſarm 'em, and oppreſs 'em.

The Preſident's Anſwer.

The Convocation prorogu'd.

1690. Meeting of a New-Parliament.

On *Thurſday, March* 20th, the New Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, purſuant to their Majeſties Writs of Summons; and his Majeſty being in his Royal Robes, ſeated on the Throne, the Commons were ſent for up, by the Uſher of the Black-Rod: Who accordingly attending, the Lord Chief Baron *Atkyns* (Speaker of the Houſe of Peers) by his Majeſty's Command, ſignify'd to 'em his Majeſty's Pleaſure, " That they ſhou'd forthwith proceed to " the Choice of a Speaker, and preſent him to his " Majeſty the next Morning." After which, the Commons return'd to their Houſe, and made choice of Sir *John Trevor*, Kt. to be their Speaker; who being the next Morning preſented to his Majeſty, ſeated on the Throne in the Houſe of Peers, his Majeſty did graciouſly approve of him, and then his Majeſty made this Speech to Both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen:

The King's Speech.

" I Am reſolv'd to leave nothing unattempted on " my Part, which may contribute to the Peace " and Proſperity of this Nation: And finding my " Preſence in *Ireland* will be abſolutely neceſſary, " for the more ſpeedy Reducing of that Kingdom, " I continue my Reſolution of going thither as ſoon " as may be; and I have now call'd you together, " for your Aſſiſtance, to enable me to proſecute the " War with Speed and Vigor: In which I aſſure my " ſelf of your chearful Concurrence, being a Work " ſo neceſſary for your own Safeties.

" In order to this, I deſire you will forthwith " make a Settlement of the Revenue; and I cannot doubt, but you will therein have as much " Regard for the Honour and Dignity of the Monarchy in my Hands, as has been lately ſhew'd " to others: And I have ſo great a Confidence in " you, That if no quicker or more convenient Way " can be found, for the Raiſing of Ready Money, " (without which, the Service cannot be perform'd) " I ſhall be very well content, for the preſent, to " have it made ſuch a Fund of Credit, as may be " uſeful to your ſelves as well as me, in this Conjuncture; not having the leaſt Apprehenſions, " but that you will provide for the taking off all " ſuch Anticipations as it ſhall happen to fall under.

" It is ſufficiently known, how earneſtly I have " endeavour'd to extinguiſh (or at leaſt compoſe) " all Differences amongſt my Subjects, and to that " End, how often I have recommended an Act of " Indemnity to the laſt Parliament: But ſince that " Part of it, which related to the preventing of " private Suits, is already enacted, and becauſe Debates of that Nature muſt take up more of your " Time, than can now be ſpar'd from the Diſpatch " of thoſe other Things which are abſolutely neceſſary for our common Safety; I intend to ſend " you an Act of Grace, with Exceptions of ſome " few Perſons only, but ſuch as may be ſufficient to " ſhew my great Diſlike of their Crimes, and at " the ſame Time, my Readineſs to extend Protection to all my other Subjects; who will thereby " ſee, That they can recommend themſelves to me, " by no other Methods than what the Laws preſcribe, " which ſhall always be the only Rule of my Government. 1689. 1 *W. M.*

" A farther Reaſon which induceth me to ſend " you this Act at this Time, is, becauſe I am deſirous to leave no Colour of Excuſe to any of my " Subjects, for the Raiſing of Diſturbances in the " Government, and eſpecially in the Time of my " Abſence; and I ſay this, both to inform you, and " to let ſome ill-affected Men ſee, that I am not " unacquainted, how buſy they are in their preſent " Endeavours to alter it.

" Amongſt other Encouragements, which I find " they give themſelves, one of the Ways by which " they hope to compaſs their Deſigns, is, by creating Differences and Diſagreements in your Counſels, which, I hope, you will be very careful to " prevent; for be aſſured, That our greateſt Enemies can have no better *Inſtruments* for their Purpoſes, than thoſe who ſhall any way endeavour to " diſturb or delay your ſpeedy and unanimous Proceeding upon theſe neceſſary Matters.

" I muſt recommend alſo to your Conſideration, " an *Union* with *Scotland*: I do not mean, it ſhould " be now entred upon; but they having propoſed " this to me ſome Time ſince, and the Parliament " there having nominated Commiſſioners for that " Purpoſe, I ſhou'd be glad that Commiſſioners " might alſo be nominated here, to treat with them, " and to ſee if ſuch Terms cou'd be agreed on, as " might be for the Benefit of both Nations, ſo as " to be ready to be preſented to you in ſome future " Seſſion.

My Lords and Gentlemen:

" I have thought it moſt convenient, to leave the " Adminiſtration of the Government in the Hands " of the Queen, during my Abſence; and if it ſhall " be judg'd neceſſary to have an Act of Parliament, " for the better Confirmation of it to her, I deſire " you will let ſuch an one be prepared to be preſented to me.

" I have this only to add, That the Seaſon of the " Year, and my Journey into *Ireland*, will admit " but of a very ſhort Seſſion; ſo that I muſt recommend to you the making ſuch Diſpatch, that we " may not be engag'd in Debates, when our Enemies ſhall be in the Field. For the Succeſs of " the War, and the more thrifty Management of " it, will both principally depend upon your ſpeedy " Reſolutions. And I hope it will not be long before we ſhall meet again, to perfect what the " Time will not now allow to be done.

This Speech had a good Influence on Both Houſes; and the Commons were now generally ſuch as were well-affected to the preſent Government, and had a hearty Concern for the Support and Settlement of it: And yet there was ſome of the old Speaking Members of the diſcontented Party, who, upon Occaſion, betray'd their Temper different from that of the Majority. The firſt Buſineſs of Importance the Commons entred upon, was the Settling a Revenue for the Maintenance of the Civil-Liſt. Upon which Occaſion, Sir *Charles Sidley* made this bold and memorable Speech, againſt Exorbitant Penſions and Salaries.

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Speech of Sir *Charles Sidley.*

Mr. SPEAKER;

"WE have provided for the Army; we have "provided for the Navy: And now, at "laſt, a new Reckoning is brought us, we muſt "likewiſe provide for the Liſts. Truly, Mr. *Speaker*, 'tis a ſad Reflection, That ſome Men ſhou'd "wallow in Wealth and Places, whilſt others pay "away in Taxes, the fourth Part of their Revenue, "for the Support of the ſame Government. We "are not upon equal Terms, for his Majeſty's Ser"vice: The Courtiers and great Officers charge, "as it were, in Armour; they feel not the Taxes, "by reaſon of their Places, whilſt the Country "Gentlemen are ſhot through and through by them. "---- The King is pleas'd to lay his Wants before "us; and, I am confident, expects our Advice up"on it: We ought therefore to tell him what Pen"ſions are too great; what Places may be extin"guiſh'd, during the Time of the War, and pub"lick Calamity. His Majeſty ſees nothing but "Coaches and Six, and great Tables, and there"fore cannot imagine the Want and Miſery of the "reſt of his Subjects: He is a brave and generous "Prince, but he's a young King, encompaſs'd and "hem'd in by a Company of crafty old Courtiers. "To ſay no more, ſome have Places of 3000 *l.* "ſome of 6000 *l.* and others of 8000 *l. per Ann.* "And I am told, the Commiſſioners of the Trea"ſury have 1600 *l. per Ann.* a-piece. Certainly, "Publick Penſions, whatever they have been for"merly, are much too great for the preſent Want "and Calamity that reigns every where elſe: And "it is a Scandal, that a Government ſo ſick at "Heart as ours is, ſhou'd look ſo well in the Face. "---- We muſt ſave the King Money where-ever "we can; for I'm afraid the War is too great for "our Purſes, if Things be not manag'd with all "imaginable Thrift. When the People of *Eng"land* ſee all Things are ſav'd that can be ſav'd; "that there are no exorbitant Penſions, nor unne"ceſſary Salaries, and all this applied to the Uſe to "which they are given; We ſhall give, and they "ſhall pay, whatever his Majeſty can want, to ſe"cure the Proteſtant Religion, and to keep out the "King of *France*, and King *James* too, whom, "by the way, I have not heard nam'd this Seſſion; "whether out of Fear, Diſcretion, or Reſpect, I "cannot tell. —— I conclude, Mr. *Speaker*, let "us ſave the King what we can, and then let us "proceed to give him what we are able.

The ill Intention of this Speech was diverted by the wiſer Members; and the Houſe ſoon fell upon the Reſolution of "granting to their Majeſties all "the Revenues that K. *James* enjoy'd the 20th of *De"cember*, 1688. as *Rights of the Crown*, (excepting "Chimney-Money.)" Then they reſolv'd, "That "their Majeſties ſhou'd be put into the Poſſeſſion "of ſuch additional Exciſes, as had been granted "to King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. and or"der'd that Revenue to be a Security for the raiſing "the preſent Money." And farther, "They a"greed to grant, for Four Years, to begin from "*Chriſtmas* following, a Continuance of all ſuch "Cuſtoms as the Two late Kings had enjoy'd; and "upon which, their Majeſties might take up a Sum "of Money, as ſhould be regulated in a Bill for "that Purpoſe." And as well to preſerve as to improve, they order'd, "A Bill againſt *Alienation "of the Crown Revenues*, upon any Pretence what"ſoever."

Encourag'd by theſe Votes, ſeveral private Perſons advanc'd Money, to ſupply the King's preſent Occaſions, which were much the greater, for his intended Expedition.

Bill of Abjuration.

Not long after, a Bill was brought in to the Lower Houſe, "Requiring all their Majeſties Sub"jects to abjure the late King *James*, under Pain "of Impriſonment, without Bail or Mainpriſe;" but upon a Second Reading it was laid aſide, both becauſe it might create an unneceſſary Diſturbance, and becauſe it ſeem'd to bear too hard on the Liberties of the Subject. However, the Commons prepar'd Two Acts, which tended to the ſame Purpoſe: By the firſt, "They declared guilty of High "Treaſon, all thoſe that were actually in the Ser"vice of King *James* in *Ireland*, and their Eſtates "forfeited to Their Majeſties, unleſs their Children "were *Proteſtants*:" And by the Second, "They "confirm'd all the Acts of the Convention Parlia"ment, by which King *William* and Queen *Mary* "were acknowledg'd to be Lawful King and Queen "of *England*.

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Honours and Preferments.

In the Houſe of Lords, his Majeſty conferr'd ſome new Titles, and introduc'd ſome new Members: For on the 17th of *April*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to create the Right Honourable *Richard* Viſcount *Lumley*, Earl of *Scarborough* in the County of *York*; and *Henry* Lord *Delamere*, Earl of *Warington*, in the County of *Lancaſter*; and *Henry* Lord *de Grey* of *Ruthyn*, a Viſcount of this Kingdom, by the Name and Stile of Viſcount *de Longueville*. And on the 21ſt of *April*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby* (Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*) was, by virtue of Their Majeſties Writ of Summons, introduc'd into the Houſe of Peers, and took his Place on the Barons Bench.

On *Wedneſday* the 23d of *April*, his Majeſty, to encourage the Two Houſes to the more ſpeedy Diſpatch of Buſineſs, came to the Houſe of Lords, attended with the uſual Solemnity, and gave his Royal Aſſent to,

An Act for granting to Their Majeſties, for their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of 'em, certain Impoſitions upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors.

An Act for the raiſing Money by a Poll, and other Ways, towards the Reducing of Ireland, *and proſecuting the War againſt* France.

An Act to ſupply a Defect in a former Act of the laſt Parliament, for the Sale or Leaſing of a Houſe, late Henry Coventry's, *Eſq; in* Picadilly.

An Act to illegitimate any Child, or Children, which Jane, *the Wife of* John Lukener, *Eſq; hath had, or ſhall have, during her Elopement from him.*

An Act to enable John Wolſtenholme, *Eſq; to ſell Lands for Payment of Debts.*

And there being a good Unanimity in carrying on the Publick Intereſt; His Majeſty came again to the Houſe of Lords, on *May* 2. and gave his Royal Aſſent to theſe other Bills:

An Act for granting to Their Majeſties a Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage, and other Sums of Money, payable upon Merchandizes exported and imported.

An Act for enabling the Sale of Goods diſtrain'd for Rent, in caſe the Rent be not paid in a reaſonable Time.

An Act to enable Algernoon *Earl of* Eſſex, *to make a Wife a Jointure; and for raiſing of Monies for Payment of* 6000 l. *borrow'd to make up the* Lady Morpeth'*s Portion, and to make a Settlement of his Eſtate on his Marriage.*

An Act for the making ſome Proviſion for the Daughters and younger Sons of Anthony *Earl of* Shaftsbury.

An Act for the Sale of the Capital Meſſuage, or Manſion Houſe of Harleford, *and Manor of* Great Marlow, *and other Lands in the County of* Bucks.

An Act to enable Sir Robert Fenwick *to ſell Lands for Payment of his Debts.*

An Act for confirming a Settlement made by Sir Hugh Middeleton, *Baronet, for a Separate Maintenance for Dame* Dorothea *his Wife, and for other Truſts;*

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Truſts ; and for the better enabling Truſtees to ſell Part of his Eſtate, for Payment of his Debts.

An Act, whereby the Freehold and Inheritance of the Manor of Loleworth, *alias* Lollworth, *and the Advowſon of the Church of* Loleworth, *alias* Lollworth, *in the County of* Cambridge, *and divers other* Lands *and Hereditaments in* Loleworth *aforeſaid, and in* Long-Stanton *in the ſaid County, are veſted in* Altham Smith, *of* Grays-Inn, *in the County of* Middleſex, *Eſq*; *and* William Gore, *of* London *Merchant, and their Heirs, in Fee Simple, in Poſſeſſion, to the Uſe of them and their Heirs in Truſt for* John Edwards, *of* Dobdon-Hall, *in the County of* Eſſex, *Eſq*; *and his Heirs, to the intent the ſame may be ſold.*

An Act to enable Sir Humphry Forſter *to ſettle and diſpoſe Lands.*

An Act to enable Thomas Berenger, *Eſq*; *to ſell Lands for Payment of his Debts.*

An Act to veſt the Eſtate of Cadwallador Wynne, *Eſq*; *in Truſtees for the Payment of his Debs.*

An Act for the Naturalizing of David le Grand, *and others.*

The King intent upon going over to reduce *Ireland.*

The King was very intent upon going over in Perſon to *Ireland*, and putting an Iſſue to that dangerous War ; and therefore he employ'd his Miniſters in the Houſe of Commons, to draw up a Bill for putting the Adminiſtration of the Government into the Queen's Hands, not only during the King's Abſence in *Ireland*, but whenever his Affairs ſhould call him out of the Kingdom : And that nothing might happen to the Prejudice of the Government, whilſt he himſelf was abroad, he thought fit to require, That the Deputy-Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties, ſhould be authoriz'd to raiſe the *Militia* in caſe of Neceſſity ; and all *Papiſts* ſhould be order'd to repair to their Places of Abode, and not ſtir above Five Miles from thence without Leave. And that his Majeſty might have the greater Confidence in the City of *London*, a Bill was to be brought in for Reverſing the Judgment in a *Quo Warranto* againſt their Charter, and for reſtoring all their Ancient Rights and Liberties. When theſe Things were ready, his Majeſty came on *Tueſday, May* 20. to the Houſe of Lords, and gave the Royal Aſſent to, (1.) *An Act for the Exerciſe of the Government by Her Majeſty, during His Majeſty's Abſence.* (2.) *An Act for Reverſing the Judgment in a* Quo Warranto *againſt the City of* London, *and for Reſtoring the City of* London *to its Ancient Rights and Privileges.* (3.) *An Act to declare the Right and Freedom of Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament for the* Cinque Ports. (4.) *An Act for the Diſcouraging the Importation of Thrown Silk.* (5.) *An Act for Confirming to the Governor and Company Trading to* Hudſon's Bay, *their Privileges and Trade.* (6.) *An Act for the Encouraging and better Eſtabliſhing the Manufacture of White Paper in this Kingdom* : And to Two Private Acts.

Bill of Indemnity.

The Bill of Indemnity and Free Pardon, ſo earneſtly recommended by his Majeſty, did at laſt paſs both Houſes, after great Debates held, and many Difficulties remov'd, about the Subject of it. The Clemency of the King, and the Generoſity of the Parliament, were very great ; for among all the late Inſtruments of Popery and Arbitrary Power, there were but Thirty Five Perſons expreſly excepted ; and of them, few or none made Examples of the Juſtice of the Nation. The Perſons excepted were,

William Marquis of *Powis.*	*Theophilus* Earl of *Huntingdon.*
Robert (*a*) Earl of *Sunderland.*	*John* Earl of *Melford.*
Roger Earl of *Caſtlemain.*	The Lord *Thomas Howard.*
Nathaniel (*b*) Lord Biſhop of *Durham.*	*Thomas* (*c*) Lord Biſhop of St. *David*'s.
Henry Lord *Dover.*	*William Molineux.*
Sir *Edward Hales.*	Sir *William Herbert.*
Sir *Francis Wythens.*	Sir *Richard Holloway.*
Sir *Edward Lutwich.*	Sir *Richard Heath.*
Sir *Thomas Jenner.*	Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange.*
Sir *Nicholas Butler.*	*Edward Petre.*
Thomas Tindeſley, alias *Tildeſley.*	---*Townley*, lately call'd Colonel *Townley.*
Rowland Tempeſt.	*Edward Morgan.*
Obadiah Walker.	*Robert Brent.*
Richard Graham.	*Philip Burton.*
Robert Lundy.	*Matthew Crone.*

And alſo excepted, *George* Lord *Jefferies*, deceas'd.

The King thought it proper to conclude the Seſſion with this Act of Grace ; and therefore on *Friday, May* 23. he came to the Houſe of Lords, and gave the Royal Aſſent to this Act for the King and Queen's moſt Gracious, General, and Free Pardon. After which, His Majeſty was pleas'd to make this Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen ;

King's Speech.

"I Have had ſuch Aſſurance of your good Affections to me, that I come now to thank you, "and particularly for the Supplies you have given "me.

"The Seaſon of the Year is ſo far advanc'd, that "I can no longer delay my going into *Ireland* ; and "therefore I think it neceſſary to have an Adjournment of the Parliament : And tho' it ſhall be but "to a ſhort Day, yet unleſs ſome great Occaſion require it, (of which you ſhall have due Notice) "I do not intend you ſhall ſit to do Buſineſs until "the Winter ; and I hope, by the Bleſſing of GOD, "we ſhall then have a happy Meeting.

"In the mean Time, I recommend to you the "Diſcharge of your Duties in your reſpective "Counties, that the Peace of the Nation may be "ſecur'd by your Vigilance and Care in your ſeveral "Stations.

The Two Houſes adjourn.

Then the Lord Chief Baron, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, told both Houſes, It was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that they adjourn themſelves to the 7th Day of *July* next. (*d*)

Honours and Offices.

On *May* 30. his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute *Richard Pyne*, Eſq; Sir *Richard Reeves*, Kt. and

(*a*) *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland* was in the Favour of King *William*, as one who had done good Services toward promoting the Revolution, in a private, effectual Manner. See the Earl of *Sunderland*'s *Letter to a Friend in* London ; plainly diſcovering the Deſigns of the *Romiſh* Party, and others, for the ſubverting of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom. Licenſed, *March* 23. 1689.

(*b*) The Biſhop of D - - - had paid ſo much Court to the King, and to the very Nuncio of the Pope, that he deſpair'd of any Favour at the Revolution ; and he was once got beyond Sea in a Fright ; but being brought back by the Importunity of a Domeſtick Servant, he made a new Intereſt in the new Court and Parliament, and bought off the Complaints of Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, and others, who had ſuffer'd by him.

(*c*) *Thomas* Lord Biſhop of St. *David*'s would not be depriv'd by the Act for not taking the Oaths ; but after a long Proſecution of him, for Corruption, and many irregular and ſcandalous Practices ; he was depriv'd by Archbiſhop *Teniſon*, and the Sentence affirm'd in Common Law.

(*d*) As to the Diſputes and Commotions in the Univerſity of *Oxford* within this Year 1690. See 1. *The Naked Truth*, written by *Arthur Bury*, D. D. Rector of *Exeter-College* in *Oxford* ; by him publiſh'd firſt in *April* 1690. Said in the Title-Page to be printed at *London*, (but really at *Oxford*) by virtue of his Authority as Pro-Vicechancellor.—— 2. An Account of the Proceedings of the Right Reverend Father in God, *Jonathan* Lord Biſhop of *Exeter*, in his late Viſitation of *Exeter-College* in *Oxford*, ſolemnly begun on *June* 16. 1690. With Copies

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and *Robert Rochford*, Eſq; Commiſſioners of the Great Seal of *Ireland*, as alſo Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and *General Gaol-Delivery* within the ſaid Kingdom: And on *June* 3. Sir *John Trevor*, Kt. Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Sir *William Rawlinſon*, Kt. and Sir *George Hutchins*, Kt. were ſworn Lords Commiſſioners for the Great Seal of *England*; and on the ſame Day, *Charles* Marquis of *Wincheſter*, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, was ſworn one of the Lords of the Privy Council. The next Morning, *June* the 4th, his Majeſty ſet out on his Royal Voyage for (*a*) *Ireland*; and Dining with Mr. *Guy* of *Tring*, he lay that Night at *Northampton*, the next at *Litchfield*, the Third at *Whitehurch*, and came by *Saturday* Noon to Colonel *Whitley*'s Houſe, between *Cheſter* and *Highlake*. On *Sunday* Morning, his Majeſty went to *Cheſter*, with a numerous Attendance of Nobility and Gentry. His Majeſty went directly to the Cathedral, the Mayor carrying the Sword, and the Senior Alderman the Mace before him. At the Church-Door, the Biſhop and his Clergy receiv'd his Majeſty, and conducted him into the Choir. After Divine Service, and a Sermon preach'd by the Biſhop, his Majeſty took Coach again, and went to *Gayton*, the Houſe of Mr. *Gleg*; where he was met by Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, and the reſt of the Sea-Commanders. On *Wedneſday*, *June* the 11th, his Majeſty embark'd at *Highlake*, and ſet Sail about Noon with a Fair Wind, with Six Men of War, commanded by Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, Six Yatchts, and as many other Tranſport Veſſels as made up a Fleet of above Three Hundred Sail. On *Saturday* Morning, by Half an Hour after One, his Majeſty arriv'd in the Bay of *Carrick-fergus*, and about Three went aſhore, and travell'd by Land about Eight Miles to *Belfaſt*; where he was met by the Duke of *Schomberg*, the Prince of *Wirtembergh*, Major-General *Kirke*, and other General Officers; being attended from *England* by his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Scarborough* and *Mancheſter*, the Honourable Mr. *Boyle*, and many other Perſons of Diſtinction. Next Day, being *Sunday*, Dr. *Royſe* preach'd before the King, on *Heb.* vi. 11. *Through Faith they ſubdued Kingdoms.* Two or Three Days after, his Majeſty din'd with the General, at his Head-Quarters at *Lisburn*, and from thence went on to *Hillsborough*; where, on the 20th, he publiſh'd an Order, forbidding the Preſſing of Horſes, and committing any Violence upon the Country-People. Then hearing ſome cautious Advices given by the General Officers, he ſaid, *He did not come there to let Graſs grow under his Feet*; but he would purſue the War with the utmoſt Vigor: And therefore order'd the whole Army to march into the Field, and encamp at *Loughbritland*, where the King arriv'd, *June* 22. and taking a particular View of the Army, he found them to conſiſt of Thirty Six Thouſand Men, in good Heart and Condition: From hence they march'd to *Newry*, and on the 27th to *Dundalk*. The King was ſo pleas'd with the Proſpect of the Country as he rid along, that he ſaid to thoſe about him, *It was worth Fighting for.* Upon Advice that the Enemy had abandon'd *Ardee*, the King immediately directed his March thither.

Embarks at *Highlake*;

Lands at *Carrick-fergus*.

K. James reſolves to meet him in the Field.

The late King *James* was no ſooner inform'd of King *William*'s Landing, but he agreed to the Neceſſity of meeting him in the Field; and therefore, on the 16th of *June*, he ſet out from *Dublin* with about Six Thouſand *French* Foot, being old experienced Soldiers, lately arriv'd from *France*; and committed the Guard of that City to Six Thouſand of the Country *Militia*, under the Command of Colonel *Lutterel*. But, as if foreſeeing his own Misfortunes, he had order'd Sir *Patrick Trant*, Commiſſioner of the Revenue, to prepare him Ships at *Waterford*, that after a Fight, he might ſecure his Retreat to *France*. King *James* coming up to the reſt of his Forces, which now amounted to almoſt an equal Number with thoſe of King *William*'s, beſides Fifteen Thouſand which remain'd in Gariſons, he held a Council of War; wherein it was thought fit to repaſs the *Boyne*, and to weary out the *Engliſh* by Marches and Counter-Marches along that River, which they thought impoſſible for them to paſs, while they could defend the oppoſite Banks at ſuch great Advantage.

The Battel of the *Boyne*.

On the 30th of *June*, K. *William* being inform'd that the Enemy had repaſs'd the *Boyne*, order'd his whole Army to move by Break of Day in Three Lines towards that River, which was about Three Miles diſtant from 'em; whereupon the advanc'd Guards of Horſe, commanded by Sir *John Lanier*, mov'd in very good Order, and by Nine of the Clock got within Two Miles of *Drogheda*. The King, who march'd in the Front of 'em, rode nearer to view the Enemy's Camp, which he found to be all along the River in Two Lines. Upon this Proſpect, his Majeſty held a Conſult and long Diſcourſe with the Prince, Duke *Schomberg*, Duke of *Ormond*, Count *Solmes*, Major-General *Scravenmore*, the Lord *Sidney*, and other Great Officers, who made their ſeveral Obſervations upon the Enemy: Among the reſt, *Scravenmore* ſeem'd to deſpiſe 'em, and ſaid they were *Un Petit Armee*, for they could not reckon above Forty ſix Regiments that lay encamp'd; but the King wiſely anſwer'd, "That they might "have a great many Men in the Town; and that "alſo there was a Hill to the *South-Weſt*, beyond "which, Part of their Army might well lie: *But* "*however*, (ſays the King) *we ſhall ſoon be better* "*acquainted with their Numbers.*"

The King rid on to the Paſs of the *Old Bridge*, and ſtood upon the Side of the Bank within Muſquet-ſhot of the *Ford*, there to take a nearer View of the Enemy's Poſture, and in ſome time after rid about Two Hundred Paces up the River in full View of the *Iriſh* Army, with an intrepid Bravery, and a fixt Reſolution to engage them. Whilſt his Army was Marching in, He alighted from his Horſe and ſat down upon a riſing Ground, where he refreſh'd himſelf for about an Hour, during which Time a Party of about Forty Horſe, advancing very ſlowly,

pies of the Authentick Papers, *&c.* *Oxon*, 1690. 4to.—— 3. The Account examin'd; or, A Vindication of Dr. *Arthur Bury*, Rector of *Exeter-College*, from the Calumnies of a late Pamphlet, entitled, *An Account of the Proceedings*, &c. *London*, for *Rand. Taylor*, 1690. 4to.—— 4. The Judgment and Decree of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, deliver'd in a Convocation, held *Aug.* 19. 1690. againſt ſome Impious and Heretical Propoſitions, tranſcribed and quoted out of an infamous Libel, of late perfidiouſly printed within the ſaid Univerſity, and publiſh'd with this Title, *The Naked Truth*; which does impugn and aſſault the principal Myſtery of our Faith, always retain'd and preſerv'd in the Catholick Church, and eſpecially in the Church of *England*. Imprimatur, *Jonathan Edwards*, Vice-Can.

(*a*) Before his Majeſty went for *Ireland*, One *Jones* was employ'd to aſſaſſinate him; and that Aſſaſſin not being able to accompliſh his Deſign in *England*, follow'd the King to *Ireland*, on the ſame accurſed Deſign; as appear'd by an intercepted Letter to the late Queen *Mary* in *France*, from *Tyrconnel*, and other Letters found at *Dublin*, when that City was recover'd from the *Iriſh*. By whom this Villain was chiefly ſet to work to perpetrate ſo fatal a Blow, is not come to Light; but that he was to do it, and that *Tyrconnel* kept Correſpondence about it with *France*, is too well known (by Letters under his own Hand) to need further Proof. It is certain, *Tyrconnel*, and the *French* Generals, plac'd their laſt Hopes in that Aſſaſſin's Undertaking. In a Letter (about that Time) intercepted from *Tyrconnel* at *Ardee*, to the late Queen *Mary*, he gave her a very melancholly Account of their Affairs; tells her, *The Enemy was Forty Thouſand ſtrong, and furniſh'd with all Things neceſſary; That the King* (meaning King *James*) *was for Fighting; but he himſelf was againſt it*: And he concluded, That *notwithſtanding all her Care of their Affairs, he had now no Hopes but in* Jones's *Negotiation.* See *Secret Hiſt. of* Europe, P. XI. *p.* 263.

made

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K. *William* ſlightly wounded.

Diſpoſition of the Two Armies.

That expected Day, *July* the 1ſt, being come, about Six in the Morning Lieutenant-General *Douglas* march'd towards the Right with ſome Foot, as did Count *Schomberg* with the Horſe; which being obſerved by the Enemy, they drew out their Horſe and Foot towards the Left to oppoſe them. Our Right Wing was at firſt ordered to paſs all at *Slain*, but on better Information from the Guides, ſeveral Regiments were commanded to go over at other Fords between the Camp and that Place. When our Horſe approached the River, a Regiment of the Enemy's Dragoons fir'd upon them, and made a Show of oppoſing their Paſſage; but being ſoon forc'd to retire with Loſs, the *Engliſh* got over, and advanc'd towards the Enemy's main Body, which they found drawn up in two Lines. Hereupon *Douglas* drew up his Detachment in the ſame Figure, but having Six Batallions only of Foot to Twenty-four Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons, he ſent for more Foot to join him; and in the mean time he took my Lord *Portland*'s Advice, of intermixing the Horſe and Foot for their Security. More Foot being come up, this Figure was immediately alter'd, and all the Horſe were drawn to the Right, whilſt the Foot moved towards a Bog on the Left, which Motion ſo frighted the *Iriſh* that they retreated in great Haſte towards *Duleck*, but were vigorouſly purſu'd by Count *Schomberg*.

Tho' King *William* was ignorant of what had paſſed, yet ſuppoſing that by this time they had got over the River, he order'd three Attacks to be made to open the ſeveral Paſſes; the Blue *Dutch* Guards of Foot were the firſt that took the River at *Old-Bridge*, beating a March all the while till they got upon the Side of the Bank, and then the Drums ceaſing, in they went Eight or Ten a Breaſt wading to the Middle; and being got over amidſt the Enemies Fire they drew up into two Files, and then fired upon the *Iriſh* behind the Hedges, who were ſo diſcourag'd that they ran away, and ſcatter'd themſelves in the next Field; but before the *Dutch* could put themſelves into good order, they were charg'd by a Squadron of *Iriſh* Horſe whom they beat off, and ſtood their own Ground with great ſtoutneſs. The Regiments of Sir *John Hanmore* and Count *Naſſau* were paſſing at another Part of the River, where a Squadron of Lieutenant-General *Hamilton*'s Horſe rode briskly to the very Brink of the River to ſtop their Paſſage; but being not able to oppoſe their Landing they wheel'd away, and in their Retreat fell upon the *French* Foot with ſo much Indignation, that Part of them broke through Monſieur *Le Cailemotes*, and *Cambones* Regiments, which wanted Pikes to ſtem their furious Career. *Cailemote* himſelf received his Mortal Wound, and as he was carrying back by Four Soldiers to the *Engliſh* Camp, he encourag'd thoſe that croſs'd the River by theſe Words; *A la Gloire, mes Enfants, a la Gloire, To Glory, my Boys, to Glory*; which Words had their Force, and a ſort of Prediction in them, for the *Iriſh* Horſe being obliged to wheel to the Left, and paſs through a Village to recover their own Men, they were intercepted by the *Dutch* and *Inniskilling-Foot*, and moſt of them after a valiant Reſiſtance were cut in Pieces. By this time the *Dutch* Guards being advanced as far as the Hedges into the open Field, the *Iriſh* Horſe came down upon them again with greater Numbers and redoubled Fury, but were ſo warmly receiv'd that they were forced to retire; yet a freſh Squadron of Horſe advanc'd to ſupport them, but they too were vigorouſly repulſed by the *French Proteſtants* and *Inniskilling-Men*.

In the mean time the *Danes* came up to the Left, but were ſo valiantly attack'd in the Front by *Hamilton*'s Horſe that they were forced to give Ground; and ſome of them run croſs the River again. The Duke of *Schomberg* perceiving this Diſorder, (*a*) and ſeeing the *French-Proteſtants* were alſo left expos'd, without a Commander, immediately paſſed the River in order to head them, with ſo much hurry, that he would not be perſuaded by Monſieur *Foubert*, one of his *Aids de Camp*, to put on his Armour. He was no ſooner got on the other ſide, but he called to the

(*a*) One of the hardeſt Things done by K. *James* in *Ireland* was his delivering up ſome of the *French* Refugees to be carried back and tormented in *France*. An honeſt Writer tells us; We need only relate the Story of Monſieur *Rouſſel*, a Perſon of great Fame for his Learning and Integrity, who being Miniſter of *Montpelier* in *France*, when by the *French* King's Edict that Church was demoliſh'd, was from a Principle of Zeal for his Religion, and at the deſire of his People, perſwaded to preach in,

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the *French-Proteſtants* in theſe brave Words; *Allons, Meſſieurs, voila noſtre Perſecuteurs*; (*Come on Gentlemen, ſee there your Perſecutors,*) pointing to the *French-Papiſts* in the Enemy's Army: Immediately Fifteen or Sixteen of King *James*'s Guards, who were returning main Speed to their main Body, after the Slaughter of their Companions, fell furiouſly upon the Duke, and gave him two Wounds over the Head. At the ſame time, the *French-Refugees* firing raſhly upon the Enemy, are ſuppos'd to have ſhot the Duke through the Neck, upon which he fell from his Horſe, and inſtantly Died. Monſieur *Foubert*, alighting to relieve him, was ſhot in the Arm: And Dr. *Walker*, ſo famous for the defence of *London-Derry*, about the ſame Time, in a different Action, receiv'd a Wound in the Belly, which he furviv'd but ſome few Moments.

King *William* paſſes the *Boyne.*

His Majeſty, accompany'd by the Prince of *Denmark*, paſſed the River with the Left-Wing of Horſe, and that with much difficulty, for his Horſe was bogg'd on the other ſide, and Himſelf forc'd to alight, till one of his Attendants help'd him to get his Horſe out, and mount again. Aſſoon as his Troops were got over, and put in ſome Order, his Majeſty drew his Sword, (though the Wound he received the Day before had made his Arm ſtiff and uneaſy) and march'd at the Head of them towards the Enemy, who were coming on again, in good order towards the *Engliſh* Foot that had now got over the Paſs, and were advancing bravely towards the *Iriſh*, though they were double their Number. When theſe two Bodies had got almoſt within Muſquet-ſhot of one another, the Enemy diſcover'd the Left Wing of the *Engliſh* Horſe moving towards them, at which they made a ſudden Halt, fac'd about, and retreated up the Hill again, to a little Village called *Dunmore*, about half a Mile from the Paſs. The *Engliſh* marching in good Order, came up with them at this Village, when the *Iriſh* fac'd about and charg'd with ſo much Briskneſs, that they made the *Engliſh* Horſe give ground, tho' they had the King at the Head of them. The King was ſo aſham'd of their ſhrinking, that he rid off to the *Inniskillingers*, and ask'd them what they would do for him? Their Chief Officer told them it was King *William*, who was doing them the Honour to Head them. Upon this they boldly came forward, and the King leading them receiv'd the Enemy's Fire; but then wheeling to the Left to fetch up his own Men again, the *Inniskillingers*, through a Miſtake, retir'd after him above an Hundred Yards. This made the King move to the Left to put Himſelf at the head of ſome *Dutch* Troops that were advancing; while, in the mean time, the *Inniskillingers*, growing ſenſible of their Error, went on and renewed their Charge with good Succeſs. In this Place, the Duke of *Schomberg*'s Regiment of Horſe, made up of *French Refugees*, behav'd themſelves with undaunted Reſolution, like Men that fought for their Friends and Protectors of another Nation, againſt the Enemies and Perſecutors of their own Country. At the ſame time, another Party, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Ginkle*, charg'd in a Lane to the Left, but was ſoon overpower'd by the *Iriſh*, and forced to give way. This being obſerv'd by a Party of Sir *Albert Coningham*'s Dragoons, and another of Colonel *Leveſon*'s, the Officers order'd their Men to alight and line a Hedge, as alſo an old Houſe that flankt the Lane, from whence they pour'd in their Shot upon the Enemy, and did great Service, by protecting General *Ginkle*, who continued in the Rear of his Men, and labour'd heartily to make them ſtand their Ground, and by giving the *Dutch* Horſe an Opportunity of Rallying; by which means, after half an Hour's ſharp Diſpute, they were beat back again with conſiderable Loſs.

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On the other ſide, Lieutenant-General *Hamilton*, finding that his Foot did not anſwer his Expectation, put himſelf at the Head of the Horſe, which were likewiſe routed, and himſelf taken Priſoner. When he was brought to the King, his Majeſty ask'd him, Whether the *Iriſh* wou'd fight any more? *Yes, Sir*, (reply'd *Hamilton*) *upon my Honour I believe they will.* When he pronounc'd the Word *Honour*, the King look'd wiſhly upon him, and then turn'd about repeating once or twice *Your Honour*; intimating, that what he aſſur'd upon his Honour, was not to be depended on, ſince he had forfeited that before by ſiding with *Tyrconnel*; and this was all the Rebuke the King gave him for his Breach of Truſt. In the mean time, Count *Schomberg*, being inform'd of his Father's Death, purſued the Enemy with that Fury which a noble and juſt Reſentment cou'd inſpire, and drove them ſeveral Miles beyond the Village of *Dubeck*, with great Slaughter: Nor did he deſiſt from ſacrificing Enemies to his Father's Ghoſt, till the Lord *Portland*, by the King's expreſs Command, oblig'd him to return to the Place where the Foot made a Halt, and where they lay upon their Arms all Night.

King *William* had reaſon not to regard what *Hamilton* told him; for, in effect, that General was no ſooner taken but the Fight ceas'd on that ſide: And Count *Lanzoon* making up to King *James*, who (during the whole Action) ſtood with ſome Squadrons of Horſe on *Dunmore-Hill*, repreſented to his Majeſty, "That he would be ſoon ſurrounded by "the Enemy; and therefore told him, "He ought "to think of nothing but a Retreat, which he "doubted not to make good, with many brave "Officers then about him, and the Remains of his "*French* and *Swiſs* Troops. This Advice the unfortunate King was very inclinable to take, and therefore, attended by the Regiment of *Sarsfield*, march'd off to *Duleck*, and from thence in great haſte to *Dublin*: Whilſt Count *Lanzoon, Sheldon,* and ſome other Officers, diſpos'd all Things for a Retreat, which they perform'd in very good Order.

King *William* obtains an entire Victory.

King *James*'s whole Loſs in this Battel was generally computed at Fifteen Hundred Men; amongſt whom were the Lord *Dongan*, the Lord *Carlingford*, Sir *Neal O-Neal*, the Marquis *D' Harquincourt*; and ſeveral Priſoners, the Chief of whom was Lieutenant-General *Hamilton*, who (to do him Juſtice) behav'd himſelf with great Courage, and kept Victory doubtful, till he was made Priſoner. On the *Engliſh* Side fell above Five Hundred; an inconſiderable Number, conſidering the Gain of ſo important a Battel, if the Renowned Duke of *Schomberg* had not been amongſt them. He was a Perſon of firm and compos'd Courage, and one of the beſt Generals that *France* ever bred. To the Lawrels he

in the Night time upon the *Ruins of his Church* to ſome Thouſands of wretched Proteſtants his late Flock, for which he was in his Abſence condemn'd by the Super-Intendant of *Languedoc* to be broke upon the Wheel; which Sentence was put in Execution as far as it could be, by hanging him in Effigy, and the moſt ſtrict Search was made for him through the whole Province. After a Thouſand Hazards, this Learned Divine got out of *France*, and became Miniſter of the *French* Church at *Dublin*. King *James*, who while he was in *England*, affected a charitable Diſpoſition towards the *French* Refugees, knowing it would be popular; being got into *Ireland* among his *French* and *Iriſh* Counſellors, he had no longer any Temptation to diſguiſe his natural Temper, and his Hatred of the Reformed Religion, which rendred him guilty of an Action, his Friends could not excuſe from the Imputation of the greateſt Cruelty and Breach of Honour; for inſtead of protecting a Stranger that had fled his own Country for doing his Duty, and diſcharging his Conſcience, and upon the Security of Law had ſettled himſelf in another, he deliver'd up this Reverend Exile, who liv'd peaceably under his Government, to the Count D' *Avaux*, who ſent him in Chains to *France*, to ſuffer the terrible Puniſhment to which he was adjudg'd by his inhuman Perſecutors. Nor was this all, for two or three Months before he was driven from *Ireland*, a great Number of Proteſtants of the Province of *Munſter*, of all Ranks and Ages, were ſeiz'd by the *French*, forc'd aboard their Fleet, carry'd to *France*, and there thrown into Dungeons. *Secr. Hiſt. of* Europe, P. II. p. 242.

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gather'd in *Catalonia*, and in *Flanders*, he added the Glory of having fix'd the preſent King of *Portugal* on his Throne, and of having been inſtrumental to the Settlement of King *William*. He had a great Experience of the World; knew Men and Things better than any Man of his Profeſſion ever did; and was as great in Council, as at the Head of an Army. In his declining Years, his Memory very much fail'd, but his Judgment remain'd true and clear to the laſt. He appear'd courteous and affable to every body; and yet he had an Air of Grandeur, that commanded Reſpect from all. He was of a Middle Stature, fair-complexion'd; a very ſound, hardy Man of his Age; and ſat a Horſe incomparably well. As he lov'd always to be neat in his Cloaths, ſo was he ever pleaſant in his Converſation; of which this *Repartee* is a pregnant Inſtance: Some Time before he went for *Ireland*, he was walking in St. *James*'s *Park*, amidſt Crowds of the young and gay; and being ask'd, What a Man of his Age had to do with ſuch Company? His Anſwer was, *That a good General makes his Retreat as late as he can.* He was Eighty two Years of Age when he was (*a*) kill'd. And as Monſieur *La Caillemote* had follow'd that Great Man in all his Fortunes, while alive; ſo did he in his Death, for he did not long ſurvive his Wounds.

As for the King himſelf, he receiv'd no manner of Hurt in the Action, tho' he was in all the Height of it; only a Cannon-Ball carry'd away a Piece of his Boot. His Majeſty did all that the greateſt of Generals could do upon this Occaſion: He choſe the Field, diſpos'd the Attacks, drew up his Army, charg'd the Enemy ſeveral Times, ſupported his Forces when they began to ſhrink, and demean'd himſelf throughout with that Conduct, Gallantry, Reſolution, and Preſence of Mind; and was ſuch a Poize for the inclining Victory to his own Side, that the *Iriſh* themſelves confeſs'd, *That if the* Engliſh *chang'd Kings with them, they would fight the Battel over again.* However, both Kings have been equally blam'd; the one, for not improving the Advantage of his Victory; and the other, that of his Retreat. Thoſe that have writ in Favour of King *James*, ſay, King *William* might have march'd directly to *Dublin*, a Place open and unfortify'd on every ſide; and prevented the *Iriſh* aſſembling any more, and ſecuring *Limerick*, *Galway*, and ſeveral other important Places. And ſuch as are Partiſans of King *William*, blame both King *James*, for leaving *Ireland* with ſo much Precipitation; and thoſe he left behind, for not having carefully collected the Remains of a Defeat that had coſt them but few Men.

K. *James* flies to *Dublin*.

King *James* being arriv'd at *Dublin*, and having immediately aſſembled the Magiſtrates and Council of the City, he told them, "That his Army "in *England* having made a total Defection againſt "him, when he had the greateſt Occaſion for them, "he retir'd to *France*, where he was kindly re-"ceiv'd by that King, and had all the Aſſurance "imaginable to be re-eſtabliſh'd on his Throne: "That in ſome Time after, he came to this King-"dom of *Ireland*, and found all his *Roman Catholick* Subjects, as well equipp'd and prepar'd to "defend his Cauſe, as their Ability would bear; "and tho' he had been often told, *That when it* "*came to the Touch, they would never bear the* "*Brunt of a Battel*; he could never credit the "ſame till that Day, when having a good Army, "and all Preparations fit to engage a Foreign Inva-"der, he found the fatal Truth of what he had "been ſo often precaution'd. And tho' the Army "did not deſert him, as they did in *England*; yet, "when it came to the Trial, they baſely fled the "Field, and left it a Spoil to his Enemies: Nor "could they be prevail'd upon to rally, tho' the "Loſs in the whole Defeat was but inconſiderable; "ſo that henceforward he never more determin'd to "head an *Iriſh* Army, and did now reſolve to ſhift "for himſelf, as they themſelves muſt do. That "it had often been debated, in caſe ſuch a Reſolu-"tion ſhould happen, *Whether upon deſerting the* "*City of* Dublin, *the ſame might not be fired?* He "did therefore charge them, on their Allegiance, "*That they neither ſhould rifle it by Plunder, nor* "*deſtroy it by Fire*; which in all Kingdoms would "be judg'd very barbarous, and muſt be believ'd "to be done by his Orders; and if done, there "wou'd be but little Mercy to be expected from an "enrag'd Enemy." Concluding, "He was neceſ-"ſitated to yield to Force; but would never "ceaſe to labour their Deliverance as long as he "liv'd."

His Majeſty having ſtay'd at *Dublin* one Night, the next Morning, attended by the Duke of *Berwick* and *Tyrconnel*, and the Marquis of *Powis*, he poſted away to *Waterford*, where he arriv'd the ſame Day; taking care to have the Bridges broke down behind him, for fear of being purſued. There he went on Board a Veſſel, call'd the Count *de Lauzun*, that was ready to receive him: But the Sieur *Foran*, who commanded the Squadron, meeting him at Sea, deſir'd him to go on Board one of his Frigats, for his quicker Paſſage; and by this means he got over once more into *France*, and fix'd his Reſidence at (*b*) St. *Germains*.

K. *James* returns to *France*.

So ſoon as King *James* was gone, all the conſiderable *Papiſts* fled from *Dublin*, and the Proteſtants were releas'd, who poſſeſs'd themſelves of the *Militia* Arms, and with the Aſſiſtance of the Biſhops

(*a*) It was commonly ſaid, that Dr. *Lane*, a Civilian, Fellow of *Merton-College* in *Oxford*, who had unluckily follow'd the Fortunes of King *James*, and was in this Battel of the *Boyne*, us'd in ſome Freedoms to value himſelf, that He was the Perſon who kill'd *Schomberg*; wherein he was thought to vapour, rather than to confeſs. This Perſon, after the Loſs of the Battel, run away with K. *James*; but not being allow'd to adventure with him into *France*, he got over to *Cheſter*, and begg'd his way to *London*; and being a Man of good Parts, and confident Elocution, he became afterwards an Eminent Advocate in *Doctors-Commons*; and was even recommended to King *William*, to be his Advocate, at the ſame Time with Sir *John Cooke*. The King ask'd Archbiſhop *Teniſon*, Which was the better Man? The Archbiſhop anſwer'd, They were both good Civilians; and there was this Odds only, One fought againſt your Majeſty at the *Boyne*, and the Other fought for You. Nay, ſays the King, I'll have my own Soldier.

(*b*) The King form'd a Court at St. *Germains*; where the Proteſtants, who had left every Thing to follow his Fortunes, were frown'd upon and neglected. His Chief Domeſticks were all *Catholicks*, (as will be ſeen by the following Liſt) one or two only excepted.

1. The Duke of *Powis*, Lord Chamberlain.
2. Colonel *Porter*, Vice-Chamberlain.
3. The Earl of *Dunbarton*, and the Earl of *Abercorn*, Lords of the Bed Chamber.
4. Captain *Mac-Donald*, Captain *Beadles*, Captain *Stafford*, Captain *Trevanion*, Grooms of the Bed-Chamber.
5. *Fergus Graham*, Eſq; Privy-Purſe.
6. *Edward Sheldon*, Eſq; —— *Sheldon*, Eſq; Sir *John Sparrow*, of the Board of Green-Cloth.
7. Mr. *Strickland*, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen.
8. Mr. *Brown*, Brother to the Lord Viſcount *Montacute*, Secretary of State for *England*.
9. Sir *Richard Neagle*, Secretary of State for *Ireland*.
10. Father *Innes*, Preſident of the *Scots* College at *Paris*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*.
11. *John Caryl*, Eſq; Secretary to the Queen.
12. —— *Stafford*, Eſq; formerly Envoy in *Spain*.

Theſe Five laſt were his *Junto*, his Cabinet-Counſellors; The Earl of *Melfort* being ſent to *Rome*, not ſo much in Hopes of getting Money from the Pope, as to pleaſe the *Iriſh*, who had at that Time monopoliz'd the King's Favour; his Expectation from their Aſſiſtance being greater, than from both the other Kingdoms. *Secret Hiſt. of* Europe, P. XI. p. 244.

of (*a*) *Meath* and *Limerick*, form'd a Committee to take care of Things; and ſent Letters to King *William*, to give him an Account of what had paſs'd, and humbly to pray his Majeſty to honour that City with his Preſence.

K. William invited to Dublin.

A Plot in England, against K. William.

King *William*, before he left *England*, was very ſenſible of a dangerous Conſpiracy againſt him, form'd upon the Hopes and Expectation of Succeſs to King *James* and the *French* Power; and therefore, Four Days before he ſet out for *Ireland*, he publiſh'd a Proclamation for the apprehending of ſeveral diſaffected Perſons, who, by Information given upon Oath, had *conſpired together to raiſe Rebellion*; *and for that Purpoſe, had made Proviſion of Arms, and had liſted themſelves in ſeveral Regiments, Troops and Companies, under Pretence of Commiſſion from the late King* James. His Majeſty well knew of an intended Invaſion from *France*, and a concerted Inſurrection in *England*, if good Opportunity ſhou'd offer, by any Advantage obtain'd by the *French* Fleet, which was at this Time more formidable than was expected, or could be well imagin'd; and our own *Engliſh* Navy was, for this one Year, inferior to it. His Majeſty, however, was not wanting to make the beſt Preparations he could by Sea; and having fitted up as good a Fleet as the Exigence of his Affairs wou'd admit, he appointed the Earl of *Torrington* Admiral, *Ralph Delaval*, Eſq; Vice-Admiral, and *George Rooke*, Eſq; Rear-Admiral, to command the Red Squadron; and made Mr. *Ruſſell* Admiral of the Blue, with Sir *John Aſhby* Vice-Admiral, and Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* Rear-Admiral under him. And becauſe there was a common Suſpicion, that ſome of the Officers and Seamen were diſaffected to the preſent Government, therefore, to purge 'em, (while the Fleet lay in the *Downs*) this Addreſs was made a Teſt of their Loyalty to King *William*:

Addreſs of the Fleet.

"WE the Flag-Officers, Captains, and other "Officers of your Majeſty's Navy, being "now ready to enter upon Action, for the Service "of your Majeſties, and the Defence of our Country, do moſt humbly beg Leave to declare to "GOD, your Majeſties, and the whole World, "That we do acknowledge your Majeſties to be the "undoubted rightful King and Queen of *England*, "and the Dominions thereto belonging: And we "do hereby ſolemnly renounce all Allegiance and "Obedience to the late King *James*; and do faithfully promiſe, That we will, with our Lives, defend and aſſiſt your Majeſties, againſt the ſaid late "King *James*, his Adherents, and all your Enemies "whatſoever.

The Queen's wiſe Adminiſtration in the King's Abſence.

The Queen adminiſtred the Government with great Application to Buſineſs, and with a very diſtinguiſhing Temper and Conſtancy of Mind. She had a mighty Weight of Cares upon her; the Danger of her Royal Conſort in *Ireland*; the imminent Appearance of an Invaſion from *France*; and at Home a divided People, ſome profeſſedly owning an Allegiance to King *James*, and even others who had taken the Oaths, waiting for an Opportunity to renounce 'em. Under all theſe dubious Apprehenſions, her Majeſty betray'd no Fear, and loſt no Time. As ſoon as ſhe heard the King was ſafely landed in *Ireland*, ſhe began to exerciſe the Power by Act of Parliament devolv'd upon her, in Two ſeaſonable Proclamations, both dated the ſame Day, *June* 17. One, *commanding all* Papiſts, *and reputed* Papiſts, *forthwith to depart the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and from within Ten Miles of the ſame*: Another, *for the Confinement of* Popiſh *Recuſants, within Five Miles of their reſpective Dwellings.* And there was great Need of the utmoſt Vigilance and Care, to prevent the Ruin of the Nation; for King *James*'s Adherents, who by this Time began to be diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Jacobites*; being furniſh'd by King *William*'s Abſence with a promiſing Opportunity, to attempt the reſtoring of their abdicated Monarch, were concerting (*b*) Meaſures with *France* to put their Deſigns in Execution. It was agreed, that while Part of the *French* Fleet ſhould bear up the *Thames*, the *Jacobites* in *London* (who were grown very bold and numerous, by the flocking of that Party from all Parts of the Country thither) ſhould have made an Inſurrection, and have ſeiz'd the Queen and her Chief Miniſters. Then certain Perſons were to have taken upon 'em the Adminiſtration of Affairs till the Return of King *James*; who was to leave the Command of his Army to his Generals, and haſten with all Speed into *England*. The other Part of the *French* Fleet having join'd their Gallies, was to have landed Eight Thouſand Men at *Torbay*, with Arms for a greater Number: After which, the Gallies and Men of War were to ſail into the *Iriſh* Sea, to hinder the Return of King *William* and his Forces; and the diſcontented *Scotch* were to have revolted at the ſame Time in ſeveral Parts of that Kingdom.

The French Fleet in the Channel.

The *French* Fleet having enter'd the Channel, as before concerted, hover'd ſome Time about the *Engliſh* Coaſt, as expecting the Effect of the Conſpiracy, that was to have broke out the 18th of *June*. The vigilant Queen would not run the Hazards of Delay, but ſent immediate Orders to Admiral *Torrington*, to fight the Enemy whereever he ſhould meet him. Accordingly, on the 24th of *June*, that Admiral ſail'd from St. *Helens*, (the Wind at *North-Eaſt*) and ſtood toward the *French* Fleet, which was ſeen the Evening before off of *Freſh-Water-Gate* in the Iſle of *Wight*; but the Wind taking him ſhort, he came to an Anchor near *Dungneſſe*, within Five Leagues of the Enemy, who at Eight next Morning were at *Compton-Bay*. On *June* the 30th, (the Day before the Battel at the *Boyne*) the Two Fleets drew up in Lines of Battel off of *Beachy*; and about Nine in the Morning, the *Dutch* (having the Van-Guard) began the Fight, as alſo did ſome of the *Engliſh*; but not being ſeconded by the reſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet, which unexpectedly ſtood away, ſeveral of the *Dutch* Ships (after they had fought moſt gallantly) were either burnt, ſunk or diſabled; and the *Engliſh* that engag'd, were very much ſhatter'd. The Fight continued from Morning till Evening, the *Dutch* maintaining their Stations with ſo much Reſolution and Bravery againſt the whole *French* Force, (which conſiſted of Eighty two Men of War) that they had much ado to eſcape being all deſtroy'd. Among other Officers they loſt in this unequal Battel, were Rear-Admiral *Jan Dick*, Rear-Admiral *Brackel*, and Captain *Nordel*: On the *Engliſh* Side, Captain *Botham*, Captain *Pomroy*, with Two Captains of the Marine Regiments. Admiral *Torrington*

Sea-Fight.

Great Loſs of the Engliſh and Dutch.

(*a*) See the Speech of the Right Reverend Father in God, *Anthony* Lord Biſhop of *Meath*, to King *William*, when the Clergy waited on his Majeſty at his Camp nigh *Dublin*, on *July* 7. 1690. Together with his Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer. Licenſed *July* the 22d, 1690. Printed for *B. Tooke*.

(*b*) The Conſpirators in *England* had ſent a Memorial to the *French* King, to invite him to ſend a Fleet and Army to their Aſſiſtance, in the Name of the *Loyal and Diſtreſſed Subjects* of England. They tell King *Lewis*, *It is in your Royal Arms and Bounty we propoſe our Hope and Confidence, and expect to ſee our Lawful King (your Ancient Friend and Ally) reſtor'd to the Rightful Throne of his Anceſtors, out of which wicked Men have thruſt him.* ——— *The Prince of* Orange, *the Uſurper, is juſt now on his Journey to* Ireland; *and being once arriv'd in that Kingdom, if your Majeſty's Fleet were able to block up St.* George's *Chanel, the Uſurper's Army would certainly be ſtarv'd. His Regiments in* England *ſerve more out of Neceſſity and Fear, than any Love to him; and thoſe Forces ſo few, that they are ſcarce able to keep the uſual Guard. The* Engliſh *Fleet is ſo divided, they cannot this Year make a conſiderable Figure.* Killegrew *is in the Streights;* Shovel *in* St George's *Chanel; the Dutch Squadron not ready; the* Engliſh *Ships ill mann'd; the Seamen diſcontented for want of Pay,* &c.

was

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was diſcarded, and afterwards brought to his Tryal, where he pleaded the Inequality of Strength, and the Diſadvantage of the Wind, and was thereupon acquitted: Yet the Action was thought ſo inglorious, that he ſuffer'd extremely in his Reputation among the People, who were always apt to call a Misfortune a Miſcarriage. It is certain, that in the Year 1697. when ſeveral *French* Officers who had been in the Engagement, came over into *England* after the Peace, when they could not be ſuſpected of any partial Deſign, they openly juſtify'd and commended the Earl's Conduct, and ſaid, "He deſerv'd to be "rewarded rather than cenſur'd, ſince he had pre- "ſerved the beſt Part of the Fleet from being totally "deſtroy'd."

The *French* threaten'd a Deſcent.

The News of the Advantage got by the *French* at Sea had no ſooner reach'd *London*, but the Fears of a Deſcent created a general Conſternation, which immediately ſpread it ſelf thro' the whole Kingdom. The Queen was not ignorant of the Danger, but did all that was poſſible to conceal her own Fears, and to inſpire her Subjects with Valour and Reſolution. The Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Lieutenancy of *London*, were not wanting on this Critical Juncture to expreſs their Zeal and Affection for the Government: For attending her Majeſty in Council, they declar'd the unanimous Reſolution of the City, to defend and preſerve Their Majeſties and their Government upon this Extraordinary Juncture, with the Hazard of their Lives, and the utmoſt of their Power; repreſenting to her Majeſty, that the ſeveral Regiments of the *Militia* of the City (conſiſting of about Nine Thouſand Men) are compleat in their Numbers, well arm'd and appointed, and ready to be raiſed immediately, and to proceed in Their Majeſties Service. That the Lieutenancy alſo had reſolved, that Six Regiments of Auxiliaries ſhould be raiſed for the Service; and that the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in Common-Council aſſembled, had unanimouſly reſolved, by the voluntary Contribution of themſelves and other Citizens, forthwith to raiſe and ſet out a large Regiment of Horſe, and One Thouſand Dragoons, for Their Majeſties Service, (and had made conſiderable Progreſs therein already;) and reſolved likewiſe to maintain them at their own Charge in the Service for a Month, or longer, if there ſhall be Occaſion. And they pray'd her Majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to nominate and appoint Officers to command them. All which her Majeſty moſt graciouſly accepted; and was pleaſed to *thank 'em for their Readineſs, Loyalty,* and *Zeal on this Occaſion*; and to the laſt Part anſwer'd, *That She would conſider of it, and appoint Officers to command according to their Deſire.*

Loyal Addreſs from the City of *London*.

And from the Tinners in *Cornwall.*

About the ſame Time, to ſuppreſs the Fears of a Revolt in the *Weſt*, an Addreſs was preſented to the Queen by *Shadrach Vincent*, Eſq; from above Ten Thouſand Tinners of *Cornwall*, *giving all Aſſurances of Fidelity and Obedience; and faithfully promiſing (notwithſtanding the Artifice and ill Deſigns of diſaffected Men, to withdraw them from their Loyalty) an unalterable Allegiance to Their Majeſties, owning and acknowledging Their Majeſties alone to be their Lawful and Rightful King and Queen; and diſclaiming all Allegiance to the late* King James, *or to the pretended Prince of* Wales *after him.* Within few Days after, the Deputy-Lieutenants and Officers of the *Militia* for *Middleſex* and *Weſtminſter*, made a ſolemn Addreſs, and ſolemn Declaration; *That they perceived there were many miſchievous and dangerous Practices, Conſultations, and Contrivances of* Papiſts, *and many others diſaffected to Their Majeſties and their Government: And that it was moſt notorious, that the* French *King, by Confederacy with the late King and his Adherents, had made a bold Invaſion of Their Majeſties Dominion of the Narrow Seas, deſigning to deſtroy their Royal Fleet, and in Conſequence to bring the* Proteſtants *of this Kingdom under his Tyranny and cruel Yoke of Bondage; and therefore they hold themſelves bound in Duty to declare upon this Occaſion, their deep Senſe, Hatred and Abhorrence, of the vile Ingratitude of thoſe* Papiſts, *and profeſs'd* Proteſtants, *who notwithſtanding Their Majeſties Pardoning and Protecting them, had, by Conſpiracies with the late King's Adherents, or by their Murmurings againſt Their Majeſties and the preſent Government, or by their Refuſal of the Oaths of Fidelity and Obedience to Their Majeſties, encouraged, aſſiſted, or abetted the late King in his Claims and Pretences of any Right and Title to the Government of theſe Realms,* &c.

Wiſe Meaſures taken by the Queen.

Under theſe Encouragements, the Queen forgot nothing that the moſt active Prudence could ſuggeſt, as fit to be done in ſuch a Juncture, without Hurry, or a too viſible Concern. She publiſh'd a Proclamation, *July* 5. requiring *all Seamen and Mariners to render themſelves to Their Majeſties*, with ſuitable Rewards for coming in, and Penalties for abſenting. She gave out Commiſſions to put the Standing-Forces in a Condition to oppoſe the Enemy; and ſhe order'd the *Militia* in the *Weſtern* Parts to be in a Readineſs of defending the Coaſts, and aſſiſting the Army. And to ſtrike a Terror into the Conſpirators with *France*, ſhe publiſh'd a Proclamation for apprehending *Edward Henry* Earl of *Litchfield*, *Thomas* Earl of *Aylesbury*, *William* Lord *Montgomery*, *Roger* Earl of *Caſtlemain*, *Richard* Viſcount *Preſton*, *Henry* Lord *Bellaſis*; Sir *Edward Hales*, Sir *Robert Thorold*, Sir *Robert Hamilton*, Sir *Theophilus Oglethorpe*, Colonel *Edward Sackvile*, Lieutenant-Colonel *William Richardſon*, Major *Thomas Soaper*, Captain *David Lloyd*, *William Penn*, Eſq; *Edward Elliot*, Eſq; *Marmaduke Langdale*, Eſq; and *Edward Rutter*; being Perſons who had conſpired, with divers other diſaffected Perſons, to diſturb and deſtroy the Government; and for that Purpoſe, had abetted and adher'd to Their Majeſties Enemies in the preſent Invaſion.

Mr. *Harbord* ſent to the *States*.

Nor was her Majeſty's Care of Affairs confin'd within her own Dominions; for while ſhe put her ſelf in a Poſture of Defence at Home, ſhe diſpatch'd Mr. *Harbord* to the *States General*, to let them know how much her Majeſty was concern'd at the Misfortune that had befallen their Squadron in the late Engagement, and at their not having been ſeconded, as they ought to have been: Which Matter her Majeſty had directed to be examin'd into, in order to recompenſe thoſe that had done their Duty, and to puniſh ſuch as ſhould be found to have deſerv'd it. That her Majeſty had given Orders for Refiting the *Dutch* Ships that were diſabled, at her own Charge; and commanded, that all poſſible Care ſhould be taken of the ſick and wounded Seamen; and that Rewards ſhould be given to the Widows of thoſe that were kill'd, behaving themſelves bravely in the Fight, to encourage others to do well for the future. Moreover Mr. *Harbord* told the *States*, That her Majeſty had order'd Twelve great Ships to be forthwith fitted out; and that her Majeſty hop'd the *States* would likewiſe do their utmoſt, to reinforce their Fleet in this Conjuncture. And laſtly, he acquainted them with the King's happy Succeſſes in *Ireland*. The *States* receiv'd this Meſſage with great Satisfaction, and unanimouſly reſolv'd to fit out immediately Thirteen Capital Ships, and Six Frigats.

Victory of the *Boyne* prevented all Fears and Dangers.

And yet all this Wiſdom had hardly been ſufficient to prevent the fatal Conſequences of our Defeat at Sea, if the Victory at the *Boyne* (obtain'd the very next Day) had not put a ſudden and effectual Check to the *Jacobite* Party. There has been a common Miſtake ſpread among many People, That King *William* would not have hazarded a Battel, but upon an Expreſs receiv'd that Morning of the Beating of his Fleet, which he kept ſecret till the Action was over. But this is impoſſible to be reconcil'd to the Nature of the Thing, in the Circumſtances of Time and Place. King *William* having reſted his

1690. 1 *W. M.* Forces for one Night only, ſent a Detatchment next Day to inveſt *Drogheda*, where was a great Magazine of Stores: The Governor at firſt ſeem'd reſolute to defend the Place; but upon a Meſſage from the King, *That if his Majeſty was forced to bring his Cannon before that Place, he muſt expect no Quarter*; he march'd out with the Gariſon, having their Baggage only, but leaving all their Arms and Stores behind them.

King William's March. On *July* 3. the Duke of *Ormond*, and Monſieur *Auverquerque*, were detach'd with Nine Troops of Horſe to ſecure the City of *Dublin*: The next Day his Majeſty with the whole Army march'd the ſame way, and on the 4th encamp'd at *Finglas*, where he was inform'd that King *James* was embark'd at *Waterford*, with the Duke of *Berwick*, Mr. *Fitz-James*, the Lord *Powis*, the Lord *Tyrconnel*, and the Marqueſs *Delere*; That ſome *French* Ships being arriv'd at *Kinsſale*, many that had fled from the Battel were poſting thither to get away for *France*, but that the greateſt Body of the *Iriſh* were gone toward *Athlone*; That 300 of the *Swiſs* had deſerted the Enemy; that the Town of *Wexford* had declared for King *William*, and that *Sligo* was abandon'd by the *Iriſh*.

His Entry into Dublin. On *Sunday, July* 6. King *William* rode in a triumphant manner into *Dublin*, and went directly to St. *Patrick*'s Church, attended by the (*a*) Biſhops of *Meath* and *Limerick*; and after the Publick Services were ſolemnly perform'd, Dr. *King* preach'd an affectionate Sermon *upon the Power and Wiſdom of the Providence of GOD, in protecting his People, and defeating their Enemies.* The Mayor and Aldermen waited on his Majeſty, and the People endeavour'd by all Demonſtrations of Joy, to expreſs their juſt Senſe of their great and happy Deliverance. In the Afternoon the King return'd to the Camp, where the next Day he publiſh'd his Royal *Declaration*; "Promiſing both his Pardon "and Protection to all the People of the Kingdom "of *Ireland*, who either remained at home, or "having fled from their Dwellings, ſhould by the "firſt Day of *Auguſt* next repair to their uſual "Places of Abode, and ſurrender up their Arms; "but threatning condign Puniſhment to all the de-"ſperate Leaders of the preſent *Rebellion*, who had "violated thoſe Laws by which the Kingdom of "*Ireland* was united and inſeparably annex'd to "the Imperial Crown of *England*; and had call'd "in the *French*, and committed all manner of Vio-"lences and Depredations againſt the *Proteſtants* "of that Country, &c.

The King purſues the Iriſh Forces. On *July* 9. the King decamp'd from *Finglas*, and divided his Army into two Bodies; with the greater his Majeſty removed to *Crumlin*, three Miles *South* of *Dublin*; and the other conſiſting of Four Regiments of Horſe, Two of Dragoons, and Ten of Foot, was ſent towards *Athlone*, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Douglas*; who reaching that Place on *July* 17. ſent a Drummer to ſummon it; but Colonel *Grace* the Governor, a ſturdy reſolute Man, fired a Piſtol at the Meſſenger and ſaid, *Theſe are the only Terms that I am for.* Upon this rude Anſwer, *Douglas* reſolv'd to make a general Aſſault, and had made ſome Progreſs in the Attempt of it; but for want of Forage, and upon a Report that *Sarsfield* was advancing with 15000 Men to relieve the Place, *Douglas* held a Council of War, wherein it was thought fit to raiſe the Siege, which he accordingly did on the 25th, having loſt near 400 Men before the Town, of whom the greater Part died of Sickneſs. (*b*) 1690. 1 *W. M.*

His Majeſty having left Brigadier *Trelawney* to command at *Dublin*, advanced with his Army towards *Kilkenny*, where on *July* 19. he was ſplendidly entertained by the Duke of *Ormond*, in his Caſtle, which had the good Luck to have been preſerv'd by Count *Lauzun*, with all the Goods and Furniture, and a Cellar well ſtored. On the 21ſt the Army encamp'd at *Carrick*, from whence Major-General *Kirk*, with his own Regiment, and Colonel *Brewer*'s, as alſo a Party of Horſe, was ſent towards *Waterford*, to demand Poſſeſſion of that Town. The two Regiments in Gariſon at firſt refuſed to ſurrender, but upon drawing down the heavy Cannon, and the ſending for more Forces, they agreed to march out with Arms and Baggage on the 25th, and ſo were conducted to *Mallow*. The Fort *Duncannon*, a Place of good Strength, which commands the River of *Waterford*, was likewiſe ſurrender'd the next Day. His Majeſty went and view'd *Waterford* the ſame Day it was given up, and took care that no Perſons ſhould be moleſted contrary to the Articles of Surrendry: Among others, the Lord *Dover* was admitted to a more particular Protection, as having formerly applied himſelf, when the King was at *Hillsborough*, by Major-General *Kirk*'s Means, to deſire a Paſs for himſelf and Family to *Flanders*. The Lord *George Howard* did here likewiſe accept of his Majeſty's Mercy.

Enter-tain'd at *Kilkenny*. Take: *Waterford*.

On *July* 27. the King left the Command of the Army to Count *Soames*, and went away to *Carlow*, in order to return to *Dublin*, and embark for *England*. But after ſome few Days, having an Account from the Queen, that the Deſigns of the *Malecontents* were diſcover'd and prevented, the Loſs at Sea pretty well repair'd, and that the *French* had only burnt one ſmall Village in the *Weſt*, and ſo gone off again; his Majeſty reſolv'd to return to the Army, which on the 4th Day of *Auguſt* he found encamped at *Golden Bridge*, and by the 7th he reach'd *Carrickelliſh*, within Five Miles of *Limerick*, where Lieutenant-General *Douglas* joined him. The next Morning the Earl of *Portland* and Brigadier *Steward* were detach'd towards *Limerick* with Nine Hundred Horſe and Twelve Hundred Foot, who advanced within Cannon-Shot of the Town with little oppoſition; and in the Evening the King himſelf, attended by Prince *George*, Monſieur *d'Auverquerque*, Lieutenant-General *Ginkle*, and ſeveral other Great Officers, with about Two Hundred Horſe, went to view the Poſture of the Enemy, and the Avenues to the Town. On the 9th the whole Army decamp'd at Five in the Morning, and made their Approaches in excellent Order, and drove the Enemy before them till they came to a narrow Paſs between two Bogs, within half a Mile of the Town, where the *Iriſh* Horſe made a ſtand, and the Hedges were lined with Muſqueteers; but Colonel *Erle* led on his Foot with incredible Bravery, and continued this Hedge-Fight for two Hours, till he had driven the *Iriſh* under the very Walls of the Town, and poſſeſſed himſelf of two advantageous Poſts called *Cromwell*'s Fort, and the *Old-Chappel*. The Army being well poſted, the King ſent a Trumpeter with a Summons to the Town. A great many of the Gariſon were for Capitulating, but Monſieur *Boiſſeleau* the Governor, the Duke of *Berwick*, and Colonel *Sarsfield* oppoſed it with a great deal of Heat, ſaying, *There was by this Time an actual In-*

Advances towards Limerick. Summons the Gariſon.

(*a*) See the Speech of the Right Reverend Father in God *Anthony* Lord Biſhop of *Meath*, when the Clergy waited on his Majeſty at his Camp nigh *Dublin, July* 7. 1690 together with his Majeſties moſt gracious Anſwer, *Licenſed July* 22, 1690. Printed for *B. Tooke*.

(*b*) At *Rome* they depended ſo much on the Succeſs of K. *James* in *Ireland*, that an Hiſtorian was there employ'd to write a Hiſtory of it. So Monſieur *Grævius* in an Epiſtle to Monſieur *le Clerc*, *dat. Utrecht, Aug.* 1. 1696, tells him, "Father *Porter* is publiſhing at *Rome* a Compendium of the Ec-"cleſiaſtical Annals of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, of which he "gives a ſhort Deſcription, and a ſuccinct Hiſtory of the An-"tiquities and moſt remarkable Things of the Eccleſiaſtical "and Civil States. *Life and Writings of M. le Clerc*, 8vo. *p.* 60. It is ſince well known that this Compendium was but to introduce their expected Scene of the Conqueſt and Converſion of *Ireland* by K. *James*.

ſurrection

1690. 1 *W. M.* *ſurrection in* England ; *That the Dauphin was landed there with a great Army, and that the Prince of Orange would quickly be obliged to withdraw his Forces thither.* Hereupon *Boiſſeleau* ſent the Trumpeter back with a Letter, directed to Sir *Robert Southwell*, Secretary of State, (to avoid owning the Title of King *William*) importing, *That he was ſurprized at the Summons, but he thought the beſt way of gaining the Prince of* Orange's *good Opinion, was, by a vigorous Defenſe of the Town which his Maſter had committed to his Truſt.* About Eight in the Evening, the King went to his Camp, a little Mile from the Town, having been on Horſeback from Five in the Morning, giving the neceſſary Orders, and expoſing himſelf amidſt the greateſt Dangers: Nor was he ſafe in his Tent; for ſome Deſerters having given the Enemy an Account of the Situation of it, they play'd ſo very briskly that way, that his Majeſty was at laſt prevail'd with to remove.

Count *Sarsfild's* ſucceſsful Attempt upon the Train of Artillery.

On *Auguſt* 11. one *Obrian*, an honeſt Country Gentleman, came to the Camp, and gave notice, that *Sarsfield*, with a Body of Five or Six Hundred Horſe and Dragoons had paſſed the River *Shannon* in the Night, Nine Miles above *Limerick*, and was out about ſome extraordinary Deſign. The King immediately ſuſpected an Attempt upon his Train of Artillery, that was then upon the Road from *Kilkenny*, under a ſmall Guard, and therefore his Majeſty gave Order, that Sir *John Lanier*, with Five Hundred Horſe ſhould march to meet the Train. But where-ever the Fault lay, it was one or two in the Morning before the Party ſet out, and even then they advanced very ſlowly, till after they ſaw a great Light in the Air, and heard a ſtrange rumbling Noiſe, which ſome rightly conjectured to be the Train blown up. For the Artillery having the Day before march'd beyond *Cullen*, to a little old ruinous Caſtle called *Ballenedy*, not Seven Miles from the *Engliſh* Camp; *Sarsfield* lurk'd all that Day in the Mountains, and having notice where and how the Convoy lay, he took with him Guides that brought him to the very Spot, where he ſurprized them, killing about Sixty, and putting the reſt to Flight: After which he gather'd the Carriages and Waggons of Bread and Ammunition into one Heap, he fill'd the Guns with Powder, and placing their Mouths into the Ground, ſet Fire to a Train that blew up all the Heap with a moſt aſtoniſhing Noiſe. The *Iriſh* got ſome Booty upon this Occaſion, but took no Priſoners; only a Lieutenant of Colonel *Erle's* being ſick in a Houſe hard by, was ſtripped, and brought to *Sarsfield*; who uſed him with Civility, and told him, *If he had not ſucceeded in that Enterprize he would have gone to* France. The Party of Horſe that was ſent from the Camp came up in ſight of the Enemy's Rear, after the Buſineſs was over; but wheeling to the Left to intercept them in their Retreat over the *Shannon*, the *Iriſh* paſſed clear another way, and got ſafe into *Limerick*. However,

The Siege of *Limerick* carried on.

the Siege was carried on, and the Trenches were open'd on the 17th of *Auguſt*, when the Prince of *Wirtemburgh*, Lieutenant-General, with the Major-General *Kirke*, *Tetteau*, and Sir *Henry Bellaſis*, Brigadier, with Seven Batallions, enter'd the Trenches, and advanced near 300 Paces, and made themſelves Maſters of two Redoubts. The 18th the Trenches were reliev'd by Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, the Lord *Sidney*, and Count *Naſſau*, Major-Generals, and Brigadier *Stewart*, who approach'd another ſtrong Redoubt of the Enemy, while his Majeſty, in the thickeſt of the Fire rode up to *Cromwell's* Fort, and as his Horſe was juſt entring the Gap, he was ſtay'd by a Gentleman that came up to ſpeak with him, when in the very Moment, there came a Cannon-Ball that grounded upon that very Gap, and cover'd the King with glorious Duſt. His Majeſty took little notice of it, but alighting, went, and laid himſelf down within the Fort. On the 19th the Trenches were reliev'd by Prince *Wirtemburgh*, who advanced farther towards the ſaid Redoubt, which the King order'd to be attack'd the next Day, when Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, the Lord *Sidney*, Count *Naſſau*, and Brigadier *Stewart*, were again on the Guard: And the Signal being given about Two in the Afternoon, the *Engliſh* attack'd the Fort with admirable Bravery, and after an obſtinate Fight, drove out the Enemy, killing Forty of their Number. About half an Hour after, the *Iriſh* made a great Sally with near 2000 Horſe and Foot, but were vigorouſly repulſed. The 21ſt the Trenches were carried on, and ſo well finiſhed as to hinder any more Sallies. The 22d the Beſiegers batter'd the Enemy's High Tower, from whence they had fired into the Trenches, and quite levell'd them, and in the Night threw ſeveral Bombs and Carcaſſes into the Town, as they did the next Day red-hot Bullets, which ſet ſeveral Houſes and a Magazine of Hay on Fire. All the Batteries being finiſh'd the 24th, and Thirty Pieces of Cannon mounted on them, the Trenches by the 25th, were advanced within Thirty Paces of the Ditch, a Breach was made in the Wall near St. *John's-Gate*, and part of the Paliſadoes on the Counterſcarp beaten down by the 26th, ſo that on the next Day, the King commanded the Cover'd-Way or Counterſcarp, and two Towers or Forts that were on each Side of the Breach, and contiguous to the Wall, to be Attack'd, and that the Men ſhould advance no farther, but make a Lodgment there. About half an hour after Three the Signal was given, and the Grenadeers under Monſieur *la Barthe* leapt over the fartheſt Angle of the Trenches and ran towards the Counterſcarp, firing their Pieces, and throwing in their Grenadoes with ſo much Bravery, that the *Iriſh* threw down their Arms, and ran as faſt as they could into the Town, which the *Engliſh* perceiving, they enter'd the Place pell-mell with them, and had certainly carry'd it, if the Regiments who were to ſecond the Grenadeers upon the Counterſcarp, had not ſtopt there, as having no Orders to go farther; for the *Iriſh* were all running from the Walls, quite over into the *Engliſh* Town; but ſeeing that few of the *Engliſh* had enter'd the Breach, they Rally'd again, Fac'd the Aſſailants, and ply'd them ſo warmly that ſeveral of them were kill'd, and many mortally wounded. The *Iriſh* being fluſht with this Succeſs ventur'd upon the Breach again, while the Women came up, and exerted all their Fury in pelting the *Engliſh* with Stones, broken Bottles, and any Inſtruments of Miſchief that came next to their Hands. The Men, for meer ſhame were the more valiant, ſo that after Three Hours unequal Fighting, the *Engliſh* were forced to retire to their Trenches, having loſt about 600 Men kill'd on the Spot, and about as many mortally wounded.

Attack bravely made.

But unſucceſsful.

The King, who ſtood nigh *Cromwell's* Fort all the while, when the Action was over (which laſted from Six to Seven) return'd to his Camp, very much concern'd at the Diſappointment, and thought fit to raiſe the Siege: So, on the 30th of *Auguſt*, the heavy Baggage and Cannon were ſent away; and the next Day the Army decampt, and march'd off in very good Order, without any diſturbance from the Enemy towards *Clonwell*, under the Command of Count *Soames*.

The King raiſes the Siege.

Then his Majeſty having conſtituted the Lord *Sidney*, and *Thomas Coningsby*, Eſq; *Lords-Juſtices* of *Ireland*, he embark'd at *Duncannon-Fort* with Prince *George*, and ſome other Perſons of Diſtinction, on the 5th of *September*, and arriv'd next Day towards Evening in *King's-Road*, with three Yatchs, two Men of War, and ſome Tenders. His Majeſty being come aſhoar lay that Night at *King's-Weſton*, on *Sunday* went to *Bath*, and lay the Night following at the Duke of *Beaufort's* at *Badmington*; on *Monday* his Majeſty lodged with the Duke of *Somerſet* at *Marlborough*, and the next Night at *Windſor*; and next Day, about Four in the Afternoon

And returns to *England*.

1690. 1 *W. M.*

noon came to *Kenſington*, where, that Night in *Council*, he order'd a *Commiſſion* to be prepared for prorogueing the *Parliament* to the Second Day of *October* next; and a *Proclamation* to give notice, that his Majeſty on that Day expected a full Attendance of the *Lords* and *Commons*.

Is receiv'd with many Congratulations.

The next Day, being *Thurſday*, *September* the 11th, the *Lord-Mayor*, *Aldermen*, and *Recorder*, attended the *King* at *Kenſington*, humbly to congratulate his Majeſty upon the happy Succeſs of his Arms in *Ireland*, the wonderful Preſervation of his Royal Perſon, and his (*a*) ſafe Return into this Kingdom.

In the Afternoon, the Biſhop of *London*, with his *City Clergy*, attended the *King* and *Queen*, to pay their *Duty* and *Congratulation* to their Majeſties upon the ſame happy Occaſion.

And ſoon after the *Lieutenancies* of *London* and *Middleſex* made the like *Congratulations*.

And *Addreſſes* of the ſame Nature were brought from ſeveral *Companies* and *Corporations*.

Meeting of the Parliament.

On *Thurſday* the 2d of *October*, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*; and his Majeſty made this Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech.

" SINCE I laſt met you, I have uſed my beſt " Endeavours to reduce *Ireland* into ſuch a " Condition this Year, as that it might be no longer " a Charge to *England*. And it has pleaſed God to " bleſs my Endeavours with ſuch Succeſs, that I " doubt not but I ſhould have been fully poſſeſs'd " of that Kingdom by this Time, had I been ena" bled to have gone into the Field as ſoon as I " ſhould have done, and is more eſpecially neceſſary " in *Ireland*, where the Rains are ſo great, and be" gin ſo early.

" I think my ſelf obliged to take Notice, how " well the Army there have behaved themſelves on " all Occaſions, and born great Hardſhips with lit" tle Pay; and with ſo much Patience and Wil" lingneſs, as could not but proceed from an af" fectionate Duty to my Service, and a Zeal for " the Proteſtant Religion.

" I have already made it evident, how much I " have preferr'd the Satisfaction of my Subjects, " before the moſt ſolid Advantages of the Crown, " by parting with ſo conſiderable a Branch of its " Inheritance. And it is no leſs apparent, that I " have ask'd no Revenue for my ſelf, but what I " have readily ſubjected to be charged to the Uſes " of the War.

" I did, at my Departure, give Order for all the " Publick Accompts to be made ready for me a" gainſt my Return, and I have commanded them " to be laid before the Houſe of Commons; by " which they will ſee, that the real Want of what " was neceſſary beyond the Funds given, and the " not getting in due Time that for which Funds " were aſſign'd, have been the principal Cauſes why " the Army is in ſo much Arrear of their Pay, and " the Stores for the Navy and Ordnance not ſup" plied as they ought to be.

" Now, as I have neither ſpared my Perſon nor " my Pains to do you all the Good I could; ſo I " doubt not, but if you will as chearfully do your " Parts, it is in your Power to make both me and " your ſelves Happy, and the Nation Great. And, " on the other hand, it is too plain, by what the " *French* have let you ſee ſo lately, that if the " preſent War be not proſecuted with Vigor, no " Nation in the World is expoſed to greater " Danger. 1690. 1 *W. M.*

" I hope therefore there will need no more upon " that Subject, than to lay before you, Gentlemen " of the Houſe of Commons, the State of what will " be neceſſary for the Fleet and Armies; which can" not poſſibly admit of being leſſen'd in the enſuing " Year: And to recommend to your Care the clear" ing of my Revenue, ſo as to enable me to ſubſiſt, " and to maintain the Charge of the Civil Liſt; " the Revenue being ſo engaged, that it muſt be " wholly applied, after the Firſt of *November* " next, to pay off the Debts already charged upon " it. And therefore a preſent Conſideration muſt " be had of the Arrears of the Army, which ſhall " likewiſe be laid before you; and for all which, I " muſt deſire a ſufficient and timely Supply.

" It is further neceſſary to inform you, that the " whole Support of the Confederacy Abroad, will " abſolutely depend upon the Speed and Vigor of " your Proceedings in this Seſſion.

" And here I muſt take Notice, with great Satiſ" faction, of the Readineſs which my Subjects of all " Degrees have ſhewn, both in this City, and in " their ſeveral Counties, by giving their Aſſiſtances " ſo chearfully as they did in my Abſence, while " the *French* Fleet was upon our Coaſts. And beſides " this ſo convincing Mark of the good Inclinations " of my People, I have found, thro' all the Coun" tries where I have paſs'd, both at my going into " *Ireland*, and in my Return from thence, ſuch De" monſtrations of their Affection, that I have not " the leaſt Doubt but I ſhall find the ſame from " their Repreſentatives in Parliament.

" I cannot conclude, without taking Notice alſo, " how much the Honour of the Nation has been " expoſed, by the ill Conduct of my Fleet, in the " laſt Summer's Engagement againſt the *French*: " And I think my ſelf ſo much concern'd to ſee " it vindicated, that I cannot reſt ſatisfy'd, till " an Example has been made of ſuch as ſhall be " found faulty upon their Examination and Trial; " which was not practicable while the whole Fleet " was abroad, but is now put into the proper Way " of being done as ſoon as may be.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I look upon the future well-being of this King" dom, to depend upon the Reſult of your Coun" ſels and Determinations at this Time; and the " Benefit will be double by the Speed of your Reſo" lutions: Inſomuch, that I hope you will agree " with me in this Concluſion, *That whoever goes* " *about to obſtruct or divert your Applications to* " *theſe Matters, preferably to all others, can nei*" *ther be my Friend, nor the Kingdom's.*

Addreſs of the Two Houſes

The Lords.

The Parliament taking into Conſideration the weighty Matters recommended to them, and that lay before them; the Lords, in the firſt place, on the 6th of *October*, preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty, wherein they expreſs'd, " How extreamly " ſenſible they were of the great Benefit and Ad" vantage his late Expedition into *Ireland* had pro" cur'd to all his Subjects in general, and alſo the " Succeſs of his Arms in that Kingdom; which " was, under GOD, owing to his Majeſty's Va" lour and Conduct. Wherefore they thought it " their Duty to return him their humble and hearty

(*a*) See 1. By the King and Queen *A Proclamation for a Day of Publick Thankſgiving* to be obſerved on *Sunday*, *Octob* 19, for the Succeſs and Victory over our Enemies and rebellious " Subjects in *Ireland*, Dat. *Octob.* 1. 1690, *Reg.* 2. 2. Order of " King in Council to annex to the *Book of Common-Prayer* a Form " of Prayer with Thankſgiving to be uſed Yearly on the " Fifth of *November*, Given at *Kenſington*, *Octob.* 18, 1690. " 3. A Form of Prayer and Solemn Thankſgivng to Almigh" ty God for the wonderful Preſervation of [illegible] Majeſty's " Perſon, and his good Succeſs towards the reducing of *Ireland*, " together with his Safe and Happy Return into this Kingdom, " to be uſed on *Sunday* the 19th of this Inſtant *October*, with " a Prayer and Thankſgiving to be uſed on every *Lord's-Day*, " *Wedneſday* and *Friday*, during the War with the *French* " King, *&c.*

I

" Thanks,

1690. 1 *W. M.* "Thanks, for all thoſe ſignal Evidences he had "given to his People, which had carried him, on "ſo many Occaſions, to venture a Life that was ſo "dear to them; and to deſpiſe all Hazards, to pro"cure the Settlement of his Kingdoms, the Peace "and Tranquillity of his Subjects, and the Eſta"bliſhment of their Religion. And as it was im"poſſible but ſo much Bravery of Mind, ſuch "an undaunted Courage, and a Heart ſo exalted "above any Apprehenſions, in the midſt of all "Dangers, muſt gain his Majeſty the Admiration "and Eſteem of all the World, and even of his "Enemies themſelves, who had felt the Effect of "ſo great Virtues; ſo they did not doubt but ſuch "extraordinary Qualities, muſt unite the Hearts "of all his People in ſuch a Tenderneſs, as well "as Duty, for his Royal Perſon, as was neceſſary "for the compleating of what he had ſo glorioully "begun.

Their Lordſhips alſo being very ſenſible of the Queen's prudent Adminiſtration, during his Majeſty's Abſence in *Ireland*, next Day acknowledg'd, "The great Advantage the Nation had receiv'd, by "the eminent Reſolution, as well as Prudence, ſhe "had ſhewn in the King's Abſence; and in ſuch "Circumſtances of Difficulty, as would have diſ"compos'd a Mind that had not been rais'd above "them, as her Majeſty had approv'd hers to be, "by that undeniable Evidence. And they declared, "That her Majeſty having preſerv'd the Peace and "Quietneſs of the Kingdom, by her prudent Ad"miniſtration, againſt the Dangers threaten'd by "a powerful Enemy; the Remembrance of ſuch "extraordinary Virtue muſt ever dwell in their "Minds, and engage them, in Juſtice, upon all "Occaſions, to expreſs their Gratitude, as became "her moſt dutiful Subjects.

Addreſs of the Commons. The Commons, tho' not quite ſo forward as the Lords, yet, with no leſs Senſe of Duty and Acknowledgments to their Majeſties, on the 9th of *October*, repreſented to the King, "Their grate"ful Senſe of that unparallel'd Goodneſs, and "tender Affection to his People; which, for the "reſcuing of the Kingdom of *Ireland* from a "Tyrannous and Foreign Yoke, and eaſing his Sub"jects of that Kingdom, of the exceſſive Charge "of a lingring War, had induced him to under"take a hazardous Voyage, and too freely to ex"poſe to all the Dangers of War, that invaluable "Life, upon which the whole Proteſtant Intereſt, "and Common Liberty of *Europe*, ſo much de"pended. That it was next under GOD, to his "Conduct and Example, that they muſt aſcribe "the Succeſs of the Expedition, and to which they "muſt owe their Hopes of the ſpeedy and entire "Reduction of that Kingdom, and of ſeeing them"ſelves in a Condition to make his Enemies ſenſi"ble of the Strength and Power of *England*, un"der a King who knew and purſued its Intereſt. "They moſt heartily congratulated his Majeſty's "Succeſs, and ſafe Return to his People, who were "perſuaded, That their Peace, Security and Hap"pineſs, were bound up in his Safety. And they "did, in the Name of all the Commons of *Eng"land*, aſſure him, That they would be ever ready "to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their Power; and "as the beſt and trueſt Way of expreſſing their "Gratitude, would endeavour effectually to ſup"port his Government againſt all his Enemies.

In their Addreſs to the Queen, on the ſame Day, they expreſs'd, "The deep Senſe they had of "that Goodneſs, Wiſdom and Courage, which "her Majeſty had manifeſted, in the greateſt Dif"ficulties and moſt preſſing Dangers, during the "King's Abſence, at a Time when a Potent Enemy "was upon our Coaſt, when the Nation was "weaken'd in that Part which was its proper "Strength, and depriv'd of the Security of his "Majeſty's Preſence." Here they declared, "The "Reſolution her Majeſty ſhew'd in the Admini"ſtration gave Life to her Subjects, and made "them exert a Strength and Force unknown to the "former Reigns. That her Zeal for the Publick, "encourag'd them to ſhew ſuch Chearfulneſs in "their Duty, as diſappointed the Hopes and De"ſigns of all the open and ſecret Enemies of "the Government: And that the grateful Re"membrance of that (which reviv'd the Memory "of the moſt happy Times) would for ever re"main in the Hearts of her People; and could "never fail to be expreſs'd in all Inſtances of "Loyalty and Obedience from themſelves, and all "the Commons of *England*.

Votes of the Commons. The ſame Day theſe Addreſſes were preſented (*October* the 9th) the Commons began to make good their Aſſurances of Loyalty, by voting, That a Supply be given to their Majeſties, for the entire reducing of *Ireland*, and ſecuring the Peace of this Kingdom, and carrying on a vigorous War againſt *France*. The next Day, they granted the Sum of One Million, Seven hundred ninety one thouſand, ſix hundred ninety five Pounds, for the Navy, and building of new Ships. And on the 4th of the ſame Month, they voted the Sum of Two Millions, two hundred ninety four thouſand, five hundred and ſixty Pounds, for the maintaining an Army of Sixty nine thouſand, ſix hundred thirty ſix Men; which his Majeſty had ſignify'd to that Houſe, that he thought neceſſary for the next Year's Service.

To levy theſe great Sums, the Commons reſolved,

1. "To charge an Aſſeſſment of One hundred "thirty ſeven thouſand, ſix hundred forty one "Pounds, by the Month, for One Year, upon all "Lands.

2. "That an Additional Duty be laid upon "all Wrought and Raw Silks, and all Foreign "Linnen.

3. "That a Duty of Sixpence *per* Gallon, be "laid upon all Low Wines of the firſt Ex"traction.

4. "That an Additional Duty of Ten *per Cent.* "be laid upon all Foreign Timber and Wood; and "the like Duty, above what was already charg'd, "upon all Wrought Silks, Callico, *Indian* Linnen.

5. "That ſeveral Duties be laid upon Foreign "Seeds, Oil, Hops, Pepper, and all Grocery-Ware, "(except Sugar and Tobacco.)

6. "That the Exciſe upon all Beer, Ale, and "other Liquors, be doubled. And,

7. "That an Additional Duty be laid upon Fo"reign Iron, Yarn of Flax or Hemp, and all Ma"nufactures of Glaſs.

Theſe ſeveral Funds falling much ſhort of anſwering the Supplies granted to their Majeſties, it was reſolv'd, *October* 17th, "That the Sum of "One Million be raiſed upon the Credit, or by the "Sale of the Forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland*, and that "an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, That he "would be pleaſed to command the Commiſſioners "in *Ireland*, to make a Return to his Majeſty of "the Names of the Perſons in Rebellion in that "Kingdom, and of their Eſtates and Value thereof, "and that the ſame might be tranſmitted to the "Houſe of Commons." This Addreſs having been drawn up, and reported to the Houſe, *October* the 22d. by Sir *Thomas Clargis*, and the Queſtion being put, That the ſaid Addreſs with Amendments be agreed unto, it paſſed in the Negative. However, it was reſolved the ſame Day, That *a Bill be brought in for attainting of the Perſons that were, or had been in Rebellion in* England *or* Ireland; *and for confiſcating their Eſtates, and for applying the ſame to bear the Charge of the War.* This Bill was not preſented to the Houſe till the 2d of *December*, and upon a ſecond Reading, *December* the 8th, it

1690. 1 *W. M.* was order'd, *That a Clauſe be brought in for reſerving a Proportion of the Forfeitures in* England *and* Ireland *to his Majeſty's ſole Diſpoſal*; which Clauſe, when reported on *December* the 18th, was diſagreed to by the Houſe. At length the Bill, with ſeveral Amendments, being ingroſſed, and read the Third Time and Paſſed, was ſent to the Upper Houſe on the 23d of *December*, where it was laid by, notwithſtanding ſeveral Meſſages from the Commons to put their Lordſhips in Mind of it. The Truth is, the Court did, underhand, oppoſe the paſſing of this Bill, not only becauſe the King deſign'd to recompence the Services of ſeveral Perſons with part of the Forfeitures; but becauſe this Fund could not in due time have yielded the Sum it was given for.

Acts paſs'd. On *Monday* the 10th of *November*, the King went to the Houſe of Lords, and gave his Royal Aſſent to *An Act for granting an Aid to their Majeſties of One Million, ſix hundred ſixty one thouſand, ſeven hundred and two Pounds.*

And on *Tueſday* the 18th of *November*, his Majeſty came again to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Sanction to,

1. *An Act concerning the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.*

2. *An Act to prohibit the covering of Houſes and other Buildings with Thatch or Straw, in the Town of* Marlborough, *in the County of* Wilts.

3. *An Act to veſt divers Meſſuages and Tenements (the Eſtate of* David Bigg, *Eſq;) in Truſtees, to be ſold; and for laying out the Money to be raiſed thereby, in the Purchaſe of Lands more to his Convenience, to be ſettled to the ſame Uſes.*

4. *An Act to veſt the Manor and Lands, late of* George Vilet, Eſq; *in Truſtees, to be ſold for raiſing Portions for his Daughters.*

Violent Attempt on Mary Wharton, an Infant. Captain *James Campbell*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, Brother to the Earl of *Argyle*, aſſiſted by *Archibald Montgomery* and Sir *John Johnſton*, did on *November* the 14th, forcibly ſeize on Mrs. *Mary Wharton*, a rich Heireſs of about Thirteen Years of Age, and carried her away from her Relations in *Great Queen-Street*, and married her againſt her Will. Whereupon his Majeſty iſſued out his Royal Proclamation the next Day, for the apprehending of Captain *Campbell* and his Abettors. Not long before, there *Bill againſt Clandeſtine Marriages.* had been a Bill brought into the Houſe of Commons on *October* 26. to prevent Clandeſtine Marriages, and People thought the paſſing of it would have been expedited upon this Violence committed by *Campbell:* But upon Conſideration that this Bill was attended with many Inconveniences, and might hinder many younger Brothers from making their Fortunes, it was dropp'd into Silence. However, another Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, *Dec.* 4. *For making void the Marriage between Mrs.* Wharton *and Mr.* Campbel; which, notwithſtanding the Earl of *Argyle*'s Petition in his Brother's Behalf, did quickly go through both Houſes.

The Commons were very forward in propoſing and diſpatching the neceſſary Supplies for the Government: So that on *Tueſday*, *November* 25. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and being attended with the uſual Solemnity, gave the Royal Aſſent to,

Bills paſs'd 1. *An Act for the doubling the Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, during the Space of One Year.*

2. *An Act to enable* Elizabeth Montague, *Widow, to let Leaſes for Years of Houſes and Ground in* Stepney, *in the County of* Middleſex.

And then his Majeſty was pleas'd to make this Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech. " I Take this Occaſion, with great Willingneſs to " aſſure you, that I am extremely ſenſible of " the Zeal and Chearfulneſs of all your Proceedings 1690. 1 *W. M.* " in this Seſſions of Parliament; and of the Readineſs which you Gentlemen of the Houſe of " Commons have ſhewn, in granting ſuch large " Supplies, towards the preſſing Occaſions, of the " Army and Navy.

" And I do farther aſſure you, that I ſhall not " be wanting on my part, to ſee them carefully ap- " plied to thoſe Uſes for which you intend them.

" At the ſame time, I muſt obſerve to you, that " the Poſture of Affairs Abroad, does neceſſarily re- " quire my Preſence at the *Hague*, before the End " of this Year; and by conſequence I muſt deſire " you to loſe no time in the diſpatching and per- " fecting ſuch further Supplies as are ſtill neceſſary " for the Navy and Army: And not for them only, " but it is high time alſo to put you in mind of " making ſome Proviſion for the Expence of the " Civil Government, which has no Funds for its " Support, ſince the Exciſe, which was deſign'd for " that Service, and alſo the other Branches of the " Revenue, have been apply'd to other Publick " Uſes; and therefore I earneſtly recommend it to " your ſpeedy Conſideration.

Reſolutions of the Commons. The Day before, *Nov.* 24. the Commons had reſolv'd, " 1. That the ſeveral Duties laid upon " Goods imported, be granted to their Majeſties " for the Term of Five Years, to commence from " the 10th of *November*, and no longer. 2. That " the Duties impos'd upon Wines and Vinegars, " by an Act made 1 *Jac.* 2. and upon *French* Lin- " nen and wrought Silks and Stuffs, and all *Eaſt-* " *India* Linnen, and other Manufactures, *&c.* im- " pos'd by another Act made in the ſame Year, " ſhould be continu'd until the 24th Day of " *June*, 1696. And, 3. That the Duty impos'd " upon *Tobacco*, by an Act made 1 *Jac.* 2. ſhould " be continu'd to the like Term, and no longer." At the ſame time it was order'd, " That a Bill or " Bills be brought in, for granting to their Maje- " ſties the ſeveral Duties or Impoſitions upon " theſe ſeveral Heads." But all this fell ſhort of the Supplies that had been voted by the Houſe; and therefore it was reſolv'd, *Dec.* 19. " That the Re- " mainder of a Sum, not exceeding 4086258 " Pounds, for the Supplies to be granted to their " Majeſties, be rais'd by doubling the Additional " Duties of Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Li- " quors, mention'd in an Act of the Firſt Year of " their Majeſties Reign, entitled, *An Act for an* " *Additional Duty of Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and* " *other Liquors*, to begin from the Time the Act " for the doubling the Duty of Exciſe upon Beer, " Ale, and other Liquors, during the Space of One " Year, did expire." And a Bill was order'd to be prepar'd, in purſuance of the ſaid Reſolution.

On *Saturday*, *Dec.* 20. His Majeſty came again to the Houſe of Peers; and being ſeated on the Throne, and the Commons attending, gave the Royal Aſſent to,

1. *An Act for granting to their Majeſties certain Impoſitions upon all* Eaſt-India *Goods and Manufactures, and upon all* Wrought-Silks, *and ſeveral other Goods and Merchandizes, to be Imported after the 25th day of* December, 1690. *Acts paſs'd.*

2. *An Act for the continuance of ſeveral former Acts therein mention'd, for the laying ſeveral Duties upon* Wines, Vinegar, *and* Tobacco.

3. *An Act for puniſhing Officers and Soldiers who ſhall Mutiny and Deſert, and for puniſhing Falſe Muſters.*

4. *An Act for reviving a former Act, for Regulating the Meaſures and Prices of* Coals.

5. *An Act for Paving and Cleanſing the Streets in the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and Suburbs and Liberties thereof, and Out-Pariſhes in the County of* Middleſex *and the Borough of* Southwark, *and*

other

1690. 1 W. M. *other Places within the* Weekly Bills of Mortality, *in the County of* Surrey, *and for Regulating the Markets therein mention'd.*

And to Sixteen *Private Acts.*

King's Speech. After which his Majeſty acquainting both Houſes, "How ſenſible he was of their good Affection towards him, and of their ſincere Endeavours to "promote the true Intereſt of their Country, in "continuing to provide further Supplies towards defraying the Charge of the War, which he would "take care to ſee diligently and ſtrictly apply'd to "the Uſes for which they gave them.". *He further added,* "He had lately acquainted them, that the "Poſture of Affairs abroad, would not admit of "deferring his Journey to the *Hague*, much beyond "that Time; and that he put them in mind of it "now, in hopes that Conſideration would prevail "with them to uſe all poſſible Diſpatch of what "ſtill remain'd to be done, for the more vigorous "Proſecution of the War." *And concluded with telling the* Commons; "That if ſome Annual "Proviſion could be made for augmenting the *Navy*, "and Building ſome new *Men of War*, it would "be a very neceſſary Care at that time both for the "Honour and Safety of the Nation.

Reſolution of the *Commons* for Recruiting the *Navy*. The *Commons* having taken his Majeſty's Speech into Conſideration, particularly the latter Part of it, unanimouſly Reſolv'd, on *Dec.* the 24th, Firſt, *That a Supply be given to Their Majeſties for the building of Ships of War, not exceeding the Sum of* 570000 *Pounds.* And Secondly, *That the ſaid Supply, ſo to be given to their Majeſties, be for the Building of Seventeen Third-Rate Ships, of Sixty Guns a-piece, to be added to the Ships in the Eſtimate already provided to be built.* Three Days after, it was Reſolved, "That this Supply ſhould be rais'd "by additional Duties upon Beer, Ale, and other "Liquors; and order'd, That an enacting Clauſe "be prepar'd, in purſuance to the ſaid Reſolution." They had paſſed a Bill, for Appointing and Enabling Commiſſioners for taking the Publick Accompts; and had ordered the ſeveral Members to put into Glaſſes at the Table, the Names of Nine Perſons to be Commiſſioners in the ſaid Bill: By which Method, on *Dec.* 26. the Majority fell on Sir *Robert Rich*, Sir *Thomas Clargis*, *Paul Foley*, Eſq; *Robert Auſtin*, Eſq; Sir *Matthew Andrews*, Sir *Benjamin Newland*, Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton*, Sir *Peter Colrain*, and *Robert Harley*, Eſq.

On *Monday January* 5. the King being now impatient to go over to the Congreſs in *Holland*, came to the *Houſe of Peers*, and with the uſual Solemnity gave the *Royal Aſſent* to,

Acts paſt. 1. *An Act for appointing Commiſſioners to take and ſtate the* Publick Accompts *of the Kingdom.*

2. *An Act for the Raiſing the* Militia *of this Kingdom for the Year* 1691, *altho' the Months Pay formerly advanced be not repaid.*

3. *An Act for Relief of Poor Priſoners for Debt or Damages.*

4. *An Act for preventing Vexatious Suits, againſt ſuch as acted for their Majeſties in Defence of the Kingdom.*

5. *An Act for the encouraging the diſtilling of Brandy and Spirits from Corn, and for laying ſeveral Duties on Low-Wines, or Spirits of the firſt Extraction.*

6. *An Act for granting to their Majeſties ſeveral Additional Duties of Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for Four Years, from the time that an Act for doubling the Duty of Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors during the ſpace of One Year, doth expire.*

7. *An Act for the more effectual putting in Execution, An Act, Entitl'd, An Act for prohibiting all Trade and Commerce with* France.

8. *An Act to Enable* Thomas *Earl of* Aylesbury, *and* Elizabeth *Counteſs of* Aylesbury, *his Wife, to make Proviſion for Payment of Debts, and to make Leaſes of their Eſtates.* 1690. 1 W. M

9. *An Act for Incorporating the Proprietors of the Water-works in* York-Buildings, *and for the Encouraging, Carrying on, and Settling the ſaid Water-works.*

10. *An Act for Veſting certain Lands (the Eſtate of* Thomas Manwaring, *Gent.) in Truſtees to be ſold for the Payment of Debts.*

11. *An Act to Enable* John Rocheſter, *Eſq; to ſell Lands for Payment of Debts.*

After which his Majeſty was pleas'd to make a moſt Gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"HAving lately told you, That it would be neceſſary for me to go into *Holland* much about this Time, I am very glad to find, that the "Succeſs of your Endeavours to bring this Seſſion "to a happy Concluſion has been ſuch, that I am "now at Liberty to do it. And I return you my "hearty Thanks, for the great Diſpatch you have "made, in finiſhing the Supplies you have deſign'd "for carrying on the War, which it ſhall be my "Care to ſee duly and punctually apply'd to that "Service for which you have given them. And I "likewiſe think it proper to aſſure you, That I ſhall "not make any Grant of the Forfeited Lands in "*England* and *Ireland*, till there be another Opportunity of Settling that Matter in Parliament, in "ſuch manner as ſhall be thought moſt expedient. King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"As I have reaſon to be very well ſatisfied with "the Proofs you have given Me of your good Affections in this Seſſion of Parliament, ſo I promiſe My Self the continuance of the ſame at "your Return into your ſeveral Countries. And as "every Day produces ſtill freſh Inſtances of the "Reſtleſsneſs of our Enemies, both at Home and "Abroad, in deſigning againſt the Proſperity of "this Nation, and the Government Eſtabliſhed; "ſo I cannot doubt, but that the Union and good "Correſpondence between Me and my Parliament, "and my Earneſt and Conſtant Endeavours on the "one Hand, joined with the continuance of your "Zeal and Affection to ſupport Me on the other, "will, by the Bleſſing of *GOD*, be at all times "too ſtrong for the utmoſt Malice and Contrivance "of our Common Enemies.

And then the Lord Chief-Baron, *Speaker* of the *Houſe of Lords*, declar'd to Both Houſes, "That it "was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that they ſhould Adjourn themſelves until the 31ſt of *March* next; "and that if his Majeſty ſhould think fit that the "Parliament ſhould then ſit, he would give them "timely Notice thereof by his Proclamation.

And accordingly both Houſes of Parliament did Adjourn to the 31ſt of *March* next.

Before we leave this Seſſion of Parliament, it ought to be obſerv'd, that beſides the *Bill* relating to the *Forfeited Eſtates* in *Ireland*, there were ſeveral others that were left unfiniſhed; particularly, Bills left unfiniſh'd.

A Bill to regulate Tryals in Caſes of Treaſon; which was much talk'd of in the *Houſe of Commons*, as a great Defence of their Liberties and Lives, and yet was put off from time to time.

Another relating to the *African Trade.*

Another, *Againſt Robbers on the Highway.*

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Another, *For the ſpeedier determining Elections of Members of Parliament.*

Another, *To charge the Eſtate of the late Lord* Jeffreys, *in* Leiceſterſhire, *with the Sum of* 14760*l.* *and Intereſt, to* Edmund Prideaux, *Eſq*;

Another, *For Regulating and Licenſing Hackney-Coaches.*

Another, *For the Enabling* Chirurgeons *to Adminiſter inward Medicines in Caſes of Surgery*: which dropp'd, on a Petition againſt it by the *Phyſicians* and *Apothecaries.*

A *Bill* was alſo brought in, *For reducing Intereſt-Money, from* 6 *to* 4 per Cent. which after a Second Reading was rejected.

Affairs abroad.

Some Things happen'd during this Seſſion that ought to be remembred. The Duke of *Savoy* had ſuffer'd extremely by the *French* Arms, under the Command of *Catinat* and Monſieur *S. Ruth*; and having loſt, in effect, the whole Dukedom of *Savoy*, except the Town of *Montmelian*, he began now to be ſenſible, that he could not depend, either on the Emperor or the King of *Spain*, for the Recovery of his Dominions; and therefore he wiſely thought of making Application to the *States-General* of *Holland*, and principally to his *Britannick* Majeſty, the Head and Support of the *Grand Alliance*: And to that Purpoſe, he ſent away the Count *de la Tour*, Baron of *Bourdeaux*, and Counſellor of State, Preſident of his *Finances* in *Savoy*, and Intendant of his Houſhold, a Man of great Parts and Addreſs. This Envoy Extraordinary having diſpatch'd his Buſineſs at the *Hague*, came immediately over to *England*, and on *Nov.* 2. made the following Speech to his Majeſty at his firſt Publick Audience.

SIR,

Speech of the Duke of *Savoy's* Envoy.

"HIS Royal Highneſs, my Maſter, does by "me, Congratulate your Sacred Majeſty's "Glorious Acceſſion to the Crown. It is due to "your Birth, and deſerv'd by your Virtue, and is "maintained by your Valour. Providence had de"ſigned it for your Sacred Head, for the Accom"pliſhment of his Eternal Decrees, which after a "long Patience, do always tend to raiſe up Choſen "Souls, to repreſs Violence, and protect Juſtice. "The wonderful Beginnings of your Reign, are "moſt certain Preſages of the Bleſſings which Hea"ven prepares for the Uprightneſs of your Inten"tions, which have no other Scope, than to re"ſtore this flouriſhing Kingdom to its firſt Great"neſs, and break the Chains which *Europe* groans "under. This Magnanimous Deſign, worthy of "the Heroe of our Age, fill'd his Royal Highneſs "with inexpreſſible Joy: But he was conſtrain'd to "conceal it in the ſecret of his Heart; and if at "laſt he has been free to own it, he is oblig'd to "the very Name of your Majeſty for it, ſince that "alone has made him conceive ſome Hopes of Li"berty, after ſo many Years of Servitude.

"My Words, and the Treaty which I have "ſign'd at the *Hague*, with your Majeſty's Mini"ſters, do but faintly expreſs the Paſſion which my "Maſter has to Unite himſelf by the moſt invio"lable Ties to your Service. The Honour, *SIR*, "which he has to be related to you, has ty'd the "firſt Knots of this Union: The infinite Reſpect "which he has for your Sacred Perſon, has, as it "were, knit them faſter; and the generous Pro"tection which you are pleas'd to grant him, will, "without doubt, make them indiſſoluble. Theſe "are the ſincere Sentiments of his Royal Highneſs, "to which I dare not add any thing of mine: For "how ardent ſoever my Zeal may be, and how "profound the Veneration which I bear to your "glorious Atchievements, I think I cannot better "expreſs either, than by a Silence full of Admiration.

Domeſtick Affairs.

There were ſome other Domeſtick Affairs during the ſame Seſſion, that are worthy Obſervation. Our Fleet, commanded by the new Admirals, Sir *Richard Haddock*, *Henry Killigrew*, Eſq; and Sir *John Aſhby*, arriv'd in the *Downs*, *October* the 8th. They came from *Cork* Harbour, and brought home with them the Earls of *Clincarty* and *Tyrone*, the Lord *Carne*, Colonel *Margellicot*, and ſeveral other Priſoners. On *Octob.* 9. his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *George Meggot*, Eſq; High Sheriff of *Norfolk*, upon his Delivery of an Addreſs from that County, congratulating his Majeſty's good Succeſs and ſafe Return. About the ſame Time, his Majeſty appointed *Thomas Baker*, Eſq; to be his Conſul at *Algiers*. In the beginning of *November*, his Majeſty was pleaſed to order a new Commiſſion to paſs the Great Seal, conſtituting the Right Honourable *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin*, Sir *John Lowther* of *Lowther*, Bar. Vice-Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, *Richard Hambden*, Eſq; Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, Knt. and *Thomas Pelham*, Eſq; Commiſſioners of their Majeſties *Treaſury*. At the beginning of *December*, his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer a Mark of his Royal Favour upon Colonel *John Cutts*, for his faithful Services and zealous Affection to his Royal Perſon and Government; and therefore created him a Baron of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, by the Stile and Title of Baron *Cutts* of *Gouran*, in the ſaid Kingdom. One *Godfrey Croſs* of *Lydd*, in the County of *Kent*, Inn-holder, who went on Board the *French* Fleet whilſt it lay on that Coaſt, to give Intelligence and bring back Inſtructions, was tried at the *King's-Bench*-Bar, and found guilty of High Treaſon; and according to Sentence pronounc'd againſt him, was executed in *Southwark*, on *Dec.* 8. *Henry* Lord Viſcount *Sidney*, one of the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, was call'd over by his Majeſty; and being made one of the Princial Secretaries of State, he took the uſual Oath at the Council-Board on *Dec.* 26. His Highneſs *George Lewis*, Duke of *Zell*, Eldeſt Prince of the Houſe of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburgh*, was elected Knight Companion of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, in a Chapter held *December* 30. at *Kenſington*, in the Preſence of the Sovereign. On *January* 1. Sir *John Trevor*, Knt. Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Great Seal of *England*, was, by his Majeſty's Command, ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

Honours and Preferments.

Review of *Ireland.*

To look back to (*a*) *Ireland.* There were ſtill ſeveral Towns beſides *Limerick* in Poſſeſſion of the *French* and *Iriſh*, and their Forces were yet very numerous, which gave the Friends of King *James* ſome Hopes of reducing that Kingdom to his Obedience. But they were not a little ſurpriz'd to hear that the *Engliſh* Fleet was arriv'd before *Cork* Harbour the 21ſt of *September*, with ſome Forces under the Command of the Earl of *Marlborough*, who immediately acquainted the Duke of *Wirtemburgh*, and Major-General *Scravenmore* with his Arrival. The next Day his Lordſhip found that the Enemy had a Battery of Eight Guns to oppoſe his Entry into the Harbour; but he ſent Three Boats aſhore with ſtout Fellows, who by thick Firing, oblig'd the *Iriſh* to quit their Guns.

Earl of *Marlborough* before *Cork.*

On the 23d, the greateſt Part of the Land-Forces were ſent up the Paſſages, headed by the Duke of

(*a*) Monſ. *Grevius*, in an Epiſtle to Monſ. *le Clerc*, dated from *Utrecht*, *Aug.* 1. 1690. tells him, that Father *Porter* is publiſhing at *Rome* a Compendium of the Eccleſiaſtical Annals of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, of which he gives a ſhort Deſcription, and a ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Antiquities and moſt remarkable Occurences of the Eccelſiaſtical and Civil States.

Grafton;

1690. 1 *W. M.*

Grafton; and being come next Day within a Mile of the Town of *Cork*, they began to mount their Canon, and to begin a formal Siege. The Duke of *Wirtemburgh* and the Earl of *Marlborough* being both Lieutenant-Generals, there happen'd a warm Diſpute betwixt them about the chief Command; the firſt laying Claim to it becauſe he was a Prince; the other, with great Temper, inſiſting upon his Right, both as eldeſt Officer, and becauſe he led the Troops of his own Nation; whereas the Duke of *Wirtemburgh* was only at the Head of Auxiliaries. The wiſe Monſ. *la Meloniere* interpoſing, the Earl of *Marlborough* was contented to ſhare the Command with the Duke, leſt the inſiſting on his full Right ſhould retard his Majeſty's Service. Accordingly, the Earl of *Marlborough* commanded the firſt Day, and gave the Word, *Wirtemburgh*; and the Duke of *Wirtemburgh* commanded the next, and gave the Word, *Marlborough*. Under their Conduct and Bravery, they ſoon brought the Beſieg'd to demand a Parley, and to give Hoſtages for a Truce: But not accepting the Terms offer'd them, the Beſiegers made a conſiderable Breach in the Walls, and reſolved to ſtorm the Town. The Grenadiers, under the Lord *Colcheſter*, led the Van, and march'd forward with incredible Bravery, tho' all the while expos'd to the Enemies Fire; having an Example of Glory ſet them by the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *O Brian*, Colonel *Granville*, and ſome other reſolute Volunteers. But in this Approach, the Duke of *Grafton* received a Wound in the Shoulder, of which he ſoon after died. All things being now ready for a general Aſſault, the Beſieg'd thought fit to prevent it, by beating a ſecond Parley: And at laſt the Earl of *Tyrone* and Colonel *Rycaut*, being ſent from Colonel *Makilicut*, who commanded in the Place, agreed to the Earl of *Marlborough*'s Conditions: Which were, *Sept.* 28.

"That the Gariſon, conſiſting of Four Thouſand "Men, ſhould be all Priſoners of War, both Offi- "cers and Soldiers.

"That no Prejudice ſhould be done to them or "the Inhabitants.

"That the General would uſe his Endeavours to "obtain his Majeſty's Clemency towards them.

"That all the Arms, as well of the Inhabitants, "as of the Gariſon, ſhould be ſecured.

"That all the Proteſtant Priſoners ſhould be ſet "at Liberty.

"That the old Fort ſhould be deliver'd up "within an Hour, and the two Gates of the City "the next Morning.

"And that an exact Account ſhould be given of "the Warlike Ammunitions and Proviſions in the "Magazines.

The Earl of *Marlborough*'s wiſe Conduct and good Succeſs.

The Earl of *Marlborough* was reſolv'd to purſue his good Succeſs, and therefore immediately ſent away a Detachment of Horſe and Dragoons, under the Command of Brigadier *Villiers*, to ſummon the Town and Forts of *Kingſale*; and his Lordſhip ſetting out from *Cork* on the 1ſt of *October*, arrived at *Five-Mile-Bridge* the ſame Day, and the next before *Kingſale*; and having form'd his Camp in the Evening, gave Directions to make his Approaches towards the New Fort, while Major General *Tetteau* was order'd to attack the Old.

The next Morning early, *Tetteau* having paſs'd the River in Boats, made a Feint of ſtorming the Fort in the weakeſt Place, where moſt of the Beſieged were ready to receive him: But in the *Interim*, another Detachment made a bold Aſſault upon another Place, where the Enemy leaſt ſuſpected them, and by that means were ſoon Maſters of a Baſtion. At the ſame time, ſeveral Barrels of Powder happening to take Fire, blew up near Forty of the *Iriſh*; upon which the reſt retir'd into an old Caſtle in the midſt of the Fort, and immediately ſubmitted to be Priſoners of War.

This Buſineſs being over, the Earl of *Marlborough* ſent to ſummon the New Fort, which was much more conſiderable than the other: But Sir *Edward Scot* (the Governor) readily anſwer'd, *That it would be time enough to capitulate a Month hence.* Thereupon the *Engliſh* open'd their Trenches *October* the 5th, and on the 9th had advanc'd them to the Counterſcarp; but the ill Weather hinder'd the coming up of the Cannon till the 11th. After a conſiderable Breach, and a falſe Attack, all things were prepar'd for a Storm, when the Enemy beat a Parley. On the 15th Hoſtages being exchang'd, the Articles were agreed on, and ſign'd about Midnight, by which the middle Baſtion was to be deliver'd up the next Morning; and the Gariſon, conſiſting of about 1100 Men, was to march out the next Day after, with Arms and Baggage, to be conducted to *Limerick*.

By ſubduing this Seaport-Town, and that of *Cork*, an effectual Stop was put to all Supplies from *France*, at leaſt on the *Southern* Coaſts; and the *Iriſh* were almoſt confin'd to the Province of *Ulſter*, where it was harder to ſubſiſt, than in any other Parts of that Kingdom.

Upon the firſt News of the *Engliſh* Fleet ſailing towards *Ireland*, Count *Lauzun*, afraid of being block'd up at *Galloway*, went off from thence with the Duke of *Tyrconnel*, Monſieur *Boiſſeleau*, and the miſerable Remains of his *French* Troops, leaving the General Command of the *Iriſh* Forces to the Duke of *Berwick*, which was afterwards given to Monſieur St. *Ruth*.

The Earl of *Marlborough* having perform'd this Glorious Expedition, in as little Time as, conſidering the Seaſon of the Year, the Voyage it ſelf requir'd, embark'd again, and arriv'd at *Kenſington* on the 28th of *October*, where he was very favourably receiv'd by his Majeſty, who had a high Eſteem of his Courage and Conduct, and was heard to ſay, *That he knew no Man ſo fit for a General, who had ſeen ſo few Campaigns.*

Ireland Reduc'd.

Ireland ſeem'd now to be (*a*) reduc'd to the Obedience of King *William*; and therefore at the beginning of *December*, his Majeſty eſtabliſh'd a Privy-Council of the Lord Primate of *Ireland*, the Lord-Chancellor, the Lord-Treaſurer, and the Archbiſhop of *Dublin* for the Time being, *James* Duke of *Ormond*, *Edward* Earl of *Meath*, *Henry* Earl of *Drogheda*, *Francis* Earl of *Longford*, *Richard* Earl of *Ranelaugh*, *Arthur* Earl of *Granard*, *Adam* Viſcount *Lisbourn*, the Biſhop of *Meath*, for the Time being, *Robert Fitz-Gerald*, Eſq; Sir *Henry Fane*, *William Hill*, Eſq; and certain Miniſters of State for the Time being.

His Majeſty, at the ſame Time, appointed theſe Judges, in the ſeveral Courts of Juſtice: Sir *Ri-*

(*a*) See a Form of Prayer and ſolemn Thankſgiving to Almighty God for the wonderful Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon, and his good Succeſs towards the reducing of *Ireland*; together with his ſafe and happy Return into this Kingdom. To be uſed on *Sunday* the 19th of this Inſtant, *October*. By his Majeſty's Pleaſure. Dated *Octob.* 3. 1690. 4*to.*

As to the Affairs of *Scotland*, See an Act anent Miniſters that have not prayed for the King and Queen, diſcharging them from the Exerciſe of any Part of their Miniſterial Function, *July* 22. 1690. 2. An Act for Security of their Majeſties Government, by ſubſcribing a Declaration, acknowledging King *William* and Queen *Mary* the only lawful undoubted King and Queen, as well *de Jure* as *de Facto*. 3. An Hiſtorical Relation of the late General Aſſembly held at *Edinburgh* from *October* 15, to *November* 13, in this Year 1690. In a Letter from a Perſon in *Edinburgh* to his Friend in *London*, 4*to.* 4. A Continuation of the Hiſtorical Relation, &c.

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chard Reynell, Chief-Juſtice; Mr. *Lindon*, Sir *Richard Stephens*, Juſtices of the *King's-Bench*; Mr. Juſtice *Cox*, Mr. Juſtice *Jeffordſon*, of the *Common-Pleas*; Lord Chief Baron, *Hely*, Mr. Baron *Echlin*, Sir *Standiſh Hartſtong*, of the *Exchequer*.

And within few Days after, his Majeſty diſpos'd of the vacant Biſhopricks as follows: The Archbiſhoprick of *Caſhel*, to Dr. *Marſh*, Biſhop of *Ferns*; the Biſhoprick of *Clogher*, to Dr. *Teniſon*, Biſhop of *Killalah*; the Biſhoprick of *Elſin*, to Dr. *Digby*, Biſhop of *Limerick*; the See of *Londonderry*, to Dr. *William King*; the See of *Ferns*, to Dr. *Vigors*, Dean of *Armagh*; the See of *Limerick*, to Dr. *Wilſon*, Dean of *Raphoe*; the See of *Clonfert*, to Dr. *Fitzgerald*, Dean of *Cloin*; the See of *Killalah*, to Dr. *Lloyd*, Dean of *Aronry*. And upon the Recalling of the Lord *Sidney*, his Majeſty appointed Sir *Charles Porter* to be One of the Lords-Juſtices, and Lord-Chancellor of *Ireland*.

The King prepares for the Congreſs, at the *Hague*.

The King was now preparing to go over to the Famous Congreſs at the *Hague*; and therefore, the next Day after the Riſing of the Parliament, his Majeſty ſet out, attended by the Great Officers of his Houſhold, and divers others of the Nobility and Gentry. He lay that Night at *Sittingborn*, and intended to embark the next Evening at *Margate*; but finding, upon his Arrival at *Canterbury*, that the Wind was ſet in *Eaſtwardly*, with a hard Froſt, he thought fit to return to *Kenſington* on *Jan.* 9. with Intention to proceed on his Voyage for *Holland* with the firſt Change of Weather.

Embarks at *Graveſend*.

So on *Friday* the 16th of *January*, the King went to *Graveſend*, and embark'd there with divers of the Nobility, and other Perſons of Quality attending him, under a Convoy of Twelve Men of War, commanded by Rear-Admiral *Rooke*. When, with ſome Trouble, they came on the *Dutch* Coaſt, the Froſt had been ſo ſevere, and the Ice near the Shore was ſo great, that it appear'd to be extremely dangerous to attempt Landing. But the King, with whom the Sea did not agree, and whoſe Buſineſs required Haſte, went into the Shallop, and order'd the Seamen to put off. The Seamen themſelves were afraid; and all the Perſons of Quality about the King, would have diſſuaded him from it, by repreſenting the prodigious Danger to which he muſt expoſe his Royal Perſon. But nothing being able to move him from his Reſolution, they put away from the Fleet, and quickly loſt ſight of 'em. Night came on, and the King remain'd, for Eighteen Hours together, expos'd to the Injuries of the Air and Cold, to the Mercy of the Sea, and the Chance of Privateers, having nothing but his Cloak to cover him; and the Sea ran ſo high, that he and all the Company were daſh'd and waſh'd with Waves. At laſt the Shallop, by Break of Day, came near the Iſle of *Goree*, where his Majeſty went aſhore, and got a little Refreſhment in a Fiſherman's Cottage. Then his Majeſty went into his Boat again, and happily landed at *Orange-Polder*; from whence he went to *Hounſlerdike*, where he was met by the Deputies of the *States*, who conducted him to the *Hague* by Six that Evening.

Is in very great Danger.

Lands ſafely.

And becauſe his Majeſty came ſo ſuddenly, as to prevent the Reception that was intended by the Magiſtrates of that Place, *Monday* next was appointed for ſolemnizing their Publick Joy on that Occaſion, with Fire-works, Bonfires, and Triumphal Arches. And they order'd another Day to be obſerv'd with Publick and ſolemn Devotion for returning Thanks to Almighty GOD for the King's ſafe Arrival, and to implore His Bleſſing upon his Majeſty's Arms, and thoſe of that State, and Allies.

Congreſs at the *Hague*.

And now began the moſt Glorious Congreſs that ever yet appear'd of Chriſtian Princes and Miniſters. The Electors of *Bavaria* and *Brandenburgh*; the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, *of Zell*, and of *Wolfembuttel*; the Landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*, Prince *Chriſtian Lois* of *Brandenburgh*; Prince *Waldeck*; the Prince of *Naſſau*, Stadtholder of *Frieſland*, the Prince of *Naſſau Saarbrug*, Governor of *Boiſleduc*, the Prince of *Naſſau Dillemburgh*, the Prince of *Naſſau Idſtein*, the Duke-Adminiſtrator of *Wirtemburgh*, the two Princes of *Anſbach*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe D'Armſtadt*, the Prince his Brother, the Duke of *Sax-Eyſenach*, Prince *Philip* Palatine, the Duke of *Zulsbach*, the Prince of *Wirtemburg Neuſtadt*, the Prince of *Wirtemburg*, and the Prince his Brother; the Duke of *Courland*, and Prince *Ferdinand* his Brother; the Prince of *Anhalt Zeerborſt*, the Landgrave of *Homburg*, Three Princes of *Holſtein-Beck*, the Duke of *Holſtein*, Prince of *Commercy*, the Prince Palatine of *Birkenfelt*. To which we may add the Princeſs of *Naſſau Frieſland*, the Princeſs of *Radzeville*, the Counteſs of *Soiſſons*, the Princeſs of *Sax-Eyſenach*, and other illuſtrious Perſons.

It would be too tedious to give the Names of all the Counts that appear'd on this ſolemn Occaſion: However, we'll mention a few of them; and the moſt remarkable were, the Counts of *Horn*, *Erbach*, *Tirimont*, *de Brouay*, *de Gryal*, *d'Arco*, *de Rivera*, *de Sanſra*, *de Lippe*, *d'Eſpenſe*, *de Fugger*, *de Denhof*, *de Carelſon*; with the Barons of *Pallant* and *Spaein*, the Rhingrave and his Brother; the Marquiſſes of *Caſhlemonlayo*, and *Caſtanaga*, Governor of the *Spaniſh* Netherlands; and the Generals, *Chauvert*, *d'Elwicht*, *Barſus*, *d'Autel*, *Palſi*, &c.

But we ſhould more particularly name the Ambaſſadors and Foreign Miniſters preſent in this Aſſembly: And here you had from the Emperor, the Counts of *Windigrats* and *Berka*, with the Chevelier *de Campecht*; from the King of *Spain*, Don *Emanuel de Colonna*; from the King of *Denmark*, the Count *de Rebenklan*, and M. *Genibe*; from the King of *Sweden*, the Count of *Oxenſtern*; from the King of *Poland*, M. *Moreau*; from the Elector of *Bavaria*, the Baron of *Boomgarden*, and M. *Prielmeyre*; from the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, M. *Van Dieſt* and *Smettau*; from the Elector of *Saxony*, M. *Haxhauſem*; from the Elector of *Treves*, the Baron *de Leyon*, and Monſieur *Champagne*; from the Elector of *Mentz*, M. *Talberg* and *Meyers*; from the Elector of *Cologne*, the General and Baron *Beruſaw*, and M. *Soelmaker*; from the Elector *Palatine*, M. *Hertermans*; from the Duke of *Savoy*, the Count of *Pielat*, and the Preſident *de la Tour*; from the Duke of *Zell*, M. *Zieger*; from the Biſhop of *Munſter*, M. *de Nort*; from the Landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*, the Baron *Gortz*, and M. *Reppelaar*; from the Duke of *Wolfembuttel*, the Baron *Croſek*; from the Duke of *Hanover*, M. *Klekk*; from the Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, M. *Tourken*; and from the Prince of *Liege*, Counſellor *Mean*. Neither are we to omit taking notice of thoſe Noble Perſons of his Majeſty's own Subjects, that attended him upon this Solemnity; and they were, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Ormond*, with the Earls of *Devonſhire*, *Dorſet*, *Eſſex*, *Nottingham*, *Scarborough*, and *Selkirk*; my Lord Biſhop of *London*, my Lord *Dramlendrits*, my Lord *Durſley*; the Earls of *Portland* and *Monmouth*, Duke *Scomberg*, his Brother Count *Maynhard*, &c.

Deſign of this Congreſs.

The great Deſign of this Congreſs, was for all the Confederate Princes and States to concert Meaſures with King *William*, in order to preſerve the Liberties of *Europe*: And therefore his Majeſty, in a very pathetical SPEECH, repreſented to 'em;

King *William's* Speech.

"THat the imminent Dangers wherein they "found themſelves, ſufficiently diſcover'd "the Errors that had been committed; So that he "needed not uſe many Arguments, to ſhew them "the Neceſſity of taking juſter and better Mea-"ſures: That in the Circumſtances they were in, "it was not a Time to deliberate, but act: That "the Enemy were Maſters of all the Chief For-"treſſes, that were the Barrier of the Common Li-

"berty;

1690. 1 *W. M.* " berty; and that he would quickly poſſeſs himſelf " of all the reſt, if a Spirit of Diviſion, Slowneſs, " and particular Intereſt continued among them: " That every one ought to remain perſuaded, That " their reſpective particular Intereſts were compriz'd in the General one: That the Enemies Forces were very ſtrong; and that they would carry Things like a Torrent before them: That it " was in vain to oppoſe Complaints, and fruitleſs " Clamours, or unprofitable Proteſtations againſt " Injuſtice. That it was neither the Reſolution of a " barren Diet, nor the Hopes of ſome Men of Fortune, (ariſing from frivolous Foundations) but " Soldiers, ſtrong Armies, and a prompt and ſincere Union between all the Forces of the Allies, " that muſt do the Work: And that theſe too " muſt be brought to oppoſe the Enemy without " any Delay, if they would put a Stop to his Conqueſts, and ſnatch out of his Hands the *Liberty* " of *Europe*, which he held already under a heavy " Yoke.

Concluding, " That as for himſelf, he would neither ſpare his Credit, Forces, nor Perſon, to concur with them in ſo juſt and neceſſary a Deſign: " And that he would come in the Spring, at the " Head of the Troops, faithfully to make good his " Royal Word, which he had ſo ſolemnly engag'd " to them.

Reſolution of the Congreſs; This Speech, from a Prince in whom they all confided, had ſo good Effect, that they came to a Reſolution of employing Two Hundred Twenty two Thouſand Men againſt *France*; of which the King of *England*, the Emperor, and the King of *Spain*, were to find each of them Twenty Thouſand. But notwithſtanding the large Proportions promis'd by divers Princes and States of *Germany*, yet *England* and *Holland* were forc'd to pay them, and to bear the Burden of the War.

Before the Congreſs broke up, they came to this Unanimous Declaration.

And their ſolemn Declaration. " SInce we look upon the Union that is between " us as the Work of God alone, it is but reaſonable that we ſhould make a Solemn Proteſtation to him, to deliberate nothing in this Aſſembly but what may be very juſt and equitable. " We ſolemnly proteſt, before God, That our Intentions are, That we will never break off this " Union, nor make any Peace with *Lewis* XIV. till " the following Articles be executed: To the Obligation of which, we oblige our ſelves for " ever.

I. " Till he has made Reparation to the Holy " See for whatſoever he has acted againſt it; and " till he has annull'd and made void all thoſe infamous Proceedings againſt the Holy Father *Innocent* XI.

II. " Till he has reſtor'd to each Party concern'd " what he has taken ſince the Peace of *Munſter*; " and till he has demoliſh'd *Briſac*, and deliver'd up the Country of *Ceay* to the Canton of " *Bern*.

III. " Till he has reſtor'd to the (*a*) *Proteſtants* " all their Poſſeſſions and Goods; and till there be " an entire Liberty of Conſcience throughout the " whole Extent of the *French* Dominions.

IV. " Till the Eſtates of the Kingdom be re-eſtabliſh'd in their Ancient Liberties; ſo that the " Clergy, the Nobility, and the Third Eſtate, may " enjoy their Ancient and Lawful Privileges: And " till the Kings for the future ſhall be oblig'd to " call together the ſaid Eſtates, when they deſire " any Supply; without the Conſent of whom they " ſhall not raiſe any Money, after any Manner, or " for any Pretence whatſoever. 1690. 1 *W. M.*

V. " Till the Tax upon Salt, that upon the Third " Eſtate, and an infinite Number of other unreaſonable Taxes and Impoſitions be aboliſh'd for " ever.

VI. " Till he has reſtor'd to the Parliaments " their Ancient and Rightful Authority; that ſo " they might be enabled to diſtribute to every one " Juſtice freely, and without Reſtraint, according to " their Conſciences.

VII. " Till all the Towns of the Kingdom be " re-eſtabliſh'd in their Ancient Privileges; and " till their Revenues be reſtor'd, which had been " taken from them with ſuch Violence and Injuſtice.

" GOD, who knows the Intention of our Hearts, " knows that we bear no Hatred againſt the *French* " Nation; and that we do not aſpire to have the " Lawful Dominions of the Kingdom of *France*. " And if all thoſe who are Inhabitants would join " with us, we ſhould ſoon diſpatch this Affair without Effuſion of Blood, and without Deſolation of " the Kingdom. And we promiſe all thoſe that " ſhall do it, that we will treat them as our particular Friends, and preſerve their Towns and Poſſeſſions as if they were our own. And as for thoſe " that ſhall not do it, we ſhall look upon them as " Perſons that have approv'd and abetted all theſe " Perſecutions, Burnings, and other Devaſtations " that have been made; and we will make them " feel (without Mercy) thoſe Pains and Torments, " which they have been the Occaſion that ſo many " poor People have ſuffer'd.

" We were willing that the whole World ſhould " have a perfect Knowledge of our Reſolutions; " particularly the *French* Gentlemen and Perſons of " Honour, who are oppreſt with the heavy Load of " the Government, and can no longer endure the " Slavery which they lie under; to the end they " may be able to take ſuch Meaſures, as may be " aſſiſting to us in Recovering for them their Ancient Liberty, which has been ſo cruelly and ſo unjuſtly taken from them.

Progreſs of the *French* Arms. In the mean time, the *French* King was reſolv'd to be beforehand with the Confederates; and therefore having divided his Army into Two Bodies; with one of them he beſieg'd and took *Nice* from the Duke of *Savoy*; and with the other he inveſted the ſtrong City of *Mons* on *March* 15, and came before it in Perſon Six Days after, accompanied by the Dauphin, the Duke of *Orleans*, and his Son the Duke of *Chartres*. The Trenches were open'd the next Day, and were advanc'd with great Expedition. The Prince *de Bergu* was Governor of the Town, and had a Gariſon of about Six thouſand Horſe and Foot in the Place.

King *William*, upon News of the Siege, return'd from *Loo* to the *Hague*; from whence he diſpatch'd Prince *Waldeck* to *Hall* near *Bruſſels*, where the Forces were to rendezvous; and the King himſelf arriv'd there on *April* 6. where he found an Army of about Fifty thouſand Men; yet the *Spaniards* had been ſo careleſs and ſlow, that there was nothing provided for the Expedition, no not ſo much as the neceſſary Carriages; ſo that the *French* had Leiſure to go on with their Siege. And tho' in the

(*a*) The Foreign Proteſtants ſet their Eye and Heart upon King *William*, as the Reſtorer and Supporter of the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Europe*. See a *Godly Prayer for the Proſperity of their moſt Excellent Majeſties*, *King* William *and Queen* Mary, *and for the Church of* England: *Compoſed by the moſt Reverend Father in God*, Antonius Klinſerus, *Lord Antiſtes of the Church of* Zurich in Switzerland; *and annexed to their Ordinary Service, and appointed to be read in all the Churches, Chapels, Schools, and Families. Faithfully tranſlated out of the* High German *into the* Engliſh *Language, by* John Conrad Werndly, *V. D. M.* Prefix'd to his Tranſlation of *Liturgia Tigurina*.

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Attack they made upon one of the Half-Moons on the 7th of *April* at Night, they were repulſ'd with conſiderable Loſs; yet the Burghers were ſo terrified with the Bombs, and influenc'd by the Popiſh Clergy to be of the *French* Intereſt, that they preſs'd the Governor to capitulate; which he refuſing, they ſent a Drummer of their own to beat a Parley, and threatned to open the Gates, and to deliver both him and the Gariſon into the Beſieger's Hands. This made the Governor at laſt comply; ſo that the Town was ſurrendred *April* 10. N. S. upon honourable Terms. Whereupon King *William* immediately left the Army, return'd to the *Hague*, embark'd for *England*, and arriv'd at *Whitehall* on the 13th of *April*.

Jacobite Plot;

In his Majeſty's Abſence, the Jacobites were plotting for the Reſtoration of their Maſter, and held ſeveral Meetings, from whence they tranſmitted their Sentiments to the *Royal Club* (as they call'd it) in *Covent-Garden*, who were to digeſt them into ſuch Methods for Practice, as ſhould govern the whole Party.

The Reſult of their ſeveral Conſultations, was,

1. *That being unable to Re-inthrone the late King by their own Strength, they ſhould endeavour to obtain Aſſiſtance from* France, *who had formerly made them ſuch Promiſes of invading* England.

2. *Since Delays were dangerous, ſending Letters into* France *hazardous, and the Court at St.* Germains *factious and treacherous; that ſome Men of Quality and known Ability ſhould go over into* France, *to tranſact that Matter from the whole Party.*

This Project having the Approbation of the Leading Club, in *December* 1690. the Lord *Preſton*, Mr. *Aſhton*, and Mr. *Elliot*, were pitch'd upon as proper Perſons to be ſent into *France*: They hir'd a Veſſel of Mrs. *Jane Prat*, of *Barkin* in *Eſſex*, for their Tranſportation, and went on Board her near *Battel-Bridge*, *Dec.* 30. But the whole Plot being

Diſcover'd:

diſcover'd, the Government order'd Captain *Billop* to attend their Motion; who accordingly ſuffer'd them to ſail before *Graveſend*, and then boarded and

The Plotters taken up.

took them. In Mr. *Aſhton*'s Boſom were found a Pacquet of Papers and Letters, whereby it abundantly appear'd, that they were going to *France*, to promote the Treaſonable Deſigns of Invading the Realm, Subverting the Government, and Reſtoring the late King, by the Aſſiſtance of *French* Forces. So on *Jan.* 16. Sir *Richard Graham*, Bar. Viſcount *Preſton* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, *John Aſhton*, and *Edmund Elliot*, Gent. were arraign'd at the *Old-Baily* upon an Indictment of High-Treaſon, to which they pleaded *Not Guilty*. The next Day,

Lord *Preſton* and Mr. *Aſhton* found guilty.

the Lord *Preſton* was brought to his Tryal; and after a full and clear Evidence, the Jury found him guilty. On *Jan.* 12. *(a)* Mr. *Aſhton* was likewiſe found guilty; and the Court proceeded to paſs Sentence of Death againſt both of them, as in Caſes of High-Treaſon. Mr. *Aſhton* was executed at *Tyburn* on *January* the 28th; but the Lord *Preſton*, by the Interceſſion of his Friends, and in Conſideration of his diſcovering the whole Conſpiracy upon Oath, obtain'd Their Majeſties Pardon. As for Mr. *Elliot*, there being no poſitive Proof againſt him, he was not brought to his Tryal. Soon after the Queen iſſued out a Proclamation, for diſcovering and apprehending *Francis* late Biſhop of *Ely*, *William Penn*, Eſq; and *James Graham*, Eſq; for Conſpiring with divers Enemies and Traytors; and particularly with the Lord *Preſton* and Mr. *Aſhton*, lately attainted of High-Treaſon: But the Clemency of the Government was ſo very great, that among the Multitude of Conſpirators, no one ſuffer'd but Mr. *Aſhton*. *(b)*

Offices and Honours.

On *March* 11. the Office of Poſt-Maſter-General was granted by Letters Patent to Sir *Robert Cotton*, of *Hattley St. George* in the County of *Cambridge*, Knight, and *Thomas Frankland*, Eſq;. On *March* the 19th, *Nicholas Dupin*, Eſq; Deputy-Governor of the King and Queen's Corporation of the Linen-Manufacture in *England* and *Ireland*, waited on her Majeſty, to give her an Account of the great Succeſs and Progreſs made in it, by employing many Thouſands of the Poor, *&c.* With which her Majeſty was extremely ſatisfy'd; and to encourage it by her own Example, ſhe was pleas'd to bring up the Work of making Fringes, wherein ſhe buſied her own Royal Hands, and was quickly imitated not only by her Maids of Honour, but by all the Ladies and Gentlewomen throughout the whole Kingdom.

The Nonjuring Clergy make a ſeparate Communion.

As to the State of Religion, the *(c) Nonjurors* of the Church of *England* began to think of a Separation from their late Brethren, that they might be diſtinguiſh'd in Communion, as well as in Politicks. They were indeed highly diſcontented with the preſent Settlement, and very uneaſy for the Return of King *James*; tho' they could not but think the Conſequence muſt be Popery and *French* Power. There was about this Time a Pamphlet publiſh'd, entitled, *A Modeſt Enquiry into the Cauſes of the preſent Diſaſters of* England; wherein the Author charges the diſaffected Clergy, whom he calls the *Lambeth* Holy Club, with being the principal Managers of the *Jacobite* Plot, for bringing the *French* Fleet into the Channel. He alledges,

The Publick Miſfortunes imputed to this Party.

"That the firſt Step the Clergy made, was, The
" writing againſt the taking the New Oaths to their
" Majeſties, enjoin'd them by Act of Parliament;
" and the buzzing into the Ears of their Votaries,
" the *Unlawfulneſs* of thoſe Oaths, and the *conti-*
" *nuing Right* of King *James* to the Crown.

"That there being very few of the diſaffected
" Clergy, that had the Courage to lay down their
" Places for the Oaths; the next Step of the Plot
" was to cheat the World and their own Conſci-
" ences, with the ridiculous diſtinction of taking

(a) His Widow, Mrs. *Aſhton*, thought the Suffering of her Husband would mightily recommend her to the Courts in *France*, and therefore went over thither, expecting much Favour; but as ſoon as ſhe came to St. *Germains*, Prieſts were ſent to tell her, That nothing but being a *Roman Catholick* could recommend a Woman to the Queen's Service: Which the unfortunate Woman declining to do, no Notice was taken of her; and ſhe dying of Grief, was refus'd Burial, till her Father, (Mr. *Rigby* of *Covent-Garden*) as an Act of Special Grace, and at great Charge, obtain'd Leave to have her Body brought over into *England*. *Secret Hiſtory of* Europe, P. XI. p. 256

(b) About this Time, Dr. *George Hickes*, depriv'd of the Deanery of *Worceſter*, happen'd (as he calls it) to be at a Lady's Houſe in the Country, where he met with a Serjeant at Law, to whoſe Care the Lady's Husband, upon his Death-bed, had committed her.—— With theſe Two Perſons Dr. *Hickes* had ſeveral Conferences about Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and particularly in relation to Church-Communion; which occaſion'd the Serjeant to ſend him a Query, concerning Communicating with a Church which prays for an Uſurper: The Query he anſwer'd in the Negative: The Serjeant reply'd; and Dr. *Hickes* ſent a Rejoinder; which Four Writings were printed in a Collection of Papers written by the late R. Reverend *George Hickes*, D. D. Printed in the Year 1716. 8*vo*. From which it was very plain, that Dr. *Hickes*, and his Diſciples, would not be content to juſtify their Separation upon the Principle of the Invalidity of Lay-Deprivation; but would reſolve All into the Illegality of the *Revolution*, and the Uſurpation of King *William* and Queen *Mary*; and not communicate with our Church, becauſe in her Publick Offices Prayers were put up for them.

(c) The deprived Biſhops and Clergy truſted in becoming a little popular by their Sufferings; and ſome Arts were uſed to recommend them to the Pity of the People. There was an Addreſs ſigned by the Grand Jury of the County of *Glouceſter*, at *Lent* Aſſizes in 1690. preſented to the King; and praying, that Favour might be extended to the ſuſpended Biſhops, particularly to their Dioceſan; and that the Incapacity they were then under by not taking the Oaths, might no longer diſable them from ſerving their Majeſties in their ſeveral Provinces. And there was ſoon after printed, *A Modeſt Apology for the Suſpended Biſhops; with a brief Vindication of the ſaid Addreſs.* 1690. 4*to*.

" the

"the Oaths to a King *de Facto*, and not *de Jure*: Which is as much as to ſay, That their Majeſties were not Lawful and Rightful (*a*) King and Queen of *England*, but *de Facto* only; that is, in *Engliſh* downright *Uſurpers*.

"That this Diſtinction did not only give ſcope to take the Oaths to their Majeſties, but alſo to Pray for them by name in their Pulpits, tho' ſome of more Sincerity than the reſt would not pray for them at all; and yet to prevent any Trouble from the Law, they wiſely prayed in general Terms for the King and Queen, which might be taken either for King *James* and Queen *Mary*, or King *William* and Queen *Mary*; and others of a more nice Stomach yet would not pray for the King and Queen, but for the King and Royal Family.

"That the Plot being Lame, becauſe the Machines that mov'd it were debarr'd from the Pulpit, it was found out, that the *Act of Parliament*, *Enjoining the Oaths to their Majeſties*, admitting of ſome favourable Interpretation in Law, upon the part of thoſe *that only Preach'd, but had no Cure of Souls*; thereupon Dr. *Sherlock* one of the greateſt Champions mounted the Chair firſt, with the loud Acclamations of the Party; and as an Introduction to his Sermon, gave his Auditors an Account of the happy Diſcovery he had made of ſo great a Bleſſing, *as his having Liberty to Preach to them, notwithſtanding the Act of Parliament about taking the Oaths.*

"That he was follow'd by a great many both in *London* and in the Country, who partly by ſtealth, and partly by the Pious Zeal of ſome of their own ſort of Church-Wardens, got up into the Pulpit, *to Trumpet up the People to a Diſſatisfaction with the Government.*

"That all theſe Steps of the *Plot* were back'd with the *Hiſtory of Paſſive-Obedience*, which was handed about in Triumph among the Party.

"That in this *Pamphlet* are muſter'd a great many Expreſſions of *Engliſh* Divines both Ancient and Modern; altho' the moſt of the Citations be far wide of the Queſtion, and refer only to Obedience to Magiſtracy in general, and the unlawfulneſs of Private Perſons their riſing up againſt the Government upon any frivolous Pretence.

"That the next *Engine* of the *Plot* was the happy Reſult of a kind of *Oecumenick-Council* of the whole *Party*; The *Liturgy* of the *Church of England* muſt be laid aſide, and a New One muſt be Calculated for the Meridian of King *James*'s tottering Fortune. That in this *New Liturgy* they prayed thus: *Reſtore us again the* Publick-Worſhip *of thy* Name, *the Reverend Adminiſtration of thy* Sacraments; (*b*) *Raiſe up the former* Government *both in* Church *and* State, *that we may be no longer* without King, without Prieſt, without God in the World. ------ That when they came to Pray for King *James*, the *Jacobite Club* had exhauſted all their *Rhetorick* and *Zeal* in the following Words: *Protect and Defend thy Servant,*

(*a*) The diſaffected Clergy brought a greater *Odium*, and ſharper Reflexions upon their whole Order. A very conſiderable Writer of *Plain Engliſh*, or, *An Enquiry concerning the Real and Pretended Friends to the* Engliſh *Monarchy*, 1690. 4to. ſaid in his Preface theſe notable Things. "A Stranger to the Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, who obſerves how the Maintainers of the *Engliſh* Liberties have been declar'd and declaim'd againſt from Desks and Pulpits; and that a Man cannot demand Juſtice of the Betrayers of our Civil Rights, without being thought to ſhake the Pillars of the Church, would be apt to think that the Church and State ſtand upon different Bottoms. —— This muſt be ſaid with Truth, That before the Reformation, the Clergy were more ſteddy to the Intereſt of *England*, than they have been ſince: And yet their very Changes ſeem to proceed from the ſame conſtant Principle: For as before the Reformation they had their Preferments by Proviſions and Bulls from the Pope, they were induſtrious in enlarging the Power of their Benefactor; nor did any Means ſeem more conducing to it, than ſiding with the People againſt the King, the ſole Competitor with their Maſter. And, would you think it in thoſe Days? Clergymen were advanc'd for good Works, in the Service of their Country; whereas in the Two laſt Reigns, the more noiſy any of them were in running down thoſe that appear'd for the Intereſt of *England*, the more certain were they of ſtanding upon the Pinacle of the Temple."

(*b*) It is certain there was ſuch a *Liturgy* drawn up for the uſe of *Jacobite* Families and Conventicles, and publiſh'd under this Title: *A Form of Prayer and Humiliation for God's Bleſſing upon his Majeſty and his Dominions, and for the removing and averting of God's Judgments from this Church and State.* London, *Printed in the Year* 1690, 4to.

And there was certainly Printed in a Half Sheet, the *Abdicated Biſhops Letters to the Abdicated King and Queen*, under the diſguiſed Names of Mr. *Redding*, and Mrs. *Redding*, Dated *New-Year's Eve*, 1690. [commonly ſuppoſed to be written by Dr. *Francis Turner*, late Biſhop of *Ely.*]

And there was ſoon after by the King and Queen a Proclamation for diſcovering and apprehending the late Biſhop of *Ely*, *William Penne*, and *James Grahme*, for holding Correſpondence, and conſpiring with divers Enemies and Traitors. Given at *Whitehall*, 5. *Febr.* 1690–1.

The Biſhop of *Sarum* in his *Vindication*, 1696, 8*vo*. *p.* 102, writes thus. "In Summer, 1690, after the Battel of the *Boyne*, the late Queen (a Name that will ever ſtrike and melt all that knew her) ſent by me a Meſſage to One, who ſhe had reaſon to believe would execute all her Commands with Joy, and who had great Credit with the then deprived Biſhops. I am ſure he had reaſon to have it, for he had ſerv'd them with great Zeal. The Meſſage was to try, if the Biſhops, in caſe the Parliament could have been brought to have diſpenſed with their taking the Oaths, would go on, and do their Function, Ordain, Confirm, Aſſiſt at Prayers and Sacraments, give Inſtitutions, and viſit their Dioceſes. Theſe are the great Duties of the Epiſcopal Function; and it ſeem'd an extravagant Thing, to have Biſhops in a Church, who ſhould do none of them, but ſhould only live in their Sees and enjoy their Revenues. If they were reſolved to do theſe Things, a Scheme was prepared for offering that Matter to a ſecond Conſideration in Parliament. That great Perſon undertook the Buſineſs, which I likewiſe communicated by the ſame Authority to an eminent Perſon in the *Houſe of Commons*, diſtinguiſhed both by his Poſt and by his Credit with them, at leaſt with their Friends. About two Months after, that Perſon did me the Honour to come to me, and tell me he had obeyed the Queen's Commands with Zeal and with all the Skill he had; but he ſaid, the deprived Biſhops would anſwer nothing, and promiſe nothing; only he believed they would be quiet. So all Thoughts of bringing that Matter again into Parliament were laid aſide. The *Papiſts* abroad had ſtill a Proſpect of reſtoring themſelves and their Religion to *England*".

Among the *Engliſh* at *Doway* there were Hopes and Quarrels thus related by the Writer of the Hiſtory of the College at *Doway*. "The *Engliſh* Papiſts were ſo far from giving up their King *James*, that new Quarrels and Competitions broke out amongſt the Clergy and the Regulars. Theſe latter could never obtain their pretended Exemption from the Authority of the Biſhops in the time of King *James* upon the Throne. But no ſooner did the late Revolution happen, and King *James* retire into *France*, but the Regulars began to fiſh in troubled Waters, and appear'd very publick in expreſſing their Diſlike, and even downright queſtioning whether the Biſhop's Power did extend any further than the Clergy. Indeed the Clergy upon this Occaſion play'd the Politicians more than what formerly they had done. They kept their Reſentment to themſelves, but diſpatch'd an Agent privately to *Rome*, to inform the Court how Things went, and what Objections were lately raiſed to leſſen the Authority of the Biſhops. Great Oppoſition was made by the *Benedictin* Monks in favour of their ancient Independency; and their Agent at *Rome* was indefatigable in making an Intereſt for his Brethren; and if any Thing ruin'd his Cauſe, beſides the Juſtice of the contrary Party, it was this Agent's Boldneſs in pretending to direct, not to be directed by the ſubtle *Italians*. The Jeſuits ſaid little, they were cautious and fought in the Rear; for in caſe the *Benedictines* were baffled, they could have nothing to do but to retire in order and compound: The Concluſion of this Buſineſs was, that the Biſhops had not only their Power ratified, but explained to the greateſt Nicety, ſo as to exclude all Pretenſions to Exemption granted to any of the Regular Orders, and the Jeſuits by Name were ſpecified to be Subjects to the Biſhops.

"This Subject had been always managed with great Art and Policy at *Rome*; and it never was ſo expreſly determin'd in favour of their Biſhops, till at this Juncture, to oblige the Party of King *James*, who had obtained and protected the Four Catholick Biſhops in *England*; and to ingratiate with the *Non-Jurors* and their deprived Biſhops, and to keep up a Title of uninterrupted Succeſſion, *&c.*

"our

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" *our Sovereign Lord the* King ; *ſtrengthen his* " *Hands, and the Hands of all that are put in Au-* " *thority under Him, with Judgment and Juſtice, to* " *cut off all ſuch* Workers of Iniquity, *as turn* " Religion *into* Rebellion, *and* Faith *into* Faction ; " *that they may never Prevail againſt us, or Tri-* " *umph in the Ruin of this* Church *among us. To* " *this End, Defend the King* ; Bind up his Soul in " the Bundle of Life, *and let no Weapon form'd* " *againſt Him proſper : Be unto Him a* Helmet of " Salvation, *and a* ſtrong Tower of Defenſe, againſt " the Face of his Enemies : *Let his Reign be pro-* " *ſperous, and his Days many* : *Make him* Glad, ac- " cording to the Days wherein thou haſt Afflicted " him, and for the Years wherein thou haſt made " him ſuffer Adverſity. *Give him the Necks of his* " *Enemies, and alſo every Day more and more the* " *Hearts of his Subjects* : *As for thoſe that are Im-* " *placable*, cloath them with Shame ; *but upon* " *Himſelf, and his Poſterity* (that is, the *Prince of* " *Wales*) *let the Crown flouriſh.*

" That the *General Council* having compos'd this " *New Liturgy*, there were above Ten Thouſand of " them Printed, and Diſpers'd up and down among " the *Party*, which they uſed in their *Cabals*, laying " aſide a great part, and ſometimes all the *Old* " *Liturgy.*

" That there were many of the *Holy Club* de- " tach'd up and down, to perſwade *Money'd People*, " who wiſh'd well to the *Cauſe*, to contribute for " the Subſiſtence of King *James*'s Caſhier'd Of- " ficers.

" That King *William* being reſolved to venture " his Perſon once more for the Safety of theſe " Kingdoms, his Journey to *Ireland* concluded up- " on, and the moſt and the better Diſciplin'd part " of the Army to attend his Majeſty, it was im- " poſſible to leave any conſiderable Force behind " him in his Abſence : Likewiſe, That the Tran- " ſportation of the Queen of *Spain*, and the Con- " voy of the *Streights* Merchant-men, under Ad- " miral *Killigrew*, had carry'd a conſiderable part of " our Fleet to the *Mediterranean* ; and another part " of it, commanded by Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, was " to attend his Majeſty and the Army to *Ireland* ; ſo " that the Grand Fleet was not to have been ſo con- " ſiderable as otherwiſe it would have been.

" That all theſe Circumſtances raiſed the Cou- " rage of the *Plotters*, who thought this the only " Time to put their Deſign in Execution.

" That in order to that, at one of their General " Meetings in *London*, where it was neceſſary ſome " of the Clergy ſhould be preſent to Bleſs ſo Pious " a Work, it was concluded, To preſent a *Memo-* " *rial* in the Name of the *Loyal and Diſtreſſed* " *Subjects of* England, (for ſo they nam'd them- " ſelves) to his *Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, humbly in-* " *viting Him*, out of his unparallell'd Goodneſs, " *and for the Affection he always bore to* Oppreſſed " Virtue, *that He wou'd Aſſiſt them, in Reſtoring* " *their* Lawful King, *his Ancient* Ally *and* Con- " federate, *to his* Throne ; *and in breaking the Yoke* " *of* Uſurpation, *under which theſe* Three Nations " *were at this time ſo heavily Groaning.*

A Memorial of this Party to the French King.

" That there had been Two or Three *Memorials* " preſented to the *French* King before this, over and " above a conſtant Correſpondence betwixt the " *French* Miniſters of State, Monſieur *de Croiſſy*, " and them. And the *Clergy*, who were the great " Contrivers and Managers of this, and who, by " their Profeſſion are, for the moſt part, extraor- " dinary Credulous of any Thing they incline to, " did really believe, that immediately upon the ap- " pearing of the *French* Fleet, and the Burning of " ours, (which they thought as ſure) there wou'd " certainly be a general Inſurrection through a great " many Places of the Kingdom, in order to join " them at their Landing, and to Declare for King " *James.*

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The Pamphlet (out of which I have made this ſhort Abſtract) reflecting ſo highly on the *Non-Juring Clergy*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Norwich*, *Ely*, *Bath*, and *Wells*, and *Peterborough*, both in their own, and in the Name of their abſent Brother the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, Publiſh'd a Paper, wherein they did Solemnly, and in the Preſence of GOD, Proteſt and Declare ;

The Non-juring-Biſhops Vindicate themſelves.

" I. That theſe Accuſations caſt upon them were " all of them Malicious Calumnies, and Diabolical " Inventions.

" II. That they knew not who was the Author " of the *New Liturgy*, nor had any Hand in it, nei- " ther did they Uſe it at any time.

III. " That they never held any Correſpondence, " directly or indirectly, with Monſieur *de Croiſſy*, " or with any other Miniſter or Agent of *France* ; " and if any ſuch Memorial had been Preſented to " the *French* King, they never knew any thing of " it : And that they did utterly renounce both this, " and all other Invitations, ſuggeſted to be made by " them to the *French*, in order to any Invaſion of " this Kingdom.

IV. " That they utterly Deny'd and Diſown'd all " Plots charg'd upon them, as contriv'd and carry'd " on in their Meetings at *Lambeth* ; the Intent " thereof being to Adviſe, how, in their preſent " Difficulties they might beſt *keep their Conſciences* " *void of Offence towards God and towards Man.*

V. " That they were ſo far from being the Au- " thors or Abetters of *England*'s Miſeries, that they " did, and ſhould to their dying hour, heartily and " inceſſantly Pray for the *Peace*, *Proſperity* and " *Glory* of *England* ; and ſhou'd always, by God's " Grace, make it their daily Practice, to ſtudy to " be Quiet, to bear their Croſs patiently, and to " ſeek the Good of their *Native Country.*

They Concluded, " That as the Lord had taught " them to return Good for Evil ; the unknown Au- " thor of the *Pamphlet*, having endeavoured to raiſe " in the whole *Engliſh* Nation ſuch a Fury as " might end in *De-Witting* them, (a Bloody Word, " but too well underſtood,) they recommended " him to the *Divine Mercy*, humbly beſeeching " GOD to forgive him. And as they had, not " long ſince, either Actually, or in full Preparation " of Mind, hazarded All they had in the World, in " oppoſing *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power* in *England* ; " ſo they ſhou'd, by God's Grace, with greater " Zeal, again ſacrifice All they had, and their very " Lives too, if GOD ſhould be pleaſed to Call " them thereto, to prevent *Popery*, and the *Arbi-* " *trary Power* of *France*, from coming upon them, " and prevailing over them ; the *Perſecution* of " their *Proteſtant Brethren* there being freſh in " their Memories.

† *John de Wit*, and his Brother were Murder'd by the Mob at the *Hague.*

The Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* on *Tueſday March* the 31ſt, according to their laſt Adjournment ; but upon her Majeſty's Pleaſure ſignified to both Houſes, they Adjourned themſelves to *April* 28. And on that Day to *May* 26. when they met, and were by Commiſſion prorogued to the 30th of *June* next enſuing, and then again prorogued to *Monday*, *Auguſt* the 3d, and then farther Prorogued to *October* the 5th, and then again to the 22d, when they met to do Buſineſs.

Adjournments and Prorogations of the Parliament.

On *April* the 9th, the Queen publiſhed " A Pro- " clamation againſt Papiſts, and other diſaffected " Perſons, who being of reſtleſs Spirits, and abu- " ſing the Clemency that had been uſed towards " them, had reſorted to, and aſſembled in the " Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and had there " taken great Boldneſs by Seditious Diſcourſes and " Libels, and with Inſolent Behaviour, to Defame " and Affront the Government ; and alſo had con- " ſulted and proſecuted divers Miſchievous and " Treaſonable Deſigns and Practices, tending to the " Diſturbance of the Publick Peace, and the De- " ſtruction

Proclamation againſt *Papiſts.*

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"ſtruction of their Native Country, *&c.*" Their Majeſties by another Proclamation appointed a Publick and General Faſt to be obſerved throughout the Kingdom, on *Wedneſday, April* the 29th, and from thenceforth on the third *Wedneſday* of every Month during the preſent War.

The King returns from *Holland.*

The King came out of the *Maeze* on *Sunday* Morning, *April* the 12th, attended by part of the *Dutch* Squadron, being Ships of the Firſt and Second Rank, who came to join our Fleet at the (a) *Buoy in the Nore*; where, as his Majeſty paſs'd by, he was ſaluted with a Diſcharge of all the Cannon from the Ships, and the repeated Huzza's of the Seamen, expreſſing their Joy and Duty in a particular and extraordinary Manner. After a very quick Paſſage, the King arrived at *Whitehall* on *Monday* Evening, *April* 13. when immediately Bonfires, Illuminations, and Ringing of Bells, demonſtrated the general Joy for his Majeſty's ſafe Return. His Majeſty having diſpatched the weighty Affairs of haſtning out the Fleet, and making due Preparations for the Campaign in *Flanders*, he could ſpare no Time for Sports or Eaſe; but in purſuance of his Royal Reſolution to command the Confederate Army this Summer, he ſet out from *Kenſington* on *Friday, May* 1. very early in the Morning, and arrived at *Harwich* about Six in the Evening, where he went immediately on Board the *Mary* Yatch; but the Wind hanging *Southwardly* with the Tide of Flood, hindered their going to Sea that Night, upon which his Majeſty came aſhore; and embarking again next Day about Nine in the Morning, ſet ſail with a fair Wind for *Holland*, attended by a Squadron of Men of War under Command of Rear-Admiral *Rook*. The next Day about Six in the Morning his Majeſty landed near *Mazeland-Sluice*, and went that Night to the *Hague*, where the next Morning all the Foreign Miniſters waited on him to congratulate his ſafe Arrival. On *Friday* following, the King went to *Loo*, and from thence ſent away Count *de Solmes*, and the Lord *Marlborough* to *Flanders*, to put all Things in a Readineſs againſt his Majeſty's Arrival Some few Days after, *May* 31. *N. S.* his Majeſty parted from *Loo*, and having paſſed thro' *Breda*, on *Saturday* following, he put himſelf at the Head of the Confederate Army; where he was attended by the Duke of *Ormond*, the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*; who, reviving the ancient Cuſtom of the *Engliſh* Nobility, choſe rather to ſhare with their Prince in the honourable Hazards of the Field, than to lead an inactive and inglorious Life at home. And it was indeed no Credit to our Nation, that their Example was not follow'd by more of their Quality. His Majeſty having diſappointed *Boufflers* in his Attempt upon *Liege*, endeavour'd to bring Mareſchal *de Luxembergh* to an Engagement, as well by ſeveral Marches and Counter-marches he purpoſely made, as by the Umbrages he gave him of attacking *Maubeuge* or *Mons*; but the cautious *French* General very induſtriouſly avoided fighting, and would afford no Opportunity for it, but upon very great Advantage; wherefore his Majeſty having blown up the Fortifications of *Baumont*, a Place he had made himſelf Maſter of, march'd the Army towards *Aeth*; and leaving it under the Command of Prince *Waldeck*, he went away for *Loo* on *September* the 17th. The ſame Day the Confederate Army march'd from *Ickonwell* to *Leuze*, and decamp'd again on the 19th in the Morning, advancing towards *Cambron*; and about a Eleven a Clock the whole Right Wing, with the Body of the Foot, and the greateſt Part of the Horſe of the Left Wing, had paſſed the little River and Defile near *Catoir*. The Duke of *Luxemburgh* being inform'd of this Motion, and encourag'd by his *Britannick* Majeſty's Abſence, advanc'd at the ſame time with the Troops of the *French* King's Houſhold, and a ſtrong Detachment of his Cavalry, making together Fifty five Squadrons, his ſwift March not being diſcover'd, by reaſon of a great Fog, and charg'd the Rear-Guard of the others with great Fury. Count *Tilly*, who commanded in the Rear, drew up his Men as well as the Suddeneſs of the Attack would permit, and received the Shock with great Bravery; but was ſoon over-power'd, and put into Diſorder. By this time, ſeveral of thoſe that had already paſſed the River, were brought back by the Lieutenant-Generals *Overkirk* and *Obdam*; and forming a Second Line, gave an Opportunity to the Firſt to rally. Two Battalions were likewiſe poſted behind the Hedges adjoining to the Defile, who much gall'd the Enemy. Here the Conflict was very fierce, till the Second Line was alſo forc'd to give Ground; but the Cavalry being ſoon rally'd by Monſieur *Overkirk*, who ſignaliz'd his Valour and Conduct on this Occaſion, the *French*, who were unwilling to puſh the Action too far, for fear of the *Dutch* Infantry, which was alſo marching up, retreated in ſome Haſte and Confuſion; contenting themſelves with having kill'd about a Thouſand of the Confederates, and amongſt them, ſome Men of great Diſtinction, with the Loſs themſelves of about half the Number. And with this Action the Campaign ended on that ſide.

The King goes back to the Campaign

The *French* decline Fighting.

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Engagement.

New Attempts of the *Jacobites.*

Notwithſtanding the many Diſappointments the *Jacobites* had already met in their bold Deſigns, they began this Year with freſh Attempts to ſubvert the preſent Government. To accompliſh this, they maintain'd a conſtant Correſpondence with the Court of *France*, who fed them with liberal Promiſes of Aſſiſtance with Men, Arms and Money; which raiſed their Hopes and Expectations, *That* England *ſhould be ſpeedily invaded and conquer'd, if a Project that was then on Foot, did not accompliſh the Work by a greater Diſpatch, and reſtore King* James *without the loſs of much Blood.* With theſe dark Sayings ſome of the *Jacobites* entertain'd the reſt, and did not ſcruple to boaſt, that a *great Thing was then on Foot, that would confound the* Williamites. What ſhould be meant by this *Great Thing*, appeared afterwards to be the King's Murder. His Majeſty's Enemies being unwilling to wait any longer the uncertain Fate of War, thought this Project the beſt Expedient for their Purpoſe, and this Time moſt agreeable. For to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty in *Flanders*, would admit of more Excuſes, and more Safety, than in any other Place. This helliſh Enterprize, with the Promiſe of great Rewards, being communicated to *Bartholomew Lineire Sieur de Granvale*, he and *Dumont*, who had been formerly retain'd for the ſame Purpoſe, undertook to put it in Execution while the King was at *Loo*; but miſſing their Opportunity, they followed his Majeſty to his Camp in *Flanders*. From hence *Granvale* returned to the *French* Army, and *Dumont*, according to the Orders given him, enter'd into the Confederate Army, that he might take his Opportunity when his Majeſty went to viſit the Grand Guard, or the Lines, to ſhoot him in the Back, and then make the beſt of his way to a Body of Horſe that *Granvale* and Colonel *Parker*, the chief Contriver

Deſign to Aſſaſſinate the King.

(a) While King *William* was in *Holland*, 1691, M. *Baille* wrote thus in a Letter to M. *Minutoli*; "I think I have already "told you, that his *Britannick* Majeſty deſir'd to have no Encomium beſtow'd upon him by the Miniſters who preach before him; the Pulpit not being deſigned to praiſe Men but "God. The King has been three times at the *French* Church "and heard Monſieur *Claude* Preach the firſt and ſecond time, "and the third time M. *de Superville*, who is one of the "*French* Miniſters Refugees, and Penſioners of *Roterdam*: thoſe "Gentlemen have not ſpar'd the Incenſe, but they made it "ſmoke indirectly, and in ſuch a manner as to be inoffenſive "to that GREAT PRINCE.

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of this bloody Deſign, ſhould have in readineſs upon a previous Intimation, to reſcue and carry him off. But Providence took care of the Preſervation of *Europe*, that ſo viſibly depended upon his Majeſty's ſingle Life; and whether *Dumont*'s Heart fail'd him, or whether his Confederates deſerted him, or whatever elſe was the reſtraining Cauſe, after ſome Weeks Attendance, he went to the Court of *Hanover*; and for this Year gave over the accurſed Project of aſſaſſinating his Majeſty, who ſafely return'd to *Loo*; and having ſpent there near two Months in Hunting, he came to the *Hague* to ſettle the State of the War for the enſuing Year. On *Sunday*, *October* 18. he embark'd on the *Mary* Yatch in the *Maeſe*, being attended by a Squadron of Men of War, under Command of Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, Rear Admiral of the Blue. On *Monday* about Nine in the Morning his Majeſty landed at *Margate*, and came that Night to (*a*) *Kenſington*; upon which the Cannon were fired from the *Tower*, and all the Streets were fill'd with Bonfires, Illuminations, and all poſſible Signs of Joy for his Majeſty's ſafe Return.

The King returns ſafe to *England*.

Affairs in *Ireland*.

To take a ſhort View of the Affairs in *Ireland*: The greateſt Miſchief done there to the *Engliſh*, was by the *Iriſh* Robbers, called *Rapparees*, who committed great Spoils and Cruelties, and then retreated into their Boggs and Faſtneſſes, where the Regular Forces could not reach them. Nor were the Lords Juſtices more ſucceſsful in their Attempts to ſuppreſs 'em, either by Offers of Mercy to ſuch of them as ſhould ſubmit to their Majeſties Obedience, or by promiſing a Reward for every Head of a *Rapparee*. King *William*'s Forces being conſiderably augmented by the Addition of thoſe Troops, which under *Mackay*, had happily compleated the Reduction of the *Scotch* Highlands, Lieutenant-General *Ginkle*, Commander in chief, decamped from *Mullingar* on *June* 6. and came the next Day before *Ballimore*, the Marquis *de Ruvigny*, Major-General, being ſent before with a Detachment of Horſe and Dragoons, to poſſeſs himſelf of a Paſs between that Place and *Athlone*. The Batteries being rais'd, the General ſent a Meſſage on *June* 8. to Colonel *Ulicke Bourke*, Governor of the Town, *That if he and the Gariſon would ſurrender within Two Hours, he would ſave their Lives, and make them Priſoners of War; if not, they were to expect no Mercy.* To which the Governor made a ſhuffling ſort of Reply, in hopes of getting better Terms; but the Cannon and Bombs having made two ſeveral Breaches, the Pontoons being put into the Water, and all things ready for a Storm, it ſtruck ſo great a Conſternation, that the ſame Evening the Gariſon, which conſiſted of 780 Men, beſides Four Field-Officers, and 259 *Rapparees*, laid down their Arms, and ſubmitted at Diſcretion.

Ballimore ſurrendred.

The *Engliſh* put this Town into a better Condition, and march'd from thence on *June* 18. when being join'd by the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, they encamp'd at *Balymony*'s Paſs, whilſt a ſtrong Detachment of Horſe advanc'd towards *Athlone*. On the 19th the Van Guard march'd from *Balymony*, and beat the Enemy from ſeveral Out-Ditches of the *Engliſh* Town of *Athlone*, on this ſide the *Shannon*, and lodg'd themſelves there. The next Day, a Battery of Ten 18 Pounders having ruin'd a Baſtion near the Water-ſide, the General order'd an Aſſault to be made. The *Engliſh* at the Word went deſperately on, and in the midſt of the reſiſting *Iriſh*, kept firing till they came to the Breach; which a *French* Captain of Grenadiers firſt mounted, throwing his Grenado, firing his Piece, and ordering his Men to do the ſame. His Bravery ſo encourag'd his Party, that tho' he was kill'd in the Action, yet the *Iriſh* were ſoon forc'd to quit the Place; ſome flying over the Bridge to *Connaught*'s ſide, and the reſt leaping into the *Shannon*, where many were drown'd.

Siege of *Athlone*.

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After this Succeſs, Batteries were planted againſt the *Iriſh* Town of *Athlone*; and by the 22d, the Cannons and Mortars began to play very briſkly on the *North-Eaſt*-ſide of the Caſtle. The 25th was ſpent in raiſing more Batteries, one below, and another above the Bridge, while another was erected oppoſite to a Baſtion the *Iriſh* had made on the other ſide the River. At the ſame time the General was concluding Methods to march part of his Army over the *Shannon*, at a Ford towards *Laneſborough*; but that Deſign being fruſtrated, he reſolved to force his way thro' the *Engliſh* Town, and therefore laboured hard to gain the Bridge, wherein he found no ſmall Difficulty. However, on the 27th, the *Engliſh* burnt the Wooden Breaſt-work the Enemy had made on the other ſide of the broken Arch; and the next Morning had laid their Beams over, and partly Plank'd them; which a Party of the Beſieged endeavouring to ruin, they were all killed in the Attempt. This did not diſcourage another Party of theirs to ſet about the ſame Work, which they deſperately effected, throwing down the Planks and Beams into the River. This made the General reſolve to carry on the Work by a cloſe Gallery on the Bridge; but this too was burnt by the Enemy, and there ſeem'd no way left to paſs the *Shannon*. So on the 30th a Council of War was held, and it was warmly debated, whether to attempt the River, or to march off. There were not wanting great Reaſons for the latter; but the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Major-Generals *Mackay*, *Talmaſh*, *Ruvigny* and *Tetteau*, and Colonel *Cambon*, urg'd, *That no brave Action could be perform'd without Hazard; that the Attempt of taking the River and paſſing it ſafely, was like to be attended with Succeſs*; and proffer'd themſelves to be the *Leaders of the Reſt*. Their Opinion prevail'd; and all things being ready about Six that Evening, upon a Signal given, Captain *Sandys*, and two Lieutenants, led the firſt Party of Sixty Grenadiers, all in Armour, and Twenty a-Breaſt, ſeconded by another ſtrong Detachment of Grenadiers, (which were to be ſupported by Six Battalions of Foot) who intrepidly took the River, a little to the left of the Bridge, againſt a Baſtion of the Enemies, the Stream being very rapid, and the Paſſage very difficult, by reaſon of ſome great Stones that were in the River. At laſt, by an incredible Piece of Bravery, they forc'd their way thro' Water, Fire and Smoak, and gain'd the oppoſite Bank, while the reſt were laying Planks over the broken Part of the Bridge, and bringing down the Pontoons. By theſe means the *Engliſh* paſſed over ſo faſt, that in leſs than half an Hour they were Maſters of the Town, while the Gariſon in Diſtraction fled away to the Army near encamp'd. The *Engliſh* were no ſooner enter'd the River, but an Expreſs was ſent from the Town to Monſieur *St. Ruth*, who commanded the Army, for ſpeedy Succours; but he anſwer'd, *It was impoſſible for the* Engliſh *to pretend to take a Town, and he ſo near with an Army to defend it. He would give a Thouſand Piſtoles they durſt attempt it.* The brave and active *Sarsfield* replied, *He knew it was a difficult Enterprize, but not too difficult for* Engliſh *Courage to attempt*; and therefore preſs'd *St. Ruth* to ſend away ſome Forces to relieve the Town. Which that General refuſing to do, and ſtill turning the Attempt into a Jeſt, ſome hot Words paſſed betwixt him and *Sarsfield*, that were thought to have their

Bravery in paſſing the *Shannon*.

(*a*) See a Form of Thankſgiving to be uſed in all Churches in and near about *London*, immediately upon his Majeſty's Return, and to be continued till the Day of Publick Thankſgiving. By her Majeſty's Special Command. *Whitehall, October* 17. 1691.

fatal

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fatal Conſequence not long after. *St. Ruth* being ſoon convinced that the *Engliſh* were in actual Poſſeſſion of the Place, order'd ſeveral Detachments to beat them out again: But then he was ſenſible of another Overſight, in not Levelling of thoſe Fortifications of *Athlone* that were next his Camp: For now the *Engliſh* us'd the Enemies Works againſt themſelves, and ſtruck ſuch a Terror upon the whole Army of *French* and *Iriſh*, that they decamp'd that very Night.

Athlone taken.

Thus was the *Iriſh* Town of *Athlone* (when proudly thought inacceſſible) reſolutely taken in an Hour's Time. It is a hard Matter to match in Hiſtory ſo brave an Enterprize; a fortified Town attack'd croſs a deep and wide River, only by Three Thouſand Men; in the Face of a great Army, who were Maſters of all the Fords by the Retrenchments they had caſt before them: And therefore it was but Juſtice, that General *Ginkle* ſhould entail on his Family the Honour of this Atchievement, by the Title which was afterwards beſtow'd upon him, of Earl of *Athlone*.

General *Ginkle* deſerv'd the Title of Earl of *Athlone*.

This Happy General having continued at *Athlone* till he had put it into a Poſture of Defence, march'd out with his Army on *July* the 10th; and having reach'd *Ballinaſloe*, encamp'd along the River *Suck*, upon *Roſcommon* ſide; which was a very good Paſs, and which if the *Iriſh* had ſecur'd, they would have given the *Engliſh* a great deal more Trouble. But they indeed poſſeſs'd themſelves of a more advantageous Poſt; for they lay on the other ſide of *Aghrim* Caſtle, Three Miles beyond *Ballinaſloe*, and were extended from the Church of *Kilcommodon* on their Right, to a Place call'd *Gourtnapon*, about two Miles in Length: On their Left run a Rivulet, having ſteep Hills and little Bogs on each ſide; next to which was a large red Bog, almoſt a Mile over; in the End whereof ſtood the Caſtle of *Agrim*, commanding the Way that led to their Camp; paſſable for Horſe no where but juſt at the Caſtle, by reaſon of a ſmall River, which running thro' a moiſt Ground, made the whole a Moraſs. This Moraſs extended it ſelf along to the right, where there was another Paſs at *Urachres*, having a riſing Ground on each ſide; and the *Iriſh* Camp lay along the Ridge of a Hill, on the ſide of which ſtood two *Daniſh* Forts, about Half a Mile's Diſtance from the Bog below, and this cut into ſmall Encloſures, which the *Iriſh* lined very thick with Muſqueteers, and kept a Communication between them.

His good Conduct and Progreſs.

General *Ginkle* having viewed the Enemy's Camp, found it of very difficult Acceſs; but conſidering he had now advanced ſo far, that he muſt either fight his way through, or retreat with Loſs and Shame, he brought up his Army to front the Enemy, and provoke them to Battel. *St. Ruth* ſuppoſing by the way of Appearance in the *Engliſh*, that they were reſolv'd to attack him, he made a ſolemn Speech, and told the poor *Iriſh*, "How ſucceſsful "he had been in ſuppreſſing Hereſy in *France* and "*Savoy*, and bringing over a vaſt Number of deluded Souls into the Boſom of the Mother-Church. "That for this Reaſon his Maſter had made choice "of him, before others, to eſtabliſh the Church in "*Ireland* on ſuch a Foundation, that it ſhould not "for the future be in the Power of Hell or Hereticks to diſturb it: And that all good *Roman-Catholicks* depended on their Courage, to ſee thoſe "Glorious Things effected. He confeſs'd, Matters "did not entirely anſwer his Expectation, ſince he "came among them; but that ſtill All might be "eaſily recover'd. He was now inform'd, that the "Prince of *Orange*'s Heretical Army was reſolv'd to "give them Battel; that therefore now or never "was the Time for them to recover their loſt Honours, Privileges, and Eſtates of their Anceſtors. "They ought now to remember, that they were "no Mercenary Soldiers; that their All was now "at Stake, and the happy Event would be, to reſtore a pious King to his Throne, to propagate "the Holy Church and Faith, and at a Blow to extirpate Hereſy. He begg'd them to raiſe their Courage, by aſſuring themſelves that they ſhould have "King *James*'s Love and Gratitude, *Lewis* the "Great's Protection, himſelf to lead them on, the "Church to pray for them, and the Saints and Angels "to carry their Souls into Heaven." Then he concluded with a ſtrict Order, *to give Quarter to none, eſpecially not to ſpare any of the* French *Hereticks in the Service of the Prince of* Orange.

Reſolves to fight the Enemy.

Speech of Monſieur *St. Ruth*.

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On *Sunday*, *July* the 12th, the *Engliſh* Army march'd early in the Morning towards the Enemy; but the Weather proving foggy, they halted till about Noon, when they advanced in as good Order as the Nature of the Ground would permit. The General having view'd the Poſture of the *Iriſh*, and ſeeing the Neceſſity of making himſelf Maſter of the Paſs of *Urachres*, he ſent a *Daniſh* Captain to force it; but they failing in the Attempt, he order'd Two Hundred of *Cunningham*'s Dragoons to march to certain Ditches nigh the Ford, to keep the Enemy from coming over; while the Army in the mean Time continued their March. By this Time it was Two a Clock; and the General finding it neceſſary to gain that Ford, and the other Ways that led to the Right of the *Iriſh* Camp, as the moſt proper Means to attack them, commanded *Cunningham*'s Dragoons at the Ditch to advance towards a Party of the Enemy that were poſted on the other ſide; who thereupon, with another Party that ſuſtained them, retired behind a Hill nearer the Camp, where a great Body was poſted. Now all theſe being ſtill reinforced by others, oblig'd the *Engliſh* Dragoons to retreat: Upon which the General order'd *Eppinger*'s Dragoons to get between thoſe Bodies and the Camp of the Enemy; who preſently diſcovering this Motion, would (by the Advantage of quick Reinforcements) have been too hard for the *Engliſh*, had not the Dragoons been ſeconded by my Lord *Portland*'s Horſe, who behav'd themſelves here with exceeding great Bravery. Now what was at firſt only a Skirmiſh, engaged a conſiderable Body on both ſides; but the Enemy retiring in ſome Time, brought the Generals together to conſult, Whether it was not better to defer the Battel till next Morning? Which was agreed on ſo far, that the Tents were order'd to be ſent for; but when (by what had already happen'd) they perceiv'd the Enemy to be in ſome Diſorder, the Battel was fully reſolved on. Wherefore it was agreed, by the Advice of Major-General *Mackay*, to begin the Fight on the Enemy's Right; whereby it was propoſed to draw Part of their Strength from *Agrim* Caſtle, near to which their Main Body was poſted; that ſo the Right Wing of the *Engliſh* might have an eaſier Paſſage over, to attack their Left; and then the whole *Engliſh* Army might have the Opportunity to engage, which otherwiſe could not poſſibly be: And this Advice had its deſired End. About Half an Hour after Four in the Afternoon, the *Engliſh* Left Wing moved towards the Enemy, and the Battel began afreſh by Five. The Ditches were ſtrongly lined by *Iriſh* Muſqueteers, and their Horſe advantageouſly poſted to ſupport them: And here the *Iriſh* behav'd themſelves like Men of another Nation, or at leaſt as if they had been out of their own Country, defending their Poſts with unparallel'd Obſtinacy. Nor would they ſtir from one ſide, till the *Engliſh* put their Pieces over at the other; and then having Lines of Communication from one Ditch to another, they would preſently poſt themſelves, and flank the *Engliſh*; which occaſion'd great Firings on both ſides, and continued on the Left almoſt an Hour and half, before the Centre and the Right Wing of the Army began to engage. In the mean Time the main Army advanc'd, and Major-General *Mackay* (and the other Officers) obſerving ſeveral Bodies of the Enemy's Horſe and Foot draw off

Advance of the *Engliſh* toward the *Iriſh* Army.

The Battel.

1691. 3 *W. M.* from the Left, and move towards the Right, where they were hard put to it by the *Engliſh*; our General laid hold of the Opportunity, and order'd the Foot to march over the Bog which fronted the Enemy's main Body. Now the Regiments of *Erle*, *Herbert*, *Creighton*, and *Brewer*, going over the narroweſt Place, where the Hedges on the Enemy's Side ran fartheſt into the Bog, they had Orders to march to the loweſt of the Ditches adjoining to the Side of the Bog, and there to poſt themſelves till the Horſe could come about by *Agrim* Caſtle, and ſuſtain them; and till the other Foot had marched over the other Bog before, where it was broader, and were ſupported by *Foulk*'s and Brigadier *Stuart*'s Regiments. *Erle*'s and the other Three Regiments, purſuant to their Orders, advanced over the Bog, moſt of them paſſing up to the Middle in Mud and Water; and upon their near Approach to the Ditches, received the Enemies Fire; which yet did not hinder them from marching to the loweſt Hedge, and to beat the *Iriſh* from thence, and ſo on from Hedge to Hedge, till they were got very near their main Body: But the *Iriſh* had ſo well order'd the Matter, that they had an eaſy Paſſage for their Horſe among all thoſe Hedges and Ditches; which yet being obſerved by the valiant Colonel *Erle*, he encouraged his Men, by telling them, *There was no way to come off, but to be brave.* However, the *Engliſh* being both flanked and fronted, and expoſed to all the Enemy's Fire from the neighbouring Hedges, they were forced from their Ground, and to retreat again to the Bog with conſiderable Loſs. And among others, the brave Colonels *Erle* and *Herbert* being taken Priſoners, the former (after being Twice taken and retaken) at laſt got clear of the Enemy; but the other (as was reported) was barbarouſly murther'd by the *Iriſh*, when they ſaw he was like to be reſcued.

Difficulties and Diſadvantages to the *Engliſh* Side.

While Things paſſed after this manner on this ſide, Colonel *St. John*'s, Colonel *Tiffin*'s, the Lord *George Hamilton*'s, the *French* Refugees in *Engliſh* Service, and ſeveral other Regiments, were marching over below upon the Bog; while the *Iriſh* lay ſo cloſe in their Ditches, that many of the *Engliſh* were doubtful whether they had any Men at that Place or no. But no ſooner were the *French* Proteſtants (and the reſt) got within Twenty Yards of the Ditches, but the *Iriſh* fired very furiouſly upon them; which the other ſuſtained with Intrepidity, and ſtill bravely preſs'd forwards, tho' they could ſcarce ſee one another for Smoak. And now the Battel ſeem'd ſo doubtful for ſome Time, that a Stander-by would rather have judg'd the Victory inclin'd to the *Iriſh*; for they had driven the *Engliſh* Foot in the Centre ſo far back, that they were almoſt got even with the great Guns, (planted near the Bog) of which the *Engliſh* had no Benefit in that Conjuncture, becauſe of the Mixture of the *Iriſh* with their own Men.

The Battel very doubtful.

We hear little all this while of the Horſe; but while the Infantry was thus engaged, Major-General *Ruvigny*'s Regiment of *French* Horſe, and Sir *John Lanier*'s, being both poſted on the Right, the latter was afterwards drawn to the Left, where they did great Service; and the Right Wing of the *Engliſh* Horſe were in the mean Time making the beſt of their way to ſuccour the Foot; being ſenſible of the extream Danger they were in, and that all lay at Stake. The Cavalry, beſides the Showers of Bullets pour'd on them from a Body of the Enemy's Dragoons and Foot, that were conveniently poſted under a Covert Place, was likewiſe obliged to preſs and tumble over a very dangerous Paſs; but having with incredible Bravery ſurmounted all theſe Difficulties, they lodg'd themſelves at laſt in a dry Ditch, in the hotteſt of the Enemy's Fire from *Agrim* Caſtle, and ſome old Walls and adjoining Hedges. It was reported, That *St. Ruth* obſerving the great Difficulties the *Engliſh* Horſe encounter'd with upon this Occaſion, ſhould ſay, *They are brave Fellows; 'tis pity they ſhould be ſo expoſed.* 1691. 3 *W. M.*

The *Engliſh* Foot all this while labour'd under very great Diſadvantage in the Centre; which being obſerved by the brave *Talmaſh*, he haſted with ſome freſh Men to their Relief, and order'd the broken Regiments to halt and face about; which they immediately obeyed, and bravely charged the *Iriſh*, who had advanced upon them to the very Centre of the Bog, kill'd above Three Hundred of them before they could retreat out of it, and then march'd boldly up to their old Ground from whence they had been beaten. At the ſame Time *Mackay* fell upon the Enemy with a good Body of Horſe, on their Left; and, among the reſt, the *French* Regiment of Horſe had forced a Regiment of *Iriſh* Dragoons from an advantageous Poſt, and put *Tyrconnel*'s Horſe to flight. Whereupon *Ruvigny*, at the Head of *Oxford*'s Horſe, ſupported by his own Regiment, went along the Side of the Bog, and bore all down before him. And now the Horſe and Foot of the *Engliſh* Right and the *Iriſh* Left Wing being mix'd, there was nothing but a continual Fire, and a very ſharp Diſpute all along the Lines; the *Iriſh* with great Reſolution endeavouring to maintain their Ditches, and the *Engliſh* to beat them out from thence. However, the Fight did not appear much longer to be doubtful: For tho' *St. Ruth*, when he ſaw the *Engliſh* Foot in the Centre repulſed, in an Extaſy of Joy told thoſe about him, *He would now beat the* Engliſh *Army to the very Gates of* Dublin; yet ſeeing (with great Concern) *Oxford*, *Ruvigny*, *Langſton*, and *Bierly*'s Horſe, with *Leviſon*'s Dragoons, preſſing over towards the Caſtle, he order'd a Brigade of his own Horſe to march up. Then riding to one of his Batteries, and giving the Gunners Orders where to fire; and afterwards leading on ſome Horſe towards the Place where he ſaw the *Engliſh* endeavour to get over, as he rode down the Hill of *Kilcommodon*, (the Place where the main Streſs of the Battel was fought, being juſt under the *Iriſh* Camp) he was kill'd with a Cannon-Ball. As ſoon as he fell, his Body was removed behind the Hill, and his Guard going off at the ſame Time, this was no ſooner obſerved by the *Iriſh* Horſe, but many of them drew off alſo, and in a ſhort Time their Army was driven to the Top of *Kilcommodon* Hill, where their Camp had lain; which being levell'd and expoſed to the *Engliſh* Shot more openly, they began now to betake themſelves to an open Flight, the Foot towards a large Bog behind them on the Left, and the Horſe on the Highway towards *Longhreah*.

St *Ruth* kill'd.

The *Iriſh* Army defeated.

While all this was doing in the Right Wing and Centre, the *Engliſh* to the Left, that firſt Engaged, bravely maintained their Ground; and though the *Iriſh* once or twice did make themſelves Maſters of the *Chevaux de Friſe* that covered the *French* Foot of Refugees, yet they couragiouſly regained them again: However, little happened on their ſide for near Two Hours together; neither did the *Daniſh* Horſe and Foot that were on the Left of all, diſturb the Enemy as yet, but kept in Awe ſeveral Bodies of Horſe and Foot that Faced them on the other ſide of the Rivulet; but then perceiving *Mackay*'s Battalions in the Centre to drive the Enemy before them, leſt thoſe Bodies that Faced them ſhould fall back to the Relief of the Flying Party, they engaged them very briskly, and were at firſt received with great Reſolution; but the *Iriſh* being on the Decline, they all fled out of the Field, their Foot being miſerably ſlaughter'd by the *Engliſh* Horſe and Dragoons, and their Horſe being purſued near Three Miles; but the Night coming on, with a thick miſty Rain, prevented the *Engliſh* from getting between them and a very advantageous Paſs near *Longhreah*, which gave many of them an Opportunity to eſcape: However it was computed, that no leſs than Four Thouſand of the *Iriſh* were ſlain

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The Victory very great.

ſlain upon the Spot; and of the *Engliſh* Seven Hundred Killed, and as many Wounded; which ſtill makes the Victory to be the more conſiderable, ſince the *Engliſh* Army did not make up above Eighteen Thouſand effective Men; whereas the *Iriſh* were computed at Twenty Thouſand Foot, and Five Thouſand Horſe and Dragoons. As for the Honour of this great Day, the Renowned General *Ginkle* had ever the Modeſty to confeſs, that it was principally owing to the Conduct and Bravery of the Marqueſs of *Ruvigny*, and of the *Oxford* and *French* Regiments of Horſe.

The Engliſh march to Galloway.

The *Engliſh* lay upon their Arms all Night, and then after a few Days of Refreſhment, the General march'd them on to *Galloway*, the moſt conſiderable Place now left in the Hands of the *Iriſh* next to *Limerick*, and having Poſted his Troops about the Town he ſent them a Summons to Surrender. The Lord D*illon* Governor, ſent Anſwer, *That Monſieur* D' Uſſon, *who commanded in Chief, as well as himſelf, and the reſt of the Officers, were reſolved to defend the Place to the laſt Extremity.* But for all this Boaſt, the *Engliſh* had no ſooner march'd part of their Forces over the River, and taken a Fort the *Iriſh* were then Building, but a Parly was Beat, and Hoſtages were immediately exchanged. But the *Iriſh* demurring upon the Manner of Surrender, the General grew impatient, and ſent once or twice to come to a ſpeedy Concluſion. At laſt Lieutenant-General *Bourke*, one of the *Iriſh* Hoſtages was allow'd to go in, to whom Major-General *Talmaſh*, who ſeem'd rather inclined to lay the Treaty aſide, and take the Town by Storm, ſaid, *When you are ready to begin again, give us a Sign by firing a Gun into the Air.* But the other Reply'd, *they would not fire a Gun from within, till they were provoked from without.* After ſome time the Articles were agreed on, and the Town deliver'd into the Hands of the *Engliſh* on *July* the 20th. The Conſequence of which was the Submiſſion of *Balderick O Donnel*, with a conſiderable Number of Men under his Command, and a March of the *Engliſh* Army towards *Limerick*, where *Tyrconnel* Died on *Auguſt* the 14th, as if the ill Condition of his Maſter's Affairs had broke his Heart.

And take the Place.

Death of Tyrconnel.

Siege of Limerick.

On *Auguſt* the 25th, the *Engliſh* Army reached *Limerick*, and that ſame Day made themſelves Maſters of *Ireton* and *Cromwell* Forts, which were now order'd to be called *Mackay* and *Naſſaw*'s, becauſe gained by thoſe Commanders; two Days after, Caſtle *Connel*, and Caſtle *Carruck*, a *Gunnel* that ſtood upon the *Shannon*, three Miles below the Town were Attacked, and the Gariſons of both made Priſoners of War. At the ſame time ſome *Engliſh* Ships came up the River, and Fired among the *Iriſh* Horſe that were encamped near the Banks of it, who were much ſurpriz'd, becauſe they had been made to believe that the *Engliſh* had no Ships there, or elſe, that thoſe they had muſt Fly or be Deſtroyed by the *French* Fleet which they Hourly expected. But though the Siege was vigorouſly carried on, and the Bombs did great Execution upon their Camp, and in their Town, yet on the 17th of *September* it was warmly debated in a Council of War, whether they ſhould proſecute the Siege, or March over the River, and Deſtroy all the Enemies Forage in the County of *Clare*, and then turn the Siege into a Blockade. It was ſo far carried for the latter, that an Engineer was ordered to go with a Detachment towards *Kilmalock*; and Fortify that Place; but before he got out of the Camp he was countermanded, and a great many Paliſadoes were brought into *Mackay*'s Fort, as if the Army intended to Winter there. On the 19th, it was reſolved to paſs the River with a great Party, either to preſs the Siege on that ſide, or at leaſt to burn the Enemies Forage. On the 22d, General *Ginkle* with indefatigable Courage paſſed the *Shannon* over a Bridge of Boats, with ſtrong Detachments of Horſe and Dragoons, Ten Batallions of Foot, and Fourteen Pieces of Cannon, leaving Prince *Wirtemberg*, *Mackay* and *Talmaſh* to command on this Side. The Enemy continually Fired upon them all the Morning from ſeveral Batteries, but without any great Harm; and in the Afternoon a Party of Colonel *Mathews*'s Dragoons was vigorouſly Attacked by a ſtronger Detachment, till the *Engliſh* Foot coming up, the *Iriſh* retreated under their Cannon. Then all the *Engliſh* Grenadiers, ſuſtained by Four Regiments of Foot, were commanded to Aſſault the Works that covered *Thomon* Bridge, wherein the Enemy had Poſted above two Hundred Men. The Diſpute was Hot and Obſtinate for a while, and the Attack extreamly hazardous, the Beſieged plying the Aſſailants with their Cannon from the King's Caſtle, and two or three more Batteries, as alſo with their ſmall Shot from the Wall; however, the *Iriſh* being furiouſly preſt upon by the Grenadiers, were abandoning their Poſts, when a ſtrong Detachment was ſent from the Town to ſupport them; but the *Engliſh* advanced with ſuch Courage and Bravery, that they beat the Enemy, and purſued them over the Bridge into the Town. A *French* Major who commanded at *Thomon* Gate, fearing the *Engliſh* would enter into the Town Pell-mell with the Run-aways, ordered the Draw-bridge to be drawn up, and left the whole Party expoſed to the Fury of their Purſuers, who killed Six Hundred of them, and made above a Hundred and Sixty Priſoners, beſides a great Number were puſhed into the *Shannon*.

Engliſh paſs the Shannon.

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And puſh on the Siege with great Bravery.

Hereupon the *Engliſh* lodged themſelves within Ten Yards of the Bridge, notwithſtanding a high Tower that ſtood near the hither end of it; the *Iriſh* finding all Communication cut off between them and their Horſe, and beginning to deſpair of the *French* Succours, entertained ſome Thoughts of Surrendring; for Colonel *Wachop* looking out of the Tower, called to Lieutenant-General *Scravenmore*, and deſired leave to come and ſpeak with him, which was readily granted. After ſome Diſcourſe, he deſired the ſame Liberty for *Sarsfield* to ſpeak with Major-General *Ruvigny*, which was likewiſe allowed him; and accordingly they both diſcourſed about Offers and Terms of Surrendry, and towards the Evening they return'd into the Town; the next Day *Sarsfield* and *Wachop* came out again, and deſired a Ceſſation of Arms for Three Days, till they could ſend to Lieutenant-General *Sheldon*, who lay with about fifteen Hundred Horſe at Six Mile Bridge, to the end they might be included in the general Capitulation; which being granted, the Priſoners in the Town were thereupon releaſed. On the 26th, *Sarsfield* and *Wachop* dined with the General, and it being then agreed that Hoſtages ſhould be exchanged in order to a farther Treaty, my Lord *Cutts*, Sir *David Collier*, Colonel *Tiffin*, and Colonel *Piper*, were ſent into the Town in the room of the Lords *Weſtmeath*, *Evagh*, *Timelſtone* and *Lowth*, who remained in the *Engliſh* Camp; the next Day the *Iriſh* ſent out their Propoſals, but in ſuch extravagant Terms that General *Ginkle* returned Anſwer, *That though he was a Stranger to the Laws of* England, *yet he underſtood that what they inſiſted upon was ſo far contradictory to them, that he could not grant any ſuch Thing*; and thereupon ordered a new Battery to be raiſed; but upon the Requeſt of the *Iriſh* he ſent them in Twelve Articles, which proved to be the Sum of the Capitulation. On *October* the 1ſt, the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland* arrived in the *Engliſh* Camp, and after ſome farther Conferences with the Commiſſioners, on the part of the Gariſon, and their Troops in the County of *Clare*, the Articles were finally concluded on *October* the 3d for a Surrendry of the Caſtle of *Limerick*, and the Caſtles of *Roſs* and *Clare*, with all other Places and Caſtles that were ſtill in the Hands of the *Iriſh*. Theſe Articles conſiſted of two Parts, Civil and Military; the firſt being ſigned by the Lords-Juſtices and General,

The Iriſh diſpoſed to a Surrendry.

Hoſtages exchang'd

Articles of Surrendry

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neral, but the latter by the General only: By the Military Articles, all Perſons that were willing to leave the Kingdom were to have liberty for paſſing into *France*, or to have Protection if they were willing to remain here; but General *Ginkle* receiving a Letter on the 5th of *October*, from a Lieutenant-Colonel in the *Iriſh* Army, wherein he complained of being confined for refuſing to go into *France*, he reſented this Violence to that Degree, that he immediately ordered Four Guns to be planted on *Bolls-Bridge*, and ſaid in ſome Paſſion, *He would teach the* Iriſh *to play Tricks with him. Sarsfield* thereupon came into the *Engliſh* Camp, and ſome ſharp Words paſſed between him and the General; *Sarsfield* ſaid at laſt, *It is true Sir, I am now in your Power. Not ſo* (reply'd General *Ginkle*,) *but you ſhall go in again, and do the worſt you can.* However, all things were calmed at laſt, and the Priſoners enlarged, and as many of the *Iriſh* as were willing to go were ſhipp'd off for *France*; when upon their Arrival they were welcom'd with a comforting Letter from King *James*, Directed to Lieutenant-General *Sheldon*, then the Officer in Chief with them; the Subſtance of which was, "That "having been informed of the Neceſſities which "forced the Lords-Juſtices, and the General Officers "of his Forces to Surrender *Limerick*, and the "other Places that remained to him in his Kingdom of *Ireland*; he would not defer to let him "and the reſt of the Officers know that he was extreamly ſatisfied with his and their Conduct, and "with the Valour of the Soldiers, but moſt particularly with their Reſolution of coming to ſerve "where he himſelf was in Perſon; aſſuring them "that he ſhould never forget this Act of Loyalty, "nor fail when in a Capacity to give them above "others particular Marks of his Favour. In the mean time he charged *Sheldon* to inform them that they were to ſerve under his Majeſty's Command, and by his Commiſſions, and that his Brother the King of *France* had already given Orders to Cloath them, and furniſh them with all Neceſſaries, and to give them Quarters of Refreſhment.

K. James's Letter.

End of the War in Ireland.

Thus ended the *Iriſh* War with the Surrendry of *Limerick*, to the immortal Honour of General *Ginkle*, and with ſo much the more Glory to the *Engliſh*, in that the *Iriſh* were ſo powerfully ſupported by the King of *France*, who had ſent out another Fleet of Men of War, and Store-Ships for the Relief of *Limerick*, who happen'd to arrive in *Dingle-Bay* but a Day or Two after the Articles were Sign'd. The News of the Surrender of *Limerick* was carried over to King *William* at the *Hague*, by Mr. *Henry Furnace*, and his Majeſty beſtowed the Honour of Knighthood upon the welcome Meſſenger.

Affairs at Sea.

There was nothing extraordinary done this Year at Sea, for the Fleets being now of almoſt equal Strength on both Sides, the *French* as cautiouſly avoided an Engagement as they ſought it the Year before. Their chief Aim was to intercept our *Turkey* Fleet, which was exceeding Rich; and to that end they hover'd a long time about the *Iriſh* Coaſt; but through a particular Providence they had but ſome few Days left the Offing of *Kingſale* before the *Smyrna* Fleet on *July* the 3d came all ſafe into that Harbour, under a Convoy of Fourteen Men of War, commanded by Captain *Aylmer*, having been held back Seven Weeks by contrary Winds in their Paſſage from *Cadiz*. The *Engliſh* Grand Fleet all this while kept another Courſe, not for want of Zeal or Fidelity in the Commander in Chief, but of Intelligence; for as ſoon as the Brave Admiral *Ruſſel* was inform'd that they were got into *Kingſale*, he ſteer'd thither from Cape *Clear*, and afterwards took all imaginable care for their being ſafely conveyed into their reſpective Ports, and then ſtood over to *Uſhant* in queſt of the Enemy, who, he was informed were return'd that way to their own Coaſts. Being come within ſome Leagues of *Breſt*, he underſtood they lay at *Belle-Iſle*, ſecured in ſuch a manner that it was impoſſible to Attack them; whereupon he returned towards the *Engliſh* Shore, but met with ſuch a violent Storm, that the *Coronation*, and One or Two more Ships of leſs Conſideration were loſt; and the Admiral himſelf had much a-do to get the reſt of the Fleet ſafe into *Plymouth*.

Parliament meet.

On *Thurſday*, *October* 22. the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*; and his Majeſty made this Speech to both Houſes.

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Have appointed this Meeting of the Parliament as ſoon as ever the Affairs abroad would "admit of my Return into *England*, that you "might have the more time to conſider of the Beſt "and moſt Effectual Ways and Means for the carrying on of the War againſt *France* this next "Year.

"I am willing to hope, That the good Succeſs "with which it hath pleaſed God to bleſs my Arms "in *Ireland* this Summer, will not only be a great "Encouragement to you to proceed the more "chearfully in this Work, but will be look'd upon "by you as an Earneſt of future Succeſſes, which "your timely Aſſiſtance to me, may, by God's Bleſſing, procure to us all. And as I do not doubt, "but you will take Care to pay the Arrears of that "Army, which hath been ſo deſerving and ſo proſperous in the Reducement of *Ireland* to a "peaceable Condition; ſo I do aſſure you, there "ſhall no Care be wanting on my part to keep that "Kingdom, as far as it is poſſible, from being burthenſome to *England* for the future.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I do not doubt but you are all ſenſible, that it "will be neceſſary we ſhould have a ſtrong Fleet "next Year, and as early at Sea as we had this "Summer. And I muſt tell you, that the great "Power of *France* will as neceſſarily require, that "we ſhould maintain a very conſiderable Army "ready upon all Occaſions, not only to defend our "ſelves from any Inſult, but alſo to annoy the Common Enemy, where it may be moſt ſenſible to "them: And I do not ſee how it is poſſible to do "this with leſs than Sixty five thouſand Men.

"I ſhall only add, that by the Vigor and "Diſpatch of your Counſels and Aſſiſtance to me "in this Seſſion of Parliament, you have now an "Opportunity in your Hands; which, if neglected, "you can never reaſonably hope to ſee again, not "only to eſtabliſh the future Quiet and Proſperity "of theſe Kingdoms, but the Peace and Security of "all *Europe*.

Proceedings of the two Houſes.

Both Houſes congratulated his Majeſty "upon "his ſafe and happy Return, after ſo many Hazards "to which he had expoſed his Royal Perſon; and "upon the Succeſs of his Majeſty's Arms in reducing *Ireland*; and did aſſure his Majeſty, that "they would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their "Power in carrying on a vigorous War againſt "*France*, in order to procure an honourable and "laſting Peace to his own Dominions, and to ſecure his Neighbours from the Injuries and Invaſions of the Common Oppreſſor; hoping with his "Majeſty, that the Victories of this laſt Summer, "were happy Preſages of the Proſperity of his future Enterprizes." Addreſſes were alſo preſented to the Queen, to acknowledge her prudent Care in the Adminiſtration of the Government during his Majeſty's Abſence. And on the ſame Day the Parliament met, a Proclamation was publiſh'd for a General and Publick Thankſgiving, to be obſerv'd on *November* 26. "Foraſmuch as it had pleas'd "Almighty God, of his infinite Goodneſs, to protect his Majeſty from great and manifold Dangers "in his late Expedition beyond the Seas, and bring

Publick Thankſgiving.

" him

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" him back in Safety; and preſerve their Majeſties " and their Government againſt all the wicked Machinations and Deſigns of open and ſecret Enemies; and by a wonderful Succeſs of their Arms " to reduce the Kingdom of *Ireland* entirely to their " Obedience, whereby their Majeſties are now eſtabliſh'd in the full Poſſeſſion of their Three Kingdoms, and in a Condition, with the Bleſſing of " God, to ſettle the ſame in a firm and laſting " State of Safety, Honour, and Proſperity.

Bill for the Oaths in *Ireland*.

On *Octob.* 28. the Commons receiv'd and read a Bill, *For abrogating the former Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance in* Ireland, *and inſtead thereof to eſtabliſh the Oaths of Fidelity and Allegiance taken here to their Majeſties.* At the ſecond Reading of this Bill, the Statute of 2. *Eliz.* made in *Ireland*, appointing the former Oaths to be taken, was alſo read; after which the Bill was committed, and upon the Third Reading, paſſed. When it was ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence, their Lordſhips made ſome Amendments to it, which occaſion'd two Conferences between both Houſes. But the Reſult of the laſt was, *Dec.* 10. That the Lords gave their Concurrence without inſiſting on their Alterations.

Votes for a Supply.

A Motion for a Supply to his Majeſty had been made on *Octob.* 30. but was not debated till *Nov.* 6. when it was unanimouſly reſolved, *That a Supply be granted to their Majeſties for the carrying on a vigorous War againſt* France; and at the ſame time it was ordered, *That his Majeſty be deſired to cauſe the State of the War for the next Year's Service, in relation to both the Fleet and Land-Forces, to be laid before the Houſe.*

For the Admiralty

On *Nov.* 9. An Eſtimate of the Charge of their Majeſties Navy for the Year 1692, was deliver'd in by the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty; which having been examin'd, the Commons voted the Sum of Fifteen hundred ſeventy five thouſand eight hundred and ninety eight Pounds, for thoſe Uſes, including the Ordnance, and the Charge of building One Dry Dock, and Two Wet Docks at *Portſmouth.* And the Lord *Raneleugh*, purſuant to his Majeſty's Directions, having laid before the Commons a Liſt of the Land-Forces, it was reſolved,

For an Army.

Nov. 19. *That an Army of Sixty four thouſand nine hundred twenty four Men, without including Officers, was neceſſary for the Service of the Year* 1692, *in order to the ſecuring the Peace of the Kingdom, and the carrying on a vigorous War againſt* France. Much Time was ſpent in ſtating and examining the Eſtimate of the Charge of the Army, General Officers, Hoſpitals, Train of Artillery, and their Tranſport-Ships; as alſo in conſidering how far the Kingdom of *Ireland* could contribute toward the Charge of the Forces there. But it was at laſt reſolved, *Jan.* 4. *That a Sum not exceeding* 1935787 *Pounds, together with the Sum of* 165000 *Pounds, to be anſwer'd out of the Revenue of* Ireland, *be the Sum for the Land-Forces, for the Service of the Year* 1692. So that the Money granted this Year for the Fleet and Army, amounted to Three Millions four hundred eleven thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy ſeven Pounds.

Ways and Means.

Upon Ways and Means to raiſe theſe great Supplies, it was reſolved, *Firſt*, " That the Duties of " Exciſe for Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, which " were payable for a Year, from the 17th of *November* laſt, be continued for another Year. " *Secondly*, That the Sum of One Million ſix hundred fifty one thouſand ſeven hundred and two " Pounds be granted upon Land. And, *Thirdly*, " That the Salaries, Fees, and Perquiſites of all " Offices under the Crown, ſhould be to the Uſe of " the War, except Five hundred Pounds, to be " allowed to ſuch reſpective Officers, and except " the Salaries of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great " Seal, the Judges, Foreign Miniſters, and the Pay " of Commiſſion-Officers ſerving in the Fleet and " Army." But many other incident Affairs obſtructed the Buſineſs of the Supply, eſpecially " the Caſe of the *Eaſt-India* Company.

Affair of the *Eaſt-India* Company.

For on *October* 28, ſeveral Merchants, their Majeſties Subjects, preſented a Petition to the Commons againſt the *Eaſt-India* Company; and at the ſame time the *Eaſt-India* Company put up another Petition in behalf of themſelves; the Conſideration of both which was referr'd to a Committee of the whole Houſe. About a Fortnight after, the Heads of the Complaints againſt the *Eaſt-India* Company, were deliver'd to their Governor; to which they having put in their Anſwer, the ſame was communicated to the Petitioners, and the *Eaſt-India* Company ordered to make their Defence on the 20th of *November*. Not only the appointed Day, but ſeveral others were ſpent in examining the Accompts which Sir *Joſeph Herne*, the Governor of the *Eaſt-India* Company, deliver'd in as a State of their Stock and Debts at home and abroad; and in conſidering ſeveral other Petitions relating to the *Eaſt-India* Trade; till at laſt the Commons agreed to the following Reſolutions. " 1. That a Sum not leſs " than 1500000 *l.* and not exceeding Two Millions, " was a Fund neceſſary to carry on the *Eaſt-India* " Trade in a Joint-Stock. 2. That no one Perſon " ſhould have any Share in a Joint-Stock for the " *Eaſt-India* Trade, exceeding 5000 *l.* either in his " own Name, or any other in Truſt for him. 3. " That no one Perſon ſhould have above one Vote " in the ſaid Company; and that each Perſon who " had 5000 *l.* Stock therein, ſhould have one Vote. " 4. That the Company to Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, " ſhould be obliged to export every Year in their " Trade, Goods, being the Growth and Manufacture of this Nation, to the Value of 200000 *l.* " at leaſt. 5. That no private Contracts ſhould be " made, but all Goods ſold at Publick Sales by " Inch of Candle, except *Salt-Petre*, for the Uſe of " the Crown. 6. That the *Eaſt-India* Company be " oblig'd to ſell to the King yearly, *Salt-Petre* refin'd (the Refraction not exceeding Four or Five " *per Cent.* out of 112.) Five hundred Tuns at the " Rate of 30 *l. per Tun.* 7. That no Lot ſhould " be put at any Sales in the *Eaſt-India* Company " at one Time, exceeding 500 *l.* 8. That no Perſon ſhould be Governor or Deputy Governor of " the Company to Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, who " had leſs Share in the Stock than 2000 *l.* or Committee-Man, that had leſs than 1000 *l.* 9. That " the Election of Governor, Deputy-Governor, and " Committee for the Company to Trade to the " *Eaſt-Indies*, be made every Year. 10. That all " Dividends be made in Money. 11. That no " Dividends be made without leaving a ſufficient " Fund to pay all Debts, and carry on the Trade. " 12. That a Valuation of the Stock be made every " Five Years by the Accomptant of the Company " upon Oath, to be ſeen by all ſuch as are concern'd " therein. 13. That no Ships, either with Permiſſion or without, for the future, be allowed to " go to the *Eaſt-Indies*, except only ſuch as ſhould " be of a Company, or be eſtabliſh'd by Act of " Parliament. 14. That no By-Laws ſhould be " binding to the Company, but ſuch as were approved by a General Court of Adventurers, and " were not repugnant to the Laws of the Land. " 15. And *Laſtly*, That the Joint-Stock of a Company to Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* be for Twenty " one Years, and no longer." The next Day the Three following Reſolutions were added to the reſt, *viz.* " That all Perſons now having above the " Sum of 5000 *l.* in the Stock of the preſent *Eaſt-India* Company, in their own or other Perſons " Names, be obliged to ſell ſo much thereof, as " ſhould exceed the ſaid Sum of 5000 *l.* at the " Rate of 100 *l.* for every Hundred. That the " Members of the Committee of the *Eaſt-India*

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" Company be obliged to give Security, to be ap- " prov'd of by the Houſe; that the Stock and Eſtate " they now had ſhould be made good 749000 *l.* all " Debts paid. And *Laſtly*, That (Security being " firſt given) an humble Addreſs be preſented to " his Majeſty, to incorporate the preſent *Eaſt India* " Company by Charter, according to the Regula- " tions agreed upon by the Houſe, that the ſame " might paſs into an Act." On the 23d of *Dec.* Sir *Thomas Cook*, Sir *William Langborne*, Sir *Thomas Rawlinſon*, and others, the Committee of the *Eaſt-India* Company, deliver'd in Propoſals concerning Security to be given; which being diſapproved, the ſaid Committee was order'd to produce the Perſons they propoſed to be Security; and an Account of the Sums for which each Perſon would be Security. Which being done accordingly, the Commons, after a long Examination of the whole Matter, approv'd of the Security propos'd; and appointed a Committee to prepare and bring in a Bill to eſtabliſh the *Eaſt-India* Company, according to the Regulations and Reſolutions agreed upon by the Houſe.

Regulations in payment of the Army.

On the 3d of *November*, the Commons having conſider'd the State of the Nation, reſolv'd, That the paying the Army any other ways, than by Muſters of effective Men, was a great waſting of their Majeſties Treaſure. And a Bill was order'd to be brought in for paying of the Army accordingly; and for better paying of Quarters: And likewiſe for preventing of falſe Muſters, and puniſhing Mutineers and Deſerters. At the ſame time the Commons reſolv'd, That the Miſcarriages of the Fleet ſhould be enquir'd into by a Committee of the whole Houſe. A Week after, Admiral *Ruſſel* preſented to the Houſe the Inſtructions given by the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*; a Liſt of the Ships; and an Extract of ſeveral Letters and Orders, touching the Proceedings of the ſaid Fleet, during the laſt Summer's Expedition: All which were compar'd and examined with the Copies of the ſeveral Orders that had been iſſued by the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty to the ſaid Admiral; and a Liſt of the Ships that had been Loſt or Damag'd ſince the Year 1688, deliver'd to the *Houſe of Commons* by the Lord *Falkland*, from the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.

And of Miſcarriages in the Fleet.

On the 12th of *Nov.* the Commons were acquainted, That Mr. *Bridges*, a Member of their Houſe, could give an Account of an Information given him by a Captain in their Majeſty's Fleet, that Sir *Ralph Delaval* had lately taken a *French* Boat going for *Ireland*, with Papers of dangerous Conſequence to the Government. Whereupon Mr. *Bridges* was Ordered to name the Perſon; and he having named the Lady *Danby*, a Conference was deſired with the Lords upon Matters relating to the Safety of the Kingdom; but upon a full and tedious Examination of the whole Affair, it was found that there was not a Copy of any Letter from the Earl of *Nottingham* to Sir *Ralph Delaval*, in the Packet taken on Board the ſaid *French* Veſſel, but only a Letter written by his Lordſhip to Sir *Ralph*, for ſending up the Papers by him Intercepted. Upon this Occaſion the Commons took into their Conſideration the Confeſſions and Examinations of the Lord *Preſton*, and Mr. *Crone*, which according to their Deſire the King had order'd to be laid before the Houſe.

Suſpicion of intercepted Papers.

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About this time, (*a*) Dr. *Wellwood*, a Doctor of Phyſick, to ſignalize his Affection to the Government, employ'd his Eloquent Pen in detecting and expoſing the ſiniſter Deſigns of their Majeſties Enemies, in a Weekly Paper, Entituled, *Mercurius Reformatus*, or the *New Obſervator*; but his Zeal having carried him ſo far as to reflect on the Proceedings of the Commons, that Houſe, ever jealous of their Privileges, order'd both the Author and Printer of the ſaid Paper to be ſent for in Cuſtody of their Serjeant at Arms, from whence they were at laſt diſcharg'd, after having been reprimanded for their Offence. However, Dr. *Wellwood* was fully recompenced for the Trouble and Charge of his Confinement, being ſoon after made one of the Phyſicians in Ordinary to his Majeſty.

Dr. *Wellwood* queſtion'd by the Commons.

Several other Affairs amuſed the Houſe of Commons to little Purpoſe; as a Bill *for Regulating Abuſes in Elections and Returns to Parliament*, which was rejected after a third Reading; A Bill *for the* (*b*) *better Improvement of the Woollen Manufacture of this Kingdom*; which was alſo thrown out before a Second Reading; A Bill *for the better Repair of the Harbour of* Dover; which was likewiſe rejected; A Bill *to Regulate the Hackney Coaches*; another *to Diſcourage the Exportation of Bullion, and Encourage the Importation of it, and converting the ſame into the Coin of this Realm*; And a Third, *to encourage Privateers*, wherein no Progreſs was made.

Several Bills rejected.

On *Thurſday* Dec. 24. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave his Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for granting to their Majeſties certain Impoſitions upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors for One Year.* 2. *An Act for Abrogating the Oath of Supremacy in* Ireland, *and appointing other Oaths.* 3. *An Act for Preſerving Two Ships Lading of Bay-Salt taken as Prize, for the Benefit of their Majeſties Navy.* 4. *An Act for the better aſcertaining the Tythes of Hemp and Flax*; and to ſeveral Private Acts. On the *Thurſday* following, being the laſt Day of the Year, his Majeſty came again to the

Acts paſſed.

(*a*) There was a Printed Dialogue addreſſed to King *William* in the next Year, 1692, ſpeaking thus boldly. " We will " paſs by thoſe who refuſe to ſwear Allegiance, and only treat " of thoſe who have accepted of Places of Profit and Truſt. " Have not even thoſe in the Government, both in *England* " and *Scotland*, been plotting the dethroning this King, who " has ſo generouſly truſted them, and courted them ſo kindly. " Particularly, did not one of your Party [*ſpeaking to the* " Tories] at the beginning of this Reign, give notice to the " King's Enemies of Warrants againſt them, in order to their " making their Eſcape, and was diſcharged his Employment " upon it. Did not a Brother of a certain Secretary give out " blank Paſſes under the Hand and Seal of that Secretary, by " which a Correſpondence was carried on between this Place " and *France* ſecurely? And was not this Gentleman on this " Account laid aſide gently and privately, and the Buſineſs " huſht up. Have not ſome Women lately been taken going " with Letters to King *James*, having a *Scotch* Secretary's Paſs " under his Hand and Seal? Was not an Officer of the *Poſt-houſe* found correſponding with *France*, and without any " other Puniſhment for his Capital Crime than loſing his Office? " The Story of Capt. *John Layton*, late Commander of the " Saint *Albans*, which has been told in the *Houſe of Commons*, " will ſhew you how faithfully you *Tories* ſerve the Govern- " ment, and how fit you are to be truſted. Captain *Layton* " being ordered to cruiſe Twenty Leagues off *Uſhant*, was dri- " ven by a Storm of Wind to Cape *Clear*, where he met a " *French* Privateer and took her. The Captain of the Priva- " teer ask'd *Layton* the Name of his *Ship*, which he told " him; upon this looking into his Pocket-Book, he demanded " of *Layten* how he came there, for by his Intelligence, the " Station of the St. *Albans* was to be Twenty Leagues from " *Uſhant*, and no further.

" A like Story is told of a Tranſport Ship going to *France* " with his Priſoners ſome few Months ſince, who meeting with " ſeveral Privateers, ask'd them how they durſt be ſo bold as " to cruiſe there, when Four *Engliſh* Men of War were within " Six Leagues of them: They reply'd, *they knew the Station of* " *thoſe* Engliſh, *and that they could not come where they were* " *cruiſing without breaking ther Orders.* But the Relation of the " Sailor who was taken, and for ſome time ſerv'd aboard an " *Iriſh* Privateer is yet more remarkable; for he depoſes, that " they told him three Months before the *Streights* Fleet Sail'd " from *Spithead*, both the time when they were to Sail, and the " Number of their Convoy, and that the main Fleet was to " go no further than beyond *Uſhant.*

(*b*) See the Draught of *a Bill* prepared to have been offered to the Parliament *for the reſtraining of Plurality of Benefices with Cure of Souls.* With Reaſons for the ſaid Bill, Drawn up at the Motion of the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, by Dr. *Humphry Prideaux*, and by his Lordſhip offered to the Archbiſhop, and approved at a Meeting of the Biſhops at *Lambeth.* Annnexed by Dr. *Prideaux* to his *Original and Right of Tithes*, 1709, 8vo.

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Houſe of Peers, and gave his Royal Aſſent to the *Act for granting an Aid to their Majeſties, of the Sum of Sixteen Hundred Fifty One Thouſand Seven Hundred Fifty Two Pounds Eighteen Shillings, towards the carrying on a Vigorous War againſt* France: As alſo to one private Act. After which his Majeſty concluded with this Gracious Speech.

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Muſt not loſe this Occaſion of returning you my hearty Thanks, for the great Proofs you continue to give me of your Zeal and Reſolution, to Support and Aſſiſt me in the vigorous Proſecution of the War againſt *France* next Year; and I do aſſure you it ſhall be my greateſt Care, that the Aſſiſtances you give Me may be ſo applied, as to render them moſt effectual for the Aids you deſign them. But I muſt take notice to you at the ſame time, with ſome Trouble, that the New Year is already come, while our Preparations for it are not only more backward, but thoſe of our Enemies, as we have reaſon to think, in greater forwardneſs than they were the laſt Year: I find my ſelf therefore neceſſitated from this Conſideration, moſt earneſtly to recommend to you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, the haſtning ſuch further Supplies as you deſign to enable me with, for the Proſecution of the War.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The Seaſon being ſo far advanced, this preſent Seſſions cannot admit of a much longer Continuance, and therefore I muſt recommend to you the Diſpatch of all ſuch other Bills alſo, as you ſhall judge neceſſary for the Publick Good.

Bill for regulating Tryals in Caſes of High Treaſon.

Both Houſes were now engag'd in a warm Diſpute, rais'd by the Bill for Regulating Tryals in Caſes of High Treaſon. This Bill having been laid aſide by the Lords in the preceding Seſſion, was now again brought in and paſſed by the Commons; and on *Nov.* 18. ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence. The Lords, beſides other Amendments, added this Clauſe to it: *That upon the Tryal of any Peer or Peereſs, for any Treaſon or Miſpriſion of Treaſon, all the Peers who have a Right to Sit and Vote in Parliament, ſhould be duly Summoned Twenty Days at leaſt before every ſuch Tryal, to appear at every ſuch Tryal; and that every Peer ſo ſummoned, and appearing on ſuch Tryals, ſhould Vote in the Tryal of ſuch Peer or Peereſs ſo to be tryed; he and they firſt taking the Oaths mentioned in an Act of Parliament made in the Firſt Year of King* William *and Queen* Mary; *Entitled*, An Act for Abrogating the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and appointing other Oaths; *and Subſcribing and audibly Repeating the Declaration mentioned in an Act of Parliament made in the Thirtieth Year of King* Charles *the Second, Entituled*, An Act for the more effectual preſerving the King's Perſon and Government, by diſabling Papiſts from Sitting in either Houſe of Parliament.

Conference and Debates on this Matter.

This Clauſe being diſagreed to by the Commons, and at two ſeveral Conferences inſiſted on by the Lords; a free Conference was manag'd between both Houſes on *Jan.* 5. wherein Mr. *Charles Mountague*, the Chief of thoſe who ſpoke for the Commons, argued, "That this Bill was begun by the Commons, for the equal Advantage of ſuch Lords and Commons who had the Misfortune to be accus'd of Treaſon, or Miſpriſion of Treaſon. That when it was firſt returned from their Lordſhips with very many Amendments, the Commons were ſo willing to comply with the deſire of their Lordſhips, and to give the Bill a ſpeedy Paſſage, that they Agreed to all thoſe Amendments, except two; that ſome of them were of a very nice Nature, and related to Things of which the Commons have ever been moſt tender. That at the firſt Conference, the Commons gave their Lordſhips the Reaſons that induced them to make ſuch Amendments, which did ſo far ſatisfy their Lordſhips, that they did agree to the firſt Amendment propoſed by the Lower-Houſe, though they did inſiſt upon this other, for which they delivered their Reaſons at the ſecond Conference. That thoſe Reaſons had been ſolemnly and deliberately conſidered by the Commons, and that they had not found them ſufficient to convince them; ſo that they did ſtill diſagree with the Lords in the forementioned Clauſe. That it was very unfortunate, that no Bill for the Relief of the Subject in theſe Caſes had been tendred for many Years laſt paſt, but either this Clauſe, or ſomething of the like Nature had unhappily clogged it, and been the occaſion of loſing it; and as this was never thought reaſonable to be admitted formerly, ſo neither could the Commons conſent to ſo great an Alteration of our Conſtitution as this would introduce; That ſuch an Alteration was far beyond the Intent and Deſign which the Commons had in preparing this Bill; That they were deſirous that all Men ſhould have a fair and equal way of making their Defence; They wiſhed, that the Guiltleſs ſhould by all neceſſary Proviſions be protected, allowed all juſt Means of making their Innocence manifeſt; but they did not deſign to ſubvert the Eſſence and Conſtitutions of the Courts, nor intend to diſable the Crown in one of its moſt neceſſary Prerogatives, or to place a Judicature in other Hands, than thoſe to whom the Laws of *England*, and the Cuſtom of the Realm had committed it. That the Clauſe now in Diſpute ſtruck at no leſs than this, and in Conſequence at the Alteration of the Government of *England*. That the Government of *England* is Monarchical, and the Monarch has the Power of Conſtituting Courts and Offices for Adminiſtration of Juſtice, tho' they are to proceed according to the known Rules and Limitations of Law. That the Judges are conſtituted by his Commiſſion, the Sheriffs are of his Nomination and Appointment, and theſe are to return the Pannel of Jurors, who are to paſs on the Lives of the Commoners; and that in like manner 'tis the Prerogative of the Crown to conſtitute a Lord High Steward, who by his Serjeant at Arms does ſummon a competent Number of Peers to be Tryers of their Lordſhips. But that this Clauſe took away theſe Powers from the High Steward, and therefore it took away ſo much from the Regal Authority; and it would amount to no leſs, than to render the Subjects independent on the Crown, in the Pleas of the Crown, wherein above all other Things, the Life, Peace, and Safety of the Government is concern'd. That the Commons had ſtill the ſame Opinion of the Honour and Integrity of the Lords, which they had received from the Experience of paſt Times; but that their Deſign in paſſing that Bill, was to prevent thoſe Abuſes in Tryals for Treaſon in inferior Courts for the future; by means of which, during the Violence of the late Reign, they had obſerved many had loſt their Lives. That the Things to which the Bill extended, were of ſuch a Nature, that except only in one Inſtance, (that is, the time of the delivery of the Copy of the Pannel; for it was agreed even in my Lord *Ruſſel*'s Caſe *That the Subject hath a Right to have a Copy of the Pannel*) the Lords had an equal Benefit with the Commons. That the Commons did not obſerve, that the Clauſe ſent down by the Lords does relate to the like Grounds of Complaint; for no Inſtance could be given of any Peer who ſuffered during the late Reign, from whence a juſt Cauſe of Objection might ariſe to the preſent Method of Trying Peers; That the only Two Perſons

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" proſecuted, came off, tho' purſued with great
" Violence; the one, becauſe the Grand Jury could
" not be prevail'd upon to find the Bill; the other
" was acquitted upon his Tryal, by the Juſtice of
" his Peers. That by all the Circumſtances of the
" Tryal of the Lord *Delamere*, it is manifeſt, that
" if there was any Unfairneſs in the Method of
" Tryal, it then would have appear'd: That the
" Violence of thoſe Times was ſuch, that the Com-
" mons were not protected by that Innocency which
" has ſince been declared in Parliament; yet then
" the Lord *Delamere* was acquitted by the Juſtice
" and Honour of his Peers. And it might ſeem
" ſtrange to future Ages, that the Commons ſhould
" be contented, that the Method of Tryals ſhould
" be continued, which was not ſufficient to protect
" their Innocency; and their Lordſhips alter that
" which had proved a Bulwark to their Lives.
" That the Commons alſo thought the Clauſe to be
" of a different Nature from the Bill, becauſe the
" Bill did not make any Alteration in the Court,
" or in the Nature of the Tryal, which the Com-
" mons apprehended was done by the Clauſe; for
" thereby the Court is no longer conſtituted by the
" Precept of the Lord High Steward, who receives
" his Commiſſion from the Crown; but the whole
" Order of Peers have a Right to make up the
" Court; and all the Friends, Relations, and Ac-
" complices of the Perſon, are to be his Triers.
" That there was another great Alteration in the
" Conſtitution of the Court, as the Clauſe was
" penn'd; for this Method (preſcrib'd by the
" Clauſe) was for the Tryal of every Peer; and
" according to that Method, every Peer who had a
" Right to Sit and Vote in Parliament, was to
" be ſummon'd, and might Appear and Vote.
" Now it was agreed by the moſt Learned Authors,
" that the Lords Spiritual are Peers; and whoſo-
" ever would go about to defend the contrary Opi-
" nion, would find it very difficult to anſwer the
" ſeveral Records of Parliaments, and other Autho-
" rities, where this Point is aſſerted; particularly
" the well known Claim in Parliament of Arch-
" biſhop *Stafford*, in the Reign of *Edward* III. and
" the famous Proteſtation in the Second of *Ri-
" chard* II. (when the Biſhops thought fit to abſent
" themſelves from Parliament, becauſe Matters of
" Blood were to be agitated there) wherein their
" Right of Peerage is directly aſſerted; and this
" Proteſtation being enrolled at the Deſire of the
" King, and with the Conſent of the Lords and
" Commons, ſeemed to be of the Nature of an Act
" of Parliament. That if the Law-Books might
" come in for Authorities in ſuch a Point, there
" are Caſes where the Pleas of the Biſhops, as
" Peers, have been judicially allow'd; ſo that this
" Clauſe did directly let in the Lords Spiritual to
" Try and be Tried, as other Peers who are No-
" ble by Deſcent: Not that the Commons were
" diſſatisfied with this, if this were the only Mat-
" ter; for the Lords Spiritual (in all Probability)
" by their Learning and Integrity would greatly aſ-
" ſiſt at the Tryal of Peers; and the Commons
" were well enough diſpoſed to let in theſe Noble
" Prelates to any Privileges in Point of Tryal,
" which ſhould be propoſed by the Houſe of Peers.
" But this was urged to make good the Poſition
" laid down before, that by this Clauſe the Conſti-
" tution of the Court was quite alter'd; it having
" been taken for Law, That the Lords Spiritual are
" to be tried as other Peers, or to be preſent and
" Vote at the Tryal of any other Peer, at leaſt out
" of Parliament: For as to their Right in Parlia-
" ment, how far they are reſtrained by the Canons
" *agitare Judicium*; how far theſe Canons have
" been receiv'd in *England*; and what the Uſage of
" Parliament hath been, was not the preſent Buſi-
" neſs. That had this Bill come down from the
" Lords firſt, and the Commons had added a
" Clauſe, *That no Commoner ſhould be tried for
" Treaſon, but before all the Twelve Judges, and a
" Jury of Twenty four Perſons, and to have taken
" away all Challenges for Conſanguinity*; which if
" it was conſider'd, was ſomewhat of the Nature of
" the Lords Clauſe, tho' it did not go ſo far; if
" the Lords had thought fit to have uſed the ſame
" Reaſon for diſagreeing to ſuch a Clauſe, as the
" Commons had done in the preſent Caſe, *That it
" was different from the Deſign of the Bill*, it would
" have ſatisfied the Commons. And that the ſame
" Reaſons which the Commons received from the
" Lords at the laſt Conference, if they had been de-
" liver'd by the Commons, would not have been
" convincing to their Lordſhips. (a)

" The Commons likewiſe obſerved, That the
" Lords in the Clauſe, or in their Reaſons, had
" not ſtated any Cauſe of Objection to the pre-
" ſent Method of their Tryals; and therefore the
" Commons wonder'd, That the Lords (as they ex-
" preſs'd themſelves in their Reaſons) *ſhould con-
" ceive that they were diſtinguiſhed, ſo as to be more
" expoſed in their Trials than the meaneſt Subject*;
" ſince the Commons did not find, but that they
" enjoy'd this great and high Privilege (upon
" which ſo great a Value has been juſtly put) as
" fully as ever any of their Noble Anceſtors did.
" That 'tis by this Privilege the Body of the
" Peers has been preſerved ſo long; That if
" any Lord, at any Time, ſhould be diſpoſed to
" expoſe himſelf in Defence of the common Li-
" berties of the People, the Commons are Secu-
" rity to him from being oppreſs'd by falſe Accu-
" ſations; Twelve of them muſt agree to find a
" Bill, before he can be indicted; and that Bill
" cannot be found, but upon the Oaths of Two
" credible Witneſſes. That the Commons look'd
" upon the Method of Tryals, which the Lords
" would alter, to have been as ancient as the Con-
" ſtitution of the Government. That it appears
" in the Year-Books to have been practiſed in the
" Firſt Year of *Henry* the IVth, and to have been
" well known at that Time. That indeed it could
" not be ſuppoſed to have been an Innovation then;
" the Lords (who had juſt before depoſed King
" *Richard* the IId) being too great to ſuffer ſuch an
" Innovation, and *Henry* the IVth's Title not ſuffi-
" ciently eſtabliſhed to attempt it. That the Rea-
" ſon, why no older Inſtances of Proceedings before
" the Lord High Steward are to be found, is this;
" that this very *Henry* IV. when Duke of *Lancaſter*,
" was the laſt High Steward who ever had any fix'd
" Intereſt in the Office; ſo that the Office being
" ſo long ſince ceaſed, all the Records are loſt; and
" the very Nature and Power of the Office, except

(a) In this Seſſion, the *Jacobites* began to load the Government with their not bringing a Diſproof of the Birth of the Prince of *Wales* before the Parliament. " Some lay (ſays " Biſhop *Burnet*) the main Streſs of their Cenſure upon a " great Failure in the Proceedings at that Time, ſince no En- " quiry was made into the Birth of the Pretender: But the " whole Nation, as well as the next Heirs of the Crown, ha- " ving (by the ſtrange Management of that Affair) con- " ceived great and reaſonable Jealouſies of an Impoſture in it, " the Prince of *Orange* did (by his Declaration) refer the En- " quiry into it to a Parliament. The King upon that did, by " his ſending the Pretender with the Queen out of the King- " dom, (together with all thoſe who were more immediately " concern'd in that ſuppoſed Birth,) make it impoſſible to " examine into it. Beſides, if a Subverſion of the Conſtituti- " on, and a Deſertion, rather than that the King would come " to juſt and legal Remedies, gave the Nation a Right to pre- " ſerve it ſelf; that muſt give likewiſe a Power to ſecure it " from the deſperate After-Game of Relapſing into the like " State, and of falling under ſevere Revenges for their aſſert- " ing their Laws and Liberties; which might juſtly be appre- " hended in that Caſe, even if there had been the greateſt E- " vidence poſſible of an unconteſted Birth." *Biſhop of Sarum's Preface to his Sermons*, 1713. 8vo.

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"in this Inſtance of Trying Peers, and determining "Claims at Coronations, is likewiſe loſt: But "ſince that Time the High Steward being only "*Pro hac vice*, the Proceedings are commonly tranſ-"mitted into other Courts, and ſo come to be "found.

"The Commons urg'd, that if there be any Ob-"jectiou to that Method of Trying Peers, it muſt "be founded on a Suppoſition of Partiality and "Unfairneſs of conſtituting a High Steward, or in "the High Steward himſelf, and the Peers ſum-"moned by him, and that the Commons were un-"willing to enter into ſuch kind of Suppoſals. As "to the partial conſtituting of the High Steward, "if that might be ſuppoſed, it was an Objecti-"on to the Conſtitution, which entruſts the Crown "with the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. That that "Suppoſal might as well extend to the Conſtitution "of the Judges and Sheriffs, and every other Part "of the Adminiſtration. And if upon ſuch a Sup-"poſal or Diſtruſt, the Remedy muſt be to take "away that Part of the Adminiſtration out of the "Crown, (as was done in this Clauſe) the Rea-"ſon muſt carry the Thing ſo far, that the Nature "of the Government would be alter'd. As to the "Partiality of the Lord High Steward and the "Peers; the Commons were unwilling to ſuppoſe "that it is poſſible, That Twelve Peers ſhould be "ever found, (for that Number muſt agree, or the "Perſon accuſed is ſafe) who can ſo far forget their "Honour, and the Noble Order they are of, as for "Revenge or Intereſt to ſacrifice an innocent Per-"ſon. But if the Lords would ſuppoſe that ſuch "a Number of Peers might be capable of being "engaged in ſo ill and ſo diſhonourable Things, "then the Commons thought themſelves excus'd, if "they ſuppos'd, that other Paſſions and Motives "might alſo prevail on the Peers; ſuch as Pity in "Friends, Partiality in Relations, and the Conſi-"deration of their Safety in Caſe of Accomplices. "The Commons further alledg'd, That moſt Men, "and eſpecially *Engliſhmen*, enter unwillingly into "Matters of Blood: That the moſt indifferent "Peers would be moſt likely to abſent them-"ſelves, either from a Conſideration of diſſatisfy-"ing the Crown on the one hand, or drawing on "themſelves the Miſchiefs of a Breach with the "Family of the Perſon accuſed on the other; (for "it is to be obſerved, that a Reſtitution of the Fa-"mily follows generally in a ſhort Time;) or at "leaſt the Love of Security, and Care of not en-"gaging too far, (for thoſe Tryals for the moſt part "happen in unquiet and troubleſome Times;) would "keep indifferent Men away. But the Care for a "Friend muſt not fail to bring Friends to the Try-"als: The Concern to preſerve the Family from "that Stain, would bring Relations; and if there "be any Accomplices, they muſt be ready for their "own Sakes to acquit the Accuſed: And proba-"bly their Number muſt be conſiderable in theſe "Caſes; for it is not to be imagin'd, that a Lord "can enter into thoſe baſe and deteſtable Actions "which may be performed by ſingle Perſons; ſuch "as Poiſoning or Aſſaſſinating the Prince. That "the Treaſons which it can be imagin'd that Lords "might be engag'd in, muſt be ſuch as ariſe from "Faction in the State, which many muſt be en-"gag'd in; and if ſome Accident diſcovers ſuffici-"ent Matter for a Charge againſt one of the Par-"ties, the reſt (who are conceal'd ſtill) would "have as good Right to try their Confederate, as "any indifferent Lord: And no doubt but it is their "Intereſt to acquit him; and how far at ſome "Times this alone might go towards turning the "Scale of Juſtice, might deſerve to be conſi-"der'd; eſpecially in Times which might happen "hereafter, becauſe they happen'd heretofore, when "there might be ſeveral Titles ſet up to the Crown, "and great Parties form'd. That this was a Law "that was to have a perpetual Continuance: And "that the ſame Loyalty, Wiſdom and Zeal, which "appear'd now in their Lordſhips, ſhould be de-"riv'd down to all their Poſterity, was a Thing ra-"ther to be wiſh'd than depended upon: If therefore "the Clauſe had a Tendency towards letting in an "Impunity for Treaſon, the Commons look'd up-"on themſelves as juſtified in diſagreeing to it: For "they thought it obvious to every one, of what "Conſequence it would be to the Conſtitution, if "ſuch a Body as the Peers, who have already ſuch "Privileges of all ſorts, ſhould have Impunity of "Treaſon added, and what that muſt naturally "end in.

"The Commons agreed with the Lords, That "a good Correſpondence between the Two Houſes "was neceſſary for the Safety, Honour, and Great-"neſs of the Nation; and could never think, that "it was to be interrupted by their refuſing any "Thing which might endanger the Conſtitution: "Aſſuring them, The Commons would never fail "in improving all true Intereſts of the Lords; but "they perſwaded themſelves, that the Lords would "be of Opinion, That to introduce any Thing "which tended to an Impunity for Treaſon, was "neither the true Intereſt of the Crown, the Lords, "nor the Commons.

Arguments of the Lords.

"The Managers for the Lords who ſpake at the "Conference, were, the Duke of *Bolton*, the Mar-"quis of *Halifax*, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Roche-ſter*, *Mulgrave*, *Nottingham*, *Monmouth*, and "*Stamford*: And the Subſtance of what they al-"ledg'd, was, That the Lords were ſorry to be "of any Opinion different from the Commons, "eſpecially in a Clauſe of ſo great Importance, "which did concern not only their Well-being, but "their Being. That they had not differ'd from "the Commons in any Thing propounded for their "Security; and hop'd the Commons would have "the ſame Conſideration for theirs. That nothing "was ſo proper for a Parliament, as to provide "Defences for Innocency; that in ill Times, Ne-"ceſſity; in good, Prudence puts them upon it: "And tho' theſe were good Times in reſpect of "the preſent Government, yet they might ſay, "they were unquiet and unſafe: And ſince none "but a good Prince would ever paſs ſuch Laws as "theſe are, this was the moſt proper Time to pro-"vide for the Subjects; for a good King would "not only be willing to protect them while he "lives, but to provide for their Security after "his Death. That this concerned not only them-"ſelves, and therefore they would ſpeak the more "freely. That 'tis too narrow a Conſideration, for "a Parliament to ſeek only their preſent Ends: "That their Anceſtors had further Thoughts; and "the Lords did not doubt but the Commons would "have ſo too. That there can be no good done in "Times of Trouble and Invaſion of Right, but by "Agreement of both Houſes. That there might "come a Prince that might endeavour to invade "the Liberties of the People, and then the Com-"mons would be glad to have the Concurrence of "the Lords: And they deſir'd the Commons would "conſider in ſuch a Caſe, whether it would not be "a great Diſcouragement for the Lords to act, un-"leſs they might be as ſecure (at leaſt) as the "Commons? That if there might be ſuch Princes, "was it fitting, that Part of the Government, "which is ſo neceſſary to their Concurrence, ſhould "be under ſuch Terms for their Lives, that they "dare not oppoſe them with Vigor, nor act, be-"cauſe they lie under Shackles? That the Lords "would do what is juſt, tho' this Clauſe ſhould "not paſs; but they would be loth that theſe Lords "that are eminent for their Publick Service, ſhould "be eminent for their ſuffering for it.

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"That in the Caſe of Impeachments, which are the Groans of the People, and for the higheſt Crimes, which carry with them a greater Suppoſition of Guilt than any other Accuſation; there all Lords muſt judge: But when there comes a private Proſecution, which may proceed from the Influence of particular Men, then the Lord lies under the Hardſhip of being try'd by a few Peers choſen to try him; when all the People may ſigh and wiſh for him, but ſuch a Clauſe would do him more good. That ſuppoſe an ill Miniſter ſhould apprehend an Impeachment in Parliament; what manner of way could that Man hope better to come off by, than by being try'd before a Parliament ſits; where his Judges may be choſen ſo partially, as he ſhall come off; and it ſhall be ſaid, no Man can legally undergo Two Trials for the ſame Offence?

"That this way of Trial was not ancienter than *Henry* the VIIIth; and that it was introduc'd then to take off thoſe that he did not like. That in his Time the Duke of *Bucks* was taken off in this manner by Cardinal *Woolſey*; and *Anne* of *Bullen* was condemn'd by her own Father. And afterwards, a Party was choſen to condemn the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*. That the Caſe of the Earl of *H----* is no good Caſe, nor truly reported; for the Parliament-Rolls, 2 *Richard* IV. mention his being beheaded by the Rabble in *Eſſex*.

"That this Clauſe did not alter the Conſtitution any more, than as in ſome Senſe every new Law may be ſaid to alter the Conſtitution: And if the Commons ſay it is alter'd, becauſe formerly it was by a ſelect Number, and now all muſt appear; that did not ſeem to alter the Conſtitution, for the High Steward might ſummon them all. That the Lord High Steward formerly ſummon'd the Court, and he ſummons it ſtill. That the Nature of the Court was not alter'd by the *Magis* or *Minus*, any more than the *King's-Bench* ceaſes to be the ſame Court, when there are Three or Four Judges in it.

"That tho' this Clauſe did not (as was ſaid) purſue the Ends of the Bill, yet either Houſe has a Power of adding what they think may make it better. And tho' this was of a different Nature, there had been Inſtances of Additions of different Natures; but this was ſo far from it, that it agreed entirely with it, and was as ſuitable and neceſſary as any Part of it. That the Commons were not well ſatisfied, when the Commiſſions of the Judges ran *durante bene placito*: And could it be thought reaſonable, that the Lords, who are the Supreme Judicature, ſhould not ſtay in their Lives, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint?* That tho' the King did now appoint the Sheriffs, it was not always ſo: And ſince the Crown has made them, the Commons have this Security, That they may challenge Thirty five of the Pannel peremptorily, and all the reſt for Cauſe. But that the Judges and Sheriffs are made before the Crime committed; ſo that it is impoſſible for the Judges or Sheriffs to have Prejudice againſt any Man; but the Lord High Steward is appointed after they know the Priſoner, and he ſhall be try'd according to the Humour of the Times they are in. There may be Lords inclin'd one way or other: But in this Place there is a ſtrong Thing join'd with this Paſſion; which is, Making their own Fortunes, by ſerving the preſent Times. That ſince the Tryal of the Peers (in Time of Parliament) muſt be by the whole Houſe; where was the Inconveniency, that at all Times they ſhould be try'd as in Parliament? That 'twas a little Favour the Lords asked in this Clauſe, conſidering the Privilege of Parliament for Three Years laſt paſt had always been ſubſiſting, and was likely to continue ſo during this War; ſo that the Objection was taken away as to the preſent Government: For they would have the Advantage of a Parliamentary Tryal; and poſſibly in Time to come, there might be an Inquiſition for what was done now; and it would be well to have the faireſt way of proceeding in that Matter. That in the Caſe of the Lord *Delamere*, there were ſeveral Lords then in Town, and there were a great many of theſe Lords not choſen: And 'tis a greater Queſtion, whether that Noble Lord had come off as he did, if he had not receiv'd ſuch Notice from the Grand Jury, and every Thing had been made out ſo plain. That the Argument uſed by the Managers, that they would not allow any Thing that tends to an Impunity, was a large Aſſertion, and ought to be an Argument againſt the Bill: Becauſe it might happen, that by giving a Copy of the Indictment, and Witneſſes being upon their Oaths, a guilty Man might eſcape; and then he had an Impunity, tho' this was not intended. That all that could be done in theſe Caſes, was to put in ſuch reaſonable Caution, and as far as the Bill could provide for. That this Clauſe could not extend to the Biſhops, for it related only to Tryals out of Parliament; and they are only Peers in Parliament, where they may take their Privilege to hear, and then go out again, and do not Vote in *Blood*. And by the word *Peers*, it muſt be underſtood of ſuch Peers only, as are Peers in reſpect of their Blood. That the Lords were of Opinion, Seven Peers were ſufficient to condemn a Peer; but this made no Alteration in the Argument, for there is not much more Difficulty in getting Twelve than Seven. Indeed, there might be a greater Difference, where a Crown or Government was not concern'd. That the Excellency of a Jury is, that they are taken *ex Vicinitate*. What is the Reaſon of this? Why, in Caſe of falſe Witneſſes, it is his Neighbour that is to ſave the Man. But what Security have the Lords, when the Lords are pick'd out to try them who are not of their Acquaintance; and the Lords, that know the whole Courſe of their Lives to be contrary to what is ſworn againſt them, ſhall not be choſen? That it is implied in the Commiſſion of the Lord High Steward, that all the Peers ſhould be ſummon'd; for by the Commiſſion, all the Peers of the Realm are commanded to attend him, and be obedient to him: So that the King does not only give Liberty, but ſeems to command it.

The Commons Reply.

"The Managers of the Commons, by way of Reply, ſaid, That this Clauſe would alter the Conſtitution of this Court; and thereby a very conſiderable Part of the Conſtitution of the Government, and that for the worſe. That 'tis not to be granted, That any new Law does alter the Conſtitution. That a new Law may be made to ſtrengthen or reſtore the Conſtitution againſt Abuſes: It may be declaratory; it may aſcertain Things that were left to reaſonable Diſcretion, which are the Circumſtances and Accidents; and notwithſtanding ſuch new Laws, the Subſtance of the Conſtitution remains the ſame. That ſo by this Bill the Perſon indicted was to have a Copy of his Indictment Ten Days before he ſhould plead; whereas now by the Common Law, he was to have the Indictment read to him as often as he needs, and to have Copies of ſo much of it as he hath Occaſion to uſe, and reaſonable Time to plead. That by this Bill, he was to have his Witneſſes ſworn; which, in ſome Learned Men's Opinion, was the Law before: However, it was but a Circumſtance added to the Teſtimony. That likewiſe by this Bill he was to have a Copy of the Pannel before the Tryal; whereas by the Courſe uſed now, he hath a Co-

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“ py a reaſonable Time before. And that by the Law now, he is to have a reaſonable Time to prepare for his Trial; which Time this Bill aſcertain'd to a Number of Days. But the Commons urg'd, that the Alteration by the Clauſe in Queſtion, was in a moſt ſubſtantial Part, and which highly affected the Conſtitution of the Government.

“ That if a like Clauſe were brought in, that every Commoner ſhould be try'd by all the Freeholders of the County that would appear, (or ſuch of them as they ſhould depute) it could not be well denied, that this were a Change to the Conſtitution of the Government. That it might as well be ſaid, that it is not any altering of the Conſtitution, to diveſt the Crown of the Power of making Judges in Courts of Law and Equity, and other Courts; or making Juſtices of the Peace, or other Officers. That it was granted in Parliament 28 *Edw.* I. that the People of any County ſhould chuſe the Sheriffs; but thereupon enſued ſuch Factions, Confuſions and Miſchiefs in the County, that by the Deſire of the People in Parliament 1 *Edw.* II. the Power of making Sheriffs was ſettled in the Crown. That tho' the High Steward be ſaid to be the Court, yet the Peers Triers are ſo neceſſary a Part of the Court, that the Conviction or Acquittal depends entirely on them; and therefore not only the Number of Triers, but the Nature of the Court might be properly affirm'd to be alter'd by this Clauſe. That the Commons were ſurpriz'd when they heard it alledg'd, that this Court and Courſe of Trial was firſt introduc'd in *Henry* VIII's Time, by Cardinal *Woolſey*, in the Caſe of the Duke of *Bucks*; and that all Trials of Peers before were in Parliament. That the Statute made 15 *Edw.* III. manifeſtly proves the contrary; it ordain'd that Peers ſhould be tried by the Peers in Parliament; but provides, that if any Peer ſhould chuſe to be tried elſewhere than in Parliament, he might. That indeed the Statute was repeal'd 17 *Edw.* III. (becauſe it was ſo injurious to the Prerogative); but yet it ſhews there was then ſuch a Court and Courſe of Trial as this out of Parliament; for they could not in *Edw.* III's Time divine that there ſhould be ſuch a new Court and Manner of Trial erected in *Henry* VIII's Time. That the Trial of the Earl of *H*---, *Henry* IV. reported in the Year-Books, is no more to be queſtion'd than any other Caſe there. And it is cited as authentick, by *Stamford*, in his learned Treatiſe of the Pleas of the Crown. And his Opinion alſo is, that this way of Trial was meant in the *Judicium Parium*, mention'd in *Magna Charta*; and *Stamford* is of greater Authority in this behalf, for that he was Contemporary to the Reign of *Henry* VIII. and could not have been unacquainted with this Innovation, if ſuch there had been made in that Time. That the very Clauſe now in queſtion did affirm the Legality of this way of Trial; for it diſtinguiſhes Treaſons, which corrupt the Blood, from others, and left all other Treaſons and all Felony to be tried by Peers, ſummon'd by the High Steward, as was now uſed; which ſhew'd too, that there was no great Danger apprehended to the Peers from this kind of Trial. That the Commons did not admit that a Peer can be convicted by Seven Peers; that there muſt be Twelve at leaſt to concur in the Verdict. That it is not only ſaid by my Lord *Cook*, but the Law is, *That no Man ſhall ſuffer capitally at the King's Suit, unleſs his Offence be form'd by* 24 *at leaſt; that is, Twelve to find the Indictment, and Twelve to give the Verdict.* That Twelve Peers muſt agree in the Verdict, was reſolv'd in the Lord *Dacres*'s Caſe, 26 *Hen.* VIII. which is remembred in *Moor*'s Reports. And that the Caſe of every

Peer that has been convicted, is a Proof of this; for it cannot be ſhown that ever any Peer was convicted by fewer than Twelve. That this *Duodecim Virile Judicium*, (ſome time in uſe in Foreign Countries) was always approv'd and eſtabliſh'd by the Law of *England*, and underſtood to be that Authority, to which the Determination of conteſted Facts is intruſted.

“ And therefore in all other Commiſſions and Precepts, as well as theſe of the High Steward, wherein the Commiſſion is in general Words, *viz.* To Return or Summon, *tot & tales*, ſuch and ſo many Perſons, by whom the Truth of the Matter may be tried; it is to be anſwer'd and perform'd by the bringing of Twelve Perſons, who are to agree in the determining of the Matter enquired of. And as to that Clauſe which requires all Peers to be attending, it is but a Clauſe of the ſame Form and Nature, as in the Commiſſions of *Oyer and Terminer*, and other Commiſſions; and imports no more than that all Perſons ſhould attend, that are required to do ſo by Law; and it can be no more inferr'd from theſe Words, that the High Steward is to ſummon all the Peers, than from the like Words in other Commiſſions, that all Freeholders are to be ſummoned.

“ That it is the common Notion of our Law, that no Man ſhall be convicted of a Crime, but by the unanimous Judgment of Twelve unexceptionable Perſons, ſummon'd by the King's Officer; that the Commons have Liberty of Challenging, becauſe that Fear, or Corruption, or other Cauſe of Partiality, may be ſuppoſed among them. That the Lords have no Challenge, but all Peers are eſteem'd unexceptionable, becauſe nothing ſo mean and diſhonourable, is to be preſumed among them. That their Lordſhips Anceſtors choſe to diſtinguiſh themſelves from their Inferiors, and always claimed and enjoyed a Privilege to be intruſted otherwiſe than the Commons are, *viz.* they are upon Honour, not upon Oath; are not changeable; give their Verdict *Seriatim*; may have more than Twelve on a Trial, and have claimed a Liberty to eat and drink before their Verdict; and they uſed to value themſelves upon theſe Things, as Dignities and Privileges. That now the Commons that are forbid to ſpeak otherwiſe of the preſent Peers, than of their Anceſtors, are to be excuſed, if they think no otherwiſe of them.

“ Moreover, the Commons obſerved, that what their Lordſhips had alledged concerning the Inconveniences or Abuſes that had been, or might be in this way of Trial, was grounded upon undue Suppoſitions concerning the Peers, or upon Miſtakes, and not warranted by Experience. They ſaid, they thought it a ſtrange and foreign Suppoſition, that a Great and Guilty Miniſter finding himſelf liable to an Impeachment next Seſſion of Parliament, ſhould by his Power procure himſelf to be tried and acquitted by an Inqueſt of Peers, on purpoſe by a Plea of *Autre fuits*, to prevent a ſecond and true Examination of his Crimes; for he muſt firſt be indicted of the Treaſon, and then run a Hazard, whether his Power will be and continue ſufficient to oblige ſo many Peers to acquit him by an untrue Verdict. That there is no Example in this kind, and if ſuch an unheard-of Proceeding ſhould ever happen, it is left to Conſideration, whether a Parliament could not vindicate a Kingdom againſt ſo groſs and fraudulent a Contrivance. Beſides, that the Court as it was ordered by this Clauſe, would be no leſs liable to ſuch Abuſe. That their Lordſhips did not aſſign any ſufficient Inſtances of any Injuſtice in this Court; and perhaps this Court has continued the moſt unblemiſhed in point of Juſtice of any Court whatſoever. That in the few

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" few Trials which have been there for Treaſon, there have been Two Acquittals, *viz.* of the Lord *Dacres*, and the Duke of *Somerſet*, beſides that of the Lord *Delamere*. That the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Crime was notorious, he having been in open Rebellion againſt Queen *Mary*. That if the Earl of *Wiltſhire* had been forced to ſit on the Trial of his Daughter *Anne Bullen*, it ſeems to ſhew a greater Fairneſs; and if the Court had been conſtituted according to this Clauſe, he muſt have been ſummon'd; and if the Trial had been in Parliament, he (as well as all other Peers) had been obliged to come. But that the Tradition about that Matter was rectified by the Diſcovery made by a Reverend Prelate, in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, (a Book approved of by their Lordſhips) where it is made appear that that Earl did not ſit upon the Trial of the Queen. That if all Power muſt be aboliſhed, which is poſſible to be abuſed, there muſt be no Power left to the King, or Lords, or Commons; and perhaps there were no harder Caſes to be found, than thoſe wherein all Three have concurred, of which the attainting *Cromwell* Earl of *Eſſex*, without ſuffering him to come from the *Tower* to be heard, is an Inſtance. That if any Inquiſition might be made into what is now doing, twere better to lay aſide the Clauſe, that no Body might have any Dependance, but upon the Safety of the preſent Government.

" That the High Steward is made *pro hac vice*, or after the Crime, is no ſingular Thing; for the Juſtices of *Oyer and Terminer*, and of *Gaol Delivery*, are made ſo twice a Year or oftner, and all hold all their Places during the King's Pleaſure. That notwithſtanding this Clauſe, the High Steward is ſtill to be appointed by the King in the ſame manner as before; and in all Treaſons, (but thoſe mention'd) and in all Felonies, he continues to have the ſame Power of trying a Peer, by an Inqueſt of Peers, ſummon'd by his Precept, as is now uſed; by which alone the Lives and Fortunes of the Peers will remain expoſed to as much Danger, as they were (if any there were) before this Bill. The Commons acknowledged they had known, that when a Peer hath ſtood indicted, ſitting a Parliament, the Indictment hath been by the King's Writ of *Certiorari*, removed into the Houſe of Peers, there to be tried by all Peers; but they did not know that of Neceſſity that muſt be done, or that ſuch Peers might not then be tried in the ordinary Court; and it would be highly inconvenient in caſe of Long Parliaments, if it might not be ſo. But that is no concluding Argument, that becauſe there is this extraordinary way of Trial, therefore the ordinary ſhould be taken away.

" That there is alſo another way of Trial, which in other capital Offences concerns the Peers too, that is, by a Jury of Freeholders; which their Lordſhips in this Debate diſcommend, becauſe thoſe Freeholders were of the Vicinage, and the Priſoner might challenge Thirty five without Cauſe; and by this the Peers as well as Commons are to be tried in an Appeal of Rape, Murther, or other Felony; but it was ſuppoſed, that their Lordſhips would not allow it to be a good Argument, that therefore they ſhould be ordered to be tried ſo in Treaſon, and in Indictments of Treaſon, but they held it a Privilege to be tried in ſuch Caſes by their Peers, in the manner now uſed.

" That the Method of Trial appointed by this Clauſe, was worſe than this now in being, and it had nothing of the Nature and Virtue of a Trial in Parliament; for the Lords Houſe hath Power to ſend for, and cauſe all the Peers to come; (as they did upon the Trial of the late Lord *Stafford*) but to this intended Court none are to come but ſuch as voluntarily will; nor is it required that there ſhould be Twelve, or any certain Number; if but two or three appear, it is enough, and probably none would come but the Complices, and Abettors, and Favourers, and Friends, and Relations of the Party; nor is it poſſible to bring together all the Peers there, as in Parliament; for in Parliament the Houſe of Peers may appoint or adjourn the Proceedings at or to any time or times, and as often as they think fit, till the Houſe be full; but the Proceeding in this Court before the High Steward is the Work but of one Day.

" In the laſt place the Commons replied, That they did not find Reaſon to paſs this Clauſe from what was ſo much preſſed by their Lordſhips, *viz. That the Clauſe did provide ſuch Defence for the Peers, as would encourage them to adventure to join boldly with the Commons in aſſerting the publick Liberties.* For the Commons did not find by the preſent Conſtitution, the Lives and Fortunes of innocent Peers were (as their Lordſhips intimated) expoſed to the Will of a Great and Malicious Monſter; and if they were, they did not ſee that they would be protected by this Proviſion, ſince it extended but to ſome Treaſon, and to no Felonies; and it might ſay, *It did not deſerve the Name of Adventure for their Lordſhips to act only upon Terms of perfect Safety.* And on the other hand, the Commons apprehended it would afford too great a Proſpect of Safety to guilty Peers, and might embolden them to attempt againſt the Crown or publick Liberties.

" The Commons acknowledged, that theſe were good Times, and if they were *unquiet* or *unſafe*, 'twas in relation to the Crown, and not to the Peers; the Peerage was in no Danger; the Peers had Power enough; and the Crown had not too much, nor ought to be rendred leſs ſafe. Therefore the Commons would inſiſt upon the old ways, keep the Balance of the Government as they found it, and not change the Laws of *England*, which had hitherto been uſed and approved.

This Conference occaſion'd great Debates in both Houſes, and was followed by Three other free Conferences; the Reſult of all which was, that the Lords inſiſted upon their Clauſe, and that the Commons adher'd to their Diſagreement to it.

Other Affairs in Parliament.

Beſides this Diſpute between the Two Houſes of Parliament, ſeveral other Affairs contributed to draw this Seſſion into a greater Length than the King deſired. The Conſideration of the Moneys due to the Orphans of the City of *London*, and the *Bill brought in for their Relief*, took up a great deal of Time; as did alſo the *Additional Bill for appointing and enabling the Commiſſioners to examine, take, and ſtate the Publick Accounts of the Kingdom*; which having paſſed the Lower Houſe, was on *Jan.* 19. ſent up to the Upper for their Concurrence. But (*a*) the Lords having made ſome Amendments to it, which the Commons did not approve, the Bill was thereupon loſt.

Caſe of *William Fuller*.

The Amuſement given to both Houſes by one *William Fuller*, was another Cauſe of Delay and Interruption to publick Buſineſs. The Conſpiracy of the Papiſts in *Lancaſhire* to raiſe a Rebellion in this Kingdom, in order to Re-enthrone the late King *James*, was atteſted by ſeveral Witneſſes, and was abundantly confirm'd by the Papers taken with the Lord *Preſton* and Mr. *Aſhton*. Upon this moral Demonſtration of a Plot, ſome Perſons of Note were ſeized, and Search was made after others, which

(*a*) See a true Account of the Proceedings before the Houſe of Lords, from *Jan.* 7. 1691. to *Feb.* 17. following, between the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, upon the Duke's Bill, entitled, *An Act to diſſolve the Marriage*, &c. Printed *Fol.* 1692.

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brought the Buſineſs to be examined before the Commons. At this Juncture, the ſaid *Fuller* being then a Priſoner in the *Kings-Bench*, ſet up for an Evidence, and at his own Deſire was brought to the Bar of the Commons; where he produced ſeveral Papers, which were peruſed by the Houſe; and according to his Prayer, it was Reſolved on *Jan.* 4. *That an Application be made to his Majeſty, That He would pleaſe to give to Mr.* Fuller *a Blank Paſs for Two Perſons, for their ſafe coming from beyond Sea or any other Place hither, to give their Evidence, for their Protection while they were here, and for their ſafe Return, if deſired.* About Six Weeks after, *Fuller* was ordered to attend the Houſe of Commons with the Perſons mentioned by him; but he counterfeiting himſelf ſick, and not able to come abroad, ſeveral Members on *Feb.* 22. were ordered to repair to him to ſecure his Papers, and to take his Information upon Oath. The next Day *Fuller*'s Examination was preſented to the Houſe and read, wherein he mention'd Mr. *James Hayes* and Colonel *Thomas Delaval* to be the Two Witneſſes he intended to produce: Upon which, ſeveral Members, attended by Meſſengers, were order'd to go to the Places directed by *Fuller*, and bring the ſaid Perſons with them. They went, but found no ſuch Perſons; whereupon *Fuller* was ordered to produce them himſelf, and alſo one Mr. *Jones*; which he not being able to do, the Commons unanimouſly declared on *Feb.* 24. *That* William Fuller *is a notorious Impoſtor, a Cheat, and a falſe Accuſer; having ſcandaliz'd their Majeſties and their Government, abuſed this Houſe, and falſly accuſed ſeveral Perſons of Honour and Quality.* And they farther Reſolved, *That an Addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, to command his Attorney-General to proſecute the ſaid Impoſtor.* *Fuller* was accordingly proſecuted, and ſentenc'd to ſtand in the Pillory; which Ignominy he underwent with no Modeſty or Remorſe.

Cenſur'd for an Impoſtor, Cheat, and falſe Accuſer.

Civil Liſt.

The Houſe of Commons having conſidered of the Supply to be granted to their Majeſties, order'd on *Jan.* 6. *That a particular State of the Revenue, and a Computation of the Civil Liſt, be laid before them:* Which was accordingly done the next Day by his Majeſty's Vice-Chamberlain. On *Jan.* 12. a Committee was appointed to receive Propoſals for raiſing a Sum of Money towards carrying on the War againſt *France*, upon a Fund of Perpetual Intereſt: And Three Days after, it was reſolved, *That towards the making good the Sums of Money intended to be given by an Act made in the Second Year of their Majeſty's Reign,* For granting ſeveral Additional Duties of Exciſe, upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for Four Years, &c. *the Additional Duties granted by the ſaid Act, be continued till the 17th Day of* May, 1697, *for the Uſes in the ſaid Act mentioned.*

The Commons having examined the Papers relating to the Revenue and Civil Liſt, repealed the Reſolution they had taken on the 12th of *December*, concerning the *Salaries, Fees, and Perquiſites of all Offices under the Crown*; and likewiſe Reſolved on *Jan.* 19. *That all Penſions granted by the Crown, except Penſions payable to the Queen* Dowager, *and the* Princeſs Anne *of* Denmark, *and ſuch other Penſions as ſhould be excepted by the Houſe, be applied towards carrying on the War: And that towards raiſing the Supplies for the ſame Purpoſes, a Tax by a Quarterly Poll be granted to their Majeſties.* By a Bill brought in for that Purpoſe, all Perſons (except ſuch as received Alms of the Pariſh, poor Houſekeepers and their Children,) were to pay 12*d.* Quarterly for One Year: All Tradeſmen and Artificers, having an Eſtate of the clear Value of Three hundred Pounds and upwards, Ten Shillings: All Gentlemen, or reputed Gentlemen, having an Eſtate of Three Hundred Pounds or more, as alſo all Clergymen and Teachers who had any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice or Contribution, to the Value of Eighty Pounds *per Ann.* or upwards, Twenty Shillings: Every Lord of Parliament, either Spiritual or Temporal, the Sum of Ten Pounds: And all Perſons who ſhould refuſe to take the Oaths to their Majeſties, double the Sums charged by the reſpective Heads.

A Poll-Tax.

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Bill for Forfeited Eſtates in *England* and *Ireland.*

Beſides the Taxes already mentioned, the Commons again Reſolved, *That the Forfeited Eſtates in* England *and* Ireland *ſhould be veſted in their Majeſties, to be applied to the Uſe of the War:* But the two Bills which they had paſſed for that Purpoſe on *Feb.* 12. lay neglected in the Houſe of Lords, notwithſtanding the repeated Meſſages ſent to their Lordſhips to put them in mind of the ſame.

Thanks of the Houſe to General *Ginkle.*

On *Jan.* 4. The Commons ordered the Lord *Caſtleton*, Sir *Henry Goodrick*, and Five more of their Members, to attend upon General *Ginkle* with the Thanks of the Houſe both to him and the Officers who under him had contributed to the Reduction of *Ireland*, for the great Services they had thereby performed to their Majeſties and theſe Kingdoms. General *Ginkle* made a very grateful Anſwer; *He acknowledged this diſtinguiſhing Honour done him by the Houſe of Commons, which he valued above a Triumph*; adding with a great deal of Modeſty and Juſtice, *That the Succeſs of their Majeſties Arms in* Ireland, *was owing chiefly to the Valour of the* Engliſh; *and that he would take care to communicate the Vote of that Houſe to the Officers that ſerv'd in* Ireland; *and always endeavour the Proſperity of Their Majeſties and the Government.* And for a farther Mark of Honour, his Majeſty was pleaſed on *Feb.* 20. to create this brave General Earl of *Athlone*, in the County of *Roſcommon*, and Baron of *Aghrim* in the County of *Galloway* in *Ireland*, for the great Services he had performed to their Majeſties, in the Reduction of that Kingdom. A Week after, that General, the Duke of *Wirtemburgh*, the Lieutenant-Generals *Scravenmore*, *Lanier* and *Talmarſh*, Major-General *Ruvigny*, with other the General and Field-Officers in Town, who had ſignaliz'd themſelves in the *Iriſh* Expedition, were Invited and Nobly Entertained at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, by Sir *Thomas Stamp*, Lord-Mayor, the Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the moſt Eminent Citizens and Merchants of *London*; who upon this Occaſion gave all imaginable Demonſtrations of their Affection and Loyalty to the Government, and of Honour and Reſpect to thoſe who had ſupported it by their Valour.

A Bill for the Eſtabliſhment of an *Eaſt-India* Company, having been received by the Commons on *Jan.* 16. ſeveral Petitions were preſented to the Houſe againſt it; to which an unſatisfactory Anſwer being delivered by the Committee of the *Eaſt-India* Company, the Houſe Reſolved thereupon on *Feb.* 6. *That an humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, to diſſolve the preſent* Eaſt-India *Company, according to his Power reſerved in their Charter; and to conſtitute another* Eaſt-India *Company, for the better preſerving the* Eaſt-India *Trade to this Kingdom, in ſuch manner as his Majeſty in his Royal Wiſdom ſhould think fit.* This Addreſs being preſented to the King on *Feb.* 10. his Majeſty expreſs'd himſelf to this Effect: *That it was a Matter of very great Importance to the Trade of this Kingdom; that he would conſider of it, and in a ſhort time give the Commons a poſitive Anſwer.* In the mean time his Majeſty on *Feb.* 8. conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on Capt. *John Goldsborough*, who was going for the *Eaſt-Indies*, in the Quality of the Company's Commiſſary-General.

Petition of the Commons to diſſolve the *Eaſt-India* Company.

Caſe of the *French* Refugees.

About the middle of *January*, many of the *French* Proteſtants preſented a Petition to the Commons, praying the Conſideration of that Houſe, in order to their Relief. This Petition having had but little Effect, by reaſon of the multiplicity of Affairs that were depending in that Houſe; thoſe diſtreſſed Refugees apply'd themſelves to the King, with their Caſe in Print, and their Majeſties Declaration of the 25th of *April*, 1689, in their Favour. Both which

which his Majeſty commanded to be laid before the Commons on *February* the 17th. A Week after, the Commons conſidered his Majeſty's Meſſage, and the Motion already made for a Supply to be given towards the Relief of the Petitioners; but before they came to a Reſolution his Majeſty's Affairs required their Riſing by a ſudden Adjournment, which prevented the paſſing ſeveral Bills that were depending; ſuch as firſt, *A Bill for leſſening the Intereſt of Money*, which the Commons had paſſed and ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence. Another, *for Diſabling Minors to Marry without the Conſent of their Fathers or Guardians*, (*a*) *and for preventing Clandeſtine Marriages*, which the Lords had ſent down to the Commons. A Third, *for the paying of the Army according to the Muſters of effective Men, puniſhing Mutineers and Deſerters, and preventing falſe Muſters*, to which the Lords had made ſome Amendments that occaſioned great Diſputes. A Fourth, *for aſcertaining the Commiſſions and Salaries of the Judges*; which, tho' it had paſſed both Houſes, was not confirmed by the Royal Aſſent. A Fifth, *againſt the Buying and Selling of Offices*. A Sixth, *for the better apprehending of Highway-Men*. A Seventh, *To prevent Frauds by Clandeſtine Mortgages*. And an Eighth, *againſt Duelling*. As for the Bill *to empower the Courts of* Chancery *and* Exchequer *to accept of the Solemn Anſwer in Evidence of any of the People called* Quakers: And another, *for Confirming the Charters of the Univerſity of* Cambridge: Both theſe came to the Queſtion in the Houſe of Commons, *That they ſhould paſs*; but in both it was carried in the Negative.

Bills dropped.

His Majeſty being deſirous to be early in *Holland*, came on *Wedneſday, Feb.* 24th to the Houſe of Peers, attended with the uſual Solemnity; and gave his Royal Aſſent to 1. *An Act for raiſing Money by a Poll, payable Quarterly for one Year, for the carrying on a Vigorous War againſt* France. 2. *An Act for Raiſing the Militia of this Kingdom, for the Year* 1692, *altho' the Month's Pay formerly advanced be not repaid.* 3. *An Act to take away the Benefit of the Clergy from ſome Offenders, and to bring others to Puniſhment.* 4. *An Act againſt correſponding with their Majeſties Enemies.* 5. *An Act for the better Explanation and Supplying the Defects of the former Laws for the Settlement of the Poor.* 6. *An Act for the better Repairing and Amending the Highways; and for Settling the Rates of Carriage of Goods.* 7. *An Act for the better Ordering and Collecting the Duty upon Low Wines and Strong Waters, and preventing the Abuſes therein.* 8. *An Act for the Encouragement of the Breeding and Feeding of Cattle.* 9. *An Act for the more effectual Diſcovery and Puniſhment of Deer-ſtealers.* 10. *An Act for Relief of Creditors againſt fraudulent Deviſes. And to ſeveral Private Acts.* After which, his Majeſty made this Speech to both Houſes.

Acts paſſed.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech.

" I Return my hearty Thanks to you all, for the
" great Demonſtrations you have given Me of
" your Affections in this Seſſions, and for your Zeal
" for the Support of the Government.

" And I muſt thank you, *Gentlemen of the Houſe*
" *of Commons* in particular, for the great Supplies
" you have granted for the Proſecution of the War.
" I aſſure you, I ſhall take care ſo to diſpoſe of the
" Money you have given Me for the publick Occa-
" ſions, as that the whole Nation may be entirely
" ſatisfied with the Application of it.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I think it proper to acquaint you with my In-
" tentions of going beyond Sea very ſpeedily, which
" I am afraid have been already retarded, more than
" is convenient for the preſent Poſture of Affairs;
" and upon that Account I think it neceſſary to put
" an end to this preſent Meeting; the Seaſon of
" the Year being now ſo very very far advanced,
" that it may prove of the laſt ill Conſequence to
" continue it any longer.

Then the Lord Chief-Baron, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, ſignified to them his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that they ſhould Adjourn themſelves to the 12th Day of *April* next; and accordingly both Houſes ſo Adjourned. But on *March* 19. a Proclamation was publiſh'd for proroguing the Parliament from the 12th Day of *April* to the 24th Day of *May* next; at which Day their Majeſties would expect the Attendance only of ſuch Members, as ſhall be Reſident in or near the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and that convenient Notice ſhould be given by another Proclamation, of the time when the Parliament ſhall meet, and ſit for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs, to the end that the Members of the Houſes may order their Affairs accordingly.

Parliament Adjourned, and then Prorogued.

As to the Civil Honours and Preferments beſtowed this Year, on *April* 30. his Majeſty was pleaſed as a Mark of his Royal Favour, to confer the Honour of Knighthood on *Abſtrupus Danby* of *Maſſamſhire* in the County of *York*, Eſq; on *May* 7. *John* Earl of *Bridgwater* was Sworn one of their Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy-Council; and ſoon after the ſame Honour was done to *John* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who on *June* 4. took his Place at that Board. On *October* 22, when the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London* waited on the King to congratulate his Majeſty's ſafe Return into *England*, and the happy Succeſs of his Majeſty's Arms in the entire Reducing of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *Richard Levett*, Eſq; one of the Sheriffs. In the beginning of *Michaelmas* Term his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint Sir *Edward Nevill*, one of the Barons of the Court of *Exchequer*, to be one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, in the Place of *Peyton Ventris*, Eſq; Deceaſed, and *John Powel*, Eſq; Serjeant at Law to be in his room one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, on whom his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on his Birth-Day, *Nov.* 4. About the ſame time the King was pleaſed upon the Death of Sir *William Huſſy*, his late Ambaſſador at the *Ottoman* Port, to appoint *William Harbord*, Eſq; one of the Privy-Council, to be his Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the *Grand-Seignior*, who Embarked for *Holland*, *November* 10. to proceed by the way of *Vienna* on his Journey towards *Turkey*. On *Tueſday, Feb.* 2d, at a Chapter of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, held at *Kenſington*, in the Preſence of the Sovereign, his moſt Serene Highneſs *John George* the Fourth, Elector of *Saxony*, and the Right Honourable *Charles* Earl of *Dorſet* and *Middleſex*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, were elected Knights Companions of the ſaid moſt Noble Order. About the Middle of *February*, his Majeſty was pleaſed

Honours and Preferments.

(*a*) See the Caſe of Clandeſtine Marriages ſtated, wherein are ſhewn the Cauſes from whence this Corruption ariſeth, and the true Methods whereby it may be remedied. In a Letter to a Perſon of Honour, Dated *Dec.* 11. 1691. By *Humphry Prideaux*, D. D. *London*, 1691. 4*to*.

The Purport of the Bill was, that from the 30th of *March*, 1693. no Son under 18, nor Daughter under 16, ſhall Marry or Contract without their Father if Living; or Guardian being preſent, or expreſly declaring Conſent, —— otherwiſe the Marriage to be *ipſo facto* void, —— and the Minor proceeded againſt in the Eccleſiaſtical Court, to have the Marriage annulled. —— None to grant Licenſes but Vicars-General. —— He that Marries a Minor contrary to this Act to ſuffer as a Felon. —— A Miniſter marrying without Banns or Licenſe, or at any unlawful Time, to be Suſpended and Fined, *&c.*

See " A Repreſentation of the Prejudices that may ariſe in
" time from an intended Act concerning Marriages, *&c.*
" proving the ill Conſequences of a Bill, Entitled, An Act
" diſabling Minors to Marry without the Conſent of their Fa-
" ther or Guardian, and againſt their untimely Marriage after
" the Death of their Father, and for preventing all Clande-
" ſtine Marriages. *London.* Printed for *R. Clavel*, 1691, 4*to*.

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to appoint Sir *William Phipps*, Knight, to be Governor of the Province of the *Maſſachuſetts* Bay, and Commander in Chief of all the *Militia* of *New England*; as alſo Sir *Edward Andros*, Knight, to be Governor of *Virginia*; *Benjamin Fletcher*, Eſq; to be Governor of *New York*; and *Samuel Allen*, Eſq; to be Governor of *New Hampſhire*, in *New England*. On *February* the 27th, *James Johnſton*, Eſq; late Envoy Extraordinary from their Majeſties to his Electoral Highneſs of *Brandenburgh*, kiſſed their Majeſties Hands, upon his being made conjunct Secretary of State with the Lord Secretary *Stair*, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. On *March* the 1ſt, *Lawrence* Earl of *Rocheſter*, *Richard* Earl of *Ranelagh*, *Charles* Lord *Cornwallis*, and Sir *Edward Seymour*, Baronet, were ſworn of their Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council: And on the ſame Day, *William* Earl of *Bedford* took the uſual Oaths, as Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Middleſex*; and his Majeſty delivering the Privy Seal to *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke*, his Lordſhip's Place of Commiſſioner in the Admiralty was given to *Charles* Lord *Cornwallis*; and at the ſame Time, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Bar. and *Charles Montague*, Eſq; were conſtituted Commiſſioners of their Majeſties Treaſury, in the Places of Sir *John Lowther*, of *Lowther*, Bar. Vice-Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and *Thomas Pelham*, Eſq; who had reſigned the ſame. On *March* 3. *Henry* Lord Viſcount *Sidney*, one of their Majeſties Principal Secretaries of State, deliver'd up the Seal to his Majeſty, being prepared to go their Majeſties Lieutenant-General, and General Governor of the Kingdom of *Ireland*: And on the ſame Day, his Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *Godfrey Kneller*, Eſq; Principal Painter in Ordinary to their Majeſties. On *March* 17. *Anthony* Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, and *Robert* Lord *Lexington*, were ſworn of their Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council: And near the ſame Time, his Majeſty was pleas'd to create *Thomas Coningsby*, Eſq; one of the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, a Baron of that Kingdom, by the Name and Stile of *Thomas* Baron *Coningsby*, of *Clanbrazile* in the County of *Armagh*. On the laſt Day of the Year, *March* the 24th, *Vere* Earl of *Weſtmoreland* took the uſual Oaths, as Joint Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Kent*, with the Right Honourable *Henry* Lord Viſcount *Sidney*; and *Charles* Lord *Lanſdown* was ſworn likewiſe Joint Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, with *John* Earl of *Bath*: And the ſame Time, *John Dive*, Eſq; was ſworn Clerk of their Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy-Council in Ordinary.

Death of Don *Pedro de Ronquillo* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador.

Among other Occurrences of this Year, it may be obſerv'd, That on *Tueſday*, *July* 20. his Excellency Don *Pedro de Ronquillo*, *Conde de Gramedo*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary from the King of *Spain*, after having reſided many Years at this Court, and been employ'd in ſeveral Eminent Negotiations, in which he acquitted himſelf with great Zeal and Ability, died; and on *July* 30. in the Evening, his Body was (by her Majeſty's Order) privately depoſited in King *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel at *Weſtminſter*, till it could be tranſported to *Spain*. On *November* 8. Signior *Hain Tolledano*, Envoy Extraordinary from the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco*, had his Publick Audience of their Majeſties, with the uſual Ceremonies.

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State of Religion.

In the Affairs of Religion, nothing ſeem'd more to diſturb the Peace of the Church, and to threaten the Security of their Majeſties Reign, than the Perſeverance of the Nonjuring Biſhops and Clergy: And therefore when a ſufficient Time had been allow'd to bring 'em into the ſettled Government, his Majeſty was now reſolv'd to fill up their (*a*) Vacant Dignities; and therefore, among other Preparations for his going over to the Campaign in *Flanders*, he publiſh'd his Intentions of filling up the Vacant Dignities in Manner following.

The King reſolved to fill up the vacant Dignities.

The ſeveral Promotions.

Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, was to be promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, in the room of Archbiſhop *Sancroft*; Dr. *Patrick*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, to be tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of *Ely*, in the room of Biſhop *Turner*; Dr. *Beveridge*, Rector of St. *Peter's Cornhill*, was to be promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, in the room of Biſhop *Ken*; Dr. *Fowler* to the See of *Gloceſter*, in the room of Biſhop *Frampton*; Dr. *Cumberland* to the See of *Peterborough*, in the room of Biſhop *White*; Dr. *Moore* to the See of *Norwich*, in the room of Biſhop *Lloyd*; and Dr. *Grove* to the See of *Chicheſter*, void by the Tranſlation of Biſhop *Patrick*; and Dr. *Sherlock*, Maſter of the *Temple*, (now reconcil'd to the Government) was nominated to the Deanery of St. *Paul's*; Dr. *Comber* to the Deanery of *Durham*, in the room of Dr. *Greenvill*; Mr. *Talbot* to the Deanery of *Worceſter*, in the room of Dr. *Hickes*; and Dr. *Woodward* to the Deanery of *Sarum*. On *May* 9. his Majeſty was pleaſed, upon the Death of Dr. *Lamplugh*, late Archbiſhop of *York*, to nominate Dr. *Sharp*, Dean of *Canterbury*, to be Archbiſhop of that See. On *May* 16. in Purſuance of (*b*) their Majeſties *Conge de Elire*, and Letter Miſſive, Dr. *John Tillotſon* was (by the Dean and a full Chapter) unanimouſly elected Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and in like manner, on *May* 21. Dr. *John Moore*, Rector of St. *Andrew's Holborn*, was elected Biſhop of *Norwich*. On *May* 27. their Majeſties were pleaſed, upon the Death of Dr. *Herbert Crofts*, late Biſhop of *Hereford*, to nominate Dr. *Gilbert Ironſide*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, to ſucceed him in that See; and the next Day, the Queen was pleaſed to grant to Dr. *George Hooper*, Rector of *Lambeth*, the Deanery of *Canterbury*, vacant by the Promotion of Dr. *Sharp*. On *May* 31. (*c*) Dr. *Tillotſon* was conſecrated Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Church of St. *Mary-le-Bow* in *London*, by the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, St. *Aſaph*, *Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Briſtol*, and *Oxford*, appointed by Commiſſion for that purpoſe; which was perform'd with the uſual Order and Solemnity: All the Great Officers of State, and moſt of the Nobility in Town, with many other Perſons of Quality, being preſent,

(*a*) Biſhop *Burnet*, in his *Vindication*, (publiſh'd 1696. 8*vo.*) *p.* 104. relates, "Their Majeſties proceeded in this Matter "ſlowly, and ſeem'd unwilling to fill their Sees, till thoſe "Letters were diſcover'd that ſhewed what Correſpondencies "and Engagements there were among them: That determin'd "the Matter, which perhaps without that Accident might "have been hung up for another Year. Now let the World "judge, what a Sort of an Epiſcopacy this would have been: "Biſhops would have eat and drunk well at the Church's "Charge, and done nothing; neither have ſerv'd the Government that protected them, nor have declared for *that* "to which they in their Thoughts adhered; but would have "liv'd eaſy, pretending they were quiet and doing nothing "againſt the State, till they had found a favourable Opportunity (like the Invaſion deſign'd from *La Hogue*) to have "declar'd themſelves to ſome Purpoſe.

(*b*) The greateſt Oppoſition and Defiance to the Act of Deprivation, was ſtoutly made by Dr. *George Hickes*, Dean of *Worceſter*; who having been the warmeſt Aſſerter of Paſſive Obedience, and the indefeaſible Right of a Popiſh Succeſſor, choſe to act and ſuffer upon thoſe Principles: But when his Deanery (thereby voided) was conferr'd on the worthy Mr. *William Talbot*, (afterward Lord Biſhop of *Oxford*, now of *Sarum*) Dr. *Hickes* ſet up a ſolemn Proteſtation of his own continued Right to the ſaid Dignity, againſt the Intruſion of any other Perſon; directed to Dr. *Jephcot*, Sub-Dean; and dated *May* 2. 1691. Of which a full Account was given, in a Tract entitled, *Paſſive Obedience in Actual Reſiſtance*; *By Remarks upon a Paper fix'd up in the Cathedral-Church of* Worceſter, *by Dr.* Hickes: *With Reflexions on the preſent Behaviour of the reſt of the Family.* *London*, Printed for *E. Hawkins*, 1691. *Quarto.*

(*c*) See the Prayers and Devotions uſed by Dr. *John Tillotſon*, in his Retirement to *Edmonton*, on *Whitſun-Eve*, *May* 30. 1691. the Day before his Conſecration, as written by himſelf. *Sermons*, Vol. III. *p.* 672.

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to expreſs the great Eſteem and Reſpect they had for his Grace, and the Satisfaction they receiv'd in his Promotion. Four Days after, his Grace was ſworn of the Privy Council; and their Majeſties always repoſed a moſt entire Confidence in his Prudence, Moderation, and Integrity. On *June* the 9th, the Dean and Chapter of *York*, with unanimous Conſent, elected Dr. *John Sharp* (Dean of *Canterbury*) to be Archbiſhop of that See. And the Dean and Chapter of *Peterborough* unanimouſly elected Dr. *Richard Cumberland*, Rector of *Brampton* in *Northamptonſhire*, and Miniſter in *Stamford* in *Lincolnſhire*, to be Biſhop of *Peterborough*. The next Day, the Dean and Chapter of *Ely* elected *Simon* Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, to be Biſhop of *Ely*. The Dean and Chapter of *Gloceſter* did alſo (with unanimous Conſent) elect Dr. *Edward Fowler*, Miniſter of *Cripplegate* in *London*, to be Biſhop of that See. And becauſe Dr. *Beveridge* (after ſome Conſideration) thought fit to decline the Acceptance of the See of *Bath* and *Wells*, their Majeſties were pleaſed to (*a*) nominate Dr. *Richard Kidder*, Dean of *Peterborough*, to be Biſhop of that See; and Dr. *John Hall*, Maſter of *Pembroke*-College in *Oxford*, to be Biſhop of *Briſtol*: And Dr. *Samuel Freeman*, Miniſter of *Covent-Garden*, *London*, was promoted to the Deanery of *Peterborough*.

Conſecration of new Biſhops.

When all Preliminaries had been rightly adjuſted, on *Sunday*, *July* the 8th, the New Prelates, Dr. *John Sharp*, Lord Archbiſhop of *York*; Dr. *John Moore*, Lord Biſhop of *Norwich*; Dr. *Richard Cumberland*, Lord Biſhop of *Peterborough*; and Dr. *Edward Fowler*, Lord Biſhop of *Gloceſter*; were conſecrated at St. *Mary-le-Bow*, by the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Ely*, and *Briſtol*, with the uſual Order and Solemnity. The Ceremony of the Biſhop of *Ely*'s Tranſlation, with that of the Confirmation of the other Biſhops aforementi-on'd, had been perform'd the *Thurſday* before in the ſame Church, with the accuſtomed Formalities. On *Auguſt* the 30th, Dr. *Robert Grove*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; Dr. *Richard Kidder*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; and Dr. *John Hall*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, were conſecrated at St. *Mary-le-Bow*, by the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Norwich*, and *Gloceſter*, with the uſual Solemnity. On *November* the 25th, his Majeſty was pleaſed (upon the Death of Dr. *Thomas Barlow*, late Biſhop of *Lincoln*) to nominate (*b*) Dr. *ThomasTeniſon*, Vicar of St. *Martin*'s, to ſucceed him in that See; *being recommended* (ſays a late Writer) *to their Majeſties Favour and Eſteem, by his Exemplary Piety, and his great Moderation towards Diſſenters; whom their Majeſties ſtill endeavoured, by all gentle* (*which indeed are the moſt effectual*) *Methods, to bring over to the National Church.*

Care for Reformation of Manners.

Their Majeſties began the New Year with an Exemplary Care for the Publick Reformation of Manners; and for that Purpoſe, iſſued out this Excellent Proclamation againſt vicious, debauch'd, and prophane Perſons.

WILLIAM R.

" AS we cannot but be deeply ſenſible of the
" great Goodneſs and Mercy of Almighty
" God, (by whom Kings reign) in giving ſo hap-
" py Succeſs to our Endeavours for Reſcuing theſe
" Kingdoms from Popiſh Tyranny and Superſtiti-
" on; and in Preſerving our Royal Perſons, Sup-
" porting our Government, and Uniting the Arms
" of moſt of the Princes and States in *Chriſtendom*
" againſt our common Enemy: So we are not leſs
" touched with a Reſentment, that (notwithſtand-
" ing theſe great Deliverances) Impiety and Vice
" do ſtill abound in this our Kingdom; and that
" the Execution of many good Laws, which have
" been made for ſuppreſſing and diminiſhing there-
" of, have been groſly neglected, to the great Diſ-
" honour of God and our Holy Religion: Where-
" fore, and for that we cannot expect Increaſe or
" Continuance of the Bleſſings we and our Sub-
" jects enjoy, without providing Remedies to pre-
" vent the like Evils for the future; we judge
" our ſelves bound, by the Duty we owe to God,
" and the Care we have of the People committed
" to our Charge, to proceed in taking ſome effectu-
" al Courſe therein. And being thereunto moved
" by the pious Addreſs of our Archbiſhops and Bi-
" ſhops, we have thought fit, by the Advice of
" our Privy-Council, to iſſue this our Royal Pro-
" clamation; and do declare our Princely Intention
" and Reſolution, to diſcountenance all manner of
" Vice and Immorality in all Perſons, from the
" higheſt to the loweſt Degree in this our Realm.
" And we do hereby for that Purpoſe ſtraitly re-

(*a*) See a Vindication of Their Majeſties Authority to fill the Sees of the deprived Biſhops. In a Letter out of the Country; occaſion'd by Dr. *B*——'s Refuſal of the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*. Licenſed *May* 29. 1691. 4to.

Mr. *Kettlewell*, one of the leading Nonjurors, had not excepted againſt the Validity of Lay-Deprivation by Act of Parliament, as Mr. *Dodwell* did; but made it rather a Nullity, becauſe done by an Unrightful King and Parliament. Otherwiſe he granted, that a *Rightful State* may puniſh the Refuſal of Allegiance in Clergymen with Deprivations, as being an Offence againſt Morality and Religion; ſo as ſuch Refuſers ſhall no longer hold Benefices and Preferment. His *Diſcourſe of Chriſtian Communion*, Part II. Chap. 3.

(*b*) See a *Sermon preach'd at the Conſecration of the Right Reverend Father in God*, Thomas *Lord Biſhop of* Lincoln, *in* Lambeth-*Chapel*, Jan. 10. 1691. *By* William Stanley, *D. D. Clerk of the Cloſet to Her Majeſty. London*; for *Robert Clavel*, 1692. *Quarto.*

The Nonjurors, who had ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their own Prayers, and very often by private ſeparate Congregations, began to ſet up a more profeſs'd Principle of Separation, by pretending the Invalidity of the Deprivation of their Biſhops by Act of Parliament, which they call'd a Lay-Deprivation; not conſidering, that all the qualifying and incapacitating Acts for Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Clergy of the Church of *England* by Law Eſtabliſh'd, ever ſince the Reformation, have been enacted by the like Authority; and the Execution of ſuch Statutes was never objected againſt, as if the Power were incompetent, or the Obligation null and void. However, the very Behaviour of the deprived Biſhops, and of their Clergy and People, did ſufficiently argue, that they acquieſced in the Validity of ſuch Deprivation. For no one of the Biſhops ſo depriv'd did exert, or challenge any Epiſcopal Power or Juriſdiction in any Dioceſe; nor did any of the Clergy, or Lay-People, profeſs their ſole Obedience or Subjection to them. The Biſhop of *Sarum*, in his *Vindication*, 8vo. 1696. *p.* 126. well argues; "Their Silence has " continued ever ſince. Their Archbiſhop lived and died in " this Silence; having never by any publick and expreſs Act " declared himſelf, nor given Warning to the Nation. He nei- " ther required the Biſhops of his Province, nor the Clergy " of his Dioceſe, to adhere *to himſelf, or to the late King*; " to refuſe the Oaths, and to *reject* his Succeſſor. He " did not require it of thoſe of his own Family. He did " neither fly nor abſcond, but was all the while at Home both " ſafe and ſilent. All the reſt have followed his Example, " and continue to this Day ſilent: That is, whatſoever any of " them may talk in Corners, or may write and print without " Name, they have not by any Publick Inſtrument, or Epiſco- " pal Act, declar'd themſelves."

Nay, the Biſhops now depriv'd had, in effect abandon'd their Sees, and abdicated their Offices, near Two Years before they were fill'd up; as the ſame Prelate writes, *p.* 135. "I think " it is fully made out, that the late King did abandon his Peo- " ple; but They did it much worſe: For from *Auguſt* 1689, " till *May* 1691, (for near Two Years together) they lived " in their Sees without taking any Care of the Church, or " doing any of their Functions. They thought that they were " all that while Lawful Biſhops; and for a good Part of the " Time they were certainly ſo; and yet they did nothing as " Biſhops all that while: They neither fed their Clergy nor " their People, with Inſtructions, Admonitions, Reproofs or " Cenſures: And if in ſo critical a Time, a Body of Men " who are entruſted with the Care of *Feeding the Flock of* " *Chriſt*, will leave them to themſelves, to the Wolves that " devour them, or to the Poyſon that muſt deſtroy them; it " is hard to tell what is *Abandoning*, and what is not.

" quire,

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"quire, charge and command, all and ſingular our Judges, Mayors, Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, and all other our Officers Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, in their reſpective Stations, to execute the Laws againſt Blaſphemy, prophane Swearing and Curſing, Drunkenneſs, Lewdneſs, and Prophanation of the Lord's Day, or any other diſſolute, immoral, or diſorderly Practices, as they will anſwer it to Almighty God, and upon Pain of our higheſt Diſpleaſure. And for the more effectual Proceeding herein, we do hereby direct and command our Judges of Aſſizes, and Juſtices of Peace, to give a ſtrict Charge at the reſpective Aſſizes and Seſſions, for the due Proſecution and Puniſhment of all Perſons that ſhall preſume to offend in any the kinds aforeſaid; and alſo of all Perſons that, contrary to their Duty, ſhall be remiſs or negligent in putting the ſaid Laws in Execution.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, *the One and twentieth Day of* January, 169½. *in the Third Year of our Reign.*

Account of the good Deſign for a Reformation of Manners.

This Royal Piety and Zeal laid the Foundation of the laudable and uſeful Societies for the Reformation of Manners; of which this Account has been ſince given. "It is very well known, that in the late Times, prophane Swearing and Curſing, Drunkenneſs, open Lewdneſs and Prophanation of the Lord's-Day, were generally diſcouraged and ſuppreſſed. And as it is as well known, to our Shame, that theſe Sins have not only revived among us, by reaſon of the Impunity of Offenders, the Countenance and Preferment they have met with, and the Contagion of great and ill Examples; but have been committed with great Impudence, and without Controul; without either Shame or the Fear of the Law; ſo that they were ſeen and heard at Noon-day, and in our open Streets. And, as if we were reſolved to outdo the Impieties of the very Heathens, Prophaneneſs, and even Blaſphemy, was too often the Wit and Entertainment of our ſcandalous Play-Houſes; and ſincere Religion became the Jeſt and Scorn of our Courts in the late Reigns.

"And even after the Acceſſion of King *William* to the Crown, tho' Popery immediately vaniſhed, Immorality and Prophaneneſs ſtill kept their Ground, as if they expected an Eſtabliſhment with our Liberties, after ſo long and peaceable a Poſſeſſion. Reformation was indeed talk'd of by ſome Perſons, as an excellent Thing; and as a proper way of expreſſing our Thankfulneſs to Almighty God for his Mercies to this Nation; and to procure a Continuance of 'em to us, and to our Poſterity. But Vice was look'd upon as too formidable an Enemy to be provok'd; and publick Reformation was thought ſo difficult an Undertaking, that thoſe who gave it very good Words, judged it not ſafe to ſet about it in the Time of War, whilſt there was ſo many in Arms on the other ſide; and therefore they ſeemed to decline the Thoughts of it, till we ſhould ſee the End of the uncertain War we were engaged in. When Things were in this diſmal and almoſt deſperate State, it came into the Hearts, it ſeems, of Five or Six private Gentlemen of the Church of *England*, to engage in this difficult and hazardous Enterprize; who conſidering, that the higher the Tide of Wickedneſs was, the more need there was of oppoſing it; that our crying Sins were our greateſt Enemies, and moſt threaten'd our Ruin; that they found Laws in force againſt 'em; and that they ſhould have the Laws of God, with the Prayers of good Men on their ſide; reſolved, whatever Difficulties they met with, to make their Efforts for promoting the Execution of our Laws againſt Prophaneneſs and Debauchery, and the ſuppreſſing of 'em by adviſable Methods.

Notwithſtanding a furious Oppoſition from Adverſaries, the ill Offices of thoſe from whom better Things might have been expected, and the unkind Neutrality of Friends, theſe (a) Gentlemen, who in a little Time began to add others to their Number, not only kept their Ground, but made further Advances. And this Affair being laid before the Queen, in the Abſence of his Majeſty, by a Prelate of great Learning and Fame, (the late Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*) She had juſt Sentiments of it; and therefore thought it became her to give it Countenance. She graciouſly condeſcended to thank thoſe who were concern'd in it, and readily promiſed them her Aſſiſtance. And afterwards, upon this Application made to her Majeſty, ſhe was pleaſed to direct this gracious Letter to the Juſtices of the Peace in the County of *Middleſex*, for the ſuppreſſing of Prophaneneſs and Debauchery.

Mary R.

Queen's Letter.

"TRuſty and Well-beloved, we Greet you well. Conſidering the great and indiſpenſible Duty incumbent upon us, to promote and encourage a Reformation of the Manners of all our Subjects; that ſo the Service of God may be advanced, and thoſe Bleſſings be procured to theſe Nations, which always attend a conſcientious Diſcharge of our reſpective Duties, according to our ſeveral Relations. We think it neceſſary, in order to the obtaining of this Publick Good, to recommend to you the putting in Execution, with all Fidelity and Impartiality, thoſe Laws which have been made, and are ſtill in force againſt the Prophanation of the *Lord's-Day*, *Drunkenneſs*, *Prophane Swearing and Curſing*, and all other *Lewd*, *Enormous*, and *Diſorderly Practices*; which by a long continued Neglect, and Connivance of the Magiſtrates and Officers concern'd, have univerſally ſpread themſelves, to the Diſhonour of God, and Scandal of our Holy Religion; whereby it is now become the more neceſſary for all Perſons in Authority, to apply themſelves with all poſſible Care and Diligence to the ſuppreſſing of the ſame. We do therefore hereby charge and require you, to take the moſt effectual Methods for putting the Laws in Execution againſt the Crimes above-mention'd, and all other Sins and Vices, particularly thoſe which are moſt prevailing in this Realm; and that eſpecially in ſuch Caſes where any Officer of Juſtice ſhall be guilty of any of thoſe Offences, or refuſe or neglect to diſcharge the Duty of his Place, for the ſuppreſſing them; that ſo ſuch Officer, by his Puniſhment, may ſerve for an Example to others. And to this end, we would have you careful and diligent in encouraging all Conſtables, Church-Wardens, Headboroughs, and all other Officers, *and Perſons whatſoever, to do their Part in their ſeveral Stations, by timely and impartial Informations, and Proſecutions againſt all ſuch Offenders*; for preventing ſuch Judgments which are ſolemnly denounced againſt the Sins above-mention'd. We cannot doubt of your Performance hereof; *ſince it is a Duty to which you are obliged by Oath, and are likewiſe engaged to the Diſcharge of it, as you tender the Honour of Almighty God, the flouriſhing Condition of his Church in this Kingdom, and the Continuance of*

(a) See a Vindication of an Undertaking of certain Gentlemen, in order to the ſuppreſſing Debauchery and Prophaneneſs. *London*, 1692. 4*to*. [Said to be written by the Lord Biſhop of *Gloceſter*.]

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Given at our Court at *Whitehall*, the Ninth Day of *July*, One Thouſand Six Hundred and Ninety One. In the Third Year of our Reign.

By Her Majeſty's Command. *Nottingham.*

It is ſaid of her Majeſty, that when there was further Occaſion, ſhe ſhow'd ſhe was in earneſt to promote this Deſign, by taking more effectual Methods for that purpoſe. The ſame Writer asks Leave to preſent the World with this ſhort Scheme of the Deſign, and this Account of the Managers of it.

Scheme of the Deſign, and Managers of it.

"I. There is a very large Body of Perſons compoſed of the Original Society before-mention'd, "with the Additions that have been ſince made of "Perſons of Eminency in the Law, Members of "Parliament, Juſtices of Peace, and conſiderable "Citizens of *London*, of known Ability, and great "Integrity, who frequently meet to conſult of the "beſt Methods for carrying on the Buſineſs of Reformation, and to be ready to adviſe and aſſiſt "others that are already engaged, or any that are "willing to join in the ſame Deſign.

"This Society is at a conſiderable Yearly Charge, "for the effectual managing their Buſineſs; but takes "no Contributions of any but their own Members, "by whoſe Endeavours, as was ſaid before, Thouſands of Offenders in *London* and *Weſtminſter* "have been brought to Puniſhment, for *Swearing*, "*Drunkenneſs*, and *Prophanation* of the *Lord's-Day*. And a great Part of the Kingdom has been "awakened, in ſome meaſure, to a Senſe of their "Duty in this reſpect; and thereby a very hopeful Progreſs is made towards a *General Reformation.*

"A Second Society is of about Fifty Perſons, "Tradeſmen and others, who have more eſpecially "applied themſelves to the Suppreſſion of *Lewdneſs*, by bringing the Offenders to Legal Puniſhment. Theſe may have actually ſuppreſſed and "routed out about *Five hundred diſorderly Houſes*, "and cauſed to be puniſh'd ſome *Thouſands* of *Lewd* "*Perſons*, beſides *Swearers*, *Drunkards*, and *Prophaners* of the *Lord's-Day*; as may appear by their "Printed Liſts of Offenders. Theſe Perſons by their "prudent and legal Management of their Buſineſs, "have received great Countenance and Encouragement in our Courts of Judicature, and very particular Encouragement and Aſſiſtance for ſeveral "Years paſt, from the Lord-Mayor and Court of "Aldermen, who are ſenſible of the great Service that is done by them, which they expreſs "upon proper Occaſions.

"III. A Third Society is of Conſtables, (of "which ſort of Officers, Care is taken to form "Yearly a new Body in this City) who meet to "conſider of the moſt effectual Way to diſcharge "their Oaths; to acquaint one another with the "Difficulties they meet with; to reſolve on proper "Remedies; to divide themſelves in the ſeveral "Parts of the City, ſo as to take in the whole to "the beſt Advantage; for the inſpecting of diſorderly Houſes, taking up of *Drunkards*, *Lewd* "*Perſons*, *Prophaners* of the *Lord's-Day*, and "*Swearers*, out of the Streets and Markets; and "carrying them before the Magiſtrates: And I "muſt obſerve, that is found a very ſucceſsful Method for Conſtables to take, for the ſuppreſſing of "the abominable Sin of *Swearing*, when Private "Perſons are negligent in giving Informations, and "the Magiſtrate is careleſs of his Duty.

"IV. A Fourth Rank of Men, who have been "ſo highly Inſtrumental in this Undertaking, that "they may be reckon'd a Corner Stone of it, is of "ſuch as have made it ſome part of their Buſineſs "to give Informations to the Magiſtrates, as they "have had Opportunity, of ſuch Breaches of the "Laws as were before-mention'd. Many of theſe "Perſons have given the World a great and almoſt "unheard-of Example, in this corrupt Age, of "Zeal and Chriſtian Courage, having undergone "at the Beginning more eſpecially of their Proceedings, many Abuſes and great Reproaches, "not only from exaſperated and hardned Offenders, but often from their lukewarm Friends, "irreligious Relations, and ſometimes from Unfaithful Magiſtrates, by whom they have been reviled, Brow-beaten, and diſcouraged from performing ſuch important Service, ſo neceſſary to the "Welfare of their Country. And herein theſe "brave Men have acted with ſo great Prudence as "well as Zeal, that foreſeeing it might one Day "be the Policy of the Enemy of all Goodneſs, and "the Buſineſs of wicked Men, who are his Inſtruments, and who could not generally be brought "to Shame and Puniſhment for their infamous "Practices, but by their Means, to raiſe Prejudices "in the Minds of bad and unthinking People againſt "them, and to diſparage their Proceedings, by "whiſpering of Jealouſies of being influenced in "what they did by worldly Conſiderations; that "the World may be challenged to make appear, "that theſe Societies have been ſo much as treated "with by any Perſon whatſoever, to give Informations with any Promiſe of a Reward, or that they "have ever received the leaſt Advantage by any "Convictions upon theſe Statutes againſt Prophaneneſs and Debauchery; the Money ariſing thereby, "being wholly appropriated to the Poor, except "the Third Part of the Penalty upon the Statute "againſt Prophanation of the *Lord's-Day*; which, "in ſome Caſes, the Magiſtrate hath a bare Power to "diſpoſe of; but was never, that we know of, received by any one of theſe Perſons. Which I "thought fit to obſerve, as a laſting Anſwer to any "Objection of this kind, in Juſtice to them who "have gone through Reproaches for the ſake of doing ſo much Good. And that all Men may ſee "with how great Reaſon it is, both from the Character of the Perſons concerned in the diſcharging "of this Service to Religion and their Country, as "well as from the Nature and Neceſſity of it "(which I ſhall hereafter enquire into) that the "Name of an Informer is now become much more "Glorious among wiſe and good Men, than it was "grown contemptible by the ill Practices of ſome in "our Days. And that it does therefore appear truly "Honourable for Perſons of the greateſt Quality, "to give Informations in theſe Caſes for the Service "of the moſt High God, as ſome among us of "greater Ranks than the World does perhaps think "of, have of late done, and which it hath been obſerved in divers Diſcourſes lately publiſhed, that "even Princes under the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation were "not aſhamed to do. *Now when theſe Things were* "*done, the Princes came to me, ſaying, The People* "*of Iſrael, and the Prieſts, and the Levites have* "*not ſeparated themſelves from the People of the* "*Lands, doing according to their Abominations*, &c.

Ezra 9. 1, 2.

"V. There are Eight other regulated and mixt "Bodies of Houſe-keepers and Officers in the ſeveral Quarters of *London*, and *Southwark*, who "differ in their Conſtitution from thoſe before-mention'd, but generally agree in the Methods "of inſpecting the Behaviour of Conſtables and "other Officers, and going along with them, and "aſſiſting them in their ſearching diſorderly Houſes, "in taking up of Offenders, and carrying them before the Magiſtrate; and alſo in giving Informations themſelves, as there is Occaſion.

"VI. Beſides theſe before-mention'd, there are "about Nine and thirty Religious Societies of "another kind in and about *London* and *Weſtminſter*, which are propagated into other Parts "of the Nation; as *Nottingham*, *Glouceſter*, &c. "and even into *Ireland*, where they have

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" been for ſome Months ſince ſpreading in divers Towns and Cities of that Kingdom; as *Kilkenny*, *Drogheda*, *Monmouth*, &c. eſpecially " in *Dublin*, where there are about Ten of theſe " Societies, which are promoted by the Biſhops " and inferior Clergy there. Theſe Perſons meet " often to pray, ſing Pſalms, and read the Holy " Scriptures together; and to reprove, exhort, and " edify one another by their Religious Conferences. " They moreover carry on at their Meetings, Deſigns of Charity of different kinds; ſuch as relieving the Wants of Poor Houſe-keepers, maintaining their Children at School, ſetting of Priſoners at Liberty, ſupporting of Lectures and Daily " Prayers in our Churches.

" Theſe are the Societies, which our late gracious Queen, as the Learned Biſhop that " hath writ her Life, tells us, took ſo great " Satisfaction in, that ſhe enquired often and much " about them, and was glad they went on and prevailed; which, thanks be to God, they continue " to do; as the Reverend Mr. *Woodward*, who hath " obliged the World with a very particular Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of them, hath " lately acquainted us. And theſe likewiſe are Societies that have proved ſo exceedingly ſerviceable " in the Work of *Reformation*, that they may be " reckoned a chief Support to it; as our late great " Primate, Archbiſhop (a) *Tillotſon*, declared upon " ſeveral Occaſions, after he had examined into " their *Orders*, *That he thought they were the beſt* " *Friends to the Church of* England.

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Proclamation for a General Faſt. The Queen being now in the Adminiſtration of Affairs, began the Year with a ſeaſonable Proclamation, Dated *March* the 26th, for appointing a Publick and General Faſt, to be obſerved throughout this Kingdom, on *Friday*, *April* the 8th, and thenceforth on the Second *Wedneſday* of every Month during the preſent War; for imploring the Bleſſing and Protection of Almighty God, in the Preſervation of their Majeſties Sacred Perſons, and Proſperity of their Arms both at Sea and Land.

Queen Dowager returns to Portugal. The Queen Dowager, who under all the Exigencies of Publick Affairs, had behaved her ſelf, and govern'd her Family in a very prudent and inoffenſive Manner, was now reſolved to leave this Kingdom, and to retire to her Native Country; and therefore, committing the Care of her Palace, and Servants, and Eſtate, to the Charge of the Earl of *Feverſham*, her Majeſty departed from *Somerſet-Houſe* on *Wedneſday*, *March* the 30th, and lay that Night at *Rocheſter*, the next at *Canterbury*, on *Friday* at *Dover*, whence ſhe embark'd for *Calais*, from thence to continue her Journey by Land to *Portugal*.

Sir Rowland Gwyn accuſed of Scandal. Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, Treaſurer of their Majeſties Chamber, was complained of by the Lord *Sidney*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, for ſpeaking ſome Words reflecting on his Lordſhip, as if he had been Guilty of Bribery and Corruption. Sir *Rowland* was requir'd before her Majeſty in Council to ſhew what Grounds he had for his Accuſation: And not being able to make it out, he was turn'd out of his Place; tho' otherwiſe a Perſon who had been very much Inſtrumental to the preſent Settlement. And to vindicate the Honour of the Lord *Sidney*, this Order of Council was publiſhed from the Court at *Whitehall*, *April* the 7th, 1692.

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Vindication of the Lord Sidney. " A Complaint having been made by the Lord " *Sidney*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, againſt Sir " *Rowland Gwyn*, for Words ſpoken on the 21ſt, " or 22d Day of *March* laſt by him, reflecting " upon his Lordſhip, as if he had taken Money for " diſpoſing of Places in *Ireland*; and Sir *Rowland* " *Gwyn* having been required by her Majeſty to " ſhow what Grounds he had for ſpeaking the ſaid " Words; (for doing whereof he had Time given " him to this Day;) And now being called in and " heard, and not being able to make out the ſaid Matter, or to ſhow any Ground for ſpeaking the ſaid " Words, her Majeſty thereupon in Council was " pleaſed to declare, That the ſaid Words were " Groundleſs and Scandalous, and that her Majeſty " is fully ſatisfied of the Falſhood of the ſame.

The King in Holland. His Majeſty had embarked for *Holland* on the 5th of *March*, had arrived the next Morning in the the *Maeze*, had landed at *Orange-Polder*, had gone the ſame Day to the *Hague*, and not long after to *Loo*. But before he could begin the Campaign, the *Jacobites* in *England* began to be Elevated with the Hopes of their Maſter's Reſtoration, and induſtriouſly to conſpire for him. *Plots of the Jacobites.* One *Lunt*, who was employ'd to bring over and diſperſe King *James*'s Commiſſions, having had the good Fortune to be diſcharg'd from Impriſonment, was again entertained in 1691, by the *Lancaſhire* Papiſts, to Liſt Men, and Buy Arms; that if his Majeſty ſhould be taken off in *Flanders*, they might be ready for an Inſurrection in *England*, as ſoon as the Blow was given. Theſe Preparations having ſpent the Summer of the Year, 1691, and the Campaign in *Flanders* being ended, without any News either of the Aſſaſſination or Invaſion, *Lunt* was ſent in *November* into *France*, to acquaint the Abdicated Monarch, that they were in a Condition to receive him; and therefore deſired him to inform them, when his Affairs would permit him to make a Deſcent into this Kingdom. *Lunt* return'd in *December* following, with Advice, that King *James* would be in *England* the next Spring; and that in the mean time, Colonel *Parker*, and others, ſhould be ſent over with full Inſtructions how to put themſelves into a Poſture fit for his Majeſty's Reception; for now the Deſcent from *La Hogue* was reſolv'd upon.

Colonel *Parker*, and *Johnſon* the Prieſt, who in Conjunction with ſome few others, had projected the intended Murder of the King, Landed in *England* about the latter end of *Jan.* laſt; and thinking the Aſſaſſination of his Majeſty to be the only means to make the Invaſion practicable, and the Conqueſt of *England* eaſy, they communicated this Deſign to as many as they could Truſt: And (as Mr. *Goodman* depoſed) were in hopes to have done it before the King went to *Holland*; but they were ſo long in contriving how, by whom, when, and where it was to be done, that the time happily

(a) As to other Affairs of Religion. See 1. A Declaration of the Opinion of the *French* Miniſters who are now Refugees in *England*, about ſome Points of Religion, in oppoſition to the *Socinians*, ſubſcribed by about Ninety Six Miniſters. Dat. *London* 30, *March*, 1691; occaſioned by a Letter, which the Biſhop of *London*, at preſent in *Holland*, wrote to Monſieur *le Coq*, Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, complaining of Reports ſpread, that the ſaid Miniſters were not ſound in the Faith. Printed at the End of Monſieur *Lamothe*'s Diſcourſes, 1693, 4to. —— 2. Heads of Agreement aſſented to by the United Miniſters in and about *London*, formerly called *Presbyterian* and *Congregational*, not as a Meaſure for any National Conſtitution, but for the Preſervation of Order in our Congregations, that cannot come up to the common Rule by Law eſtabliſhed; Read unto moſt of the *Diſſenting* Miniſters in and about *London*, on *Friday*, *March* 6, 1690--91, 4to. —— 3. Two Sticks made one, or the Excellency of Unity. A Sermon Preached by the Appointment of the Miniſters of the *Congregational* and *Presbyterian* Perſuaſion, at their happy Union on the 6th Day of *April*, 1691, which was a Day ſet apart by them, partly to bewail former Diviſions, and partly as a Thankſgiving to God for their preſent Agreement. By *Matthew Mead*, Paſtor of a Church of Chriſt at *Stepney*. *London*, Printed for *Tho. Parkhurſt*, 1691, 4to. —— 4. Free Thoughts, occaſioned by the Heads of Agreement, aſſented to by the United Miniſters in and about *London*. By a Miniſter of the *Church of England*. *Licenſed*, *Sept.* 1. 1691, 4to. —— 5. The Biſhop of *London*'s Eighth Letter to his Clergy, upon a Conference how they ought to behave themſelves under the *Toleration*. I. To conſider what Diſcipline we have left. II. How to prevent the Abuſe of this Liberty. III. How to prevail with our *Diſſenting* Brethren, to join heartily with us in diſcouraging Looſe and Prophane Perſons. Dat. *March*, 1691-2. *London*, for *B. Motte*, 4to.

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lapſed before their Conſultations came to Maturity: However, *Parker* aſſur'd them that the Aſſaſſination Plot would be re-aſſum'd in *Flanders*, by the ſame Perſons who had undertaken it laſt Campaign. While King *James* was preparing for a Deſcent, he was to leave his Queen big with Child, and drawing near her Time; upon which Occaſion, he ſent a Letter, Dated *April* 2. to ſeveral Lords and others of his late Privy-Council, requiring ſuch of them as could poſſibly come, to pay their Attendance at St. *Germains*, to be Witneſſes of the Labour of his Royal Conſort; which Letter was alſo directed to the Dutcheſſes of *Somerſet* and *Beaufort*, the Marchioneſs of *Hallifax*, the Counteſſes of *Derby*, *Mulgrave*, *Rutland*, *Nottingham*, *Lumley*, and *Danby*; the Ladies *Brooke*, *Fitzharding*, and *Fretchvile*; and to the Wives of theſe following Commoners, of Sir *John Trevor*, Speaker, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, Sir *Thomas Pope Blount*, Sir *John Gayſe*, *Thomas Foley*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Stamp*, Lord-Mayor, Sir *William Aſhburſt*, Sir *Richard Levett*, the Two Sheriffs; and in Concluſion, to Dr. *Hugh Chamberlain*, a Perſon eminent for the Practice of Midwifery; but none of theſe Perſons anſwer'd that Invitation. So that without their Appearance the Queen was ſaid to be ſoon after delivered of a Daughter.

Letters of K. *James*, to attend at the Queen's Delivery.

Progreſs of the *Jacobite* Plot.

When the Scheme of a Deſcent was fully laid in *France*, Colonel *Parker* and others, were ſent over to communicate it to the *Jacobite* Party here. This the Colonel did, by calling ſome General Officers, and other Confederates together, and acquainting them (according to the Depoſitions of Captain *Blaire*, before the Privy-Council) *That their Old Maſter had now obtained of the Moſt Chriſtian King Thirty Thouſand effective Men, and that when the Spring was a little more advanced*, K. James, *who was already marching into* Normandy, *would be wafted over with them into* England; *with aſſurance, that if that Number was not great enough to reduce his rebellious Subjects*, France *would ſpare him Thirty Thouſand more.* Therefore he deſir'd all to be in a readineſs with the greateſt Speed and Secrecy imaginable: And addreſſing himſelf particularly to Captain *Blaire*, (at the Inſtance of *Johnſon* the Prieſt) he told him, he was *going to Command in* Lancaſhire, *but intended to move* Southward *at his Majeſty's Landing; and therefore deſired the Captain to join him, in regard his own Men were Raw, and the Captain's, for the moſt part, were all old Officers and Soldiers.*

When *Parker* went into *Lancaſhire*, he took with him ſeveral good Officers; ſome of which ſtaid with him in that County, and others he diſpos'd of in *Yorkſhire*, and the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. His Head-Quarters were at Mr. *Walmſley*'s at *Dungan-Hall*; from whence he iſſued out his Orders. And becauſe their Arms were (for fear of Diſcovery) hid in Woods or Hedges, or buried between Walls, or laid up in Cellars and Out-houſes, he ordered them all to be taken out and diſtributed among the Officers and Liſted Men: While Mr. *James Fountaine*, a Lieutenant-Colonel to the Lord *Montgomery*, and Colonel *Holman*, were compleating each a Regiment of Horſe in *London*, to join the late King at his Landing.

For by this time K. *James* had left *Paris*, and was come to *La Hogue* with a conſiderable Army of *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, *Iriſh*, and *French*, ready to embark for *England*. And to prepare the way, he had ſent over a very formal Declaration to this Effect. (*a*)

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K. *James* prepares for a Deſcent. Sends over a Declaration.

"That whereas the *French* King according to his "Promiſe, had put him into a way of endeavouring "his Reſtoration, and to that end had lent him as "many Troops as were enough to untye the Hands "of his Subjects, and to make it ſafe for them to "return to their Duty, and repair to his Standard; "and yet purpoſely declined the ſending over ſuch "numerous Forces, as might raiſe Jealouſy in the "Minds of any his good Subjects; as if he intend- "ed to take the Work out of their Hands, and de- "prive them of ſo glorious an Action as the Reſto- "ration of their Lawful King (all which Troops "he promiſed to ſend away, as ſoon as he was put "into peaceable Poſſeſſion) though the thing was "obvious enough in it ſelf, and that he did not "think himſelf obliged to ſay any more upon that "Occaſion, than that he came to aſſert his own juſt "Rights, and to deliver his People from the Op- "preſſions they lay under: Yet, conſidering how "ſtrangely they were deluded by the Prince of "*Orange*'s Declaration, and to prevent as much as "in him lay, the ſame for the future, he was wil- "ling to look back, and take the Matter from the "beginning. And it could not be forgotten, that "as ſoon as he had notice of the Prince's Inten- "tions to invade him, he put himſelf both by Sea "and Land, into the beſt poſture of Defence he "was able; and ſeemed to have done the ſame ſo "effectually, that tho' the *French* King offer'd him "conſiderable Succours, he refuſed them, and threw "himſelf wholly upon the Fidelity of the *Engliſh* "Army; and at the ſame time applied himſelf to "give reaſonable Satisfaction to the Minds of his "good Subjects, and undeceive them in reſpect to "the Danger of the intended Invaſion: But they "perceiv'd it not till it was too late, and the De- "fection grown ſo general, that he was at length "neceſſitated to retire into *France*, in order to "avoid the preſent Danger which threatned him, "and to preſerve himſelf for better Times, and a "more happy Opportunity, which was then put "into his Hands.

"Upon that Foundation of Juſtice or common "Senſe, the Prince's Faction in *England* were "pleas'd to Treat his Eſcape out of the Hands of "his Enemies, in the Style of an *Abdication*; "which was never before uſed to ſignify any Thing "but a voluntary Reſignation: But upon which "they built ſuch a Superſtructure, as to make an "Ancient Hereditary Monarchy become Elective. "Then he goes on to ſhew the Miſeries and In- "conveniencies, which he ſuppoſes had already, "and would ſtill attend ſuch unwarrantable Pro- "ceedings; inſiſts upon the indiſputable Title of "his only Son, hoping his Queen was then with "Child of another; ſets forth the calamitous Con- "dition of *Europe*, by reaſon of that War, an End "of which there could be no reaſonable Proſpect of "till his Reſtoration; he comes to prohibit his "Subjects to pay any Taxes to ſupport the preſent "Uſurpation; and to gain them all over to his

(*a*) This Declaration was ſaid to be penned by Sir *James Montgomery*, who liv'd to be an Example of the Ingratitude of the *Popiſh* Court to the *Proteſtant* Servants in it. We have this Account given of him. It is well known, that Sir *James Montgomery* was indefatigable in his Endeavours to re-eſtabliſh King *James* in *Scotland*, by the ſame Parliament that declared him to have forfeited his Right. He was after that for ſeveral Years his moſt active Miniſter in *England*. He Wrote and Publiſhed that Declaration in his Name, which was to have attended the *La Hogue* Invaſion; and afterwards, another Treaſonable Pamphlet, Entituled, *Britain*'s *Juſt Complaints*. In a Word, he was his conſtant Champion on all Occaſions, always drawing his Pen in his Quarrels, and ready always to do the ſame with his Sword: Yet this very Sir *James Montgomery*, who had done ſuch great Things, and run ſuch hazards for him, being obliged to fly to *France*, having eſcaped from a Meſſenger, could not obtain any Share in that Prince's good Graces, meerly becauſe he was a ſtaunch *Church-Man*. He was Browbeaten by the Court-Prieſts, upbraided every Day with having been once in the Prince of *Orange*'s Intereſt, and at laſt forced to retire to *Paris*, where he dy'd neglected with the melancholy Reflection of the miſerable State he had brought himſelf into.

"Service,

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“ Service, he declares he would pardon all of them “ that ſhould return to their Duty, (except the Perſons hereafter named) provided all Magiſtrates, “ upon notice of his Landing, made ſome publick “ Manifeſtation of their Allegiance to him, and “ Submiſſion to his Authority : And he further de- “ clared, that if any of the Soldiery, who were in “ the Prince's Service, ſhould come in to him, they “ ſhould be pardoned, and have their Pay and Ar- “ rears. Likewiſe he promiſed to Maintain the “ Church of *England*, and earneſtly recommended “ to his Parliament the ſettling of Liberty of Con- “ ſcience, and in a Word, to do every Thing that “ might tend to the Honour and Welfare of the “ Nation.

Perſons excepted out of K. *James's* Pardon.

But out of this Offer of Pardon, he was pleaſed to except the Duke of *Ormond*, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Bath*, *Danby* and *Nottingham* ; and the Lords *Newport*, *Delamere*, *Wiltſhire*, *Colcheſter*, *Cornbury*, *Dunblain* and *Churchill* ; the Biſhops of *London* and St. *Aſaph* ; Sir *Robert Howard*, Sir *John Worden*, Sir *Samuel Grimſton*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, Sir *George Treby*, Sir *Baſil Dixwell*, Sir *James Oxenden*, Dr. *John Tillotſon*, Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, *Francis Ruſſel*, *Richard Leveſon*, *John Trenchard*, Eſq; and *Charles Duncomb*, Citizen of *London* ; together with all ſuch as offered Perſonal Indignities to him at *Feverſham*, and thoſe who as Judges and Jurymen had a Hand in the Murder of Mr. *Aſhton*, Mr. *Croſs*, &c. and likewiſe all Spies and ſuch as had betrayed his Councils during his late Abſence from *England*.

The Queen's wiſe Conduct.

The Queen being informed of the deſigned Invaſion, with a Maſculine Courage and aſſiduous Care, gave Orders for haſtening out the Fleet, and putting the Militia in readineſs. (*a*) She ſent over for Three Regiments of Foot, Colonel *Selwin*'s, *Beveridge*'s and *Lloyd*'s from *Holland*, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Talmaſh*, which together with ſome other Troops remaining then in the Kingdom, did afterwards form a Camp near *Portſmouth*. To be the better ſecured from the Dangers of an Inſurrection, She publiſhed a Proclamation *May* 4. “ Commanding all Papiſts and reputed Papiſts, “ forthwith to depart from the Cities of *London* “ and *Weſtminſter*, and from within Ten Miles of “ the ſame. And to provide for the Advice and “ Aſſiſtance of a fitting Parliament, ſhe publiſhed “ another Proclamation, *May* 5. requiring the At- “ tendance of the Members of both Houſes, on “ *May* 24. the Day to which the Parliament had “ been prorogued ; declaring that they ſhould on the “ ſaid Day Meet and Sit for the Diſpatch of ſuch “ Weighty and Important Affairs, as may be re- “ quiſite for the Safety of the Kingdom, in a Time “ when it was threatned with a powerful Invaſion “ from abroad”. In the next Place ſhe cauſed a diligent Search to be made after ſeveral of the moſt Diſaffected Perſons, and ordered Warrants to be iſſued out againſt them ; upon which they withdrawing themſelves from their uſual Places of Abode, and being fled from Juſtice, ſhe publiſhed a Proclamation, *May* the 9th, to diſcover, take and apprehend *Robert* Earl of *Scarſdale*, *Edward Henry* Earl of *Litchfield*, *Edward* Lord *Griffin*, *Charles* Earl of *Newbourg*, *Charles* Earl of *Middleton*, *Charles* Earl of *Dunmore*, the Lord *Forbes*, Eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Granard* ; *James Griffin*, Eſq; Sir *John Fenwick*, Sir *Theophilus Oglethorpe*, Sir *Andrew Foreſter*, Colonel *Henry Slingsby*, *James Grahme*, Eſq; ------ *Orby*, Second Son of Sir *Thomas Orby*, deceas'd, Colonel *Edward Sackville*, *Oliver St. George*, Eſq; Son of Sir *Oliver St. George*, Major *Thomas Soaper*, *Charles Adderly*, Eſq; *David Lloyd*, Eſq; *George Porter*, Eſq; Son of *Thomas Porter*, Eſq; deceaſed, and *Edward Stafford*, Eſq;. And to be the better guarded, ſhe order'd the *Militia* of *Weſtminſter*, being Two Regiments of Foot of about Fifteen Hundred Men each, and a Troop of Horſe, to appear in *Hide-Park* on *Monday*, *May* the 9th, under the Earl of *Bedford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Middleſex* ; and the next Day, the Train'd Bands of the City of *London*, in Six Regiments, under the Command of the Lord-Mayor, and other their reſpective Colonels, (conſiſting together of above Ten Thouſand Men) were drawn out in the ſame Place. Her Majeſty was pleaſed to go in Perſon among 'em on both Days, and was extreamly pleaſed with the good Order they appeared in, and the great Zeal and Readineſs they ſhew'd for her Majeſty's Service.

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Proclamation to apprehend ſuſpected Perſons.

The Fleet ſet out.

The (*b*) Fleet under the Command of Admiral *Ruſſel* paſſed through the *Downs* on *May* the 8th, where they were joined by Admiral *Allemond*, with the *Dutch* Squadron under his Command ; and ſoon after met the other Part of our Fleet from St. *Helens*, under Command of Sir *Ralph Delaval*, and Rear-Admiral *Carter*. Some Time before, the (*c*) *Jacobites* had ſent over Captain *Lloyd* Expreſs to the Lord *Melford*, to acquaint his Lordſhip, “ That “ they had corrupted ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Sea- “ Commanders, particularly Rear-Admiral *Carter* ; “ and with that falſe Intelligence, they tranſmitted “ to him an exact Liſt of the Number and Rates of “ the *Engliſh* Fleet ; and how long it would be be- “ fore it was poſſible they could be joined by the “ *Dutch* : Praying his Lordſhip to lay it before the “ moſt Chriſtian King, and procure his Command “ to Mareſchal *de Tourville*, to ſeek, and immedi- “ ately to fight the *Engliſh*, before they could be “ reinforced by the *Hollanders*.” Upon the Receipt of this Meſſage, the Lord *Melford* applied himſelf to the King of *France* ; who immediately gave his poſitive Commands to *Tourville*, to (*d*) engage the

Intelligence ſent from *France*.

(*a*) The Earl of *Warrington*, in a Treatiſe, ſoon after the Invaſion of *La Hogue* was prevented by Admiral *Ruſſel* beating the *French* Fleet, wrote thus : “ I ſee ſo much Treachery in “ the whole Management of the King's Affairs, that I have “ ſcarce Patience to think of it. The whole Adminiſtration “ is put into ſuch Hands, as would make a Man believe, that “ a Deſign is deeply and ſtrongly laid to bring back King “ *James*. Moſt of the Juſtices of Peace throughout *England* “ (whoſe faithful Execution of the Laws is the Strength of the “ Government) are now ſuch as would be certainly ready to “ bid him welcome. And many of them are ſo very ſcanda- “ lous in their Morals, that the Queen was conſtrained by “ Proclamation to order the Execution of the Laws againſt “ Debauchery among themſelves.

(*b*) See *A Form of Prayer, to be uſed next after the Prayer in Time of War and Tumults throughout the Kingdom, in all Churches and Chapels, at Morning and Evening Prayer, as often as there is Divine Service, during the Time of their Majeſties Fleets being at Sea.* Whitehall, May 19. 1692. *4to.*

(*c*) The great Dependance of King *James* was on the Nonjuring Biſhops and Clergy, who ſeem'd reſolved to ſtand out in the utmoſt Defiance to the preſent Government. And upon that Occaſion there was publiſh'd, *May* 20. 1692. a Diſcourſe entitled, *Solomon* and *Abiathar* ; or, *The Caſe of the Depriv'd Biſhops and Clergy diſcuſs'd*, &c. wherein it is ſaid, “ The “ Time aſſigned by the Law, and the King's long Forbearance “ to fill the Sees after the Day of Deprivation, argues a Wil- “ lingneſs in the State to give Men Time to conſider, and to “ allay their Prejudices, and uſe Means to come under the “ Publick Shelter ; of which the Reſtitution and Preferment “ of Dr. *Sherlock* is a clear Inſtance. But the Recuſants ſeem “ (againſt all Intreaties) wanting to themſelves, and a happy “ Coalition. They have made no Offers, no Applications ; “ but receded further from Sacred and Civil Communion than “ at firſt they did ; which Neglect muſt look like a Con- “ tempt at leaſt, if not an Hatred of the Conſtitution. Nay, “ I know a Dioceſe, where the Biſhop utterly ſuppreſs'd a Pe- “ tition ſign'd by his Clergy, and ready to be preſented to “ their Majeſties, for the Reſtitution of the Metropolitan, the “ Biſhop, and the ſuſpended Clergy of that Dioceſe. And I “ have it from a good Hand, that a Motion for ſuch a Petition “ was ſtifled in the Lower Houſe of Convocation, upon a Re- “ port made of my Lord Archbiſhop *Sancroft*'s Requeſt to “ the contrary.”

(*d*) See *The Pretences of the* French *King's Invaſion examin'd ; for the Information of the People of* England. Licenſed. *Nottingham*, May 25. 1692. *London*, 1692. 4to.

Engliſh

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Engliſh Fleet, without waiting for the *Toulon* Squadron under Monſieur D'*Eſtrees*. Upon this Occaſion, a Report was ſpread abroad, as if ſome of the Officers of their Majeſties Fleet were diſaffected, or not hearty in their Service; and that the Queen had thereupon order'd the Diſcharge of many of 'em from their Employments. Her Majeſty was with great Wiſdom ſenſible, that nothing could prevent the Truth of this Rumour more effectually, than to declare her ſelf convinc'd of the Falſhood of it: And therefore ſhe commanded the Earl of *Nottingham* to write to Admiral *Ruſſel*, and to let him know, That her Majeſty was ſatisfy'd that this Report was raiſed by the Enemies of the Government; and that ſhe propoſed ſo entire a Confidence in their Fidelity and Zeal for their Majeſties Service, and the Defence of their Country, that ſhe had reſolved not to diſplace any one of them. Which being communicated to 'em by the Admiral, they ſent up a very Dutiful and Loyal Addreſs, wherein ſay they, *We humbly preſume to addreſs our ſelves to your Majeſty at this Juncture, to undeceive the World in thoſe falſe and malicious Reports, that have been lately ſpread in Prejudice of your Majeſty's Service, by People of an unreaſonable Diſaffection to your Majeſty's Government, and an obſtinate Averſion to the Quiet and Good of our Country; That there are ſome amongſt us, that are not truly zealous for, and entirely devoted to your Majeſty's Service. We do therefore moſt humbly beg your Majeſty's Leave, to add to our repeated Oaths this Aſſurance of our Fidelity; That we will, with all imaginable Alacrity and Reſolution, venture our Lives in the Defence of your Majeſty's undoubted Rights, and the Liberty and Religion of our Country, againſt all Foreign and* Popiſh *Invaders whatſoever.* This Addreſs was ſign'd by Sir *John Aſhby*, Admiral of the Blue; Sir *Ralph Delaval*, Vice-Admiral of the Red; Mr. *Rooke*, Vice-Admiral of the Blue; Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, Rear-Admiral of the Red; Mr. *Carter*, Rear-Admiral of the Blue; and by other Commanders in the Fleet; and was preſented on *May* the 16th, by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty. Her Majeſty accepted it very graciouſly; being pleaſed to ſay, *That ſhe always had this Opinion of the Commanders; but was very glad this was come, to ſatisfy others.*

Prudence of the Queen.

Loyalty of the Seamen.

Parliament prorogu'd.

Upon this Aſſurance which the Queen gave and receiv'd from her Fleet, ſhe publiſh'd a Proclamation the ſame Day; declaring, That the Parliament ſhould be prorogued from *May* the 24th, to the 14th of *June* next; giving this for the chief Reaſon: *Our Navy being now at Sea, and joined with that of our Allies, and in a Readineſs (by the Bleſſing of God) to reſiſt and repel the Deſigns and Attempts of our Enemies.* Whereby her Majeſty expreſſed an intrepid Temper, and indeed a Prophetick Spirit.

Whilſt the *Jacobites* were pleaſing themſelves with Hopes of approaching Succeſs, the firſt Thing that put a Damp upon 'em, was, the various Reports about the Joining of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets. Once they had Notice they were joined; but this being contradicted the next Day, leſt that Report ſhould have Influence upon the *French*, they ſent over Sir *Adam Blaire*, to aſſure them that the *Dutch* were not yet come up: Yet ſo it happen'd, that before the Gentleman could reach *Dover*, they had certain News that the Fleets were join'd indeed; and therefore one Mr. *Clark* was diſpatch'd into *France*, to acquaint them with this fatal Junction. But Mr. *Clark* was ſo far from gaining Credit to his Report, (Sir *Adam Blaire* averring the contrary) that he was impriſon'd as a Spreader of falſe News, till ſeveral other Expreſſes confirm'd his Account. Thereupon the King of *France* ſent Meſſenger upon Meſſenger to *Tourville*, to decline fighting; but theſe Counter-Orders arrived too late.

French Fleet engage the *Engliſh*;

For on the 19th of *May*, whilſt both (*a*) *France* and *England* were at a Gaze in dubious Expectation of this important Event; about Eleven in the Morning, the *French* Admiral bore down and engaged the Confederate Fleet off Cape *Barfleur*; and both Fleets continued Fighting till about Half an Hour paſt Four in the Afternoon, when the *French* towed away with all their Boats, the great Firing on both Sides having ſoon occaſioned a Calm. But a freſh Gale ſpringing up about Six, the Blue Squadron renewed the Fight, and maintained it till Ten at Night, when the *French* being worſted, and having had Four Ships blown up, ſteer'd away for *Conquet-Road*. All that Night it was very Calm, and Foggy the next Morning; but about Eleven it beginning to clear up a little, the *Engliſh* ſaw the *French* Fleet about two Leagues from them, very much leſſened in their Number, not ſeeming to be above Thirty Eight Men of War, after whom they made all the Sail they could. But about Ten it grew Calm again; and at Three in the Afternoon the two Fleets came to an Anchor, but weighed about Eleven at Night, and anchored next Morning. On the 21*ſt*, the *Engliſh* Sailed again againſt the Enemy, the Admiral ſteering towards *Barfleur*, and the *Dutch* and *Blue* Squadron towards the Road of *Alderney*, through which part of the *French* Fleet got ſafe to St. *Maloes*, the *Engliſh* not thinking it ſafe to purſue them that way, for which Sir *John Aſhby* was queſtioned in Parliament. Sir *Ralph Delaval* had better Succeſs; for off of *Cherbourg* he burnt the *Royal Sun*, a Ship of a Hundred and Four Guns, commanded by Admiral *Tourville*; the *Admirable*, a Ship of a Hundred and two Guns; and the *Conquerant*, that carried Eighty Guns; with three more of leſſer Rate. Admiral *Ruſſel* was no leſs ſucceſsful in purſuit of Thirteen *French* Men of War, who hawl'd in for *La Hogue*, in which Bay he Anchor'd the 21*ſt*, and next Day ſtood in, and ſent Vice-Admiral *Rook* with ſeveral Men of War, Frigats, Fireſhips, and Armed Boats, to endeavour to deſtroy that Part of the Enemies Fleet. But the *French* had got their Ships ſo very near the Shore, that not any of the Men of War, except their ſmall Frigats could do any Service, however, that Night Six of the Enemies Men of War were burnt, and

And are beaten.

Deſtruction of *French* Ships.

(*a*) Upon the Proſpect of a Foreign Invaſion, all Parties ſhewed the Inclinations they had before concealed; the *Papiſts* who had pretended to Retirement came up in great Numbers toward *London* and the Sea-Coaſts. The Proteſtant *Jacobites*, and *Non-Jurors*, who had pleaded Conſcience only, began to be viſibly full of Revenge and Ambition. The Clergy who had complied with the Revolution without overcoming their Prejudices to it, ſeem'd willing to think their late Oaths unlawful, and to have little or no Obligation in them; and even ſome who had been moſt forward in the driving out King *James*, not finding their own private Account in it, were ready to atone for that Miſcarriage by a warmer Zeal to undo all that had been done. Biſhop *Burnet*, in the Sermon he prepar'd for the Thankſgiving after this great Danger, *Octob.* 27. 1692, was to ſpeak theſe Truths. The Number of thoſe that ſerve at the Altar, that could have pretended to Favour, was ſo ſmall, that how great ſoever their Merit might have been, in the hoped-for Invaſion, yet they would ſoon have found, that they had to do with Men of good Memories, who would have remembred their worthy Behaviour Four Years ago. A Pardon for that, and ſome ſmall Appointments to them perſonally, would have been thought a large Reward. But they muſt be given up to believe Lies, that could fancy their ſingle Services could have atoned for the Zeal and Fidelity that ſo many Thouſands have ſhewed to the preſent Government. Others might have pleaded a Merit of a very ſtrange Nature, and have ſaid, that they had taken Oaths on purpoſe to betray thoſe to whom they ſwore, and for whom they pray'd; and kept Faſts and Thankſgiving Days, but in ſo awkward a manner as if they had deſign'd that all Men ſhould take notice, that they were acting aginſt their Conſciences, of which to the Reproach of the Age and of Religion, there are but too many, and too viſible Inſtances. But this is ſo high a ſtrain of Wickedneſs, that even *Papiſts*, even when they ſeem to cheriſh it, cannot but condemn it.

the

1692. the next Day the other Seven, beſides ſeveral Tranſport-Ships. The Attempt was very difficult and
4 W. M. dangerous, but was perform'd with that Conduct and Reſolution, and the Seamen in the Boats were ſo animated by their Victory, that they took poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the Enemies Ships, and drove the *French* with their own Guns, from their Platforms and Batteries on Shore; and all this in the ſight of the *French* and *Iriſh* Camp, that lay ready to invade *England*.

Relation of this Victory in Two Letters. The moſt Authentick Relations of this Glorious Action at Sea, are given in two Letters from our Fleet which deſerve to be here inſerted. The Firſt from Admiral *Ruſſel*; the Second from Sir *Ralph Delaval.*

Admiral *Ruſſel*'s Letter, dated *May* 20. 1692.

Cape Barfleur, S. *W.* Diſtance Seven Leagues.

" YEſterday about Three in the Morning, *Cape-Barfleur* bearing *S. W.* and by *S.* Diſtance " Seven Leagues, my Scouts made the Signal for " ſeeing the Enemy. The Wind *Weſterly*, the " *French* bore down to me, and at Eleven engaged " me, but at ſome Diſtance. We continued Fight" ing till half an Hour paſt Five in the Evening, at " which Time the Enemy towed away with all their " Boats, and we after them. It was calm all Day. " About Six there was a freſh Engagement to the " *Weſtward* of me, which I ſuppoſed to be the " Blue. It continued calm all Night. I can give " no particular Account of Things; but that the " *French* were beaten, and I am now ſteering away " for *Conquet Road*, having a freſh Gale *Eaſterly* " but extream Foggy: I ſuppoſe that is the Place " they deſign for. If it pleaſe God to ſend us a " little clear Weather, I doubt not but we ſhall de" ſtroy their whole Fleet. I ſaw in the Night Three " or Four Ships blow up; but I know not what " they are. So ſoon as I am able to give you a more " particular Relation, I will not be wanting.

Sir Ralph Delaval'*s Letter to the Earl of* Nottingham; *on Board the* Royal Sovereign *near* Cherburgh, May 22.

" I Believe it my Duty to acquaint you, that on " the 21ſt Inſtant, Admiral *Ruſſel* having made " the Signal for the Fleet to cut their Cables, I obſerv'd " the *French* to be forced from the *Race* of *Alderney*, " (where they anchor'd) to the *Eaſtward*; and find" ing that ſome of them endeavour'd for the Bay of " *Cherburgh*, I ſtood in for that Place, where I " found Three Three-Deck'd Ships of the Enemies, " but ſo cloſe to the Shore, and within ſome Rocks, " that it was not ſafe for me to attempt them, till I " had informed my ſelf of the Road, they being " hawled into Shoal-Water. I immediately took " my Boats, and ſounded within Gun-ſhot of them; " which they endeavour'd to prevent, by firing at us. " And that no Time might be loſt, I went immediately " on Board the *St. Albans*, where, for the Encourage" ment of the Seamen, I hoiſted my Flag; and " having order'd the *Ruby*, with Two Fire-ſhips, to " attend me, I ſtood in with them, leaving the " great Ships without, as drawing too much Water. " But coming very near, they galled ſo extremely, " and finding the Fire-ſhips could not get in, I " judged it beſt to retreat without Shot, and there " Anchor'd; and immediately called all the Cap" tains: Where it was reſolved to attempt them on " the Morning with all the Third and Fourth Rates, " and Fire-ſhips. But after having drawn them in" to Four Fathom and a half Water, I found we " could not do our Buſineſs, the Water being ſhoal. " Upon which I order'd Three Fire-ſhips to prepare " themſelves to attempt the burning of them; go" ing my ſelf with all the Barges and Tenders, to " take them up, if by the Enemies Shot they " ſhould miſcarry. Indeed, I may ſay, and I hope, " without Vanity, the Service was warm; yet, God " be praiſed, ſo effectually performed, that not" withſtanding all their Shot both from their Ships " and Forts, Two of our Fire-ſhips had good Suc" ceſs, by burning Two of them; the other by an " unfortunate Shot was ſet on Fire, being juſt going " on Board the Enemy. Indeed ſo brave was the " Attempt, that I think they can hardly be ſuffi" ciently rewarded; and doubt not but their Maje" ſties will do them Right. The Third *French* " Ship being run aſhore, and obſerving the People " on Board to go aſhore by Boats full, I order'd the " *St. Albans*, the *Reſerve*, and others, to fire up" on her, judging it might cauſe them to quit her; " and after having battered her ſome time, I ob" ſerved ſhe made no Reſiſtance. I took all the " Boats armed, and went on Board her. I found " abundance of Men on Board, and ſeveral wound" ed, but no Officers. And having cauſed all the " People, as well thoſe that were wounded as others, " to be taken out, I ſet her on fire; and had I not " had Notice by my Scouts, that Thirty Ships " were ſtanding with me, had ſent all the *French* " on Shore, who are now very troubleſome to me. " The Ships we ſaw proved to be Sir *John Aſhby* " and the *Dutch*, coming from the *Weſtward*. We " are proceeding together to the *Eaſtward* to *La* " *Hogue*, where I am informed Three or Four of " the Enemies Ships are; and if ſo, I hope God " will give us good Succeſs. I expect to find the " Admiral To-morrow, where I hope to hear he " has deſtroy'd ſome of the Enemies Ships, having " left him in Chaſe of them laſt Night, ſtanding to " the *Eaſtward*, and pretty near them, as I judged. " My Lord, I hope you will excuſe me, if I pre" ſume to pray, you will uſe your Intereſt with the " Queen, that a Reward may be given to the Three " Captains of the Fire-ſhips, and ſeveral of the " others; for greater Zeal, and greater Bravery, I " never ſaw. I pray your Excuſe for being thus " tedious, and thus particular. Pray God preſerve " their Majeſties, and that their Arms may be ever " crowned with Succeſs by Sea and Land, ſhall be " the Prayers and Endeavours of, &c.

P. S. Captain *Heath* burnt *Tourville*'s Ship, the *Royal Sun*, which was the moſt difficult. Captain *Greenway* burnt the other, called the *Conquerant*. The Admirable was burnt by our Boats. Captain *Fowlis* attempted the *Royal Sun*, but was ſet on Fire by the Enemies Shot; yet deſerves as well as the others.

After theſe two Relations, there came other Letters from the Fleet, which gave this farther Account of proſecuting our happy Succeſs. " On *May* 23. " in the Afternoon, Admiral *Ruſſel* ſent in Vice- " Admiral *Rook* with ſeveral light Frigats and " Fire-ſhips, together with all the Boats of the " Fleet well Armed, to burn the *French* Ships " which he had forced aſhore near *la Hogue*. The " Attempt was very difficult and dangerous; but it " was made with ſuch Conduct and Reſolution, and " our Men in the Boats behav'd themſelves ſo brave" ly, taking Poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the Enemies " Ships, and beating the *French* with their own " Guns from their Platforms on the Shore, that Six " of the ſaid Ships were burnt that Night, and Six " more the next Morning, in ſight of the *French* " and *Iriſh* Camp, who fired upon us. Of theſe, " Six were of Three Decks, and the other Six, " from Sixty to Seventy Guns; and one Ship of " Fifty Six Guns was overſet, and utterly loſt. " Many of the *French* Seamen periſhed with their " Ships, and a great Number were taken Priſoners.

1692. 4 W. M.

" From the latter, we hear, that they loſt Four or
" Five great Ships in the Fight, one of which was
" Monſieur *Gabarel's*, Admiral of the Blue Squa-
" dron, of Ninety odd Guns; ſo that we have de-
" ſtroy'd about Twenty one of their biggeſt Ships,
" beſides the Two Frigats, and other ſmall Craft;
" and had it not been for the Foggy Weather, few
" of the reſt would have eſcaped. On the other
" ſide, we have not loſt one Ship, except Fire-
" ſhips, which were ſpent upon Action; and be-
" ſides Rear-Admiral *Carter*, and Colonel *Haſtings*,
" we have not loſt one Commiſſion Officer. As to
" the Number of Seamen that were killed or
" wounded in the Engagement, we can yet give no
" certain Account thereof.
" On the 25th, Admiral *Ruſſel* ſet ſail from
" *La Hogue*, and Anchored the 26th off of St. *He-*
" *lens*, after having burnt Twenty of the Enemy's
" Tranſport Ships, (they having there about Fify
" in all) and ſent Sir *John Aſhby* with a Squadron
" of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Men of War, and ſeveral
" Fire-ſhips, to make the like Attempt, if he found
" it practicable, upon their Shipping at *Havre de*
" *Grace*. The Admiral had given Orders, that
" publick Prayers and Thankſgivings ſhould be
" made to Almighty God on the 27th throughout
" their Majeſties Fleet, for this great and ſignal
" Victory.

K. *James* deſponds, and writes a melancholy Letter.

King *James* felt this to be ſo heavy a Blow, that he never recover'd the Impreſſion of it. He ſeem'd now to recede from all Hopes of his Reſtoration, and fell to writing this melancholy Letter to the *French* King.

Monſieur, *My Brother*,

" I Have hitherto with ſomething of Conſtancy
" and Reſolution ſupported the Weight of all
" the Misfortunes, which it hath pleaſed Heaven to
" lay upon me, ſo long as my ſelf was the only
" Sufferer: But I muſt acknowledge this laſt
" Diſaſter utterly overwhelms me; and I am alto-
" gether comfortleſs, in reference to what concerns
" your Majeſty, through the great Loſs that has be-
" fallen your Fleets. I know too well, that my
" unlucky Star it is, that has drawn down this Miſ-
" fortune upon your Forces, always victorious, but
" when they fought for my Intereſts. And this is
" that which plainly tells me, that I no longer
" merit the Support of ſo great a Monarch, and
" who is always ſure to vanquiſh when he fights
" for himſelf. For which Reaſon it is that I re-
" queſt your Majeſty, no longer to concern your
" ſelf for a Prince ſo unfortunate as my ſelf; but
" permit me to retire with my Family to ſome
" Corner of the World, where I may ceaſe to ob-
" ſtruct the uſual Courſe of your Proſperities and
" Conqueſts, which only my Misfortune could in-
" terrupt. It is not juſt, that the potenteſt Mo-
" narch in the World, and the moſt flouriſhing
" above all others, ſhould ſhare in my Diſgrace,
" becauſe you are too generous: 'Tis better much,
" that I ſhall only retire till it pleaſe Omnipotent
" Providenee to be more propitious to my Affairs.
" But howſoever it pleaſes over-ruling Heaven to
" diſpoſe of me and mine, or into whatſoever Re-
" ceſs I may be thrown, I can aſſure your Majeſty,
" that I ſhall always preſerve, to the laſt Gaſp of
" my expiring Breath, that due Acknowledgment
" which I ſtill retain, of your Favour and conſtant
" Friendſhip. Nor can any thing more contribute
" to my Conſolation, than to hear, as I hope to do,
" when I have wholly quitted your Dominions, of
" the quick Return of all your wonted Triumphs
" both by Sea and Land, over your Enemies and
" mine, when my Intereſt ſhall be no longer inter-
" mixed with yours. *I am*,

Monſieur, *my Brother*,

Yours, &c.

James Rex.

The Queen wiſely improves this great Succeſs.

The wiſe and happy Queen was no ſooner inform'd of the Victory, but ſhe ſent a Gratuity of Thirty thouſand Pounds down to *Portſmouth*, to be diſtributed among the Seamen and Soldiers; order'd Medals to be made for Tokens of Honour to the Officers; and cauſed the Bodies of Rear-Admiral *Carter*, and Colonel *Haſtings*, who were ſlain in the Engagement, to be honourably interr'd. At the ſame time, her Majeſty conſidering to what Advantage this Succeſs might be improv'd, by making a Deſcent into *France*, before the Enemy had recover'd their Conſternation, order'd great Preparations to be made towards it. On the 23d of *July*, all the Forces deſign'd for this Expedition were ſhipp'd off at *Portſmouth*; and on the 25th, the Duke of *Leimſter*, who commanded in chief, embark'd on Board the *Breda*. The Orders, as 'tis uſual, were not to be open'd till they were at a certain Diſtance at Sea; and in regard they ſet Sail with a fair Wind in the moſt favourable Seaſon of the Year, there was no ſmall Expectation of ſome conſiderable Enterprize. In 4 or 5 Days after, Intelligence came, that all the Tranſport-Ships had put into *St. Hellens* Road, with part of the Fleet which they met off of *Torbay*. This unexpected Return occaſion'd various Conjectures; but all that came to publick Notice was, that the next Day after the Fleets were join'd, Admiral *Ruſſel* and the reſt of the Commanders went on Board the *Breda*, where the Duke of *Leimſter's* Commiſſion was open'd; and that on the 29th a Council of War was held on Board the General, where it was reſolv'd that they ſhould ſteer towards the Coaſt of *England*. On the 8th of *Auguſt*, the Tranſport-Ships and a Squadron of Men of War arriv'd in the *Downs*, from whence they ſailed on the 20th, and two Days after landed at *Oſtend*, after having kept the *French* upon their own Coaſts in continual Alarms.

The Queen and her (*a*) Three Kingdoms being now ſecured at Home; let us ſee how Affairs are carried on Abroad. The Duke of *Bavaria*, through the Influence of King *William*, was this Year made Gover-

Campaign Abroad.

(*a*) The Security of the Government was more owing to a wonderful Providence, than to the faithful Allegiance of the People. Their Minds were ſadly corrupted; the Papiſts, to a Man, were devoted to King *James* for his Religion ſake; and the Non-jurors upon a Principle as ſacred to them. But the greateſt Danger to the Government, was from the ſeeming Friends, who had given Security to it by taking the Oaths, and acting in any Places they could get of Profit or Preferment to them. Theſe *Perjurors*, who had either taken the Oaths in ſome ſort of Conceit that there was no Obligation in them; as impos'd by what they call'd Force, and ſubmitted to by what they call'd Neceſſity; or elſe had been taught that their antecedent Oaths to the late Kings and their Heirs were ſtill valid; or, poſſibly, had no Conſcience at all in the taking of any Oaths; theſe were the worſt and moſt dangerous Men. The honourable *Hugh Hare*, Eſq; one of their Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Surrey*, in a Charge given at the Quarter-Seſſions at *Darking*, *April* 5. within this Year 1692. complain'd chiefly of theſe perfidious Subjects.— " But, Gen-
" tlemen, after all that I have ſaid of the Popiſh Recuſants,
" and of the Proteſtants who are diſaffected to this Govern-
" ment, and will not take the Oaths; both theſe we may look
" upon as our Friends and Adherents, if we compare their
" Character with that of thoſe Proteſtants who ſwear *Alle-*
" *giance to their Majeſties*, only that they may worm *them-*
" *ſelves* into Places of Truſt and Power, and to *have the* bet-
" ter Opportunity to betray us.— It would ſeem a *high* De-
" gree of ill Nature, to ſuſpect thoſe of Treachery, who con-
" firm all their Proteſtations of Sincerity by the ſacred Bond
" of an Oath; and indeed, in ſuch a *Caſe*, one ought not to
" be too ready to ſuſpect, for Chriſtian Charity thinketh no
" Evil; but yet when Mens Diſcourſe, Actions and Beha-
" viour, ſhew the ſecret Inclinations of their Hearts, we may
" then judge of the Tree by its Fruits. When Men who have
" taken

1692. 4 *W. M.* Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; who put theſe Provinces into a far better State than formerly: Yet this did not hinder the King of *France* from attempting the Siege of *Namur*, one of the ſtrongeſt Places in all thoſe Parts, both by its advantageous Situation on the Confluence of the *Sambre* and the *Maeſe*, and by the excellent Fortifications; eſpecially a Caſtle built upon a Hill, in an Angle form'd by thoſe Two Rivers. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty inveſted the Town in Perſon, *May* the 25th, *N. S.* open'd the Trenches on the 29th, and purſued the Siege with ſo much Vigor and Diligence, that in Four Days he made himſelf Maſter of all the Outworks next St. *Nicholas* Gate. The Gariſon ſeeing it was in vain to withſtand an Army encourag'd by the Preſence of their Monarch, ſurrender'd the City on *June* the 5th upon Articles, and retir'd into the Caſtle.

Namur taken by the French.

Upon the News of this Siege, King *William* (with the Confederate Army under his Command) decamp'd from *Anderleck* on the 27th of *May*, *N. S.* marched to *Diegon*, the next Day towards *Louvain*, and pitch'd his Camp near *Bethlem* Abby; from whence he continued his March towards *Namur*, on the 3d of *June*. But before his Majeſty removed, he gave the Enemy Notice of his great Victory at Sea, by a Triple Diſcharge of his Cannon; which were anſwer'd by Vollies of ſmall Shot from the Two Lines of the Army. 'Tis reported, that the *French* King heard this Noiſe with a great deal of Unconcern; ſaying to this Effect, *Here's a mighty Pother indeed about burning Two or Three Ships.* But what Face ſoever he put upon the Matter, the Conſequence ſhew'd it was the unhappieſt Blow he receiv'd during the whole Courſe of this War: For thereby his Sea-Coaſts remain'd expoſed to the Inſults of the *Engliſh*; nor has he been ever able to put out a Fleet to meet the Confederates in the Channel.

K. William attempts to raiſe the Siege.

The Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who cover'd the Siege of *Namur* with an Army of Seventy Thouſand Men, upon Information that the King of *England* moved towards the *Mehaigne*, marched that way; and on *June* the 8th, the Two Armies (almoſt equal in Numbers) advanced in ſight of one another, the River only remaining between 'em. King *William* poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the Poſts upon the *Mehaigne* on his ſide, as *Luxemburgh* did of Two Villages (ſurrounded with ſtrong Hedges and Thickets) on the oppoſite Banks. The Confederates had ſuch an entire Command of the River by their Batteries, that the ſame Evening his Majeſty order'd the Pontoons to be laid over it, in order to attack the Enemy the next Day. All Things were in a Readineſs for that Deſign; but the ſame Night, and ſome following Days, the Weather proved ſo rainy, that a Stop was put to King *William*'s Glorious Enterprize. The moſt remarkable Action before the Caſtle of *Namur*, was the taking of *Fort-William*, which was raiſed by that great Engineer Colonel *Cohorn*, and defended by himſelf. The King of *France* being reſolved to carry this Work at any rate, cauſed it to be aſſaulted on *June* the 21ſt; and tho' all the Efforts of his Men prov'd unſucceſsful, yet they return'd to the Storm the next Day. The Beſieged made an incredible Reſiſtance, repulſing Twice the Enemy with great Slaughter; but they return'd with freſh and redoubled Force, till they made themſelves Maſters of the Cover'd Way, and cut off the Beſieged from their Communication with the Caſtle. Monſieur *Cohorn* being dangerouſly wounded, the Gariſon (who thought themſelves no longer in a Condition to hold out) deſired to Capitulate, reſerving only ſo much Time to themſelves, as to ſend to the Prince of *Barbanſon*, Governor of the Caſtle, to give him notice of their Reſolution; which he readily allow'd: And thereupon *Fort William*, which from this Time was called *Fort Cohorn*, was ſurrender'd up to the *French*; and the Conſequence of this Loſs was, the Surrender of the Caſtle it ſelf on *July* 10. 1692. 4 *W. M.*

Forms a Deſign of ſurprizing Mons.

At this Time King *William* lay encamp'd at *Melle*, where he form'd a Deſign to ſurprize *Mons*, but was diſappointed in it. From *Melle*, his Majeſty marched his Army to *Genap*, thence to *Hall*; and on *Auguſt* 1. over the River *Seine*, when he was joined by the *Hanover* Troops, to the Number of Eight Thouſand Men. On the other hand, the King of *France* contenting himſelf with the Glory of having taken *Namur* in ſight of the Confederate Army, left the Command of his Forces to *Luxemburgh*, who pitch'd his Camp in an advantageous Poſt, cover'd by a Wood and thick Hedges, between *Enghin* and *Steenkirk*, where his *Britannick* Majeſty reſolved to attack him, upon the Information of ſome Perſons that were thought to underſtand the Nature of the Ground.

Battel of Steenkirk.

Accordingly, on *Sunday*, *Auguſt* 3. our Army marched early in the Morning; the heavy Baggage being order'd to repaſs the *Seine* at *Hall.* There were ſeveral Defiles to paſs, and the Ways to be made, which made it a tedious March: But however, about Ten a Clock, the Prince of *Wirtemburgh* with the Van-Guard (which conſiſted of Four Battalions of *Engliſh* Foot, Two of *Danes*, and a Detachment of *Churchill*'s Brigade) advanced towards the Enemy, and fell upon them with ſo much Vigor, that he drove them from Hedge to Hedge, poſted himſelf in the Wood that fronted the Right Wing of their Army, and erected Two Batteries of Cannon on little Eminences, one on the Right, and the other on the Left of the Wood. Whilſt theſe Batteries were playing upon the Enemy, the Confederate Army march'd up to the Head of the Defile, (about Half an *Engliſh* Mile from the Wood) where it open'd in a little Plain, not above Half a League over, which terminated upon the Right of the Wood, and upon ſeveral Rows of high Trees planted in Order. Upon the Right of this Plain there was a Farm, which ſoon after the Engagement was ſet on Fire by the Enemy, to cover (by the Smoak) ſeveral of their Battalions that were order'd this way. From the Head of the Defile, upon the Left of the Plain, there was a deep hollow Way with high Trees and Hedges upon the Banks of it, which reach'd as far as the Wood where the Van-Guard was poſted, and where it branch'd it ſelf into Two other deep Ways, and going thro' the Wood upon the Left to the *Danes* Attack, and to that of the Guards; and the other upon the Right, going along the Outſide of the Wood.

" taken the Oaths to the preſent King and Queen, and perhaps by " that Means enjoy ſome Office of Truſt under the Government; " nay, perhaps, when they ſtand in Competition with a Man more " truly and ſincerely Loyal, and carry their Point againſt him, " either by Force or Fraud, Bribery, or ſome other Artifices, too " mean for an *Engliſh* Gentleman to ſtoop too; when, I ſay ſuch " Men as theſe ſhall take (nay ſeek) all Occaſions to magnify " the Grandeur, and the Power, the Courage, the Juſtice, " and the Policy of the *French* Monarch; to envy the Happi-" neſs of his Subjects, and to applaud the vaſt Conqueſts; to " rejoice at every ſmall Advantage he gains over us; to wiſh " every Merchant-Ship that is outwards or homewards bound, " may fall into his Hands; to aggravate our Loſſes, and detract " from our Victories; as if the one were irreparable, and the " other not worth taking Notice of; to repine at our Plenty, " and to murmur at our Taxes, which yet are light Burdens " in compariſon of thoſe our Neighbours at this Time bear; to " cenſure the moſt juſtifiable Proceedings of this Reign, and " to palliate the moſt enormous Exceſſes of the laſt; to " triumph at *Tourville*'s burning a ſmall Village on the *Weſtern* " Coaſt, and doing ſome ſmall Damage to our Fleet; and to " be ſtruck with Surprize and Melancholy at the King's Victory " at the *Boyne*; when, I ſay, Men's Actions are ſo contrary to " their Profeſſions, what can we think of them, but that they " are the moſt egregious Hypocrites in Nature, a Scandal to " Mankind, and a Reproach to the Religion they profeſs?

1692. 4 *W. M.* Between theſe Two laſt were poſted the Regiments of Sir *Robert Douglas*, Colonel *Fitz-Patrick*, and Colonel *O-Farrel*.

When the Confederate Army was come up to the Head of theſe Defiles, and juſt entring into the ſmall Plain, they were order'd to halt, except the *Engliſh* Life-Guards, and Horſe and Dragoons, and the Lord *Cuts*'s, Lieutenant-General *Mackay*'s, Sir *Charles Graham*'s, and the Earl of *Angus*'s Regiments; which being interlin'd with the Horſe, were commanded at the ſame time to the Right Skirts of the Wood, whilſt the Prince of *Heſſe*'s, Colonel *Lowther*'s, and the Earl of *Leven*'s Regiments were alſo intermix'd with the Left Wing of Horſe, and poſted upon the Outſide of the Wood. Things being thus diſpoſed, and the Army continuing in their Halt, Prince *Wirtembergh* (after he had cannonaded for above Two Hours) began the Attack with the *Danes* upon the Right, which was immediately followed by the other Four *Engliſh* Regiments as compos'd the Van-Guard, and ſeconded by *Cuts*'s, *Mackay*'s, *Angus*'s, *Graham*'s, *Lowther*'s, the Prince of *Heſſe*'s, and *Leven*'s Regiments. Never was more terrible, and at the ſame Time more regular Firing heard; for during the Space of Two Hours, it ſeem'd to be continued Claps of Thunder. The Van-Guard behav'd themſelves with ſo much Bravery and Reſolution, that tho' they receiv'd the Charge of ſeveral Battalions of the Enemies one after another, yet they drove them beyond one of their Batteries of Seven Pieces of Cannon; of which the *Danes* and the Second Battalion of the Regiment of *Engliſh* Guards poſſeſs'd themſelves, and which Colonel *Wachop* (who commanded the *Engliſh*) would have ſent away, had not the *French* cut off the Traces, and carried away the Horſes. Sir *Thomas Douglas* with his firſt Battalion charged ſeveral of the Enemies, and beat them from Three ſeveral Hedges, and made himſelf Maſter of the Fourth; when going through a Gap to get on the other ſide, he was unfortunately kill'd upon the Spot. All the other Regiments behav'd themſelves with equal Bravery, firing Muzzle to Muzzle thro' the Hedges, they on the one ſide, and the Enemy on the other.

The King being made ſenſible of the Difficulties the Van-Guard had to encounter, (by one of Prince *Wirtembergh*'s Aids de Camp, who had already ſent Two Meſſengers to Count *Solmes* to no purpoſe) his Majeſty diſpatch'd away Count *Paulin*, one of his Aids de Camp, with poſitive Orders to Count *Solmes*, who commanded the Main Body, to ſend more Foot to the Prince's Aſſiſtance: But

Default of Count *Solmes*.

Count *Solmes*, who ever was envious of the *Engliſh*, and who beſides had a particular Jealouſy of Prince *Wirtemburgh*'s Commanding the Attack, (an Honour which he would have had himſelf) inſtead of obeying his Majeſty's Commands, order'd the Horſe to march, and the Foot to halt; which prov'd the Loſs of the Day: For the Ground was ſo ſtrait, and the Enemy had ſuch Hedges, Copſes, and Ditches to cover them, that there was nothing to do for the Horſe; ſo that when the Van-Guard began to engage, they had none but Part of the Infantry (interlin'd with the Left Wing of the Horſe) to ſecond them, the Body of the Foot being almoſt a Mile in the Rear. However, the King made all poſſible Diligence to get the Infantry up; ordering a Brigade to march to the Wood, and forming a Line of Battel in the Plain, with ſuch Foot as could come up. The Eagerneſs of the Soldiers to follow their Royal Leader, and to engage the Enemy, was ſuch, that they put themſelves into ſome Diſorder, and took more Time to form their Battalions, than could now conveniently be ſpar'd; ſo that before they could reach the Wood, the Van-Guard and Infantry of the Left Wing being over-power'd by Thirty Battalions of the Enemy, (that charged them continually one after another) and by a freſh Body of Dragoons brought up by *Boufflers*, they were forc'd to retreat in great Confuſion, and to leave the Wood to the Enemies Poſſeſſion. The *Engliſh* Life-Guards ow'd their Preſervation to the *Daniſh* Foot-Guards; and Baron of *Pibrack*'s Regiment of *Lunenburghers* being in Diſorder upon the Skirt of the Wood, and the Colonel himſelf being dangerouſly wounded upon the Place; Sir *Bevil Grandville*, who commanded the Earl of *Bath*'s Regiment, marched up to his Relief, receiving the Enemies Fire, before he ſuffer'd any Perſon of his Battalion to diſcharge once. By this Method he lodg'd himſelf in the hollow Way near the Wood, order'd his Serjeants to carry off the Baron of *Pibrack*, and maintain'd his Poſt, till he was commanded to leave it by the Prince of *Naſſau*.

Great Loſs of the *Engliſh*.

The King, enrag'd at the Diſappointment of the Van-Guard for want of a timely Relief, expreſs'd his Concern, by often repeating theſe Words; *Oh my poor* Engliſh! *how they are abandon'd!* Nor would he admit Count *Solmes* to his Royal Preſence for many Months after. And now, conſidering the Fight was not to be renew'd without endangering the Loſs of the whole Army, (*Luxemburgh* being conſiderably reinforc'd by *Boufflers*, and beſides, the Night drawing on;) his Majeſty commanded a Retreat, which was perform'd with admirable Order, and without any great Diſturbance from the Enemy, who never durſt engage the *Engliſh* in the Rear.

In this Battel, the Confederates loſt the brave Lieutenant-General *Mackay*, Sir *John Lanier*, Sir *Robert Douglas*, the Earl of *Angus*, and divers other Gallant Officers; above Two Thouſand Men kill'd, Three Thouſand wounded, or made Priſoners, and ſeveral Pieces of Cannon. As for the *French*, bating the Honour of remaining Maſters of the Field, they had not much Reaſon to boaſt of any Advantage; having had the Prince *de Turenne*, the Marquis *de Bellefonds*, the Marquis *de Tilladet*, the Brigadier *Stoupa*, the Marquis *de Firmacon*, and ſeveral other Men of Diſtinction, and Two Thouſand private Soldiers kill'd, and near as many wounded. Neither had they come off ſo cheap, had it not been for the Chevalier *de Millevoix*, one of the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Domeſticks, who had already given, and ſtill endeavour'd to give further Intelligence to the Mareſchal *de Luxemburgh*, of the King's Motion and Deſigns; for which he was hang'd on a Tree in the Right Wing of his Majeſty's Army.

A more infamous Criminal was about this Time deliver'd up into the Hands of Juſtice: For the Chevalier *de Granvale* returning from *Paris*, where he had engag'd one *Leefdale* (a Perſon of a good Family near *Boiſleduc*) to join with *Dumont* in the helliſh Deſign of Aſſaſſinating King *William*, he appointed a Meeting at *Uden*, whither *Dumont* was come from *Hanover*. There it was agreed, That when the King ſhould paſs along the Lines, or when the Army ſhould decamp, *Dumont* ſhould be in Ambuſh, and ſhoot his Majeſty; and that as ſoon as the Murder was committed, a Party of Three Thouſand Horſe from the Duke of *Luxemburgh*'s Army, and headed by Monſieur *Chamlays* and Colonel *Parker*, ſhould reſcue the Aſſaſſins, to colour the Villany with the Shew of a Stratagem of War. But Providence ſtill watching for his Majeſty's Safety, permitted the black Conſpiracy to be diſcover'd by *Leefdale* and *Dumont*; who related all the Circumſtances of the Contrivance, and who they were that put *Granvale* upon this wicked Attempt. Thereupon *Granvale* was taken at *Eyndenhoven*; afterwards try'd by a Court-Martial, and according to his Sentence, Hang'd, Drawn and Quartered, after he had made a full Confeſſion of his Crimes, without being put to the Torture.

Granvale executed.

(*a*) At

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(*a*) At his Execution he ſeem'd very Penitent, and expreſs'd ſome Reſentment againſt thoſe by whom he was undone. And 'tis with Horror that Hiſtory is obliged to ſay, that if we may give Credit to this Criminal's Dying Words, and the Depoſitions upon Record; not only Miniſters of State and Ambaſſadors, but even an Archbiſhop, nay, a Crown'd Head were at leaſt Privy to that deteſtable Project.

There was little more done this Campaign in *Flanders*, except the Defeat of a Party from *Namur*, by a Detachment from the Troops of *Liege*, commanded by Count *Serclaes de Tilly*; and the Bombarding of *Charleroy* by Monſieur *de Boufflers*. As for the *Engliſh* Forces which landed at *Oſtend* on the 1ſt of *September*, (*N. S.*) under the Command of the Duke of *Leimſter*; they poſſeſſed themſelves of *Furnes* and *Dixmuyde*, which they began to fortify, and by which the King ſeem'd to have ſome great Deſign that Way: But whatever it was, all miſcarried, both theſe Places being abandoned to *Boufflers* by Count *Horn*, towards the beginning of the Year 1693; which King *William* much reſented in him, who, till now, always had a great Share in his Majeſty's Eſteem. Perhaps the ſame touch'd the Count very near, for he did not live long after.

Actions of the D. of *Savoy*. The Duke of *Savoy*, who had been brought into the Confederacy by the powerful Intereſt of King *William*, and was ſupported in it by great Sums of Money, and by conſiderable Forces under the Duke of *Leimſter*, now Duke of *Schomberg*, marched in the Month of *July* at the Head of Twenty Thouſand Men, invaded the Province of *Dauphine*; and having plunder'd *La Roche*, *Chantelone*, and ſome other Villages, he made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle and High-Lands of *Guilleſtre*; whence on *Auguſt* the 5th he croſs'd the River *Durance*, and moved towards the City of *Ambrun*, which, after a briſk Siege of about Nine Days, was ſurrendered upon Articles on *Auguſt* the 15th. Here the Duke of *Savoy* found Twenty Pieces of Cannon, and a conſiderable Quantity of Proviſions; and the City preſently granted him Forty Thouſand Livres Contribution, which they borrowed at *Grenoble* for that Purpoſe. Beſides which, his Highneſs ſeiz'd upon Sixty Thouſand Livres in Gold, which was the *French* King's Money in the Hands of the Pay-Maſter of the Troops: And not only the City of *Ambrun*, but all the Neighbouring Towns and Villages were at the ſame time put under Contribution. Here likewiſe, the Duke of *Schomberg* publiſh'd a Declaration on *Auguſt* the 29th, in the Name of his *Britannick* Majeſty, inviting People to join him; and aſſuring them, *That the King of* England *had no other End in cauſing his Forces to enter* France; *but only to reſtore the Nobility and Gentry to their ancient Splendor, the Parliaments to their priſtine Authority, the People to their juſt Privileges, and even to grant his Protection to the Clergy; and, in ſhort, to cauſe the Edict of* Nants *to be revived, of which the Kings of* England *had been made Guarantees.* Encourag'd by this Declaration, ſeveral of the *French* Proteſtants that had been forc'd to abjure their Religion, took this Opportunity to make their voluntary Recantation before Monſieur *Du Bourdieu*, the Duke of *Schomberg*'s Chaplain. From *Ambrun*, the Army marched directly to *Gap*, a City upon the Frontiers of *Provence*, whoſe Inhabitants open'd their Gates to Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, upon his firſt Appearing before it, and gladly conſented to pay Contributions, to preſerve their Houſes from being burnt and pillag'd: A Treatment, which near Eighty Caſtles and Villages received from the *Germans*, in Retaliation of the Barbarities committed by the *French* in the *Palatinate*. Not only *Grenoble*, the Capital of *Dauphiné*, but the Neighbouring Provinces, and the Wealthy City of *Lyons*, began already to tremble; and, indeed, never had the Allies a fairer Opportunity of ſhaking the immenſe Power of *France*. But the Duke of *Savoy*'s falling ſick of the *Small Pox*, and which was of more fatal Conſequence, the Spirit of Diviſion that crept among the Generals, not only hindered the Deſign that had been form'd of taking *Briangon* and *Quieras*, but likewiſe incapacitated them to keep what they had already conquer'd. Thus having plunder'd the Country, deſtroy'd all the Proviſions they could not conſume or carry away, burnt all that refus'd to contribute; they blew up the Fortification of *Ambrun*, took Money to ſave the Houſes, and ſo put an end to the Campaign. It is obſerv'd, that Monſieur *Du Bourdieu* carried away with him above Two Hundred *French* Proteſtants, who choſe rather to expoſe themſelves to Beggary and Contempt in Foreign Nations, than to live in Plenty and Honour in their Native Land, where they muſt be forced to join in Divine Worſhip, with thoſe whom they and their Fore-fathers did account to be Idolaters. It is farther obſervable, that their Majeſties improv'd the Duke of *Savoy*'s Alliance, toward the Reſtoration of the *Vaudois*; who, thro' the Violence of their late Perſecutions, were unable to keep up the Form of any Diſcipline, or even any Publick Worſhip; being unable to maintain a Miniſter, or a School-maſter, among them. Monſieur *Du Bourdieu* acquainted the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* with their miſerable Condition, deſiring him to ſollicit her Majeſty's Bounty in their Behalf. That worthy Prelate, eminent for Piety, Charity, and Learning, chearfully laid hold on this Occaſion to ſerve the Proteſtant Intereſt; and finding the Queen as ready to Grant as he was to Ask, a Fund was eſtabliſhed out of her Majeſty's Privy Purſe, for the maintaining of

The Duke viſited with the Small Pox.

Retires with his Army.

Good Offices to the *Vaudois* and other Poor Proteſtants.

(*a*) There was firſt an Aſſaſſin hir'd by the Faction to have murder'd his Majeſty King *William* in *England*; the Perſon unknown: Probably it was *Parker*, who was then employ'd by Monſieur *Louvois*, the *French* King's Prime Miniſter, and afterwards by his Son, Monſieur *Barbeſieux*, in the ſame Conſpiracy with Monſieur *Granvale*, and other Aſſaſſins, to ſhoot the King in *Flanders*. The Story of which is this: Monſieur *Louvois* left the Plan of this inglorious Deſign in Writing, ſeal'd up in his Cabinet; and his Son, who ſucceeded him in the Miniſtry, carry'd it on by *Granval*, *Dumont*, and *Parker*; empowering *Granval* to promiſe *Dumont* Twenty Thouſand Livres of Eſtate, and a Knighthood of *St. Lazar*; himſelf being to be made a Duke, and to have an Eſtate proportionable, if the Blow ſucceeded. The Manner in which the Aſſaſſination ſhould be done, was concerted at a Meeting of all the Conſpirators; as the Marquis *de Barbeſieux*, Madam *Maintenon*, Monſieur *Paperel*, Pay-Maſter-General of the *French* Army, Monſieur *Granval*, Monſieur *Dumont*, and Colonel *Parker*. *Dumont*, after having enter'd himſelf in the Confederate Army, was to take his Opportunity (when his Majeſty viſited the Grand Guard, or the Lines,) to ſhoot him behind his Back. *Granval* and *Parker* were (upon a previous Intimation) to have a Body of Horſe in Readineſs, to reſcue him, and bring him off. Accordingly *Dumont* went to the Confederate Army in the Year 1691. and *Parker* and *Granval* to the *French*; where they waited with Impatience at the Grand Guard Night and Day, to hear from *Dumont*; whoſe Heart failing him, he retir'd to the Court of *Hanover*. *Granval* and *Parker* return to *Paris*, and are again ſet to work by *Barbeſieux*, and the reſt of the Conſpirators; among whom Monſieur *Chanlais*, Quarter-Maſter-General to the *French* Army, then firſt appear'd; as alſo a new Aſſaſſin engag'd by *Granval*, Monſieur *Leefdale*, formerly a Horſe-Officer in the *States* Service. *Dumont* takes Courage again at *Hanover*, and renews his Correſpondence with *Granval*; and new Inſtructions being given them, *Granval*, *Leefdale*, and *Parker*, (to uſe the Words of *Granval*'s Sentence, ſign'd by the Earl of *Athlone*) went to St. *Germain's* on the 16th of *April*, 1692. to ſpeak with the late King *James* about the ſaid Deſign, who had Knowledge of it, and to take Leave of him before they began their Journey. *Granval* had Audience of King *James*, the late Queen being preſent; the King telling him, "*Parker* "has given me an Account of the Buſineſs: If you and the "other Officers do me this Service, you ſhall never want:" And *Parker*, *Granval*, and *Leefdale*, enter'd into a Diſcourſe about this Deſign. A Rendezvous was appointed at *Uden*, in the County of *Raveſtein*, where the Buſineſs was to be finally adjuſted; but a Diſcovery of the Conſpiracy being made by *Leefdale*, *Granval* was ſeized at *Eyndhoven*, beyond *Antwerp*; and *Dumont* confeſs'd it all to the Duke of *Zell*; which ended in *Granval*'s full Confeſſion to the Court-Martial. See *Secret Hiſt. of* Europe, *P.* II. *p.* 274.

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Ten Preachers, and as many Schoolmaſters, in the Valleys of *Piedmont*.

A Sham Plot by *Young*.

To look home again: There was a famous Sham Plot, invented with great Villany in *Newgate*, by one *Robert Young*, who had been committed to that Place till he diſcharg'd a Fine impos'd upon him for other Rogueries; and being very expert in counterfeiting Hands, he was inſtructed by one *Henry Pierſon*, a Priſoner in the ſame Place for Debt, to contrive a Plot, and father it upon the Earls of *Marlborough* and *Saliſbury*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and ſome others. *Pierſon* being ſoon after at Liberty, employ'd one *Stephen Blackhead* to carry Letters between himſelf and *Young*. By a certain Stratagem, *Young* happened to ſee the Earl of *Marlborough*'s Hand, which he counterfeited ſo cunningly, that it was very difficult to diſcern the true from the falſe. Afterwards he drew up an Aſſociation, and affix'd to it the Hands of the Earls of *Marlborough* and *Saliſbury*, as alſo Sir *Bazil Firebraſs*'s, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s, and the Lord *Cornbury*'s; which two laſt were writ by another Hand. And that the more Credit might be given to this pretended Plot, *Young* forg'd ſeveral Letters in the Name of the Lord *Marlborough*, ſuppoſed to be directed to himſelf; which *Blackhead* uſed to bring to him again. In the Month of *April*, *Blackhead* went three times to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Houſe at *Bromley*, upon a Sham-Errand from a ſuppos'd Divinity Doctor; but with no other Intent than to convey the forg'd Aſſociation into a ſecret Place, where it was afterwards found by the King's Meſſengers; who upon Information given by *Young* againſt that Reverend Prelate, came firſt to ſecure his Perſon, and then to ſearch his Houſe. His Lordſhip was ſome Days under Confinement, but upon a ſtrict Examination of the whole Matter before the Council, and the Confronting of *Blackhead* with *Young*, the Forgery was evidently diſcover'd, and his Lordſhip's Innocence made manifeſt.

Biſhop of *Rocheſter* accuſed.

Earthquake.

On *Thurſday, September* the 8th, about Two in the Afternoon, there happen'd an Earthquake in *London* and other Parts adjacent, which laſted about a Minute, and was felt very ſenſibly, not only in *England* but in *Flanders* and other Parts of the Continent. The King was then in his Camp at Dinner, in an old decay'd Houſe, which ſhaking very much, and every one apprehending it was ready to fall, his Majeſty was prevailed with to riſe from Table, and go out of the Houſe: But the Surprize was ſoon over. On *September* the 13th, the Queen publiſh'd a Proclamation for the better Diſcovery of Seditious Libellers, who *endeavour'd not only to Traduce and Reproach the Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Goverment of this Kingdom, and the Publick Miniſters of the ſame; but alſo to ſtir up and diſpoſe the Minds of their Majeſties Subjects to Sedition and Rebellion.* And on the ſame Day another Proclamation was publiſh'd, *For the more effectual Diſcovery and Apprehending of Highway-Men and Robbers; by promiſing a Reward of Forty Pounds to the Diſcoverers or Apprehenders, after the Conviction of them.*

The King withdraws from the Army.

His Majeſty parted from the Camp at *Grammen* on *Friday September* the 27th, having left the Command in Chief of the Army with the Elector of *Bavaria*. On *Saturday* his Majeſty arriv'd at *Breda*, and went thence to his Court at *Loo*, to divert himſelf for ſome few Days. After ſome Refreſhment he went to *Bruſſels*, and held a Council of War, wherein he gave Orders for the March of the Forces into Winter-Quarters, and went thence to the *Hague*. He ſoon after embarked on Board the *Mary* Yatch, attended by Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* with ſeveral Men of War, and landed ſafe at *Yarmouth* on *October* the 18th. He lay the next Night at Sir *John Duke*'s, near *Saxmondham*. On *Thurſday*, *October* the 20th, the Queen met him near [illegible]*hall*; and about Eight in the Evening, their Majeſties came to *Kenſington*, having paſſed through the City of *London* amidſt the Acclamations of the People, and continued Illuminations of the Houſes, which was follow'd with Bonfires, Diſcharging of Cannon, Fireworks, and other Demonſtrations of an extraordinary Joy for his Majeſty's ſafe Return.

Returns to *England*.

On the *Saturday* following, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of *London*, attended his Majeſty at *Kenſington*, where they *Congratulated his Majeſty's ſafe Return; and declared their high Satisfaction in his Majeſty's Great and Glorious Enterprizes for the Preſervation of theſe Nations, and the Good of* Chriſtendom*; with Aſſurance of their ſteady Reſolutions to aſſiſt his Arms, and ſupport his Government to the utmoſt of their Power.* His Majeſty received them very graciouſly; and, as a Mark of his Favour, was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *Salathiel Lovel*, Serjeant at Law their Recorder; who then in the Name of the reſt humbly invited the King and Queen to honour the City at Dinner upon the Lord-Mayor's Day at *Guildhall*. Their Majeſties were pleaſed to accept the Invitation; and on *October* the 29th, the Day of Sir *John Fleet*'s being Sworn Lord-Mayor, their Majeſties came into the City, attended by all the great Officers of the Court, and a numerous Train of Nobility and Gentry in their Coaches; the Militia of *London* and *Middleſex* making a Lane for them. Their Majeſties were pleaſed from a Balcony prepared for them in *Cheapſide*, to ſee the Show. After which they were conducted by the Two Sheriffs to the *Guildhall*; where their Majeſties, the Nobility, Privy-Counſellors, the Judges, and the Ladies of the chiefeſt Quality, Dined at ſeveral Tables. The Entertainment was Great and Magnificent, and their Majeſties were extreamly well ſatisfied with it; and the King was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *John Wildman, William Gore, James Houblon*, Aldermen; *Leonard Robinſon*, Chamberlain; *Rowland Aynſworth, William Scowen, Joſiah Child*, and *John Foach*, Citizens.

Congratulated by the Lord-Mayor & Aldermen.

King and Queen dine in the City.

Citizens Knighted.

On *Octob.* 10. it had been ordered by her Majeſty in Council, that the Monthly Faſt appointed by their Majeſties Proclamation, of the 24th Day of *March*, 1691, be for the preſent diſcontinued till further Order; and on *Octob.* 22. a Proclamation was publiſhed for a Publick Thankſgiving, on *Thurſday, Octob.* 27. in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and within the Bills of Mortality; and on *Thurſday, Nov.* 10. in all other Parts of the Kingdom: *Foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed Almighty God of his infinite Goodneſs, to preſerve their Majeſties and their Government, againſt the Deſigns and Attempts of their open and ſecret Enemies, to give their Majeſties a great and ſignal Victory at Sea againſt the* French *Fleet, to protect his Majeſty's Perſon from the many and great Dangers of the War in his late Expedition beyond the Seas: To diſappoint and defeat the barbarous and horrid Conſpiracy, for taking away his Sacred Life by Aſſaſſination, and to bring him back in Safety to this Kingdom.* (a) On *Friday, Nov.* 4. his Majeſty's Birth-day, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, whither his Majeſty went by Water, and

Publick Thankſgiving.

Parliament meet.

(a) "I prepar'd, (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) by the Queen's Order, who ſent me the Text, *Exod.* iv. 13. a Thankſgiving-Sermon for the Glorious Victory before *La Hogue*. I firſt obey'd her Majeſty's Order; but then I humbly repreſented to her, That I having preach'd the Two Thankſgiving-Sermons in the Two preceding Years, it would look as if no body elſe was willing to perform that Office, if it was ſtill laid on me. The Queen ſaw how reaſonabe this was; and order'd the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to preach on that Occaſion: So this Sermon, tho' prepar'd, was not preach'd, but is now publiſh'd." 1713. 8*vo*.

being

1692. being ſeated on the Throne made this Speech to both Houſes.
4 *W. M.*

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen;

"I Am very glad to meet you again in Parliament, where I have an Opportunity of Thanking you for the great Supplies you have given Me for the Proſecution of this War. And I hope by your Advice and Aſſiſtance which has never failed Me, to take ſuch Meaſures as may be moſt proper for ſupporting our Common Intereſt againſt the exceſſive Power of *France*.

"We have great Reaſon to rejoyce in the happy Victory, which by the Bleſſing of God we obtained at Sea: And I wiſh I could tell you, That the Succeſs at Land had been anſwerable to it: I am ſure my own Subjects had ſo remarkable a Part in both, that their Bravery and Courage muſt ever be remembred to their Honour.

"The *French* are repairing their Loſſes at Sea with great Diligence, and do deſign to augment their Land-Forces conſiderably againſt the next Campaign; which makes it abſolutely neceſſary for our Safety, that at leaſt as great a Force be maintained at Sea and Land as We had the laſt Year; and therefore I muſt ask of you, Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, a Supply ſuitable to ſo great an Occaſion.

"I am very ſenſible how heavy this Charge is upon my People; and it extreamly afflicts Me that 'tis not poſſible to be avoided, without expoſing our ſelves to inevitable Ruin and Deſtruction. The Inconvenience of ſending out of the Kingdom great Sums of Money for the Payment of the Troops abroad, is indeed very conſiderable; and I ſo much wiſh it could be remedied, that if you can ſuggeſt to Me any Methods for the Support of them, which may leſſen this Inconvenience, I ſhall be ready to receive them with all the Satisfaction imaginable.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"None can deſire more than I do that a Deſcent ſhould be made into *France*; and therefore, notwithſtanding the Diſappointment of that Deſign this laſt Summer, I intend to Attempt it the next Year with a much more conſiderable Force; and ſo ſoon as I ſhall be enabled, all poſſible Care and Application ſhall be uſed towards it.

"And upon this Occaſion I cannot omit taking Notice of that ſignal Deliverance, which by the good Providence of God we received the laſt Spring, to the Diſappointment and Confuſion of our Enemies Deſigns and Expectations: This has ſufficiently ſhewn us how much We are expoſed to the Attempts of *France*, while that King is in a Condition to make them: Let us therefore improve the Advantage we have at this time of being joyned with moſt of the Princes and States of *Europe* againſt ſo dangerous an Enemy: In this ſurely all Men will agree, who have any Love for their Country, or any Zeal for our Religion: I cannot therefore doubt but you will continue to ſupport Me in this War againſt the declared Enemy of this Nation; and that you will give as ſpeedy Diſpatch to the Affairs before you, as the Nature and Importance of them will admit, that our Preparations may be timely and effectual for the Preſervation of all that is dear and valuable to Us.

"I am ſure I can have no Intereſt but what is yours: We have the ſame Religion to defend; and you cannot be more concern'd for the Preſervation of your Liberties and Properties than I am, that you ſhould always remain in the full Poſſeſſion and Enjoyment of them; for I have no Aim but to make you a happy People.

"Hitherto I have never ſpared to expoſe my own Perſon for the Good and Welfare of this Nation; and I am ſo ſenſible of your good Affections to Me, that I ſhall continue to do ſo with great Chearfulneſs upon all Occaſions, wherein I may contribute to the Honour and Advantage of *England*.

1692.
4 *W. M.*

This Judicious Speech was received with the Univerſal Approbation it deſerv'd, and made a proper Impreſſion in the Minds of both Houſes of Parliament. The Commons by an Addreſs to the King, *Nov.* 14. "Acknowledged the great Affection his Majeſty ſhow'd to his Subjects, by taking Notice of their Bravery and Courage; by that ſenſible Concern he expreſs'd for the Charges on his People, and by that tender Regard for the Preſervation of their Religion, Liberties, and Properties, as muſt ever be remembred with Gratitude by all his Faithful Subjects. They likewiſe acknowledged the Favour of God in reſtoring his Majeſty in Safety to his People, after ſo many Hazards and Dangers to which he had expoſed his Sacred Perſon, that there might be nothing wanting on his Part to oppoſe the Ambitious Deſigns of his Enemies, and to maintain the Honour of *England*, and the Liberties of *Europe*. They alſo congratulated his Deliverance from the ſecret and open Deſigns, which the Malice of his Enemies had form'd againſt him. And aſſur'd him, That they would always *Adviſe* and *Aſſiſt* his Majeſty in the ſupporting of his Goverment againſt all his Enemies.

The Commons at the ſame time preſented their Thankful Acknowledgment to the Queen, "For her gracious and prudent Adminiſtration of the Government, whilſt his Majeſty was hazarding his Royal Perſon abroad; and for the Bleſſings of Peace they enjoyed at Home, under her auſpicious Reign, at a time when the greateſt Part of *Europe* was ſuffering the miſerable Effects of War. They alſo congratulated, not only the ſignal Deliverance they received from a bold and cruel Deſign, form'd and proſecuted for their Deſtruction, when it was juſt ready to be executed, but likewiſe the Return of her Majeſty's Fleet, with ſo compleat and glorious a Victory, as was not to be equall'd in any former Reign; aſſuring her Majeſty, That the greateſt Senſe they had of their Happineſs under her Government, ſhould be always manifeſted in conſtant Returns of Duty and Obedience, and a firm Reſolution to do all that was in their Power, to render her Reign Secure and Proſperous.

The firſt Buſineſs of Importance the Commons went upon on *November* 11. was the Bill formerly projected, *for Regulating Tryals in Caſes of High Treaſon*; which at the Second Reading on *Nov.* 18. was referr'd to a Committe of the whole Houſe; and a Clauſe being preſented *Dec.* 1. to be added to the Bill, a Debate aroſe thereupon; the Reſult of which was, That the Bill was Order'd to lye upon the Table; and no farther mention was made of it during this Seſſion. Proceedings of the Commons.

On the ſame Day, *Nov.* 11. The Thanks of the Commons, by Order of the Houſe, were given by the Speaker to Admiral *Ruſſel*, one of their Members, for his great Courage and Conduct in the late Victory obtained at Sea; and this ſeem'd to ſecure that Admiral againſt any Reflections on his Behaviour in that memorable Action. But through Envy or Prejudice, it was the next Day ſuggeſted, that the Advantage gain'd upon the Enemy might have been much better Improv'd. Upon which, the Houſe enter'd upon Examining the ſeveral Inſtructions, Orders and Reſults of Councils of War, touching the laſt Summer's Expedition, in relation to the Proceedings of the Fleet, and the Deſcent intended to be made upon *France*, after the Victory at Sea. Upon *Nov.* 19. Sir *John Aſhby* being examined, particularly in relation to the *French* Men Thanks to Admiral *Ruſſel*.

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Sir *John Aſhby* honourably acquitted.

of War that made their Eſcape into St. *Malo*, he gave the Commons an Account of the Proceedings of the Ships under his Command, in and after the Engagement; with which they were ſo well pleas'd, that the Speaker, by Direction of the Houſe, acquainted him, *That the Houſe took Notice of his ingenuous Behaviour at the Bar; and that he had given an Account to the Satisfaction of the Houſe, and was diſmiſs'd from farther Attendance.* The next Thing the Houſe took into Conſideration, was, Why a Deſcent had not been made into *France?* Admiral *Ruſſel* was queſtion'd about it; but he excus'd himſelf, by ſaying, That Twenty Days had paſs'd between his firſt Letter to the Earl of *Nottingham*, after the Fight, and his Lordſhip's Anſwer. And on the other hand, the Earl made it appear, that he had acted according to the Orders he had receiv'd, which was all he could do as Secretary of State. Whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation, the Lords, at a Conference, communicated to the Houſe of Commons ſome Papers which their Lordſhips had receiv'd from the King, relating to thoſe Affairs; which Papers being read in the Lower Houſe, it was reſolved, *That Admiral* Ruſſel, *in his Command of the Fleet during laſt Summer's Expedition, had behav'd himſelf with Fidelity, Courage, and Conduct.*

On the 14th of *November*, Sir *Edward Seymour* deliver'd to the Commons a Meſſage from his Majeſty, in anſwer to their Addreſs the laſt Seſſion, in relation to the *Eaſt-India* Company. Upon occaſion of this Meſſage, the Houſe took into Conſideration the Matter relating to that Company; and after a great deal of Time ſpent in it, a Bill was, *Dec.* 14. brought in *for Preſerving, Regulating, and Eſtabliſhing the* Eaſt-India *Trade.* The Bill was near Two Months depending, and occaſioned ſeveral Debates; the Reſult of which was, that the Commons, *March* 3. preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty, *That he would pleaſe to diſſolve the* Eaſt-India *Company upon Three Years Warning to the ſaid Company, according to the Power reſerv'd in their Charter.* To this, the King, with his uſual Prudence and Reſerve, made Anſwer, *That he would always do all the Good in his Power for this Kingdom; and that he would conſider of their Addreſs.*

Affairs of the *Eaſt-India* Company.

The Supply which was mov'd for on the 15th of *November*, was unanimouſly granted on the 22d of the ſame Month; and after Conſideration of the State of War for the Year 1693. it was *Decemb.* 2. Reſolved, That the Sum of 1926516 Pounds be granted to their Majeſties for the Charge of the Navy; (including the Charge of the Ordnance, and the finiſhing their Majeſties Naval Yard at *Hamoſe*, near *Plymouth*; and the building Four Bomb Veſſels, and Eight new Ships of the Fourth Rate.) And *Dec.* 10. the Sum of Two Millions and Ninety thouſand five hundred fixty three Pounds for the Land-Forces, including the extraordinary Charge of the Office of Ordnance, in relation to the Land-Service, and the Charge of the Tranſports, Hoſpitals, Contingencies, and other extraordinary Charges of the War. Beſides which, it was reſolved, *Dec.* 3. *That for the making good the Sum of* 1341700 *Pounds, intended to be rais'd* by the Act for a Quarterly Poll, the Sum of 750000 Pounds be granted to their Majeſties.

Supply granted.

To levy theſe vaſt Sums, it was reſolv'd, *Dec.* 13. Firſt, *That there be a Pound Rate of Four Shillings in the Pound for One Year, charg'd upon all Lands, according to their Yearly Value; as alſo upon all Perſonal Eſtates; and upon all Offices and Employments of Profit, other than Military Offices in the Army and Navy.* Secondly, *That there be a Fund of* 70000 *Pounds* per Annum, *ſet apart out of the Hereditary Exciſe till the 17th of* May, 1697. *And afterwards by an Additional Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for the Payment of the Intereſt of a Million of Money, to be rais'd by Perſons voluntarily paying in that Sum, the Principal paid in to be ſunk, and the Perſons paying in the ſame, to receive during their Lives, their reſpective Proportions of the ſaid* 70000 *Pounds, according to the Sums paid by them, with the Advantage of Survivorſhip, till all the Lives be determin'd.* And Thirdly, *Feb.* 3. *That certain Additional Impoſitions be laid upon Merchandize.*

Ways and Means.

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That part of the King's Speech, whereby his Majeſty ſeem'd to deſire the Advice of the Commons, took up a great deal of Time. After ſeveral Debates, a Committee was appointed, *Dec.* 12. to *conſider how the Army Abroad, in their Majeſty's Pay, might be ſupplied with Bread, Cloaths, and other Proviſions, of the Growth of this Kingdom, to prevent the Exportation of the Coin thereof.* And as for the Navy, a Motion being made, *Jan.* 11. *That his Majeſty be humbly advis'd to conſtitute a Commiſſion of the Admiralty, of ſuch Perſons as were of known Experience in Maritime Affairs*, it paſs'd in the Negative: But however, it was carried, that his Majeſty ſhould be advis'd by that Houſe, *That for the future, all Orders for the Management of the Fleet, ſhould paſs through the Hands of the Lords Commiſſioners for the executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of* England. Which Vote ſeem'd to be occaſion'd by the Difference between the Earl of *Nottingham*, and Admiral *Ruſſel*.

The Conſideration of the Petition preſented *Nov.* 7. by the Sheriffs, and ſeveral Aldermen of the City of *London*, in favour of the Orphans of the ſaid City, being put off from time to time, *William Goodwin*, and *Henry Goodwin*, and others of the diſtreſſed Orphans, preſented alſo a Petition to the ſame Effect: Both which being conſidered, the Commons at length, *Feb.* 17. order'd *a Bill to be brought in for ſatisfying the Debts due to the ſaid Orphans.* But upon a Debate that aroſe at the ſecond Reading, the Bill was committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, where it remain'd unfiniſh'd.

Caſe of the Orphans.

A Bill for the better Preſervation of their Majeſties Perſons, which by the unanimous Conſent of the Commons, was order'd to be brought in on the 1ſt of *December*, was nevertheleſs rejected at the ſecond Reading, the 14th of that Month. The ſame Fate, *Dec.* 17. attended the *Bill to aſcertain the Fees of the Officers of Juſtice.*

Bills rejected.

Not many Days before, Sir *Edward Huſſey* preſented to the Houſe of Commons, a *Bill touching free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament*; which was receiv'd, read the firſt Time, and ſome Time after paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords for their Concurrence. By this Bill, ſeveral Perſons in Employments, both Military and Civil, were incapacitated to ſit in the Houſe of Commons; which caus'd it to be very much oppos'd by the Lords that ſtood up for the Court; tho' on the other hand, ſeveral Peers ſpoke vehemently for it; and among the reſt, the Earl of *Mulgrave*, who upon this Occaſion, made this moſt memorable Speech.

My Lords,

Earl of *Mulgrave's* Speech.

" THIS Debate is of ſo great Conſequence, " that I reſolved to be ſilent, and rather to be " adviſed by the Ability of others, than to ſhew " my own Want of it; beſides it is of ſo nice a " Nature, that I who ſpeak always unpremedi- " tately, apprehend extreamly ſaying any thing " which may be thought the leaſt reflecting; tho' " even that ought not to reſtrain a Man here from do- " ing one's Duty to the Publick, in a Buſineſs where " it ſeems to be ſo highly concern'd.

" I have always heard, I have always read, that " Foreign Nations, and all this part of the World, " have admired and envied the Conſtitution of this " Government. For not to ſpeak of the King's " Power, here is a Houſe of Lords to adviſe him on " important Occaſions, about Peace or War; about " all Things that may concern the Nation, the Care

of

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" of which is very much intruſted to your Lordſhips. But yet, becauſe your Lordſhips cannot be ſo converſant with the Generality of the People, nor ſo conſtantly in the Country as is neceſſary for that Purpoſe; here is a Houſe of Commons alſo choſen by the very People themſelves, newly come from among them, or ſhould be ſo, to repreſent all their Grievances, to expreſs the true Mind of the Nation, and to diſpoſe of their Money, at leaſt ſo far as to begin all Bills of that Nature: And if I am not miſtaken, the very Writ for Elections ſent down to the Sheriffs does empower them to chuſe; What? Their Repreſentatives.

" Now, my Lords, I beſeech you to conſider the Meaning of that Word *Repreſentative*: Is it to do any Thing contrary to their Mind? It would be abſurd to propoſe it: And yet how can it be otherwiſe; if they, after being choſen, change their Dependency, engage themſelves in Employments plainly inconſiſtent with that great Truſt repoſed in them? And that I will take the Liberty to demonſtrate to your Lordſhips they now do, at leaſt according to my humble Opinion.

" I will inſtance, Firſt, in the leaſt and loweſt Incapacity they muſt be under, who ſo take Employments.

" Your Lordſhips know but too well, what a general Careleſsneſs there appears every Day more and more in the publick Buſineſs: If ſo, how is it likely that Men ſhould be as diligent in their Duty in Parliament, as that Buſineſs requires, where Employments and a great deal of other Buſineſs ſhall take up both their Minds and their Time.

" But then in ſome Caſes 'tis worſe; as in Commands of the Army, and other Employments of that kind, when they muſt have a divided Duty; for it does admirably become an Officer to ſit voting away Money in the Houſe of Commons, while his Soldiers are, perhaps, taking it away at their Quarters, for want of his Preſence to reſtrain them, and of better Diſcipline among them; nay, perhaps, his Troop or Regiment may be in ſome Action Abroad, and he muſt either have the Shame of being abſent from them at ſuch a Time, or from that Houſe where he is intruſted with our Liberties.

" To this I have heard but one Objection by a Noble Lord; That if this Act ſhould paſs, the King is not allowed to make a Captain, a Colonel, without diſabling him to ſit in Parliament.

" Truly, if a Captain has only deſerved to be advanced for expoſing himſelf in Parliament, I think the Nation would have no great Loſs in the King's letting alone ſuch a Preferment.

" But, my Lords, there is another ſort of Incapacity yet worſe than this, I mean that of Parliament-Men's having ſuch Places in the *Exchequer*, as the very Profit of them depends on the Money given to the King in Parliament. Would any of your Lordſhips ſend and intruſt a Man to make a Bargain for you, whoſe very Intereſt ſhall be to make you give as much as he can poſſibly?

" It puts me in mind of a *Farce*, where an Actor holds a Dialogue with himſelf, ſpeaking firſt in one Tone, and then anſwering himſelf in another.

" Really, my Lords, this is no *Farce*; for it's no Laughing matter to undo a Nation: But is altogether as unnatural for a Member of Parliament to aſk firſt in the King's Name for ſuch a ſort of Supply; give an Account from him how much is needful towards the paying ſuch an Army, or ſuch a Fleet; and then immediately give by his ready Vote, what he had before aſk'd by his Maſter's Order.

" Beſides, my Lords, there is ſuch a Neceſſity now for long Seſſions of Parliaments, and the very Privileges belonging to Members are of ſo great Extent, that it would be a little hard and unequal to other Gentlemen, that they ſhould have all the Places alſo.

" All the Objections that have been made, may be reduc'd to theſe.

" *Firſt*, 'Tis told us, that 'tis a Diſreſpect to the King, that his Servants or Officers ſhould be excluded.

" To this, I deſire it may be conſidered, that 'tis in this Caſe, as when a Tenant ſends up any Body to treat for him: Would any of your Lordſhips think it a Diſreſpect; nay, would the King himſelf think it any, if the Tenant would not wholly refer himſelf to one of your own Servants, or the King's Commiſſioners, in the Caſe of the Crown? And if he chuſes rather ſome plain honeſt Friend of his own, to ſupply his Abſence here, Will any blame ſuch a Proceeding, or think it unmannerly?

" Beſides, your Lordſhips know even this Act admits them to be choſen, notwithſtanding their Employments, provided the Electors know it firſt, and are not deceived in their Choice.

" All we would prevent, is, that a good rich Corporation ſhould not chuſe to intruſt with all their Liberties, a plain honeſt Country Neighbour, and find him within Six Months changed into a preferr'd cunning Courtier; who ſhall tye them to their Choice, tho' he is no more the ſame Man, than if he were turn'd Papiſt; which by the Law, as it ſtands already, puts an Incapacity upon him.

" Another Objection is, that this Act may by its Conſequence prolong this Parliament; which they allow would be a very great Grievance, and yet ſuppoſe the King capable of putting it upon us; which I have too much Reſpect for him, to admit of: Tho' I am glad however, that 'tis objected by Privy-Counſellors in Favour, who conſequently, I hope, will never adviſe a Thing which they now exclaim againſt as ſo great a Grievance.

" But, pray my Lords, What ſhould tempt the King to ſo ill a Policy? Can he fear a Freedom of Choice in the People, to whoſe Good-will he owes all his Power, which theſe Lords ſuppoſe he may uſe to their Prejudice?

" And therefore give me Leave to ſay, as I muſt not ſuſpect him of ſo ill a Deſign, as the perpetuating this Parliament; ſo he cannot, he ought not to ſuſpect a Nation, ſo entirely, I was going to ſay, ſo fondly devoted to him.

" My Lords, no Man is readier than my ſelf to allow that we owe the Crown all Submiſſion, as to the Time of calling Parliaments according to Law, and appointing alſo where they ſhall ſit. But with Reverence be it ſpoken, the King o[...] the Nation entire Freedom in chuſing their [...]preſentatives; and it is no leſs his Duty, than his true Intereſt, that ſuch a fair and juſt Proc[...]ing ſhould be uſed towards us.

" Conſider, my Lords, of what mighty C[...]quence it may be, that ſo many Votes ſhould [...] free, when upon one ſingle one may depend [...] whole Security or Loſs of this Nation; by [...] ſingle Vote ſuch Things may happen, tha[...] almoſt tremble to think; by one ſingle Vote [...] General Exciſe may be granted, and then we [...] all loſt; by one ſingle Vote the Crown ma[...] impower'd to name all the Commiſſioners fo[...]ſing the Taxes; and then ſurely we ſhou[...] a fair only way towards it.

" Nay, whatever has happen'd, may [...] apprehended; and I hope thoſe Rever[...] will reflect, that if they grow once [...]

1692. 4 *W. M.* "a prevalent Party, one ſingle Voice may be as "dangerous to that Bench, as a general Diſſatiſ-"faction among the People proved to be once in a "late Experience: Which I am far from ſaying by "way of Threatning, but by way of Caution.

"My Lords, We may think, becauſe this con-"cerns not the Houſe of Lords, that we need not "be ſo over-careful of the Matter; but there are "Noblemen in *France*, at leaſt ſuch as were ſo be-"fore they were enſlav'd; who, that they might "domineer over others, and ſerve a preſent Turn, "perhaps, let all Things alone ſo long till the Peo-"ple were quite maſter'd, and the Nobility them-"ſelves too, to bear them Company.

"So that I never met a *Frenchman*, even of the "greateſt Rank, (and ſome had Ten Thouſand Pi-"ſtoles a Year in Employments) that did not en-"vy us here, for our *Freedom* from that *Slavery* "which they groan under. And this I have ob-"ſerv'd univerſally; except juſt Monſieur *de Lou-voy*, Monſieur *Colbert*, or ſuch People: Becauſe "they were the Miniſters themſelves who occaſi-"on'd theſe Complaints, and thriv'd by the Op-"preſſion of others.

"My Lords, This Country of ours is very apt to "be provok'd; We have had a late Experience of it. "And tho' no wiſe Man but would bear a great "deal, rather than make a buſtle; yet really the "People are otherwiſe, and at any Time change a "preſent Uneaſineſs for any other Condition, tho' a "worſe. We have known it ſo *too often*, and ſome-"times repented it *too late*.

"Let them not have this new Provocation, in "being debarr'd from a Security in their Repreſen-"tatives: For malicious People will not fail to in-"fuſe into their Minds, that all thoſe vaſt Sums "which have been, and ſtill muſt be rais'd towards "this War, are not diſpos'd away in ſo fair a man-"ner as ought to be; and I am afraid they will ſay, "their Money is not *given*, but *taken*.

"However, whate're Succeſs this Bill may have, "there muſt needs come ſome good Effect of it; "for if it paſſes, it will give us *Security*; if it be "obſtructed, it will give us *Warning*.

The Courtiers being too numerous, the other Party took an Occaſion from an Objection they made; to wit, *That this Act might, by its Conſequence, prolong this Parliament, which they allow'd would be a very great Grievance*; to bring in and paſs another Bill, *for the frequent Calling and Meeting of Parliaments*; which they ſent down to the Commons, *Jan.* 21. for their Concurrence. But the King having no Mind to part with this Parliament ſo long as the War laſted, refus'd his Aſſent to this Bill; altho' the Lords had agreed to the Amendments made to it by the Commons.

Bill for frequent Parliaments refus'd by the King.

On *Friday*, *January* the 20th, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, attended with the uſual Solemnity; and gave his Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for granting to their Majeſties an Aid of Four Shillings in the Pound for one Year, for carrying on a vigorous War againſt* France. 2. *An Act that the Inhabitants of the Province of* York *may diſpoſe of their Perſonal Eſtates by their Wills, notwithſtanding the Cuſtom of that Province.* And to Eleven Private Bills.

Acts paſſed.

Jan. 2[illegible] Complaint having been made to the Houſe of Commons of a printed Pamphlet, entitled, *King* William *and Queen* Mary *Conquerors*; as containing Aſſertions of dangerous Conſequence to their Majeſties, to the Liberty of the Subject, and Peace of the Kingdom; the Houſe, upon Examination of the Matter, order'd the ſaid Pamphlet to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman; and that his Majeſty be deſir'd to remove Mr. *Edmund Bohun*, the Licenſer, from his Employment, for having allow'd the ſame to be printed. In this Debate it was ſuggeſted, that Dr. *Burnet*, Biſhop of *Sarum*, had recommended this Notion of Conqueſt, in his Paſtoral Letter to the Clergy of his Dioceſe; tho' he had done it only upon a favourable Suppoſition, not in a way of Aſſertion. However, the Majority (in the Warmth of debating, and ſome of 'em for the Sake of Alluſion to the Author's Name,) paſſed the ſame Cenſure on that excellent Letter, and order'd it publickly to be burnt by the Common Executioner. On *Jan.* 24. the Lords came to a like Reſolution; *That the Aſſertion of King* William *and Queen* Mary'*s being King and Queen by Conqueſt, was highly injurious to their Majeſties, and inconſiſtent with the Principles on which this Government is founded, and tending to the Subverſion of the Rights of the People.* Which Vote being communicated to the Commons, that Houſe (on the next Day) unanimouſly concurr'd with their Lordſhips, with the remarkable Addition of ſome Words; *viz. injurious to their Majeſties Rightful Title to the Crown of this Realm.*

Pamphlet condemned.

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The Biſhop of Sarum's Paſtoral Letter.

In Deteſtation of the Notion of Conqueſt.

On *Thurſday*, *January* the 26th, his Majeſty came again to the Houſe of Peers, and gave his Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for granting to their Majeſties certain Rates and Duties of Exciſe, upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors; for ſecuring certain Recompences and Advantages in the ſaid Act mention'd, to ſuch Perſons as ſhall voluntarily advance Ten Hundred Thouſand Pounds, towards carrying on the War againſt* France. 2. *An Act for taking Special Bails in the Country, upon Actions and Suits depending in the Courts of* King's-Bench *and* Common-Pleas, *and* Exchequer *at* Weſtminſter. And to one Private Act.

Acts paſſed.

About this Time, ſeveral Officers of the Army wanting Men to compleat their Companies, agreed with thoſe that had Warrants to Preſs for the Sea; who, under Pretence of Preſſing for the Navy, took up great Numbers of young Men, whom they ſhipp'd off for *Holland*, and there forc'd them into Land-Service: Among the reſt, a Servant belonging to one of the Members of the Houſe of Commons happen'd to be thus ſpirited away. Upon which the Houſe order'd this Grievance to be repreſented to the King by Sir *Edward Seymour*; and on *February* the 9th, his Majeſty (by the ſame Meſſenger) return'd a Gracious Anſwer to the Houſe, to let them know, *How much he reſented it, that his Subjects ſhould meet with ſuch hard Uſage; and that he would take all Care poſſible for the future to puniſh the Authors of it. And that in the firſt place, his Majeſty had call'd before him the Officers of the Army, and given them a ſtrict Charge, that they ſhould receive no Men that were impreſſed: And that he had given Orders to the Admiralty, to examine the Preſs-Maſters that had committed thoſe Abuſes; and that there ſhould be ſuch Exemplary Puniſhment inflicted on 'em, that others ſhould be deterr'd from doing the like.* And on the ſame Day, his Majeſty, to that Effect, publiſhed the following Order.

Grievances in Preſſing Soldiers.

Redreſs'd by the King.

WILLIAM R.

"WHereas we are informed of Abuſes committed by Preſs-Maſters in the Impreſſing "of Land-Men, whom they have deliver'd over to "ſome Officers of our Army, to ſerve as Soldiers "in *Flanders*: And for preventing the ſame for "the future, we do hereby ſtrictly charge and re-"quire all Colonels, Commanders of Battalions, "and all other Officers whom it may concern, not "to Liſt, receive into, or detain in their Compa-"nies, any Man whatſoever that ſhall have been "impreſſed; upon Pain to any Commiſſion-Officer "Liſting, Receiving into, or Detaining ſuch im-"preſſed Men, of being immediately caſhier'd; "and to the Non-Commiſſion Officers, of the ſe-"vereſt Puniſhment that may be inflicted on 'em. "We have likewiſe given Orders, that the Preſs-

"Maſters

1692. 4 *W. M.* "Maſters offending herein be puniſhed with the "utmoſt Rigor, according to their Demerits.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, *this 9th Day of* February, 1692.

The good Correſpondence which had hitherto appear'd between the King and Parliament, was likely to be diſturb'd by the Informations given to the Commons of the ill State of *Ireland*: Upon which the Houſe order'd an Addreſs to be drawn up, which was preſented to His Majeſty on *March* 10. in this Form.

Addreſs of the Commons upon the State of *Ireland.* "We your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal "Subjects the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, "having taken into our ſerious Conſideration, the "State of your Majeſty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, "find our ſelves obliged by our Duty to your Ma-"jeſty, with all Faithfulneſs and Zeal to your Ser-"vice, to lay before your Majeſty the great Abuſes "and Miſmanagements of the Affairs of that "Kingdom.

"By expoſing your Proteſtant Subjects to the "Miſery of free Quarter, and the Licentiouſneſs of "the Soldiers, to the great Oppreſſion of the Peo-"ple, which we conceive hath been occaſion'd "chiefly by the want of that Pay, which we did "hope we had fully provided for.

"By Recruiting your Majeſty's Troops with *Iriſh* "Papiſts, and ſuch Perſons who were in open Re-"bellion againſt You, to the great endangering and "diſcouraging of your Majeſty's Good and Loyal "Proteſtant Subjects in that Kingdom.

"By Granting Protections to the *Iriſh* Papiſts, "whereby Proteſtants are hindred from their Legal "Remedies; and the Courſe of Law ſtopt.

"By reverſing Outlawries for High-Treaſon "againſt ſeveral Rebels in that Kingdom, (not "within the Articles of *Limerick*), to the great "Diſcontent of your Proteſtant Subjects there.

"By letting the forfeited Eſtates at under Rates, "to the prejudice of your Majeſty's Revenue.

"By the great Embezlement of your Majeſty's "Stores in the Towns and Gariſons of that King-"dom left by the late King *James*.

"And by the great Embezlements which have "been made in the Forfeited Eſtates and Goods, "which might have been employ'd for the Safety "and better Preſervation of your Majeſty's King-"dom.

"We crave leave alſo to repreſent to your Ma-"jeſty, that the Addition to the Articles of *Lime-*"*rick*, after the ſame were finally Agreed to and "Signed, and the Town thereupon Surrendred, "hath been a very great Encouragement to the "*Iriſh* Papiſts, and a weakening to the *Engliſh* In-"tereſt there.

"Having thus, moſt Gracious Sovereign, out of "our Affectionate Zeal to your Majeſty's Service, "with all humble Submiſſion to your great Wiſ-"dom, laid before you theſe Abuſes and Miſma-"nagements in your Kingdom of *Ireland*, we "moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty for Redreſs "thereof,

"That the Soldiers may be paid their Arrears, "and the Country what is due to them for Quar-"ters; and that no *Iriſh* Papiſt may ſerve in your "Army there.

"And foraſmuch as the Reducing of *Ireland* "hath been of great Expence to this Kingdom, we "do alſo humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that (ac-"cording to the Aſſurance your Majeſty has been "pleaſed to give us) no Grant may be made of the "Forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland*, till there be an Op-"portunity of ſettling that Matter in Parliament, in "ſuch manner as ſhall be thought moſt expedient.

"That a true Account of the Eſcheats and For-"feited Eſtates, both Real and Perſonal, and Stores "left by the late King *James*, may be laid before 1692. 4 *W. M.* "the Commons in Parliament; to the end that the "ſaid Eſcheats, Forfeitures, and Stores, and the Em-"bezlements thereof may be enquired into.

"That no Outlawries of any Rebels in *Ireland* "may be Reverſed, or Pardons granted to them, "but by the Advice of your Parliament; and that "no Protection may be granted to any *Iriſh* Papiſt, "to ſtop the Courſe of Juſtice.

"And as to the Additional Article, which opens "ſo wide a Paſſage to the *Iriſh* Papiſts, to come "and Repoſſeſs themſelves of the Eſtates which "they had Forfeited by their Rebellion; we moſt "humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that the Articles "of *Limerick*, with the ſaid Addition, may be laid "before your Commons in Parliament; that the "manner of obtaining the ſame may be enquired in-"to, to the end it may appear by what means the "ſaid Articles were ſo engaged, and to what Value "the Eſtates thereby obtained do amount to.

"Thus, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, we your "moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, do lay theſe "Matters in all Humility before You; and as your "Majeſty hath been pleaſed to give us ſuch graci-"ous Aſſurances of your readineſs to comply with "us, in any Thing that may tend to the Peace and "Security of this Kingdom, we doubt not of "your Majeſty's like Grace and Favour to that "of *Ireland*; in the Safety and Preſervation where-"of, this your Majeſty's Kingdom is ſo much con-"cerned.

To which Addreſs his Majeſty return'd this prudent Anſwer: *Gentlemen, I ſhall always have great Conſideration of what comes from the Houſe of Commons; and I ſhall take great Care that what is amiſs ſhall be remedied.* The Houſe ſeem'd to be well ſatisfied with this Anſwer; and proceeded vigorouſly in the remaining Part of the Supplies; being ſenſible that his Majeſty was deſirous to go early into *Holland.*

Bills left unfiniſh'd. And to ſhew the greater Expedition, ſome Bills were to be left unfiniſh'd. The Commons had paſſed one, *To enable their Majeſties to make Grants, Leaſes, and Copies of Offices, Lands and Hereditaments, Parcel of their Dutchy of* Cornwall, *or annexed to the ſame; and for Confirmation of Leaſes and Grants already made*: To which the Lords made ſome Amendments, that were diſagreed to by the Commons. As for the Bill for *Prohibiting the Uſe of all Lotteries*, which had alſo paſs'd the Lower Houſe, the Patentees of the Royal-Oak Lottery found Means to have it ſtopp'd in the Upper. The Bill for *preventing the Prophanation of the Lord's-Day*, lay neglected after the firſt Reading; as alſo the Bill for *removing Doubts, and preventing Controverſies concerning Royal Mines*, after it had been ingroſſed. Neither was any Progreſs made in the Bill for *preventing the Exportation of Gold and Silver, and the Melting down of the Coin of this Realm.*

Bills paſſed. On *Tueſday*, *March* 14. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for granting to their Majeſties certain Additional Impoſitions upon ſeveral Goods and Merchandizes, for the proſecuting the preſent War againſt* France. 2. *An Act for Review of the Quarterly Poll, granted to their Majeſties in the laſt Seſſions of this preſent Parliament.* 3. *An Act for continuing certain Acts therein mentioned, and for charging ſeveral Joint-Stocks.* 4. *An Act for preventing Suits againſt ſuch as acted for their Majeſties Service, in Defence of this Kingdom.* 5. *An Act for Reviving Two former Acts of Parliament, for the Repairing the Highways in the County of* Hertford. 6. *An Act for Encouraging the Apprehending of Highwaymen.* 7. *An Act to prevent Abuſes committed by the Traders in Butter and Cheeſe.* 8. *An Act for Raiſing the Militia of this Kingdom for the Year* 1693. *although*

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though the Month's Pay formerly advanced be not repaid. 9. *An Act for Examining, Taking, and Stating the Publick Accounts of this Kingdom.* 10. *An Act for prohibiting the Importation of all Foreign Hair Buttons.* 11. *An Act for delivering Declarations to Priſoners.* 12. *An Act for the more eaſy Diſcovery and Conviction of ſuch as ſhall deſtroy the Game of this Kingdom.* 13. *An Act for the Regaining, Encouraging, and Settling the* Greenland Trade. 14. *An Act for Puniſhing Officers and Soldiers, who ſhall mutiny, or deſert their Majeſties Service; and for Puniſhing falſe Muſters, and for the Payment of Quarters.* 15. *An Act to prevent malicious Informations in the Court of* King's-Bench; *and for the more eaſy Reverſal of Outlawries in the ſame Court.* 16. *An Act to prevent Frauds by clandeſtine Mortgages.* 17. *An Act for Reviving, Continuing, and Explaining ſeveral Laws therein mentioned, which are expired, and near expiring.* 18. *An Act to make Pariſhioners of the Church United, Contributors to the Repairs and Ornaments of the Church to whom the Union is made.* 19. *An Act for Regulating Proceedings in the Crown-Office of the Court of* King's-Bench *at* Weſtminſter. 20. *An Act for the better Diſcovery of Judgments in the Courts of* King's-Bench, Common-Pleas, *and* Exchequer *at* Weſtminſter. 21. *An Act for Continuing the Acts for prohibiting all Trade and Commerce with* France; *and for the Encouragement of Privateers.* And to Twenty two Private Acts.

After which, his Majeſty made this moſt Gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech.

"THE large Supplies which you have given "me this Seſſion, are ſo great Teſtimonies "of your good Affections, that I take this Occaſion "(with great Willingneſs) to return my hearty "Thanks to you: And I aſſure you, it ſhall be "my Care, to ſee that that Money you have given "may be effectually applied to ſuch Services, as "may be moſt for the Honour and Intereſt of *Eng*"*land*.

"I muſt recommend to your Care the Peace "and Quiet of the ſeveral Counties to which you "are now returning, and doubt not but by your "Care, the Supply which you have ſo freely gi"ven, will not only be effectually levied, but with "the greateſt Equality too, and the leaſt Uneaſi"neſs to the People that is poſſible.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The Poſture of Affairs does neceſſarily require "my Preſence Abroad; but I ſhall take care to "leave ſuch a Number of Troops here, as may be "ſufficient for the Security of the Kingdom againſt "any Attempts of our Enemies.

"I ſhall add no more, but that as I ſhall conti"nue to expoſe my own Perſon upon all Occaſions, "for the Good and Advantage of theſe Kingdoms, "ſo I do likewiſe aſſure you, that my hearty and "ſincere Endeavours ſhall never be wanting in any "other kind, to make this a Great and Flouriſh"ing Nation.

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And then the Parliament was, by his Majeſty's Command, prorogued to the Second Day of *May* next. (*a*)

Honours and Preferments.

As to the Honours and Preferments that were this Year the Marks of Royal Favour; about the Middle of *April*, his Majeſty was pleas'd to create the Right Honourable Sir *Henry Capel*, Baron *Capel* of *Tewksbury*, in the County of *Glouceſter*. On *April* 27. Sir *George Treby*, Kt. *Samuel Eyre*, *Francis Purley*, *William Coward*, *George Pricket*, *Thomas Gooding*, *Henry Gould*, *Roger Moor*, *Reginald Bretland*, *John Darnel*, *Joſeph Girdler*, *Littleton Powis*, *Nathan Wright*, and *Charles Bonython*, Eſqs; were called by their Majeſties Writ to the State and Degree of Serjeants at Law. About the Middle of *June*, their Majeſties were pleaſed to appoint *Nicholas Horne*, Eſq; to be their Conſul at *Alicant*. The Lord *Sidney* was again appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and arrived at *Dublin Aug.* 5. where the Lords Juſtices reſigned the Sword to him, and the Lord Chancellor made a ſhort Speech to this Effect.

"That it being uſual upon ſuch Occaſions as this "was, to give his Excellency an exact Account of "the Condition and Affairs of the Kingdom, they "now thought it wholly unneceſſary, being ſenſible "his Lordſhip was thoroughly acquainted there"with. That their Majeſties could not have fix'd "upon a Perſon more to the Mind and general Sa"tisfaction of the Kingdom, than his Excellency; "and that they were in Hopes the Work which "was ſo ſucceſsfully begun, in bringing this Nati"tion out of the Ruin it was involved in, into an "entire Peace, (to which his Excellency has been "the greateſt Contributor) would now be fully "perfected." On *September* the 28th, Sir *John Macklain*, Chief of the *Macklains*, and Proprietor of the Iſland of *Mull*, in the *Weſt* Highlands of *Scotland*, having ſubmitted himſelf to their Majeſties Government, and deliver'd up his Caſtles to be govern'd by their Majeſties Forces, came to *Whitehall*, and had the Honour to kiſs the Queen's Hand; and went thence to *Holland*, to throw himſelf at his Majeſty's Feet. In the Beginning of *October*, their Majeſties were pleaſed, by Letters Patents, to conſtitute and appoint *William Broderick*, Eſq; their Attorney-General of the Iſland of *Jamaica*, in the Place of *Simon Muſgrave*, Eſq; lately deceaſed. And on *October* the 30th, his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon Colonel *William Beeſton*, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief of *Jamaica*; who kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand, in order to his going to that Government.

About the End of *December*, his Majeſty granted to Sir *John Trevor*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Great Seal, the Office of Maſter of the Rolls, in the Place of *Henry Powle*, Eſq; lately deceaſed. On

(*a*) The depriv'd Clergy had yet ſuffer'd very little in their Fortunes, and yet had the Advantage of growing a little Popular, upon ſeeming to be the Perſecuted Party. Many were conniv'd at in holding their Benefices, or reſigning them to Friends. Biſhop *Burnet*, indeed, was repreſented as harder than any of his Brethren upon them; and yet he appeal'd to the World in this manner. "As for my perſecuting the "Nonjurors, I have been ſo far from it, that I ſhould rather "have needed a Pardon from the Government for my Beha"viour towards them, but that I knew that in ſo doing I con"form'd my ſelf to the *Spirit* of the Government, as well as "I acted conform to my own Principles. I had but Five "Nonjurors in my Dioceſe: One of theſe, Mr. *Martin*, was "continued by me in his Living to his Death, which was "Two Years ago, [from 1696] and I ſtill paid him the An"nual Income of his Prebend out of my own Purſe. He "would not indeed take the Oaths; but he would never *join* "in the Schiſm with the reſt of the Nonjurors, whoſe Princi"ples and Practices (he ſaid to me) he deteſted. Another "of them, Mr. *Spinkes*, enjoys a Donative to this Day, which "I ſuffer him to ſerve by a Curate; whereas I could require "his ſerving the Cure in Perſon: And he enjoy'd his Pre"bend a Year beyond the Time prefix'd by Law. Another "of them, Mr. *Jones*, had the Nomination of his own Suc"ceſſor, whom I collated to his Living. A Fourth, Mr. *Dick*"*ſon*, died immediately after the Deprivation by the Act of "Parliament; but I ſhewed all poſſible Regard to him as "long as he liv'd. I reſerve Dr. *Beach* to the laſt place: He "has taken Liberties, that few (if any) of them *have* taken." "He kept himſelf violently in his Living for Two Years, af"ter he was by Law depriv'd.—— In Return of a great ma"ny Kindneſſes, he has held a Conventicle ever ſince at *Sa*"*liſbury*, and pours out all the malicious Stuff he can againſt "me."

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Jan. 12. *William Bridgman*, Eſq; was ſworn one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council, in the Place of *John Dyve*, Eſq; deceaſed. On *Sunday*, *Jan.* 22. Colonel *Edwin Stede*, late Lieutenant-Governor of *Barbadoes*, preſenting an Addreſs to his Majeſty, from the Grand-Jury of that Iſland, received the Honour of Knighthood. On *Jan.* 26. his Majeſty conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon *Chriſtopher Greenvil* of *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*. His Majeſty being now intent upon preparing his Fleet for the next Summer's Expedition, thought fit to lay aſide Admiral *Ruſſel*, and put the chief command of the Fleet into the Hands of *Henry Killigrew*, Eſq; Sir *Ralph Delaval*, and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, and conſtituted them to be Admiral by a Joint Commiſſion; and on *Feb.* 8. his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint *George Rooke*, Eſq; to be Vice-Admiral of the *Red*; *George* Lord *Barclay*, Vice-Admiral of the *Blue*; Colonel *Matthew Aylmer*, Rear-Admiral of the *Red*; and Captain *David Mitchel*, Rear-Admiral of the *Blue*. On *Feb.* 16. the King came to *Portſmouth* to ſee the Men of War at *Spithead*, and went on Board Vice-Admiral *Rook*; upon whom his Majeſty conferred the Honour of Knighthood. When his Majeſty was ſetting Things in order for his Journey to *Holland*, to leave the Adminiſtration of Affairs upon a ſurer Bottom in his Abſence, he was pleaſed on *March* the 23d, (the Day before his Departure) to commit the Cuſtody of the Great Seal to Sir *John Somers*, Attorney-General; who was accordingly Sworn Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and one of their Majeſties moſt honourable Privy-Council. The ſame Day Sir *John Trenchard*, Knt. was Sworn one of their Majeſties Principal Secretaries of State, and of the Privy-Council. His Majeſty ordered a new Commiſſion to paſs under the Great Seal, conſtituting Sir *John Lowther* of *Whitehaven*, Baronet, *Henry Prieſtman*, Eſq; *Anthony* Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, *Robert Auſtin*, Eſq; Sir *Robert Rich*, Baronet, *Henry Killegrew*, Eſq; and Sir *Ralph Delaval*, Knt. to be Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*. And at the ſame time his Majeſty was pleaſed to grant to the Honourable *Edward Ruſſel*, Eſq; the Office of Treaſurer of their Majeſties Chamber.

Admiral Ruſſel laid aſide. Commiſſioners appointed for the Fleet.

Civil Officers.

On the Death of Dr. *Thomas Wood*, Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, their Majeſties were pleaſed to nominate *William* Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* to be Tranſlated to that See. On *Sunday*, *Feb.* 19. Dr. *John Hartſtongue*, Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, kiſſed their Majeſties Hands for the Biſhoprick of *Oſſery* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, void by the Death of Dr. *Thomas Otway*.

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William Mountford, the famous Comedian, was ſet upon in the Street, in a Quarrel on the Account of Mrs. *Bracegirdle*, an eminent Actreſs, and was barbarouſly Murdered; the Lord *Charles Mohun* being unhappily in the Company, was Indicted for this Murder, and brought a Priſoner from the *Tower* to his Tryal before the Peers in Parliament, in a Court prepared for that Purpoſe in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the Marquis of *Carmarthen* being Conſtituted Lord High-Steward of *England*, *pro hac Vice*. The Court was opened on *Jan.* 31. and the Tryal began between Twelve and One, and laſted till near Six in the Afternoon, when the Peers adjourn'd to their own Houſe, and after ſome Debate Adjourned there till the next Day; when after ſome further Debate they adjourn'd to *Friday*, *Feb.* the 3d, when in the ſaid Court in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, ſeveral Queſtions were propoſed in Points of Law to the Judges then preſent, to which they gave their Reſolutions. On the next Day their Lordſhips came into the Hall, and deliver'd their Judgment *Seriatim*, upon their Honours; and by a very great Majority the Lord *Mohun* was Acquitted of the ſaid Murder.

Lord Mohun Indicted for the Murder of Mr. Mountford.

Acquitted by his Peers.

On the laſt Day of the old Year his Majeſty parted from *Kenſington* very early, and came to *Harwich* that Night, but was not able to Embark by reaſon of the contrary Winds; ſo on *Monday*, *March* 27. his Majeſty came back to *Colcheſter*, and Dined and Lay that Night at the Houſe of Mr. *Iſaac Rebow*, upon whom his Majeſty conferred the Honour of Knighthood, and return'd to *Kenſington* on *March* the 28th, and on the 31ſt, parted from thence again for *Graveſend*, where he Embarked and ſet Sail about Five that Afternoon, with a fair Wind for *Holland*, being attended by ſeveral Yatchts, and a Squadron of Men of War, under the Command of Rear-Admiral *Mitchell*, and was accompanied by the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and other Perſons of Quality. He arrived ſafely in the *Maeſe* on *April* the 2d, went to the *Hague*, and from thence to *Loo*, from whence he went to the Army, and with great Diligence poſſeſſed himſelf of the Camp at *Parks*, by which he entirely broke the *French* King's Deſigns upon *Brabant*, who was thereby obliged to ſend a ſtrong Detachment under the Command of the *Dauphin* and the Mareſchal *de Boufflers* into *Germany*, and he himſelf return'd to *Verſailles*, without attempting any Thing. The *French* under the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, were all this while Encamped at *Meldert*, and though their Convoys were very much diſturb'd by the Gariſon of *Charleroy*, yet it ſeem'd a Trial of Skill between both Armies, which ſhould continue longeſt in their

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The King goes for Holland.

The *Non-Jurors*, when diſappointed of their Hopes from the Power of *France*, began to be more eager in their Pretences of Spiritual Power, and to make themſelves the *Church*, and to declare the Eſtabliſh'd *Church* to be in a *Schiſm* from them, and their deprived Fathers to be the only Biſhops, on Account of the Invalidity of their Deprivation by a Lay-Authority. The chief Writer who manag'd this Pretence was Mr. *Dodwell*; and the chief Expoſer of his Pretenſions was Dr. *Hody*. The Biſhop of *Sarum* in his *Vindication*, P. 146. Summ'd up their Evidence in theſe Words: "Upon this "whole Matter there are two Particulars, in which we can "boldly appeal to the Practice of the *Catholick-Church* in all "Ages. The *Firſt* is, We challenge them to ſhew us any one "Inſtance, where after a Revolution in the State happened, "that was generally received and ſettled, the Biſhops and Paſtors of the *Church* refuſed to acknowledge the preſent Civil "Government, and to act in their Stations under it; and more "particularly where any Revolution happened, which reſcued "and ſettled the true Religion, that was not received with a "general Joy and Gratitude, even though the Methods of it, "and Steps to it, were liable to great and juſt Exceptions. "We are ſure, they cannot ſhew us any Inſtance that looks "like a Precedent to their Proceedings; but that the whole "Courſe of Hiſtory is one continued Precedent in our Favour. "The *Second* is, We challenge them to ſhew us, where ever a "*Schiſm* was formed upon the Lay-Deprivation of a Biſhop, "even when the Grounds that it proceeded on were viſibly "unjuſt, if the Faith of the Church was not pretended to be "concerned in that Matter. More particularly we challenge "them to ſhew us an Inſtance, where the Biſhops or Clergy "of a Church adhered to a Metropolitan or a Biſhop ſo turned "out, or made a *Schiſm* upon his Account, when he did not "by any publick Act or Inſtrument aſſert his own Right, and "challenge the Obedience of thoſe who were ſubordinate to "him.

The *Diſſenters* carried on the good Deſign of agreeing at leaſt among themſelves. See 1. *The Agreement in Doctrine among the* Diſſenting *Miniſters in* London, *upon ſome Differences which have of late ariſen, occaſioned by a Book written by Mr.* Williams, *&c. Subſcrib.* Decemb. 15, 1692, 4to. —— 2. *The Senſe of the United Non-conforming Miniſters, in and about* London, *concerning ſome of the Erroneous Doctrines, and Irregular Practices of Mr.* Richard Davis *of* Rothwell *in* Northamptonſhire, *bearing Teſtimony againſt his Doctrines, and his Unchriſtian Practices.* Dat. *Decemb.* 26. 1692, 4to.

King *James* was put in Hopes again by the *French*, that their Arms would be ſtill able to reſtore Him to a divided Kingdom, and therefore to create an Expectation of it, He ſent forth another *Declaration*, Given at St. *Germains*, *Apr.* 17. 1693, in the Ninth Year of his Reign, telling *all his Loving Subjects*, that upon his *Reſtoration to his Realms*, *he will defend the Church of* England, —— *and recommend an impartial Liberty of Conſcience*, —— *and not diſpenſe with, or violate the Teſt*, &c. —— See *An Anſwer to the laſt Declaration* of the late King *James*, Dated at St. *Germains*, *Apr.* 17. *N. S.* 1693. Licenſed by Mr. Secretary *Trenchard*. Printed for *R. Baldwin*, 1693, 4to.

Poſts;

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Poſts; but at length, the *French*, *July* the 13th, were forced to quit theirs firſt, marching to *Heilſheim* in their way towards the *Maeſe*, which gave the King an Opportunity to ſend a ſtrong Detachment under the Command of the Prince of *Wirtemburgh*, to force the Lines which the *French* had made to cover their conquer'd Countries, from the *Scheld* to the *Lys*, and ſo to *Ipres*, *Bing*, St. *Winox*, and to the very Sea by *Dunkirk*. At the ſame time Count *Tilly*, General of the Troops of *Liege*, was marching with a Reinforcement to joyn the King; of which *Luxemburgh* being inform'd, he march'd immediately with a good Body of Troops to hinder that Conjunction, which he did effectually, ſurpriſing the Count in the Hollow-Way, through which he was marching, and forcing him to retreat to *Maeſtricht*, leaving near two Hundred of his Men killed, and all his Baggage behind him. The Prince of *Wirtemburgh*'s forcing the Lines with good ſucceſs, *July* 18. and raiſing great Contributions, did not hinder the Duke of *Luxemburgh* from laying Siege to *Huy* on the 19th of *July*, which made the King advance nearer the Country of *Liege*; but when his Majeſty came to *Tongres*, he was ſurpriz'd to hear that the Caſtle of *Huy* had Capitulated. Upon further Information, that Monſieur *Luxemburgh* was drawn nearer *Liege*, his Majeſty ſent Ten Battalions thither, which with great Difficulty got at length into the Place; that now abſolutely rejected the Neutrality *Luxemburgh* offer'd. Thereupon the *French* General made a Feint of beſieging *Liege*, though his real Deſign was to Attack the King, now Encamped at *Neerheſpen*, ſo much weaken'd by the ſeveral Detachments he had made to reinforce the Gariſons of *Liege* and *Maeſtricht*, that it was generally computed that the *French* were at leaſt Thirty-five Thouſand Men ſtronger. The King to know the certainty of the Enemies Deſigns, before he went farther off from the *Maeſe*, ſent out daily ſome Parties of Horſe, one of which returned on the 28th of *July*, (*N. S.*) and gave his Majeſty an Account they could not go beyond *Warem*, becauſe they met there with a great Party of *French* Horſe; which was indeed the Left Wing of their Army upon the March. As ſoon as the King had notice of the Enemies Approach, he got on Horſeback, with the Elector of *Bavaria* and chief Officers of the Army, and finding by the Enemies Countenance, that 'twas the Vanguard of their whole Army that was coming to Attack him in his own Camp, his Majeſty immediately ordered to Arms, and to draw in Battel to expect the Enemy. Moſt of the General Officers were for repaſſing the *Geet*, but his Majeſty choſe to make the Advantage of the Ground he had, and venture a Battel, notwithſtanding the vaſt diſproportion of the two Armies, rather than expoſe his Rear to the Enemies Charge. Beſides, the *French* were now near the great and defenceleſs Towns of *Brabant*, which muſt feel the Effects of their Fury, unleſs they had been ſtopp'd by venturing an Engagement; and as the Benefits of a Victory were great, ſo upon the worſt Suppoſition of the Event, the King had ſtill Prince *Wirtemburgh*'s Victorious Army, ready to make up the Breaches of his own, an Advantage which the Enemy had not ſo ready on their ſide. The Right of the Confederates in this Campaign was at *Heyliſſem*, and *Wangen*, upon the River *Geet*, and reach'd as far as *Neerwinden*, being covered with a ſmall Brook, ſeveral Hedges and Hollow-Ways. The Elector of *Bavaria* had his Quarters at *Wangen*; the Body of Foot, and Left Wing of the Horſe, reached from thence as far as *Dormal*, upon the Brook of *Beck*, where *Lewe* remain'd in their Rear.

The French forced to Decamp.

Luxemburgh reſolves to Attack the King.

The King prepares for it.

There are hereabouts two Rivers, both which have the Name of *Geet*, the greater and the leſs: The greater *Geet* comes from *Judoign* to *Tillemont*; The leſſer, which did run upon the Right Part of the Rear of the Confederates Camp at *Neerheſpen*, has its Spring about *Lens les Reguines*, and ſo runs to *Hannuge*, and ſeveral other Villages, to both the *Heyliſſems*, to *Heerheſpen*, and ſo to *Lewe*. The Brook of *Beck* riſes about *Putſay*, runs to *Landen* and ſo to the *Lewe*, where it joins with the leſſer *Geet*, and all theſe three ſmall Rivers join in one below *Lewe*. About Six in the Afternoon the Mareſchal *de Joeyuſe* came up with the Left Wing of Horſe; and about Eight the Body of Foot, which for more Expedition the Prince of *Conti* had order'd to March, after they had paſſed the *Jecker* upon Four Columns, with the beſt Part of the Artillery; but as 'twas too late then to engage a Battel, *Luxemburgh* contented himſelf to diſpoſe his Army, in order to begin early the next Day; and for this End poſſeſſed himſelf of the Villages of *Landen*, St. *Gertruydenland* and *Overwinden*.

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As ſoon as the Enemy drew up by the Confederate Camp, the King order'd Brigadeer *Ramſey* with his Brigade, then compoſed of Five Batallions, *viz.* *O Farel*, *Mackay*, *Lowder*, *Lowen*, and *Monroe*, to the Right of all, to guard ſome Hedges and Hollow-Ways, upon the Right of the Village of *Laire*. The *Brandenburgh* Battalions were poſted to the Left of this Village; and more to the Left the Infantry of *Hanover*; Prince *Charles* of *Brandenburgh*, as Major-General, commanding the Six Batallions of *Brandenburgh*, and Lieutenant-General *Dumont* the *Hannoverians*, with whom he went to defend the Village of *Neerwinden*, that cover'd part of the Confederate Camp, between the Right Wing of Horſe, and their Main Body. Theſe were afterwards reinforced by the Firſt Battalion of the Firſt Regiment of Guards and a Second Battalion of *Scotch* Guards. Upon the Left at *Neer-Landen*, the King ordered the Firſt Battalion of the Royal Regiment, *Churchill*'s *Selwin*'s, and *Trelawney*'s, Prince *Frederick*'s Battalion of *Dane*'s and *Fagel*'s, to poſſeſs this Village that covered the Left of the Confederates Body of Foot, which upon the Enemies Approach had wheel'd from the Left to the Right, to bring up their Left to the Brook of *Beck*, where 'twas covered by the Village of *Neer-Landen*. The Ground was open between the Villages of *Neer-Winden* and *Neer-Landen*; whereupon his Majeſty order'd a Retrenchment to be made in the Night from the one to the other, to cover the Body of Foot, which was indeed but a ſlight Breaſt-work, as may eaſily be judged by the ſhort time they had to make it, and the ſmall Number of Men that work'd about it, to wit, Thirty Men *per* Battallion. What remained of the Body of the Foot was drawn up in one Line within this Intrenchment to defend it. The Dragoons upon the Left were order'd to the Village of *Dormal*, to guard that Paſs upon the Brook of *Beck*, and from thence the Left Wing of Horſe reach'd to *Neer-Landen*, where 'twas covered by this Brook; and from thence turned off to the Right behind the Body of Foot.

Battel of Landen.

The King who had been on Horſeback till late in the Evening, not only to give all the neceſſary Commands, but to ſee them executed, ordered his Coach to be brought to the Rear of *Stanley*'s Regiment, where he repoſed himſelf about two Hours; and early in the Morning ſent for Dr. *Menard*, one of his Chaplains, into the Coach to pray with him, ſuitable to the Occaſion: A rare Example to all Military Men, who from this may learn, that the moſt Heroick Valour is that which is grounded on a good Conſcience, and a true Chriſtian Piety.

By Sun-Riſing the *French* were drawn up within the reach of the Confederates Cannon, which played upon them with good Succeſs, and which the *French* ſuſtained with admirable Conſtancy, till about Six a Clock, when they made a Motion to draw nearer the King's Retrenchment. About Eight *Luxemburgh* order'd a ſtrong Body of Troops to Attack the Villages of *Lare* and *Neer-Winden*; which they did with great Fury and various Succeſs, having gained and loſt theſe Poſts once and again; but at length the

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the Allies maintain'd their Ground; and here the Duke of *Berwick* was taken Priſoner by Brigadier *Churchill.* This ill Succeſs did not diſcourage the *French* from trying their Fortune againſt the Confederates Left-Wing at *Neer-Landen.* 'Tis true, this Poſt was not weak, but it was Attack'd with a great diſproportion of Forces, and the Fire was very ſmart on both Sides. The Firſt Battalion of the Royal Regiment was after a ſharp Diſpute forced to retire, but was ſoon after encouraged by his Majeſty's Preſence (who rode immediately from the Right to the Left) and ſuſtain'd by *Selwin*'s, who obſerving a Paſſage in this Place where Horſe could come upon his Rear, order'd Trees to be cut down, and ſtopp'd it up. The Houſe were *Hamilton*'s Grenadiers had before been Poſted, was likewiſe ſet on Fire, and by this time the two forementiοn'd Regiments being ſupported by Prince *Frederick's* and *Fagel*'s, the Enemy after a ſharp Diſpute of about two Hours, were entirely beaten off, and purſued quite out of the Defile into the very Plain, ſo that they attempted this Place no more.

Succeſs at firſt on the Confederates ſide.

Hitherto the Succeſs of the Day was viſibly on the Confederates ſide; and the *French* who continued a faint Fire at *Neer-Winden*, ſeem'd by their Countenance as if they deſign'd to draw off: But *Luxemburgh* having ſtill ſeveral Brigades of freſh Men, reſolved to gain the Village of *Neer-Winden*, and order'd the Prince of *Conti to* make the Attack. The Enemy had remain'd Maſters of the outermoſt Hedges of this Village; for though our rally'd Forces had made the *French* give way conſiderably, yet they could not entirely clear the Village. The Prince of *Conti* with the beſt Foot in the *French* Army, charg'd the Confederates ſo vigorouſly, that the latter being already ſpent by the former Encounters, were ſoon obliged to yield to the Enemy the Avenues of *Neer-Winden*; upon which Succeſs *Luxemburgh* came to obſerve the Paſſages that led to the Confederates Camp for his Horſe to march in. As the Mareſchal *de Villeroy* was marching with a ſtrong Body of Horſe this way, Count *de Arco*, General of the *Bavarian* Cuiraſſiers, charged them with ſo much Vigor, that notwithſtanding their brave Reſiſtance, he repuls'd them quite within their Foot; the Count de *Chartres* who charg'd with them, narrowly eſcaped being made Priſoner. Thereupon the Confederates endeavour'd to regain once more the Poſt of *Neer-Winden*; and the Elector of *Bavaria* ordered two Battalions to charge the Enemy in Front, whilſt three others ſhould charge them upon their left Flank; but the *French* Rallying, and being conſiderably Reinforced, the Attempt became impoſſible; the *Dutch* and the *Scotch* Guards having ſpent all their Ammunition by their continual Fire. The King who had left *Neerlanden* upon the Enemies freſh Attempt upon *Neer-Winden*, led twice the *Engliſh* Battalions to the Charge, up to the Right of the Retrenchments (which was now Flank'd, and under the Enemies Command) where they Fought with great Bravery. In the mean time, *Luxemburgh*, who had found a more convenient Paſſage for the Horſe, between the Poſts of the King's and *Zurbeck*'s Brigades, came in himſelf with the Prince of *Conti* and Count *de Marſin*, into the Plain of the Confederates Camp, with the Carabineers, and ſeveral other Regiments, whilſt the Mareſchal *de Joyeuſe* paſs'd between *Neer-Winden* and *Lare*, with Three Brigades. The firſt that had come in with Prince *Conti*, join'd with the King's Horſe, and fell upon the *Hanover* Horſe, and broke them; whilſt Part of the Enemy's Second Line of Horſe, and the Reſerve, came in upon their Left, along the Hedges of *Lare.* The Marquis of *Harcourt*, who had been ſent for from *Huy*, with his Detachment of Twenty Two Squadrons, came time enough to have his ſhare of the Day: He join'd theſe, and made his Dragoons alight to chaſe our Foot out of the Village of *Laire.* The Duke of *Villeroy* came in upon our Right of the Retrenchments, which Place the *Engliſh* Foot diſputed with undaunted Reſolution, till being over-powered, the *French* remain'd Maſters of this Part of the Retrenchment, which they levelled, to make room for a Body of Horſe to come after the *Hanover* Horſe had been broken; the reſt of the Confederates Right Wing of Horſe being cut off from the Body of Foot, was ſoon overthrown by the Enemy, who now had the Opportunity to charge them both Front and Flank. The Elector of *Bavaria* did what he could to reſiſt the numerous Multitude of the Enemies Horſe that charged him thus; but finding it impoſſible, with no ſmall difficulty he retreated over the Bridge, and rally'd on the other Side, as many of the ſcattere'd Horſe and Foot as could get over, to favour the Retreat of thoſe who were ready to paſs. The King did what he could to remedy this Diſorder; Riding to the Left to bring up the *Engliſh* Horſe for the Relief of the Right Wing. But the Enemy had now got another Body of Horſe in our Camp, commanded by the Duke *d' Elboeuf.* At the ſame time the Duke *de Montmorency*, *Luxemburgh*'s Son, fell upon the Right Flank of the *Dutch* Horſe, and put them in Diſorder, before the *Engliſh* Horſe, which were led on by the King, could come up and form their Squadrons; ſo that they were forced to charge the Enemy in the ſame Order they rid up to them; (and moſt of them had rid as faſt as their Horſes could gallop) but that did not hinder them from doing extraordinary Service. The King himſelf charged at the Head of my Lord *Galloway*'s Regiment, which diſtinguiſhed it ſelf very much on this Occaſion. Colonel *Wyndham*, at the Head of his Regiment, charg'd ſeveral times through and through the Enemies Squadrons. Colonel *Langſtone* was made Priſoner; and the Duke of *Ormond* having charged at the Head of one of *Lumley*'s Squadrons, received ſeveral Wounds, and had his Horſe ſhot under him, but was reſcued by a Gentleman of the *French* King's Guards, from the Hands of a Villain who was offering to ſtab him.

By degrees overpower'd by the French.

The King ſeeing the Battel loſt, order'd the Infantry to retreat to *Dormal*, upon the Brook of *Beck*, which Poſt had hitherto been kept by the Dragoons of the Left Wing, who had nothing to do this Day; and finding that the Enemies were ſurrounding him on all ſides, his Majeſty order'd the Regiments of *Wyndham*, *Lumley*, and *Galloway*, to cover his Retreat over the Bridge at *Neerheſpen*, which he gain'd with great Difficulty. There was now nothing but Confuſion and Diſorder in the Confederates Camp; all thoſe who could not get the Paſſes for the Retreat, being preſſed by the Enemy, were forc'd to fling themſelves into the River, where abundance were drowned; the Earl of *Athlone* narrowly eſcaping the ſame Fate. Lieutenant-General *Talmaſh* brought off the *Engliſh* Foot with great Prudence, Bravery, and Succeſs; but ſome of the *Engliſh* Life-Guards were ſo fear'd with the Fury of a purſuing Enemy, that they did not think themſelves ſecure till they reach'd *Breda.* Sixty Pieces of Cannon and Nine Mortars were loſt; but all the Baggage had been ſent to *Lewe* the over-Night, where it was ſafely brought off in reſpect of the Enemy, but generally plunder'd by our own Soldiers. As for the Loſs of Men, the Confederates owned but Six thouſand killed, wounded, or taken Priſoners; and the *French* could not deny, but that they had above Two thouſand Officers killed or wounded; let the Reader gueſs how many private Soldiers they loſt in Proportion.

The King's Retreat.

The King, in the Day of Battel, ſhew'd himſelf as he had always done, a Hero and a Commander; and it was by a wonderful Providence, that he eſcap'd Three Muſquet-Shots, one through his Peruke, another through the Sleeve of his Coat, and a third, which carried off the Knot of his Scarf, and left a ſmall Contuſion on his Side. In ſhort, his

The King's Courage, and Conduct.

1693. 5 *W. M.* Majeſty gain'd ſo far the Reſpect and Admiration of his very Enemies, that 'twas a common Saying amongſt them, *That they wanted but ſuch a King to make them Maſters of* Chriſtendom. And the Prince of *Conti*, in his intercepted Letter to the Princeſs his Wife, ſaid, *He ſaw the King expoſing himſelf to the greateſt Dangers*; *and that ſurely ſo much Valour very well deſerv'd the peacable Poſſeſſion of the Crown He wore.*

The Confederates gave it out, that the *French* had loſt 18000 Men in the Battel; which Aſſertion ſeem'd to be confirm'd, by *Luxemburgh's* not purſuing his Victory, and his continuing Fifteen Days together at *Waren*, without attempting any thing. However, after they had been reinforc'd with ſome Troops from the Sea-Coaſt, and a great Detachment under *Boufflers* from the *Rhine*, they ſat down before *Charleroy*, *Sept.* 10. The Place was attack'd with great Fury; but the Gariſon made ſuch a vigorous Reſiſtance, that tho' they had little or no Proſpect of Relief, yet they held out Six and twenty Days, from the opening of the Trenches; and then made an honourable Capitulation, *Octob.* 10. The *French* were not leſs ſucceſsful in *Catalonia*, where ſo early as the 29th of *May*, they inveſted *Roſes* both by Sea and Land; and carried the Siege of it on with that Diligence, that they made themſelves Maſters of the Place in Seven Days.

The *French* take *Charleroy.*

Actions on the *Rhine.*

On the other hand, the *Germans* were ſo ſlow, and the *French* ſo forward on the *Rhine*, that the latter paſs'd that River about the middle of *May* at *Philipsburg*; and, without any Oppoſition, the Marquis of *Chamilly* inveſted the City of *Heidelberg*. At the ſame Time, the Duke *de Lorge* croſſed the firſt Mountains, to oppoſe the Prince of *Baden*, who was not yet in a Condition to act but defenſively; ſo that the Town muſt now ſhift for it ſelf. But beſides its natural Weakneſs, there was at this Time ſuch a Diviſion between the Gariſon and the Townſmen, about the Money that was call'd in, and which the former would have go current again, that when the Regiment of *Sconbeck* was ready to enter the Place to reinforce the Gariſon, the Townſmen would not ſuffer them to come in; which gave Monſieur *de Melac* an Opportunity to ſeize a Redoubt which commanded that part of the Town. In ſhort, the *French* on the 21ſt of *May*, made themſelves Maſters of the Suburbs with little Oppoſition; and their Grenadiers drove the Beſieged with ſo much Fury to the Caſtle-Gate, that the latter left above 600 of their Soldiers without, who were all put to the Sword. The Governor of the Caſtle apprehending the ſame Fate, accepted the Conditions which Monſieur *de Lorge* impos'd upon him, *June* 2. and was contented to be conducted to *Wimpel* with the reſt of his Gariſon, conſiſting of 1200 Men, 2 Pieces of Cannon, and 12 Waggons laden with Baggage. The *Imperialiſts* were no ſooner out of the City, but the *French* ſet both that and the Caſtle on fire, and committed ſeveral other Barbarities in the *Palatinate*, not ſparing ſo much as the ſacred Repoſitories of the Aſhes of the Deceaſed Electors. Fluſh'd with this eaſy Succeſs, the Mareſchal *de Lorge* advanced towards the *Neckar*, with a Deſign to attack the Prince of *Baden*, who lay encamp'd with his Army on the other ſide of the River; which the *French* Twice endeavoured to paſs, but were forced to abandon their Enterprize, with the Loſs of near a Thouſand Men. Some time after this, the *Dauphin* in Perſon join'd the Army, which conſiſted of near 70000 Men; and having croſs'd the *Neckar*, made a Shew of attacking the Prince of *Baden*; but found his Highneſs ſo well poſted, that he repaſs'd the River without attempting any thing; and having put a Gariſon into *Stugard*, and ſent a Detachment into *Flanders* and *Piedmont*, he returned in the Month of *Auguſt* to *Verſailles*.

Affairs of *Italy.*

Let's now take a ſhort View of the Affairs of *Italy*. The Duke of *Savoy* was no ſooner recover'd of his long Indiſpoſition, but he put himſelf at the Head of the Army; which being conſiderably ſtrong, made the Inhabitants of *Dauphine* apprehenſive of a worſe Irruption into their Country than the laſt. But the Confederates ſeem'd now chiefly to aim at the driving the *French* out of *Italy*, by diſpoſſeſſing them of *Cazal* and *Pignerol*; neither of which was effected this Year. 'Tis true, *Cazal* was block'd up for ſome Time, and the Fort of *St. George* carried by Aſſault, which compleated the Blockade of that Place; but Things went no farther. And the Duke of *Savoy*, with the Main Army, laid Siege to *Pignerol*, took the Fort of *St. Bridget*, that cover'd the Place; but paid ſo dear for this Poſt, that after all, it was debated, Whether they ſhould carry on the Siege, or only bombard the Town? While the Allies were thus deliberating among themſelves, Monſieur *Catinat* being conſiderably reinforc'd, deſcended into the Plains, and gave the Duke ſuch Umbrage for *Turin*, that he drew off from about *Pignerol*, and encamp'd at *Marſaglia*, having firſt blown up the Fort of *St. Bridget*. The Army was preſently drawn up in *Battalia*. The Marquis *de Leganez* commanded the Left Wing, compos'd of the King of *Spain's* Troops; his Royal Highneſs, and under him the Count of *Caprara*, commanded the Right Wing; and Prince *Eugene* the Main Battel, having under him the Marquis *de la Parelle*, and the Count *de las Torres*. As for the Duke of *Schomberg*, being denied the Poſt due to him, he reſolved to fight on Foot at the Head of his own Regiment, like an ordinary Colonel. The Confederate Army being thus diſpos'd, marched on the 3d of *November* into the Neighbourhood of *Orbaſſon*; from whence they perceived the Enemy towards the Hills, between *Orbaſſon* and *Pioſaſque*. Early the next Day the *French* advanced towards the Confederates, making uſe of the Advantage they had in the Ground, which was full of Wood and Vineyards; and ſoon after the Cannon began to play on both Sides. About Half an Hour after Eight, the *French* fell upon the Confederate Left Wing with near Twenty thouſand Men, without firing a Shot, having their Bayonets at the End of their Fuzees, and their Swords in their Hands. They were received and driven back with great Vigor; but renewing their Attack, they took in Front and Flank the *Neapolitan* and *Milaneze* Horſe; who, after having couragiouſly withſtood the Fury of their Enemy, were at laſt overpower'd by their Numbers, and puſh'd upon the *German* Horſe. Theſe being at the ſame time charg'd by the Little *Gendarmerie*, were no longer able to maintain their Ground, but fell upon the Infantry, which was put alſo into Diſorder. The Second Line was brought on to oppoſe the Enemy, while the Firſt Line rallied; but the Horſe giving way, the Foot was quickly routed.

While Things paſſed thus on this ſide, the *French* were Thrice repulſed with great Loſs by the Confederates Main Battalia, and Right Wing; till their Horſe, which had made the Left Wing give way, attack'd the Confederates Infantry behind and in Flank; who had no longer any Horſe to cover them, and were at the ſame Time attack'd by the Enemies Foot. All the Troops fought with great Courage, and the Diſpute was deſperate on both Sides. His *Britannick* Majeſty's Forces, which were poſted in the Main Battalia, particularly diſtinguiſh'd themſelves; and the Duke of *Schomberg*, their General, was deſir'd by the Count *de las Torres*, after the Enemies Third Attack, to take upon him the Command, and cauſe a Retreat to be made by the Body of Foot, and the Right Wing: But his Grace being piqu'd at the Uſage he had met with before, told him, that it was neceſſary firſt to have his Royal Highneſs's Order; and until it came, he would bear the Enemies Fire; adding, that he found Things were gone ſo far, that they muſt now either van-

1693. 5 *W. M.* quiſh or die. The Confederates reſiſted the repeated Efforts of the Enemy with extraordinary Reſolution; but were at laſt forced to abandon the Field of Battel, and to retire with the Loſs of the greateſt Part of their Cannon, and of Seven or Eight thouſand Men. The Duke of *Schomberg* having fought with unparallel'd Valour, received a Wound in the Thigh, of which he died not many Days after. With this Action ended the Campaign in *Piedmont.*

Affairs at Sea.

Our Affairs at Sea were as unfortunate as thoſe at Land. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleet was large and ſtrong, and ſet out early. There was alſo a great Fleet of Merchant-men, making in all near 400 Sail of *Engliſh, Dutch, Hamburghers, &c.* bound for the *Streights*, under the Convoy of 23 Men of War, commanded by Sir *George Rooke*, with whom the Grand Fleet was to keep Company till they came to ſuch a Latitude; or, as ſome reported, till they had certain Intelligence where the *French* Fleet was. Sir *George* at the appointed Time, left the Main Fleet, and ſailed on, leaving by the way the Veſſels bound for *Bilboa, Lisbon, St. Ubes*, and other Ports, under Convoy of Two Men of War, and ſo purſued his Voyage towards the *Streights.* On *June* 15. being come within 60 Leagues of *Cape St. Vincent*, he diſcovered Part of the *French* Fleet, which made him call a Council of War; wherein it was reſolved, that the Wind being freſh *Weſtwardly*, and giving a fair Opportunity to haſten their Paſſage to *Cadiz*, the Merchants ſhould make the beſt of their way. Upon the Diſcovery of the Enemies whole Fleet, commanded by Monſieur *de Tourville*, and conſiſting of Eighty Sail, Sir *George Rook* brought to, and ſtood off with an eaſy Sail, to give what Time he could to the heavy Sails to work away to the Windward, ſending away the *Sheerneſs* to order the ſmall Ships that were under the Shoar to get in the Night into *Faro, St. Lucar*, and *Cadiz.* About Six in the Evening, *June* 16. the *French* Admiral, and Vice Admiral of the Blue, came up with the *Leeward*, and ſtern'd moſt of the Confederate Fleet, which were Three *Dutch* Men of War, who fought firſt Eleven, and then Seven *French* Men of War, but were at laſt forc'd to yield. This made the *Dutch* Merchant-men that were there, tack for the Shore, and the Enemy after them, which gave an Opportunity for the Ships to Windward, and a-head, to make Sail off, and ſaved a great Part of the Fleet. And yet the Loſs was very conſiderable; for beſides Four of the greateſt *Smyrna* Ships, and one *Dutch* Man of War, which Monſieur *Coetlogon* burnt or ſunk at *Gibraltar*, and Seven which he took, Monſieur *de Tourville*, and Count *de Eſtrees*, took Two *Dutch* Men of War, burnt a rich Pinace, and an *Engliſh* Man of War, took 29 Merchant-men, and deſtroyed about 50 more. Upon this Diſaſter Sir *George Rook* with the Men of War, and ſome Merchant-men made the beſt of his way for *Ireland.* This Misfortune lay heavy upon the Hearts of the Merchants, and indeed upon the Minds of all the People of *England*; and therefore at the next meeting of the Parliament, the firſt Thing they did, was to enquire into the Miſcarriages of the Fleet the laſt Summer, and to conſider how beſt to preſerve the Trade of the Nation. Some Time was ſpent in examining the Inſtructions and Orders given to the Fleet; the Number of Ships for the Line of Battel, and of the Convoys and Cruiſers; the Admirals that commanded both, and the Reſults of the ſeveral Councils of War held by them; and then on *Nov.* 17. the Commons Reſolved, *It was the Opinion of that Houſe, That there had been a Notorious and Treacherous Miſmanagement in the Miſcarriage of the* Smyrna *Fleet.* Their next Enquiry was, *Why the* Streights *Fleet was ſtopp'd till the Main Fleet went out?* And then, *Why the Main Fleet did not convoy Sir* George Rook's *Squadron, and the* Merchant-*Ships, out of danger of the* French *Fleet?* And it being alledged, That the Main Fleet was not ſufficiently victualled; the Commons examin'd the State of their Stores at ſailing from *Spithead*, and thereupon Reſolved, *Nov.* 27. *That there were ſufficient Beer and other Stores on Board the Main Fleet when Sir* George Rook *ſeparated, to have convoy'd his Squadron, and the Merchant-Ships out of danger of the* Breſt *Fleet.* But though the Miſcarriage was very notorious they knew not where to fix the particular Blame: For on *Nov.* 29. the Queſtion being put, *That it did appear to that Houſe, that the Admirals that commanded the Fleet the laſt Summer, had on the 11th of* May *laſt, Information that part of the* Breſt *Fleet was going out to Sea*, it paſs'd in the Negative. And on the 6th of *December* another Queſtion being put, *That the Admirals, by not ſending into* Breſt *for Intelligence, before they left the* Streights *Squadron, were guilty of a high Breach of the Truſt that was repoſed in them, to the great Loſs and Diſhonour of the Nation*; it was likewiſe carried in the Negative. Before this Enquiry in Parliament, the Admirals had been examin'd before the Council-Board; but nothing could be made appear to the Prejudice of their Honour, only ſome flying Reports, which gave Occaſion to this Order of Council on *Octob.* 25. "Whereas a Report has been raiſed "and ſpread by *Henry Killigrew*, Eſq; Sir *Ralph* "*Delaval*, and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, Knt. Admirals "of their Majeſties Fleet, That the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, one of the "Lords of their Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy-"Council, did upon reading a Paper at the Board, "ſtifle ſomething that was material to their Juſtification: The Lords of the Council having conſidered of, and examined into the Matter, are ſatisfied, and do declare, that the ſaid Report is "falſe and ſcandalous; altho' upon the ſaid Examination, it did alſo appear, that ſomething happen'd which might miſlead the Admirals into "that Error. And it is ordered in Council, that "this be printed and publiſhed in the *Gazette.*" But however, his Majeſty, to ſhew his juſt Reſentment of theſe unhappy Proceedings at Sea, immediately upon his Return declared in Council, that he had appointed *Edward Ruſſel*, Eſq; to be Admiral of the Fleet.

Our Fleet of Merchant-men ſurprized by the *French.*

Enquiry in Parliament into this Miſcarriage.

And yet for all theſe Victories and Triumphs of *France*, that Monarch ſaw his own Country ſo oppreſs'd with Famine, and his Troops abroad ſo intolerable a Burthen on him, that in the midſt of his Glories, he was glad to make Propoſals of Peace to the Emperor; which being rejected, a Memorial was preſented to King *William*, by the Miniſter of the King of *Denmark*, dated *London Dec.* 19. 1693. wherein great Offers were made of Reſtitution and Satisfaction to the Empire, *Spain* and *Holland*; concluding thus. "Upon the whole Matter, the King "my Maſter is perſuaded, that no Body has more "Reaſon to contribute to this Peace than your Majeſty, ſince it will confirm to you the Glory and "Advantages you have gain'd during the War; and "will, beſides, make *Europe* to be eternally beholden to your Majeſty for the Peace ſhe groans "after. If your Majeſty thinks that there is any "thing defective, in relation to the Security of the "Peace, or that wants to be either alter'd or explain'd; the King my Maſter engages to procure "to your Majeſty all the Satisfaction imaginable. "And if you are pleaſed to confide in his Mediation, he will manage it to your Majeſty's entire "Satisfaction. Laſtly, the King my Maſter has "commanded me to aſſure your Majeſty, that being, upon ſeveral Accounts, concern'd in the "Proſperity of your Royal Family, he will, to the "utmoſt of his Power, promote its Intereſt and "Advantage. And deſires your Majeſty to be perſuaded, that all the Advances he has made in this "Affair, have no other Aim, and are grounded upon no other Principle.

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Honours and Preferments. On *March* 30. *Edward Southwell*, Eſq; was, by his Majeſty's Command, ſworn Clerk of the Council Extraordinary. On the ſame Day, *Edward Ward*, of the *Inner Temple*, Eſq; kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand for the Place of Attorney-General, in the room of Sir *John Somers*; and on *April* 4. he was ſworn before his Predeceſſor, then Lord Keeper. About the ſame Time, his Majeſty granted to *John* Lord *Cutts*, the Office of Captain and Governor of the Iſle of *Wight*, in the room of Sir *Robert Holmes*, deceas'd. On *April* 13. *Thomas* Lord *Coningsby*, was by her Majeſty's Command, ſworn of the Privy-Council, and took his Place at the Board. On *May* 3. their Majeſties granted by Letters Patents to *Samuel Travers*, Eſq; the Office of Surveyor-General, vacant by the Death of Mr. *Harbord*, their Majeſties late Ambaſſador in *Turkey*. In the beginning of *July*, my Lord *Capel*, Sir *Cyril Wych*, and *William Duncomb*, Eſq; were conſtituted Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, in the room of the Lord *Sidney*, who return'd to *London* on *July* 19. and for a Reward of his good Services, was on *July* 22. made Maſter-General of the Ordnance. *Richard* Earl of *Bellamont*, and *James Hamilton*, Eſq; did in *July* petition her Majeſty, that a Stop might be put to the paſſing of Pardons to the Lord *Coningsby* and Sir *Charles Porter*, Knt. late Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, until the Petitioners, and many other of their Majeſties Subjects of *Ireland*, might be permitted to produce their Proofs againſt them. The Lord *Coningsby* and Sir *Charles Porter*, upon hearing of ſuch Petition, did likewiſe requeſt her Majeſty to put a Stop to the ſaid Pardons, till their Accuſers might be heard in the moſt publick Manner, before her Majeſty in Council. Thereupon it was order'd in Council, the 27th of *July*, that the Matters of the ſaid Petitions ſhould be heard the next Council-Day; at which Time the Earl of *Bellamont* and Mr. *Hamilton* deliver'd a Paper, excuſing their giving any Charge againſt the Lord *Coningsby* and Sir *Charles Porter*; which being read, it was order'd, that the Matter ſhould be farther examin'd at the Board that Day Six Weeks; and that in the mean time, the Accuſers ſhould deliver their Charge againſt the late Lords Juſtices in Writing to the Board, on the 17th of *Auguſt*. The Earl of *Bellamont* and Mr. *Hamilton* exhibited ſeveral Accuſations on the appointed Day; but ſtill declining to be heard to make good the ſame; and on the contrary, the Lord *Coningsby* and Sir *Charles Porter* offering to prove their Innocency, the Queen order'd the ſaid Petitions and Charge to be diſmiſs'd.

Accuſation againſt Lord Coningsby and Sir Charles Porter.

The King arriv'd at the *Hague* from *Loo*, on *Octob.* 1. and perſuaded the States of *Holland* to agree to the raiſing of Fifteen thouſand Men for augmenting their Land-Forces; and likewiſe to the Addition of a conſiderable Number of Ships to their Navy. For which his Majeſty thank'd them in their Publick Aſſembly. The King had waited almoſt a whole Month for a fair Wind; and at laſt embark'd on *Saturday Octob.* 28. on the *Mary Yatch*, and ſail'd that Morning out of the *Maeſe*, being attended by a Squadron of Men of War, under the Command of Rear-Admiral *Mitchel*. On *Sunday*, about Four in the Afternoon, his Majeſty landed at *Harwich*, and ſtaid that Night at Sir *Iſaac Rebow's* in *Colcheſter*; and about Eleven the next Night came to *Kenſington*. On *Nov.* 2. a Proclamation was publiſh'd for a Publick Thankſgiving, "Inaſmuch as "it had pleaſed Almighty God, to preſerve their "Majeſties and their Government againſt the De"ſigns and Attempts of their open and ſecret Ene"mies; and to protect his Majeſty's Perſon from "the many and great Dangers of the War in his "late (*a*) Expedition beyond the Seas; and to "bring him back in Safety to this Kingdom." On the ſame Day the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen waited upon his Majeſty at *Whitehall*, humbly to congratulate his wonderful Preſervation and happy Return. His Majeſty gave them a gracious Anſwer; and as a Mark of his Royal Favour, was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *Thomas Abney*, Eſq; one of the Sheriffs.

The King returns for England.

Publick Thankſgiving.

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Parliament meet. According to the laſt Prorogation from *Octob.* 26. the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* on *Tueſday November* 7. And his Majeſty made this Speech to both Houſes.

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Am always glad to meet you here, and I "could heartily wiſh that our Satisfaction were "not leſſened at preſent, by reflecting upon the "Diſadvantages we have received this Year at "Land, and the Miſcarriages in our Affairs at Sea. "I think it is evident, that the former was only oc"caſioned by the great Number of our Enemies, "which exceeded ours in all Places. For what re"lates to the latter, which has brought ſo great a "Diſgrace upon the Nation, I have reſented it ex"tremely; and as I will take Care that thoſe who "have not done their Duty, ſhall be puniſhed, ſo "I am reſolved to uſe my utmoſt Endeavours, that "our Power at Sea may be rightly managed for the "future. And it will well deſerve your Conſidera"tion, Whether we are not defective both in the "Number of our Shipping, and in proper Ports "to the *Weſtward*, for the better annoying our Ene"mies, and protecting our Trade, which is ſo eſ"ſential to the Welfare of this Kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am very ſenſible of the good Affection where"with you have always aſſiſted me to ſupport the "Charges of this War, which have been very "great; and yet I am perſuaded that the Expe"rience of this Summer is ſufficient to convince "us all, that to arrive at a good End of it, there "will be a Neceſſity of increaſing our Forces both "by Sea and Land the next Year. Our Allies have "reſolved to add to theirs; and I will not doubt, "but you will have ſuch Regard to the preſent Exi"gency, as that you will give me a ſuitable Supply "to enable me to do the like. I muſt therefore "earneſtly recommend it to you, Gentlemen of the "Houſe of Commons, to take ſuch timely Reſolu"tion, as that your Supplies may be effectual, and "our Preparations ſo forward, as will be neceſſa"ry both for the Security and the Honour of the "Nation.

Proceedings of the Commons. In anſwer to this Speech, the Commons unanimouſly reſolved, that they would ſupport their Majeſties and their Government, and grant a ſufficient Supply for the vigorous Proſecution of the War. On *Nov.* 25. they agreed that the *Sum of* 500000*l.* *be raiſed towards the diſcharging the Wages due to the Seamen; and that a farther Sum of Two Millions be granted to their Majeſties in full, for the Maintenance of the Fleet, including the Ordnance, by reaſon of the Revenue now falling ſhort.* As for the Army the Commons having examin'd the Offenſive Treaties and Alliances his Majeſty was now under with the Confederates, and the Proportions of Forces that the Confederates were obliged to make for carrying on this preſent War, unanimouſly reſolved on *Dec.* 20. "That the Number of the "Land Forces in their Majeſties Pay, be increaſed,

Reſolved to augment our Forces.

(*a*) See a Form of Prayer and Thankſgiving to Almighty God, to be uſed on *Sunday Novemb.* 12. for the Preſervation of his Majeſty from the great and manifold Dangers to which his Royal Perſon was expoſed during his late Expedition, and for his ſafe Return to his People. Licenſed *November* 2. 1693. *Jo. Cant.* 410.

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5 *W. M.*

"by the raiſing Six new Regiments of *Engliſh* "Horſe, Four new Regiments of *Engliſh* Dragoons, "and Fifteen new Regiments of *Engliſh* Foot, to "be commanded by Officers that were their Maje-"ſties Natural-born Subjects; that 83121 Men, "including Commiſſion and Non-commiſſion Offi-"cers, were neceſſary for the Service of the Year "1694. to be employ'd in *England*, and beyond "the Seas; and that the Sum of Two Millions "five hundred thirty thouſand five hundred ninety "Pounds be granted, for the Maintenance of the "Land Forces; to wit, 210773 Pounds for the "Office of Ordnance; 31808 Pounds for the Pay "of the General Officers; 11060 Pounds for Levy "Money; 40808 Pounds for the Tranſports; "147000 Pounds for Hoſpitals and Contingencies; "and 1990781 Pounds for the Pay of the Horſe, "Dragoons, and Foot.

And give proportionable Supplies.

Beſides theſe large Supplies, it was found, that the Sum of One hundred eighteen thouſand Pounds was wanting to compleat the Sum of One Million granted to their Majeſties by an Act made in the laſt Seſſion of this preſent Parliament, *for ſecuring Recompences to ſuch Perſons as ſhould voluntarily advance the ſaid Million.* And likewiſe that the Sum of Two hundred ninety three thouſand ſix hundred ninety two Pounds was wanting, to compleat the Sum of Three hundred thouſand Pounds, granted by a late Act *for the Review of the Quarterly Poll.* The firſt of which defective Funds the Commons reſolved on *December* 9. to make good, "By "enlarging the Time for Perſons to pay in the reſt "of the Sum of One Million. And that towards "the raiſing of Money for the Maintenance of the "Fleet, any Perſons be at Liberty to add a Second "Life to the Life that was or ſhould be nominated "upon the Act for ſecuring the Recompences before-"mention'd, upon paying the Sum of Thirty five "Pounds for every One hundred Pounds paid in, "or to be paid in upon the ſaid Act; and for add-"ing a Third Life, the Sum of Twenty Pounds, "for every the ſaid One hundred Pounds, and ſo "for any greater Proportion.

Towards raiſing the Two Millions granted for the Fleet, it was reſolved on *December* 21, "That "the Sum of One Million be charg'd upon Land; "and that a Duty of Three-pence *per* Gallon be "laid upon all Foreign Salt imported; and a Duty "of One Penny Half-penny *per* Gallon, upon all "*Engliſh* Salt, except all Salt employ'd in the curing "Fiſh and Fleſh to be exported.

The Commons being very much embaraſſed how to levy the reſt of the vaſt Sums they had already granted, on *December* 26. reſolved, "That a far-"ther Sum of One Million be charged upon Land. "And on *December* 29. That an Aid, not exceeding "Four Shillings in the Pound, be granted to their "Majeſties, by charging each reſpective County "with double the Sum return'd, charg'd by an Act "made in the firſt Year of their Majeſties Reign, "for a Grant of Two Shillings in the Pound." But becauſe the Committee appointed to draw up the Bill, met with great Difficulties in framing it after that manner, the Houſe gave them Power to alter the ſame, and to frame it into a Bill of Four Shillings in the Pound.

Bill for frequent Parliaments rejected.

A Bill for the more frequent Elections of Parliaments, having, after the Third Reading, been rejected by the Commons, on *November* 28. another Bill to the ſame purpoſe was ſent down to 'em by the Lords; which being read the Third Time, was likewiſe rejected.

Acts paſſed.

On *Thurſday Jan.* 25. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to, Firſt, *An Act for granting to their Majeſties an Aid of Four Shillings in the Pound for One Year, for carrying on a vigorous War againſt* France: Second, *An Act for Repealing of ſuch Parts of ſeveral former Acts, as prevent or prohibit the Importation of Foreign Brandy, Aqua-vitæ, and other Spirits, and Bacon, except from* France. Third, *An Act for the Repeal of a Clauſe in the Statute made in the 34th and 35th Years of King* Henry VIII. *by which Juſtices in* Wales *are limited to Eight in each County.* Fourth, *An Act for the Importation of Fine* Italian, Sicilian *and* Naples *Thrown Silk.* Fifth, *An Act to enable* John Vivian, *Eſq*; *and* Thomas Vivian *his Son, to ſell ſome Part of their Eſtate for Payment of Debts, and making Proviſion for younger Children, and for ſettling other Part of their Eſtate in lieu thereof.* There was another Bill lay ready for the Royal Aſſent, *touching free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament*, which had been prepar'd the laſt Year, and was now again brought in and paſs'd by both Houſes: But his Majeſty thought fit again to refuſe his Aſſent to it; which the Commons took ſo ill, that the next Day, upon conſidering the State of the Nation, they reſolved, *That whoever adviſed the King not to give the Royal Aſſent to that Act, was an Enemy to their Majeſties and the Kingdom.* And a Repreſentation was drawn up by a Committee, and agreed to by the Houſe, wherein they humbly laid before his Majeſty, "That what Bills had been agreed by both "Houſes for the Redreſs of Grievances, or other "Publick Good, had, when tender'd to the Throne, "obtain'd the Royal Aſſent. And that there were "very few Inſtances in former Reigns, where ſuch "Aſſent in ſuch Caſes had not been given; and "theſe attended with great Inconveniences to the "Crown of *England*, eſpecially where the ſame had "been withheld by Inſinuation of particular Perſons, "without the Advice of the Privy-Council, thereby "creating great Diſſatisfaction and Jealouſies in the "Minds of the People. That the Commons there-"fore, out of their ſincere Deſire of the Welfare of "his Majeſty and his Government, could not with-"out Grief of Heart, reflect, that ſince his Maje-"ſty's Acceſſion to the Crown, ſeveral Publick Bills, "made by the Advice of both Houſes of Parlia-"ment, had not obtain'd the Royal Aſſent; and in "particular One Bill, Entitled, *An Act touching* "*Free and Impartial Proceedings in Parliament*, "which was to redreſs a Grievance, and take off a "Scandal relating to the Proceedings of the Com-"mons in Parliament, after they had freely voted "great Supplies for the Publick Occaſions; which "they could impute to no other Cauſe than the In-"ſinuations of particular Perſons, who took upon 'em "for their own particular Ends, to adviſe his Ma-"jeſty contrary to the Advice of Parliament; and "therefore could not but look on ſuch as Enemies "to his Majeſty and his Kingdoms. Upon which "Conſiderations they humbly pray'd, that for the "future his Majeſty would be pleaſed to hearken "to the Advice of his Parliament, and not "to the ſecret Advices of particular Perſons, "who might have private Intereſts of their own, "ſeparate from the true Intereſt of his Maje-"ſty and his People." To this Repreſentation the King anſwer'd *January* 29. "That he "was very ſenſible of the good Affections the "Commons had expreſs'd towards him upon many "Occaſions, and of the Zeal they had ſhewn for "the common Intereſt. That no Prince ever had a "higher Eſteem for the Conſtitution of the *Eng-*"*liſh* Government than himſelf, and that he ſhould "ever have a great Regard to the Advice of Par-"liaments. That he was perſuaded that nothing "could ſo much conduce to the Happineſs and Wel-"fare of this Kingdom, as an entire Confidence "between the King and People, aud that he ſhould "look upon ſuch Perſons to be his Enemies, "who ſhould adviſe any thing that might leſſen "it." Three Days after, the Commons took his Majeſty's Anſwer into Conſideration, and the "Queſtion being propounded, *That an humble Ap-*"*plication be made to his Majeſty for a farther An-*"*ſwer*, it paſſed in the Negative.

Act for impartial Proceedings in Parliament rejected by the King.

Repreſentation of the Commons.

1693. 5 *W. M.*

State of the Eaſt-India Company.

The *Eaſt-India* Company having obtain'd a Charter, whereby they were empower'd to raiſe the Sum of Seven Hundred Forty Four Thouſand Pounds, to be added to a General Joint-Stock, and ſubſcribed by their Majeſties Natural-born Subjects, Naturalized, or Endenized; the Subſcriptions of each Perſon not exceeding Ten Thouſand Pounds: Several Merchants, and others, in and about the City of *London*, petition'd the Commons, *December* the 7th, for Erecting a New *Eaſt-India* Company. The Houſe did thereupon examine the Charters of the *Eaſt-India* Company, the Book of New Subſcriptions, the State of their preſent Stock, and the Petition abovemention'd; and after mature Deliberation, *January* the 19th, Reſolved, *That all the Subjects of* England *have equal Right to Trade to the* Eaſt-Indies, *unleſs prohibited by Act of Parliament:* And this gave Occaſion to the Erecting of a New *Eaſt-India* Company, more to the Diviſion of the Merchants, than to the Benefit of Trade.

Socinian Pamphlet burnt.

A Complaint was made to the Commons of a blaſphemous Pamphlet, entitled, *A Dialogue concerning the Deity; and a Brief, but Clear Confutation of the Doctrine of the Trinity;* which had been diſpers'd, and ſent inclos'd under Covers, directed to ſeveral Members of that Houſe. It was thereupon reſolv'd, on *December* the 16th, That the ſaid Pamphlet ſhould be burnt by the Common Hangman; and an Enquiry made after the Author, Printer, and Publiſher.

Caſe of Lord Bellamont and Sir Charles Porter.

The Earl of *Bellamont*, who had not ſucceeded in his Application to the Queen and Council, did now preſent to the Houſe of Commons Articles of Impeachment of High Treaſon, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors, againſt the Lord *Coningsby* and Sir *Charles Porter*, late Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*. This Matter was taken into Conſideration on *December* the 29th; and the Debates upon it, together with the Examination of Witneſſes, having taken up a great deal of Time, the Houſe agreed at laſt to this Reſolution, *January* the 29th; *That conſidering the State of Affairs in* Ireland *at that Time, the Houſe did not think fit to ground an Impeachment againſt the Lord* Coningsby *and Sir* Charles Porter, *for the Matters charg'd upon them.*

Project of Lotteries.

The Humour of the Nation run much upon Lotteries; and ſome private Projectors had enriched themſelves that way: Some Members therefore of the Houſe of Commons propoſed a like Method of Adventures, to raiſe a Million *Sterling* for the Government. This Deſign having been communicated to the Houſe, it was reſolved on *February* the 6th, 1. That a Fund of 140000 *l. per Annum* be raiſed, and veſted in their Majeſties for the Term of Sixteen Years, for recompenſing ſuch Perſons as ſhall advance the Sum of One Million. 2. That the Impoſitions lately reſolv'd by the Houſe to be laid upon Salt, be Part of the ſaid Fund. 3. That towards the further anſwering of the ſaid yearly Fund, one Moiety of the Duties of Exciſe, granted to their Majeſties by an Act made in the Second Year of their Majeſties Reign, be granted and continued to their Majeſties, after the Monies charg'd upon the ſaid Duties ſhall be ſatisfied. And 4. That a Bill be brought in upon the ſaid Reſolutions.

Acts paſſed.

On *Thurſday, February* the 8th, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave his Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act to ſupply the Deficiency of the Money raiſed by a former Act, entituled, An Act for granting to their Majeſties certain Rates and Duties of Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors; for ſecuring certain Recompences and Advantages in the ſaid Act mention'd, to ſuch Perſons as ſhall voluntarily advance the Sum of Ten Hundred Thouſand Pounds, towards carrying on the War againſt* France. 2. *An Act to prevent Diſputes and Controverſies concerning Royal Mines.* 3. *An Act to indemnify the Truſtees of* James Clayton, *Eſq; for joining with him in Selling Lands for Payment of his Debts.*

1693. 5 *W. M.*

While the Commons were debating of greater Supplies, the Commiſſioners they had appointed for taking the Publick Accounts, were order'd to lay before the Houſe an Account of what Money had been paid for ſecret Service, and to Members of Parliament, out of the Publick Revenue. Upon Examination of the whole Matter, it was reſolv'd on *February* the 17th, *That the Lord* Falkland, *being a Member of that Houſe, by begging and receiving Two Thouſand Pounds from his Majeſty, contrary to the ordinary Method of iſſuing and beſtowing the King's Money, was guilty of a high Miſdemeanor and Breach of Truſt; and that he be committed to the Tower of* London, *during the Pleaſure of the Houſe.* Accordingly his Lordſhip was ſent to the *Tower*; from whence (on *February* the 19th) he preſented a Petition to the Houſe, ſetting forth, That he was highly ſenſible of their Diſpleaſure; and that a longer Continuance of his Confinement would be extreamly prejudicial to him. Whereupon it was order'd, That he ſhould be diſcharg'd from his Impriſonment in the *Tower*.

Caſe of Lord Falkland.

Ways and Means.

Among other Ways and Means to raiſe a ſufficient Supply, the Commons laid a Duty upon Leather, Soap, Wine, and the Tonnage of all Ships and Veſſels. And becauſe even all theſe Impoſitions came ſhort of anſwering the Monies to be Levied within this Year, they reſolv'd to grant a Poll-Tax to their Majeſties, as alſo a Duty upon all Hackney and Stage-Coaches; and laſtly, upon Paper and Parchment.

Acts paſſed.

On *Friday, March* the 23d, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and (with uſual Solemnity) gave his Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for granting to their Majeſties certain Rates and Duties upon Salt, and upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors; for ſecuring certain Recompences and Advantages in the ſaid Act mention'd, to ſuch Perſons as ſhall voluntarily advance the Sum of Ten Hundred Thouſand Pounds, towards carrying on the War againſt* France. 2. *An Act for Relief of the Orphans, and other Creditors of the City of* London. 3. *An Act for Repeal of a Clauſe in the Statute of the Fifth Year of Queen* Elizabeth, (*containing divers Orders for Artificers and others*); *which relates to Weavers of Cloth.* 4. *An Act to take away the Proceſs for the* Capiatur *Time, in the ſeveral Courts at* Weſtminſter. 5. *An Act to repeal the Statute made in the Tenth Year of King* Edward *the Third, for finding Sureties for the good Abearing by him or her that hath a Pardon for Felony.* 6. *An Act to prevent Delays of Proceedings at the Quarter-Seſſions of the Peace.* 7. *An Act for the Explaining, and for the more effectual Execution of a former Act for Relief of poor Priſoners.* 8. *An Act to enable* Roger Whitley *the Elder, Eſq; and* Thomas Whitley, *Eſq; to exchange certain Lands of equal Value within the County of* Cheſter. 9. *An Act for Payment of the Debts of* George Turner, *Eſq; deceas'd.* 10. *An Act to enable Sir* Charles Barrington, *Baronet, to ſettle a Jointure on Dame* Bridget *his Wife, and to make Proviſion for their younger Children.* 11. *An Act for ſettling the Inheritance of ſome Parts of the Eſtate of* Charles Turner, *Eſq; (which lie diſperſed) in him and his Heirs; and ſettling an entire Eſtate of greater Value in Lieu thereof, to the Uſes that the ſaid other Parts of his Eſtate were ſettled.* 12. *An Act to enable* John Whitehall *to charge certain Lands with the Sum of Fifteen Hundred Pounds, towards Portions for his younger Children.* 13. *An Act to enable* Thomas *Earl of* Thanet, *and the Honourable* Sackville Tufton, *Eſq; his Brother, to make a Leaſe of Sixty Years of* Thanet-*Houſe, in the Pariſh of St.* Botolph's Alderſgate; *to commence after the Remainder of a Term of One and thirty Years now in being.* 14. *An Act for Sale of Part of the Eſtate of* Henry Frere

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1693. 5 W. M. *an Infant, to raiſe Monies for Inning and Recovering other Parts thereof now under Water, and for Payment of Debts charged thereon.* 15. *An Act for making a Bridge over the River* Axe, *in the County of* Somerſet. 16. *An Act for Sale of the Eſtate of* Suſan Chaplin, *and* Dorothy Chaplin *her Daughter; for Payment of Debts, and making Proviſion for the ſaid* Suſan *and* Dorothy. 17. *An Act to enable the Truſtees of* Alice Turner, *Widow, and her Children, to make Sale of certain Houſes or Ground in or near* Lincolns-Inn-Fields, *in the County of* Middleſex, *during the Minority of the younger Children.* 18. *An Act to enable* Thomas Edwards *to ſell Part of his Eſtate, for Payment of Debts; and to reſtrain and diſable him to commit Waſte upon the Reſidue of the ſaid Eſtate.* 19. *An Act for Sale of the Eſtate of* William Stevens, *deceaſed, for Payment of the Mortgage thereupon, and applying the Overplus for the Benefit of his Sons who are Infants.* 20. *An Act to veſt the Eſtate of* Mary, Elizabeth, *and* Jane Mildmay, *and* Edward Dixy *and* Arabella *his Wife, and* Lucy *and* Anne Mildmay, *in Truſtees, to be ſold for Satisfaction of Mortgages and Debts thereupon, and Preſerving the Overplus for their Benefit.* And afterwards his Majeſty made a moſt Gracious Speech to both Houſes, as follows.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech. "WHen I conſider how far the Year is advanced, what Preparations our Enemies "make to be early in the Field, and how neceſſary "it is that we ſhould be ready to meet them both "by Sea and Land; I muſt earneſtly recommend "to you the Diſpatch of thoſe important Affairs "which you have under your Deliberation.

"I am very ſenſible of the good Affection which "you have ſhewn in this as well as former Seſſions, by enabling me to carry on the War we are "engaged in for our common Safety: There is nothing I have ſo much at my Heart as the Eaſe and "Happineſs of my People; and it is with great "Reluctance that I am forced to ask ſuch large "Supplies: But ſince our preſent Circumſtances "make this unavoidable, it ſhall be my Endeavour, "that the Sums which are given ſhall be laid out "in the beſt manner to the Uſes for which they are "deſign'd.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I take this Occaſion to mention to you the "Debt for the Tranſport-Ships, which were uſed "in the Reducing of *Ireland*: It grieves me exceedingly, to ſee ſuch a Number of Perſons, who "came ſo freely in for ſo good a Service, brought "to the laſt Extremities for want of what is due "to them. It is not poſſible for me to diſcharge "this Debt without your Help; and as I doubt not "but you have a juſt Commiſeration of their Caſe, "ſo I hope you will find out ſome Way for their "Relief.

Caſe of the Duke of *Norfolk*. During this Seſſion, the Town was entertained with the Tryal of an indecent Cauſe in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. The Duke of *Norfolk* bearing with Impatience the ſuſpected Commerce which Mr. *Jermaine* had maintained with his Dutcheſs, had the laſt Winter lodg'd a Bill of Divorce in the Houſe of Peers; but their Lordſhips being unwilling to proceed in that Affair before there were ſome Proofs of the Fact made in the Courſe of the Common Law, his Grace did thereupon bring an Action of Adultery againſt Mr. *Jermaine*, before the Court of *King's-Bench*. This Notorious Cauſe was tried on the 24th of *November*; and upon a full Hearing of many obſcene Evidences, the Jury found for the Plaintiff, and allow'd his Grace One Hundred Marks Damages, with Coſts of Court: Where the Slightneſs of Satisfaction was almoſt as great a Reproach as the Crime it ſelf.

1693. 5 W. M. Affairs at Sea. Towards the Middle of *November*, Captain *Bembow*, with a Squadron of Men of War, bombarded St. *Malo* Four Days together, tho' without any great Succeſs; having only deſtroyed ſome few Houſes, and thrown down Part of the Town-Wall. Towards the End of the Month, we had much worſe News from Sea: A Fleet of Merchant-Ships, under a Convoy of Men of War commanded by Sir *Francis Wheeler*, having ſailed on the 17th of *February* from *Gibralter* up the *Streights*, met the next Day with a moſt violent Storm, which continued all that Day and the following Night; ſo that on the 19th, about Five in the Morning, Sir *Francis Wheeler*'s own Ship (the *Suſſex*) was founder'd, and himſelf with all his Men, except Two *Moors*, drowned; the *Cambridge* and *Lumley-Caſtle* Men of War, the *Serpent* Bomb-Ketch, and the *Mary* Ketch, together with the *Italian* Merchant, the *Aleppo* Factor, the Great *George*, and the *Berkſhire*, bound for *Turkey*, the *William* for *Venice*, and the *Golden Merchant* for *Leghorn*, (all *Engliſh*) were driven aſhore on the *Eaſt* Side of *Gibralter*, and moſt of the Men loſt. The ſame Fate attended Three *Dutch* Ships richly laden; but Rear-Admiral *Nevill*, with Two *Dutch* Men of War, had the good Fortune to be blown out of the *Streights*, and put ſafe into *Cadiz*; as did the reſt of the Fleet, on the 19th, into *Gibralter*. This Loſs (how great ſoever) was ſoon after repaired; his Majeſty having cauſed the Men of War on the Stocks to be finiſhed with extraordinary Diligence.

Violent Storm. Great Loſs.

Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* comes into *England*. On *Sunday, December* 31. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* arriv'd at *Graveſend*, and on *Tueſday* he came up the River in the King's Barge, and was conducted to the Apartment prepared for him at *Whitehall*: He was ſplendidly entertained and diverted, not only by His Majeſty, but by ſeveral Peers of the Realm, and eſpecially by the Generous Duke of *Ormond*, who treated him with a Magnificent Banquet, and a very ſplendid Ball.

Honours and Preferments. On *November* the 22d, his Majeſty was pleaſed to grant to the Earl of *Abingdon* the Office of Chief Juſtice in *Eyre* on this ſide *Trent*, vacant by the Death of the Lord *Lovelace*; and was alſo pleaſed to appoint the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount *Sidney* Maſter-General of the Ordnance, to be Colonel of their Majeſties Firſt Regiment of Foot-Guards, in the Place of the late Duke of *Schombergh*. On *November* the 24th, his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Charles Lloyd*, Eſq; one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of *Cardigan*. On *Decemb.* 2. his Majeſty did the like Honour to *John Buckworth*, Eſq;. On *Novemb.* 30. the Duke of St. *Albans* was ſworn Captain of their Majeſties Band of Penſioners, in the Place of the Lord *Lovelace*, deceaſed. Upon the Death of the Duke of *Schombergh*, his Majeſty appointed the Lord Viſcount *Galway* to command his Forces in *Piedmont*, in the Quality of Lieutenant-General, and to give him likewiſe the Character of Envoy Extraordinary to the Duke of *Savoy*. His Lordſhip ſet out on *December* the 6th, in order to embark for *Holland*, and thence to continue his Journey by Land to *Piedmont*. Toward the End of the Month, his Majeſty was pleaſed to nominate Colonel *Francis Nicholſon*, to be Governor in Chief of the Province of *Maryland*, in the Place of Colonel *Copley*, lately deceaſed. About the Middle of *January*, his Majeſty was pleaſed to create the Honourable Mr. *Charles Butler*, Brother to his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, a Baron of *England*, by the Name and Stile of *Charles* Lord *Butler*, Baron of *Weſton* in the County of *Huntingdon*; and a Baron, Viſcount, and Earl of *Ireland*, by the Name and Stile of Baron of *Cloghgrenan*, Viſcount *Tullo*, and Earl of *Arran*. On *February* the 19th, *Peregrine Bertie*,

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Bertie, Eſq; was ſworn Vice-Chamberlain to his Majeſty, in the Place of Sir *John Lowther*, of *Lowther*, Baronet, who had deſir'd his Majeſty's Leave to reſign the ſame. His Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint *Samuel Eyre*, Serjeant at Law, to be one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, in the room of Mr. Juſtice *Dolben*, deceas'd; and *Henry Gould*, Eſq; to be one of the King's Serjeants: And on *February* the 22d, his Majeſty conferr'd upon them the Honour of Knighthood. On *March* 4. his Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute *Charles* Earl of *Shrewſbury* Principal Secretary of State, in the room of the Earl of *Nottingham*. (a)

The *Oxford* Hiſtorian and Antiquary, Mr. *Anthony à Wood*, had lately publiſh'd Two uſeful Volumes, entitled, Athenæ Oxonienſes: *An Exact Hiſtory of all the Writers and Biſhops, who have had their Education in the moſt Ancient and Famous Univerſity of* Oxford, *from the Year* 1500, *to* 1690. wherein he gave Characters of Men with great Freedom, tho' to the beſt of his own Opinion, and often with great Truth and Impartiality. Among other Things, in the Life of Judge *Glynne*, he takes notice, "That after the Reſtoration of "King *Charles* II. he was made his Eldeſt Serjeant "at Law, by the corrupt Dealing of the then Lord "Chancellor;" meaning *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*. It was chiefly for this Expreſſion, that the late Earl, as Eldeſt Son and Heir of the ſaid Chancellor, preferr'd an Action in the Vice-Chancellor's Court againſt the Author, for Defamation of his deceaſed Father. The Iſſue of the Proceſs was a hard Judgment given againſt the Defendant; which, to be made the more publick, was put into the *Gazette* in theſe Words: "*Oxford*, July 31. 1693. On the "29th Inſtant, *Anthony à Wood* was condemn'd in "the Vice-Chancellor's Court of the Univerſity of "*Oxford*, for having written and publiſhed, in the "Second Volume of his Book, entitled, *Athenæ* "*Oxonienſes*, divers infamous Libels againſt the "Right Honourable *Edward* late Earl of *Clarendon*, "Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, and Chancel-"lor of the ſaid Univerſity; and was therefore ba-"niſhed the ſaid Univerſity, until ſuch Time as he "ſhall ſubſcribe ſuch a Publick Recantation, as the "Judge of the Court ſhall approve of, and give "Security not to offend in the like Nature for the "future: And his ſaid Book was therefore alſo de-"creed to be burnt before the Publick Theatre; "and on this Day was burnt accordingly: And "publick *Programma's* of his Expulſion are already "affixed in the Three uſual Places.

This Cenſure was the more grievous to the Blunt Author, becauſe it ſeem'd to come from a Party of Men whom he had the leaſt diſobliged. His Bitterneſs had been againſt the *Diſſenters*; but of all the Zealous Church-Men, he had given Characters with a ſingular Turn of Eſteem and Affection: Nay, of the *Jacobites*, and even of the *Papiſts* themſelves, he had always ſpoke the moſt favourable Things; and therefore it was really the greater Mortification to him, to feel the Storm coming from a Quarter where he thought he leaſt deſerved, and might leaſt expect it. For the ſame Reaſon, this Correction was ſome Pleaſure to the *Presbyterians*, who believ'd there was a Rebuke due to him, which they themſelves were not able to pay.

Death of Archbiſhop *Sancroft*.

On *Nov.* 24. Died Dr. *William Sancroft*, the depriv'd Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had retir'd to the Place of his Birth and Eſtate, *Fretchingfield* in *Suffolk*, where by his own Order he was Buried in the Church-Yard, with this Inſcription on his Tomb (*b*).

P. M. S.

Lector; Wilhelmi nuper Archipræſulis
(Qui Natus in Vicinia)
Quod Morti cecidit, prope hunc Murum jacet;
Atqui Reſurget. Tu interim
Semper paratus eſto; Nam hora quam non Putas
Dominus venturus eſt.
Obijt XXIV. *November. Anno* { *Nat. Dom.* MDCLXXXXIII. *Ætat. ſuæ* LXXVII. }

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"*William Sancroft*, Born in this Pariſh, afterwards by the Providence of God, Archbiſhop of "*Canterbury*; and at laſt depriv'd of all that he "could not keep with a good Conſcience, return'd "hither to end his Life, where he begun it; and "profeſſeth here at the Foot of his Tomb, That as "he Naked came forth, ſo he Naked muſt return; "The Lord giveth, and the Lord hath taken away; "As the Lord pleaſeth ſo Things come to paſs; "Bleſſed be the Name of the Lord". ------- And over his Effigies was wrote this Text, "St. *Matth.* "24. *v.* 27. As the Lightning cometh out of the "Eaſt, and ſhineth even unto the Weſt, ſo ſhall "alſo the coming of the Son of Man be.

We left the Parliament ſitting, but the King was

(*a*) See a Declaration of *Shadrach Cooke*, Prieſt of the Church of *England*, upon Receiving the Bleſſed Sacrament, of his being altogether ignorant and innocent of what was witneſſed againſt him, That he did forge a Tranſport to *France* in my Lord *Nottingham*'s Name. Dat. *Newgate*, *October* the 22d, 1693.

(*a*) Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, after his See was filled, received and accepted the Miniſtry of his Chaplains, who had ſworn to the Government; tho' a mighty noiſe was made upon his being prevailed with to ſuffer the Miniſtrations of Dr. *Trumbal* and Mr. *Snatt*, in his Chapel at *Lambeth*, upon the Firſt Sacrament which was Adminiſtred there after his See was filled. But even there his Chaplains, tho' they did not officiate, did however communicate; and at the Evening Service of the ſame Day, as they had done in the Morning before it, they officiated to his Grace; according to their uſual Cuſtom the Conſecration of the Holy Elements, was at the Noon Service of that Day performed by his Grace himſelf, when Mr. *Snatt* read Prayers, and Dr. *Trumbal* preached, and all communicated together, as hath been before related. After the Evening Service of that Day, he thus accoſted both his Chaplains, (who were the Reverend Mr. *Wharton*, now Deceaſed, and the Reverend Mr. *Needham* ſtill living, from the latter of whom I have the Favour of this Relation) *Sirs, You have hitherto ſerved me to my very great ſatisfaction; but I think the time is now come, in which we muſt part.* Upon being asked, Why he was pleaſed to expreſs himſelf in this manner? His Grace reply'd; *Why, there is another come into my Place, and it will now be dangerous to continue with me any longer.* Upon which both the Chaplains agreed to tender him their Services afreſh in regard to their Perſonal Obligations, tho' they had happen'd to differ from him with reſpect to the Publick. Whereupon, with an Air of Satisfaction, he made them this quick and ſhort Return; *Say you ſo, then go on in the Name of God.* And they did ſo, continuing to officiate as his Chaplains, after his Retirement from *Lambeth*, till near the time of his Removal into *Suffolk*. In *September*, 1692. Mr. *Needham* viſited him there, and joined with him in the Evening-Prayers of the Day, and read the Leſſons by his Grace's appointment. In the *September* of the Year following, he viſited him again, and found him much weakened by Sickneſs, and confined to his Bed. He then gave Mr. *Needham* his Bleſſing very affectionately, (which by the way ſuppoſed Mr. *Needham* to be no *Schiſmatick*) and after ſome other Talk his Grace ſaid thus to him; *You and I have gone different Ways in theſe late Affairs; but I truſt Heaven Gates are wide enough to receive us both: What I have done, I have done in the Integrity of my Heart.* Upon Mr. *Needham*'s modeſt Attempt to give an Account of his own Conduct, his Grace was pleaſed to reply, *I always took you for an honeſt Man; What I ſaid concerning my ſelf was only to let you know, that what I have done I have done in the Integrity of my Heart, indeed in the great Integrity of my Heart.* Upon the Offer of Mr. *Needham* to officiate to his Grace in the Viſitation of the Sick, he ſaid, He had *juſt before received that Office according to the Liturgy of the Church of* England, *in the preſence of a great deal of Company, who had left the Houſe a little before Mr.* Needham *came into it.* Whether this Office was Adminiſtred by a *Non-Juror* or not, is nothing to the Purpoſe, except it had appeared that his Grace thought none but a *Non-Juror* capable of Adminiſtring to him. It is no wonder he ſhould prefer the People of that Perſuaſion; but ſo long as he thought Communion with our People lawful, it is moſt evident that the *Schiſm of the Nonjuring-Biſhops had no countenance from their Metropolitan. Defence of our Conſtitution by Mr.* Marſhal, 1717, 8vo.

impatient

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impatient for their Diſpatch of Buſineſs, that he might have Liberty to begin an Early Campaign: So on *April* 14. the Second Troop of Guards commanded by the Duke of *Ormond*; and the Regiment of Horſe-Guards commanded by the Earl of *Portland*, with a great Number of Recruit-Horſes, were ſhipp'd in the River, and Sail'd that Day, together with the Train of Artillery for *Flanders*. *April* 16. His Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and with the uſual Solemenity, gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for Raiſing Money by a Poll payable Quarterly for One Year, for carrying on a Vigorous War againſt* France. 2. *An Act for continuing the Act for Puniſhing Officers and Soldiers, who ſhall Mutiny or Deſert their Majeſties Service; and for Puniſhing of Falſe Muſters, and for the Payment of Quarters for one Year longer.* 3. *An Act for the Exportation of Iron, Copper, and Mundick Metal.* 4. *An Act for the Importation of Salt-Petre for one Year*; and to ſeveral Private Acts.

Some Bills were depending that were left uniniſh'd; ſuch as, *A Bill to regulate Tryals in Caſes of High Treaſon*, which the Commons had ſent to the Lords for their Concurrence. *A Bill for Naturalizing of all ſuch Proteſtants as ſhould take the Oaths to their Majeſties, and proteſt againſt Popery. A Bill concerning the Forfeitures both in* England *and* Ireland. *A Bill for Regiſtring of Wills*: Another againſt *Stock-Jobbers*, and another *for the Encouragement of Privateers*. But all other Bills being now ready for the Royal Aſſent, his Majeſty came on *Wedneſday, April* 25. to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd the following Acts. 1. *An Act for Granting to their Majeſties ſeveral Rates and Duties upon Tonnage of Ships and Veſſels, and upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for ſecuring certain Recompences and Advantages in the ſaid Act mentioned, to ſuch Perſons as ſhall voluntarily advance the Sum of Fifteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds towards carrying on the War againſt* France. 2. *An Act for granting to their Majeſties ſeveral Duties upon Vellum, Parchment, and Paper, for Four Years, towards carrying on the War againſt* France. 3. *An Act for Licenſing and Regulating Hackney-Coaches, and Stage-Coaches.* 4. *An Act for enabling their Majeſties to make Grants, Leaſes, and Copies of Offices, Lands, and Hereditaments, part of their Dutchy of* Cornwall, *or annexed to the ſame, and for Confirmation of Leaſes and Grants already made.* 5. *An Act for raiſing the Militia of this Kingdom for the Year 1694, although the Months Pay formerly advanced be not paid.* 6. *An Act for appointing and enabling Commiſſioners to Examine, Take, and State the Publick Accompts of the Kingdom.* 7. *An Act for Building Good and Defenſible Ships.* 8. *An Act for the better Diſcipline of their Majeſties Navy Royal*, and to two private Acts. After which, his Majeſty made a Gracious Speeech to both Houſes, as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech.

"THE Proofs you have given of your Affection to Me, and the Zeal you have expreſſed for the Support of the Government, oblige me to return you Thanks before I put an End to this Seſſion; and in particular, to Thank You, *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, for the Large Supplies you have provided to carry on the War.

"I will endeavour to do my Part; and it is from the Bleſſing of God that We muſt all expect ſuch Succeſs as may anſwer our Deſires.

My Lords and Gentlemen;

"The Poſture of Affairs making it neceſſary for Me to be abſent for ſome time out of this Kingdom, I recommend it to you, That in your ſeveral Stations you be careful to preſerve the Publick Peace.

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Then the Lord-Keeper by his Majeſty's Command prorogued the Parliament to *Tueſday* the 18th Day of *September* next.

The King goes for *Holland*. Is forced to return.

The ſame Day about Four in the Afternoon his Majeſty went for *Graveſend*, in order to Embark for *Holland*; but finding the Wind contrary, he returned to *Kenſington* the next Day. To leave Things in the better Order, and the People in greater Content and Satisfaction, his Majeſty gave the Garter, vacant by the Death of *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, to the Right Honourable *Charles* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, lately made principal Secretary of State; who in a Chapter held at *Whitehall, April* 25. was Elected, Inveſted, and Knighted with the uſual Ceremony; and on the ſame Day was Created a Marquis and Duke of this Kingdom, by the Name and Stile of Marquis of *Alton*, and Duke of *Shrewsbury*. His Majeſty was likewiſe pleaſed to Create the Right Honourable *John* Earl of *Mulgrave*, Marquis of *Normanby*; and *Henry Herbert* of *Ribisford* in the County of *Worceſter*, Eſq; a Baron of this Kingdom, by the Name and Title of Baron of *Cherbury* in the County of *Salop*. At the ſame time his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint the Right Honourable, *Edward Ruſſel*, Eſq; Sir *John Lowther* of *Whitehaven*, Baronet, *Henry Prieſtman*, Eſq; *Robert Auſtin*, Eſq; Sir *Robert Rich*, Baronet, Sir *George Rook*, and Sir *John Houblon*, Knts. Commiſſioners for Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging. On *April* the 26th, his Majeſty was pleaſed, upon the Death of Sir *Thomas Duppa*, Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod, to confer that Place upon *Fleetwood Shepherd*, Eſq; Gentleman Uſher Daily Waiter to his Majeſty; and conferr'd upon him the Honour of Knighthood. On *April* the 30th his Majeſty was pleaſed to Create *Thomas* Lord Marquis of *Carmarthen*, Preſident of the Council, Duke of *Leeds*; *William* Earl of *Bedford*, Marquis of *Taviſtock*, and Duke of *Bedford*; *William* Earl of *Devonſhire*, Lord Steward of their Majeſties Houſhold, Marquis of *Hartington*, and Duke of *Devonſhire*; *John* Earl of *Clare*, Marquis of *Clare*, and Duke of *Newcaſtle*; *Francis* Lord Viſcount *Newport*, Treaſurer of their Majeſties Houſhold, Earl of *Bradford* in the County of *Salop*: And ſoon after, *Henry* Lord Viſcount *Sidney*, Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, was Created Earl of *Romney* in the County of *Kent*. On *May* the 2d, his Majeſty was pleaſed to Conſtitute *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, Knight, *Charles Mountague*, Eſq; Sir *William Trumbal*, Knt. and *John Smith*, Eſq; Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury: And for a Reward of Eminent Services done in the Houſe of Commons with great Dexterity and Induſtry, his Majeſty granted to *Charles Mountague*, Eſq; one of the ſaid Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, the Offices of Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer. On *May* the 3d, *John* Lord Marquis of *Normanby*, and *Charles* Lord Viſcount *Durſley*, were by his Majeſty's Command, Sworn of the Privy-Council, and took their Places at the Board.

Honours and Preferments.

When Perſons were thus wiſely ſoftened; on *Thurſday* in the Evening, *May* the 3d the King and Queen went down to *Graveſend*, where his Majeſty embarked about Five the next Morning, the Wind being then fair; but it changing ſoon after, his Majeſty came aſhoar again at *Graveſend* about Ten; and for better Expedition went the ſame Day with the Queen to *Canterbury*, and on *May* the 6th went early from thence to *Margate*, where he Embarked on the *Fubs* Yatch, and ſet Sail about Eleven with a fair Wind for *Holland*; being attended by Eight *Dutch* Men of War who came about from the *Downs*. His Majeſty Landed the next Day at the

The King embarks for *Holland*.

Hock

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Hock of *Holland*, over-againſt the *Brill*, at Six in the Evening; and having ſupp'd with Monſieur *Reningburgh*, he came about Midnight to the *Hague*; and next Morning he went firſt into the Aſſembly of the States of *Holland*, and afterwards that of the States General, and made a ſhort Speech in each of them; and receiv'd their Compliments on his ſafe Arrival. And after a few Days, his Majeſty went to *Loo*, for ſome Diverſions of that Place.

The Confederate Fleet.

Here leaving his Majeſty, we ſhall firſt obſerve the Motions of the Confederate Fleet, which was out early this Year; but yet were not able to block up the *French* Fleet in *Breſt*, nor to meet 'em for a Fight at Sea: For the *French* induſtriouſly avoided an Engagement; and were no ſooner out of Harbour, but they made all the Sail they could toward the *Mediterranean*, having form'd great Deſigns againſt *Spain* this Campaign. In order to break their Meaſures, and to prevent the Loſs of *Catalonia*, King *William* thought fit to order his Fleet into thoſe Seas. But before Admiral *Ruſſel* left the Coaſt of *France*, being inform'd that there was a Fleet of Merchant-Men in *Bertram* Bay, bound to the *Eaſtward*, he ſent Captain *Pickard*, and the *Roebuck* Fire-ſhip, either to take, or deſtroy 'em. Theſe Orders the Captain executed with ſo good Succeſs, that of Fifty two Sail of them, he burnt or ſunk Thirty five, beſides the Man of War that was their Convoy, the which run among the Rocks, and ſoon after blew up with her Two Sloops, of between Ten and Fifteen Guns.

The *French* Fleet deſtroy'd in *Bertram* Bay.

Unſucceſſful Attempt on *Breſt*.

The ſame good Fortune did not attend the Deſign of deſtroying the Harbour of *Breſt*; the Execution of which deſperate Attempt was committed to Lieutenant-General *Talmaſh*, who fell a Sacrifice in it; and therefore, as ſome pretend, was deſtin'd to that Fall by the Envy of ſome of his pretended Friends. This is certain, that the *French* had Time to provide themſelves againſt a Deſign that was become a Town-Talk in *London* ſome Months before it was put in Execution. But to give an Account of this unfortunate Attempt. On the 5th of *June*, the Lord *Berkley*, Admiral of the Blue Squadron, parted from Admiral *Ruſſel* with Twenty nine Men of War of the Line of Battel, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, beſides ſmall Frigats, Fire-ſhips, Bomb-ketches and Tranſport-ſhips; and upon the 7th he came to an Anchor between *Cameret* and *Bertram* Bay, though continually play'd upon by the Enemies Bombs; firſt from *Cameret Weſtern* Point, then from a Caſtle on a high Rock in *Bertram* Bay; and laſtly, from two Forts on each ſide of the *Iſthmus* going into *Breſt* Road. The ſame Day the Lord *Cutts*, and the Marquis of *Carmarthen*, in his own Galley, ſtood in a conſiderable Way into the Bay; and having taken a good View of it amidſt the Enemies Fire, they return'd and gave the Lord *Berkley* an Account of the Poſture of the Bay, and the Situation of the Caſtle; which they found very advantageous to defend the Landing Places. It was at firſt order'd, that the *Monk*, a Ship of 60 Guns, and the *Diamond*, of equal Force, ſhould go in; but the Marquis repreſented, that thoſe two Men of War would not be ſufficient to cover the Boats at their Landing, becauſe the Enemy are better prepared, and more numerous than was expected, and ready to be ſeconded by 14 Squadron of Horſe. Hereupon on *June* 8. in a Conſultation of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Flags, and the General Officers of the Land Forces, it was reſolved, that ſix other Men of War ſhould be added to the two former; which the Marquis undertook to poſt ſo as to bear upon the Caſtle to the beſt Advantage, and to cover the Deſcent of our Land Forces. This was a Work of great Difficulty and Danger; for no ſooner was the *Monk* come within Reach of the Enemies Mortars, but they began to throw at her from Point *Des Fillettes*, and the *Weſtern* Point of *Cameret* Bay; and the reſt of the Ships that followed, were ſurpriz'd with Three Batteries more, which they never perceived till they felt their Shot. But under all theſe Difficulties, the brave Marquis made a ſhift to poſt the Eight Ships in ſuch a manner, as gave great Succour to the Landing Forces, and did the *French* conſiderable Miſchief; dropping their Anchors, and firing with ſo much Reſolution, that they forc'd the *French* to run twice out of *Cameret* Fort; but they could eaſily perceive the Enemy very advantageouſly intrench'd at every Place where there was any Poſſibility of Landing, and great Numbers of Foot were drawn behind the Trenches.

Amidſt theſe Difficulties, there could be no Proſecution of that regular Landing which was propoſed by my Lord *Cutts*, and had been agreed on. However, the undaunted General *Talmaſh* was reſolute in the Enterprize, tho' unlikely to ſucceed; and therefore with a ſmall Number of Well-Boats, and about Nine hundred Men, went aſhoar in a confuſed manner, under a little Rock on the *South* ſide of the ſmall Bay; but immediately a Detachment of *French* Marines fell in upon 'em with ſo much Fury, that the *Engliſh* were forc'd to retire to their Boats in great Diſorder; and it happening at the ſame time to be ebbing Water, moſt of the Boats ſtuck faſt; ſo that the Men on Board 'em were either miſerably ſlaughter'd, or forc'd to beg Quarter. The Signal being now given to bring off the Ships, who had all their Rigging cut to pieces, and moſt of their Sails and Yards diſabled, the Marquis of *Carmarthen*, with incredible Labour and Hazard, brought off all the Ships, except the *Weſep*, a ſmall *Dutch* Man of War of 30 Guns. The brave *Talmaſh* ſoon after died of his Wounds. Four hundred Men were loſt in the Ships under the Marquis's Command; and of the Land Troops, they reckon'd at leaſt Seven hundred of them either ſlain, wounded, or taken Priſoners.

The Bombing of *Diepe*.

To make ſome Amends for this Diſappointment, the Lord *Berkley* ſail'd towards *Diepe*; and on the 12th of *July*, threw One thouſand one hundred Bombs and Carcaſſes into the Town, which ſet it on Fire in ſeveral Places. The Townſmen deſpairing to quench the Flames, began to run away in great Conſternation; whereupon two Regiments of the Militia of *Britany* were ſent to encourage them; but the Diſorder was ſo great, and the Fire ſo dreadful, that the Soldiers themſelves fled with the reſt. Had the *Engliſh* known what had paſſed, they might in all Probability have poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Place: However, they ſo ruin'd it, that the greateſt Part of the Houſes were reduc'd to Aſhes, and ſcarce any left unſhatter'd. From *Diepe* the Fleet

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There was a great Infatuation, and Enthuſiaſtick Madneſs upon the Minds of People, that work'd them up to believe and to do the moſt extravagant Things. Among other Deluſions, one Mr. *Maſon*, Miniſter of *Water-Stratford*, in the County of *Bucks*, had carried himſelf and many People into Raptures and Ecſtaſies, upon immediate expectation of the coming of Chriſt from Heaven. See 1. "The Trial and Condemnation of the two falſe Witneſſes unto the late *Midnight-Cry*. Publiſhed by Mr. *Maſon*, the Author of that preſent great Aſſembly in *Buckinghamſhire*, who are met together under a deluding Expectation of Chriſt's coming to Judgment on *Whitſunday* approaching, ſhewing of what dangerous Conſequence this may prove to the preſent Government, &c. Licens'd *May* 14, 1694. *London*, Printed for *R. Baldwin*, 4to". —— II. "A Letter from a Gentleman in *Buckinghamſhire* near *Water-Stratford*, to his Brother Mr. *Thomas Pickfat*, at the *Three Kings* in *Whitecroſs-ſtreet* in *London*, giving an Account of the Doctrine and Manner of Behaviour of Mr. *Maſon*, Miniſter of *Water-Stratford*, with the Hymns they uſually ſing. *London*; Printed for *Rand. Taylor*, 1694, 4to". —— III. An Account of ſeveral remarkable Paſſages, in the Life and Death of Mr. *John Maſon* late Miniſter of *Water-Stratford*, as they were put in a Letter by his Siſter in Law, directed to a Friend in *London*, Dat. *May* 28, 1694. To which were added the Letters that Mr. *Maſon* ſent to ſeveral of his Friends. *London*, 1694, 4to.

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alarming all the Coaſt of *France*, ſail'd toward *Havre-de-Grace*; and on the 16th they began to bombard the Town, under the Direction of Captain *Bembow*; which they continued to do till the next Morning, when the Wind blowing hard, they gave over ſhooting. The 18th towards the Evening, the Weather being calm, the following Night was ſpent in throwing Two hundred and fifty Bombs more into the Town; but the Wind growing high, the Bomb-Ketches ſtood off again: and on the 24th, my Lord *Berkley* ſail'd from *Havre-de-Grace*, leaving it conſiderably damag'd.

And of *Havre-de-Grace*.

Triumphs of the *Engliſh* Fleet in the *Mediterranean*.

But theſe Misfortunes at *Breſt* were in great meaſure repair'd by the Glory of our Grand Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, under the Command of Admiral *Ruſſel*, who rode there in Triumph, and coopt up the *French* Fleet in the Harbour of *Thoulon*; and tho' Mareſchal *de Tourville* once adventur'd out to Sea, with a Deſign to ſlip by the *Engliſh* Admiral; yet he quickly found ſo watchful an Eye upon him, that he was forc'd to return to his Port again. Indeed nothing is more illuſtrious in the whole Courſe of King *William*'s Reign, than his Fleet riding thus triumphantly in the *Mediterranean*; for by this means the *Engliſh* Dominion of the *Streights* was added to that of the Narrow Seas; a Stop was put to the conquering Arms of *France* in *Catalonia*; all the *French* Coaſts were expoſed to the Inſults of the Confederates; and even all the *Italian* Princes were kept in Awe; and the *Venetians* began now to think of ſending a ſolemn Embaſſy into *England*, to court the Friendſhip of his *Britannick* Majeſty.

Campaign in *Flanders*.

We muſt now look to the Campaign in *Flanders*. The Confederate Army under the King's Command, was encamp'd at *Mont St. Andre*, conſiſting of Thirty one thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, and Fifty one thouſand Foot; beſides a Body of Seven thouſand Men, under the Command of Count *Thyan*, near *Ghent*. The *French* were not much inferior in Number; but the *Dauphin*, who commanded them in Perſon, declared, that he had receiv'd Orders from his Father, not to ſtir from his Camp near *Huy* as long as the Confederates continu'd in theirs at *Mont St. Andre*. The King made a Shew of attacking them more than once; and the Duke of *Luxemburgh* being at one Time more particularly apprehenſive of it, is ſaid to have gone in great Haſte to the *Dauphin*, and to have expoſtulated with him, that he ſhould be prepared for Battel in that dangerous Conjuncture; while the *Dauphin* having *Cæſar*'s Commentaries in his Hand, told the Mareſchal, *He had been reading that Book, and conſidering of it*; as if he were a Prince fitter for Study than Action.

The *French* forc'd to decamp.

It ſeem'd to be a new Trial of Skill between the Two Armies, who ſhould continue longeſt in their reſpective Camps; but the *French* being not able to ſubſiſt any longer, had reſolved to decamp; but thought to have conceal'd their Deſign, by ſending out divers ſmall Bodies of Horſe, under the Pretence of Foraging, to reinforce the Marquis of *Harcourt*'s Body on the other ſide the *Meuze*, who was to ſeize the advantageous Poſt of *Pieton*, and by that means to get before the Confederates; yet the King, who was apprehenſive of it, prevented their Deſign, and decamping on the 8th of *Auguſt*, he ſoon gained the Poſt of *Pieton*, where there was not Forage for above Four Days. So that being inform'd of the Enemy's March, his Majeſty moved on the 10th from *Sombref* to *Nievelle*, on the 11th to *Soignes*, on the 12th to *Chevre*, and on the 13th to *Grames* near *Aeth*. On the 14th the Elector of *Bavaria* was detach'd with a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Foot, and ſome Pieces of Cannon, to poſſeſs himſelf of a Poſt upon the *Scheld*, and the Army follow'd, with an Intention to have paſſed that River at *Pont-Eſperies*; but tho' the Confederates made great Diligence to get thither, yet the *French* made more to prevent them; for on the 15th the Elector having advanced towards *Pont d' Eſchouſſe*, in order to force the Paſſage of the River, he found the *French*, to the Number of Thirty thouſand, ſo well intrench'd on the other ſide, that he did not think it Prudence to purſue his Enterprize. This haſty March coſt the *French* abundance of Men and Horſes, but that Loſs was inconſiderable in compariſon of the Advantage they gain'd by hindring the Allies from penetrating into *French Flanders*, where, conſidering their Strength, they would, in all Probability, have made ſome important Conqueſt, or at leaſt ſecured Winter Quarters. The King of *France* was ſo ſenſible of it, that he writ a Letter, which he order'd to be read at the Head of the Army, wherein he return'd Thanks in the firſt Place to the Princes of the Blood; next to the Mareſchal *de Luxemburgh*, as having a principal Share in the Conduct; then to the reſt of the Mareſchals of *France*, and all the General Officers; and laſtly to all the *French* and *Swiſs* Infantry, Regiment by Regiment, acknowledging how much he was beholden to their Zeal and incredible Diligence.

The King prevents their Deſign.

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Whilſt the *French* were deeply intrench'd near *Courtray*, from whence they had ſent ſtrong Detachments to cover *Ipres*, *Menin*, *Berg St. Winox*, *Furnes*, and *Dunkirk*; the King finding it impoſſible to attempt any thing on that ſide, reſolved to lay hold on this Occaſion to diſpoſſeſs the Enemy of the Town and Caſtle of *Huy*. In purſuance of this Deſign, the Prince *Tſerclaes de Tilly* paſſed the *Meuſe*, and inveſted the Place with all the Horſe and Dragoons of the Biſhoprick of *Liege*, a Party of *Brandenburgh* Horſe, and ſome Battalions of Foot. The next Day arriv'd Sixteen Regiments of Foot, with the Duke of *Holſtein Ploen*, who was appointed to command the Siege, and at whoſe Approach the Town immediately ſurrendred. By the 19th of *September*, N. S. the Batteries were raiſed againſt the Caſtle; the 21ſt the Trenches were open'd; and the following Days the Attack carried on with ſo much Vigor, that all Things being ready for an Aſſault the 27th, the *French* Governor beat a Parley, and ſurrendred that Fortreſs the next Day. By this Conqueſt the *French* were totally expell'd out of the Biſhoprick of *Liege*; *Dinant* at the ſame Time being a part of *France*. And thus ended the Campaign in *Flanders*.

Siege of *Huy*.

During the King's Abſence, there was little remarkable in *England*, but the eminent Prudence of the Queen, in preſerving the Peace of the Nation. On *May* 10. *Thomas* Earl of *Stamford*, and *Charles Montague*, Eſq; were by her Majeſty's Command ſworn of the Privy-Council, and took their Places at the Board. On *June* 5. his Electoral Highneſs *Frederick* the Third, Marquis of *Branderburgh*, Prince Elector, and Great Chamberlain of the Sacred *Roman Empire*; his Serene Highneſs *George William* Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburgh*, Prince of the ſaid Empire; and his Grace *Charles* Duke of *Shrewsbury*, being Knights Elect of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, were inſtalled in St. *George*'s Chapel at *Windſor*; the two former by their Proxies, and the latter in Perſon, the Archievements of the late Elector of *Saxony* and of Duke *Hamilton*, Two Defunct Knights of the Order, having been firſt offer'd at the Altar. The *Jacobites* were induſtrious and implacable in their Plots againſt the Government, tho' the Vigilance of the Queen, and the Hearts of the People, prevented the Succeſs of their Hopes and Projects. Colonel *John Parker* had been committed to the *Tower* for High Treaſon, and a Bill of Indictment was found againſt him in *Trinity Term*; but on *Saturday Auguſt* 11. by a ſingular Stratagem, he made his Eſcape in the Night, and fled from Juſtice; and tho' there was a Proclamation for the diſcovering and apprehending of him, with a Reward of Four hundred Pounds for ſo doing, yet he

The Queen's great Prudence.

Jacobite Plots.

1694. ſafely got to *France*, where his treaſonable Deſigns
6 W. M. were firſt laid and undertaken.

The King returns to England.

On *Thurſday November* 8. the King embark'd on the *William* and *Mary* Yatch in the *Maeſe*, being attended by a Squadron of Men of War, under the Command of the Lord Marquis of *Carmarthen*, and the next Day about Twelve a Clock his Majeſty landed at *Margate*, and lay that Night at *Canterbury*; the Queen met him next Day at *Rocheſter*, and between Eleven and Twelve at Night their Majeſties came to *Kenſington*. As they went through the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, Illuminations, Bonfires, Ringing of Bells, and the continual Acclamations of vaſt Numbers of People, ſhew'd a univerſal Joy for his Majeſty's ſafe Return.

Parliament meets.

On *Monday November* 12. the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and with uſual Solemnity the King made this Speech to both Houſes.

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Am glad to meet you here, when I can ſay "our Affairs are in a better Poſture both by Sea "and Land, than when we parted laſt.

"The Enemy has not been in a Condition to op-"poſe our Fleet in theſe Seas; and our ſending ſo "great a Force into the *Mediterranean*, has diſap-"pointed their Deſigns, and leaves us a Proſpect of "further Succeſs.

"With reſpect to the War by Land, I think I "may ſay, that this Year a Stop has been put to "the Progreſs of the *French* Arms.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I have had ſo much Experience of your good "Affection to me, and of your Zeal for the "Publick, that I cannot doubt of your Aſſiſtance at "this Time. I do therefore earneſtly recommend "to you, to provide ſuch Supplies, as may enable "me to proſecute the War with Vigor; which is "the only Means to procure Peace to *Chriſtendom*, "with the Safety and Honour of *England*.

"I muſt likewiſe put you in mind, that the Act "of Tonnage and Poundage expires at *Chriſtmaſs*; "and I hope you will think fit to continue that Re-"venue to the Crown; which is the more neceſſary "at this Time, in regard that ſeveral Branches of "the Revenue are under great Anticipations, for ex-"traordinary Expences of the War, and ſubject to "many Demands upon other Accounts.

"I cannot but mention to you again, the Debt "for the Tranſport-Ships employed in the reducing "of *Ireland*, which is a Caſe of Compaſſion, and "deſerves Relief.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I ſhould be glad you would take into your "Conſideration the preparing ſome good Bill for "the Encouragement of our Seamen. You cannot "but be ſenſible, how much a Law of this Nature "would tend to the Advancement of Trade, and "of the Naval Strength of the Kingdom, which is "our great Intereſt, and ought to be our principal "Care.

Proceedings of the Commons.

The Commons adjourn'd to the 19th of *November*, when the firſt thing they did was to order Mr. *Harley* to prepare and bring in a Bill for *the frequent Meeting and Calling of Parliaments*, which they had been ſo earneſt for in former Seſſions, and were reſolved to inſiſt upon in this. The Bill was eaſily drawn up, and preſented *November* 22. and read with Diſpatch the Third Time, and paſs'd *December* 13. and ſent up to the Lords, who on *December* 18. gave it their Concurrence, without any Amendments. 1694. 6 W. M.

Supply granted.

November 21. the Commons unanimouſly voted a Supply to their Majeſties, and examin'd the Eſtimate for the next Year's Service for the War; the Accounts of Monies paid to the Fleet, to the Army, to the Allies, and for Forage; and enquir'd into the Quota's that the Confederates were ſeverally to furniſh. After this Review, they reſolved on *November* 30. "That the Sum of Two Millions "three hundred eighty two thouſand ſeven hundred "and twelve Pounds be granted for the Maintenance "of the Navy; and that of Two Millions three "hundred eighty two thouſand Pounds, for the "Support of the Land Forces, for the Service of "the Year 1695.

Ways and Means.

To raiſe theſe immenſe Sums, it was reſolved on *December* 4. to take theſe Ways and Means. *Firſt*, That an Aid of Four Shillings in the Pound be granted to their Majeſties, to be laid and levied in the ſame manner as formerly. *Secondly*, That the Subſidies of Tonnage and Poundage be continued for the Term of Five Years longer, beginning on the 26th of this Inſtant *December*.

Acts paſſed.

To loſe no Time, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers on *December* 22. and with the uſual Solemnity gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for granting to their Majeſties a Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage, and other Sums of Money, payable upon Merchandizes exported and imported.* 2. *An Act for the frequent Meeting and Calling of Parliaments.* The ſame Day one *Dyer*, a very impudent Writer of News-Letters, was juſtly reprimanded by the Speaker, for preſuming to miſrepreſent the Proceedings of that Houſe. But ſuch a gentle Rebuke could not reform a Fellow, who wrote for two very neceſſitous Cauſes, for the *Jac.* Party, and for Bread.

Death of the Queen.

On *Friday December* 21. the Queen was taken ill at *Kenſington*, and her Diſtemper proved to be the Small-Pox, with incurable Symptoms; ſo that in ſpight of the moſt exquiſite Care and Conſult of Phyſicians, her Majeſty departed this Life on *Friday December* 28. about One in the Morning, leaving the King under an unexpreſſible Grief and Affliction; and the whole Kingdom under the deepeſt and moſt ſenſible Sorrow, for the Loſs of a Princeſs of ſo much Piety, Clemency, Goodneſs, and other great and exemplary Virtues. *(a)*

The manner of her dying is thus delivered by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in her Funeral Sermon. "Some few Days before the Feaſt of our Lord's "Nativity, ſhe found her ſelf indiſpos'd. I will "not ſay, that of this Affliction ſhe had any formal "Preſage; but yet there was ſomething that look'd "like an immediate Preparation for it; I mean, "her chuſing to hear read more than once a little "before it, the laſt Sermon of a good and learned "Man (now with God) upon this Subject; *What*, "*ſhall we receive good from the hand of God, and* "*ſhall we not receive evil?* This Indiſpoſition ſpee-"dily grew up into a dangerous Diſtemper. "As ſoon as that was underſtood, the earlieſt "Care of this charitable Miſtreſs was, for the re-"moving of ſuch immediate Servants, as might "by Diſtance be preſerved in Health. Soon "after this, ſhe fix'd the Times of Prayers in

(a) On *Wedneſday, April* 13. 1695. the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Teniſon*, then confined to his Bed, told me, that he was ſent for to the Queen at her firſt Illneſs; and that her greateſt Danger was owing to the different Opinions of the Two Phyſicians. Sir *Tho. Millington* ſaid rightly, it would be the Small-Pox, and would have had ſome ſuitable Evacuations; but Dr. *R*—— *ſe* ſaid, it would be the Meaſles only, and would not agree to any proper Preſcriptions till it was too late. When I came to viſit her at the beginning of her Diſtemper (thus the Archbiſhop) ſhe bid the Company withdraw; and when they ſeem'd to be all gone out, ſhe bid me again look behind the Screen; *For* (ſays ſhe) *Dr.* R—— ſe *has put a Popiſh Nurſe upon me, and ſhe is always liſtning to what is ſaid about me; that Woman is a great Diſturbance to me.*

that

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“ that Chamber to which her Sickneſs had confined her.

“ On that very Day, ſhe ſhew'd how ſenſible ſhe was of Death, and how little ſhe fear'd it. She required him who officiated there, to add that Collect in the Communion of the Sick, in which are theſe Words, - - - *That whenſoever the Soul ſhall depart from the Body, it may be without Spot preſented unto thee.* I will, ſaid ſhe, have this Collect read Twice every Day. All have need to be put in mind of Death, and Princes as much as any body elſe.

“ On *Monday*, the flattering Diſeaſe occaſioned ſome Hopes, tho' they were but faint ones. On the next Day, the Feſtival of Chriſt's Birth, thoſe Hopes were raiſed into a kind of Aſſurance; and there was Joy, a great Joy ſeen in the Countenances of all good People: That Joy endured but for a Day, and that Day was cloſ'd with a very diſmal Night: The Diſeaſe ſhew'd it ſelf in various Forms, and ſmall Hopes of Life were now left. Then it was, that he who performed the Holy Offices, believed himſelf obliged to acquaint the Good Queen with the Apprehenſions all had of an Unlikelihood at leaſt of her Recovery. She receiv'd the Tidings with a Courage agreeable to the Strength of her Faith. Loth ſhe was to terrify thoſe about her; but for her ſelf, ſhe ſeem'd neither to fear Death, nor to covet Life. It was, you may imagine, high Satiſfaction to hear her ſay a great many moſt Chriſtian Things, and this among them: *I believe I ſhall now ſoon die*; *and I thank God I have from my Youth learned a true Doctrine, that Repentance is not to be put off to a Death-bed.* That Day ſhe call'd for Prayers a Third time, fearing ſhe had ſlept a little when they were the Second time read; for ſhe thought a Duty was not perform'd, if it was not minded.

“ On *Thurſday* ſhe prepared her ſelf for the bleſſed Communion, to which ſhe had been no Stranger from the Fifteenth Year of her Age. She was much concerned that ſhe found her ſelf in ſo *dozing a Condition*; ſo ſhe expreſs'd it. To that ſhe added, *Others had need pray for me, ſeeing I am ſo little able to pray for my ſelf.* However, ſhe ſtirred up her Attention, and prayed to God for his Aſſiſtance: And God heard her; for from thenceforth, to the End of the Office, ſhe had the perfect Command of her Underſtanding, and was intent upon the Great Work ſhe was going about; and ſo intent, that when a Second Potion of a certain Draught was offer'd her, ſhe refuſ'd it, ſaying, *I have but a little Time to live, and I would ſpend it a better way.*

“ The Holy Elements being ready, and ſeveral Biſhops coming to be Communicants, ſhe repeated piouſly and diſtinctly, but with a low Voice, (for ſuch her Weakneſs had then made it) all the Parts of the Holy Office which were proper for her, and received (with all the Signs of a ſtrong Faith, and fervent Devotion) the bleſſed Pledges of God's Favour, and thanked him with a joyful Heart, that ſhe was not deprived of the Opportunity. She own'd alſo, that God had been good to her beyond her Expectation, tho' in a Circumſtance of ſmaller Importance; ſhe having (without any Indecency or Difficulty) taken down that Bread, when it had not been ſo eaſy for her, for ſome Time, to ſwallow any other. 1694. 6 *W.* 3.

“ That Afternoon ſhe call'd for Prayers ſomewhat earlier than the appointed Time, becauſe ſhe fear'd, (that was her Reaſon) that ſhe ſhould not long be ſo well compos'd. And ſo it came to paſs; for every Minute after this, 'twas plain, Death made nearer and nearer Approaches. However, this true Chriſtian kept her Mind as fix'd as poſſibly ſhe could upon the beſt Things; and there were read, by her Direction, ſeveral *Pſalms* of *David*, and alſo a Chapter of a Pious Book concerning *Truſt in God.* Toward the latter End of it, her Apprehenſion began to fail; yet not ſo much, but that ſhe could ſay a devout *Amen* to that Prayer, in which her pious Soul was recommended to that God who gave it.

“ During all this Time, there appear'd nothing of Impatience, nothing of Frowardneſs, nothing of Anger: There was heard nothing of Murmuring, nothing of Impertinence, nothing of ill Sound, and ſcarce a Number of disjointed Words. (*a*)

“ In all theſe Afflictions, the King was greatly afflicted; how ſenſibly, and yet how becomingly, many ſaw, but few have Skill enough to deſcribe it: I am ſure I have not. At laſt the Helps of Art, and Prayers and Tears not prevailing, a Quarter before One, on *Friday* Morning, after Two or Three ſmall Strugglings of Nature, and without ſuch Agonies as in ſuch Caſes are common, ſhe fell on ſleep.

On *Monday, Decemb.* 31. the Houſe of Peers went in a Body to *Kenſington*, and preſented to his Majeſty the following Addreſs on this ſad Occaſion.

“ We your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, do with inexpreſſible Grief, humbly aſſure your Majeſty of the deep Senſe we have of the Loſs your Majeſty and the whole Kingdom doth ſuſtain by the Death of that Excellent Princeſs, our Sovereign Lady the Queen: Moſt humbly beſeeching your Majeſty, that you would not indulge your Grief upon this ſad Occaſion, to the Prejudice of the Health of your Royal Perſon, in whoſe Preſervation not only the Welfare of your own Subjects, but of all *Chriſtendom* is ſo much concerned. We farther beg Leave upon this ſad Occaſion, humbly to renew to your Majeſty, the hearty and ſincere Aſſurances of our utmoſt Aſſiſtance againſt all your Enemies, both at Home and Abroad, and of all other Demonſtrations of the greateſt Duty and Affection, that can poſſibly be paid by the moſt faithful Subjects.

To this Addreſs his Majeſty gave this Decent Anſwer: “ I heartily thank you for your Kindneſs to me; but much more, for the Senſe you ſhow of our Great Loſs, which is above what I can expreſs.

On the ſame Day, his Majeſty was attended by the Houſe of Commons, who preſented this Addreſs of Condolance.

(*a*) The Biſhop of *Glóceſter*, Dr. *Fowler*, in a Preface to his Diſcourſe on Occaſion of the Queen's Death, writes thus, “ Upon having the firſt Intimation of the Danger ſhe was in, ſhe replied to this Effect: *I have been inſtructed by the Divines of our Church, how very hazardous a Thing it is to rely upon a Death-bed Repentance*; *and I am not now to begin the great Work of Preparing for Death*; *and I praiſe God, I am not afraid of it.* And ſhe was ſo compoſed throughout her Sickneſs, that 'tis as evident ſhe had not the leaſt Diſturbance upon her own Mind, but that all was calm and ſerene within her. One of her Phyſicians (a very worthy Gentleman) was ſo affected with the Obſervations he then made of her, as ſince to ſay, *She ſeemed to me more like an Angel, than a Woman.* —— Frequently ſhe called for the Prayers, which my Lord of *Canterbury* ſtill read to her; and about Twelve Hours before her Departure, ſhe comfortably received the Holy Communion at his Hands; Seven Biſhops communicating with her.'

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Moſt Gracious and Dread Sovereign,

"We your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal "Subjects, the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, "being deeply ſenſible of the great Misfortune "which hath befallen your Majeſty and this King- "dom, by the Death of our moſt Gracious Queen, "do with unſpeakable Grief of Heart, humbly beg "Leave to condole the irreparable Loſs of that "Moſt Excellent Princeſs, the Beſt of Women; to "enumerate whoſe Virtues, were to aggravate our "Sorrow.

"We cannot, at the ſame Time, but bleſs God "for the Preſervation of your Majeſty to us, on "whoſe Life the Welfare and Happineſs of this "Kingdom, and the Liberties of *Europe* do in ſo "great a meaſure depend; humbly beſeeching your "Majeſty ſo to moderate your Grief under this "Affliction, as not to prejudice or endanger your "Health: And that your Majeſty would pleaſe to "take ſuch further Care of your Royal Perſon, that "we may all enjoy the Bleſſing of your Majeſty's "long Life, and happy Reign.

"We do alſo look upon it as a Duty we owe "to your Majeſty, to our ſelves, and to thoſe we "repreſent, to take this Occaſion of aſſuring your "Majeſty, That we your faithful Commons will "always, to the utmoſt of our Power, ſtand by, "ſupport and defend your Majeſty and your Go- "vernment, againſt all your Enemies both at Home "and Abroad.

To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer; "Gentlemen, I take very kindly your Care of me; "eſpecially at this Time, when I am able to think "of nothing but our great Loſs.

The City of *London*, and moſt of the Corporations in *England*, preſented the like Addreſſes upon this ſad Occaſion. But next to the King himſelf, the Death of the Queen was moſt affectionately lamented by her Royal Siſter, the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*; who, at this lamentable Juncture, was willing to forget the Reaſons that had oblig'd her to leave the Court, and to live in an obſcure Retirement, more like a private Perſon in Diſgrace, than like the next Heir to the Crown.

Under the deepeſt Impreſſions of Grief, ſhe wrote a moſt kind and reſpectful Letter to the King; wherein "ſhe begg'd his Majeſty's favourable Ac- "ceptance of her ſincere and hearty Sorrow for his "great Affliction in the Loſs of the Queen: And "did aſſure his Majeſty, ſhe was as ſenſibly troubled "with his Misfortune, as if ſhe had never been ſo "unhappy as to fall under Her Diſpleaſure. She "did earneſtly deſire his Majeſty, to give her Leave "to wait upon him as ſoon as it could be, with "no Inconveniency to him, and without Danger of "increaſing his Affliction; that ſhe might have an "Opportunity in Perſon, not only of repeating "this, but of aſſuring his Majeſty of her real In- "tention to omit no Occaſion of giving him con- "ſtant Proofs of her ſincere Reſpect, and Concern "for his perſonal Intereſt and Safety." This Generous Affection of her Royal Highneſs was ſuitably received by the King: And his Grace the new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* laying hold on this favourable Opportunity to reconcile the Royal Family, repreſented to his Majeſty the Prudent and Loyal Conduct of her Royal Highneſs and the Prince of *Denmark*, during their Receſs from Court. That they had been ſo far from giving any Obſtruction to his Majeſty's Affairs, that they were alway in the ſame Publick Meaſures with him; and thoſe Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who had Places under their Highneſſes, had always appeared forward in promoting his Majeſty's Intereſt. Theſe Reaſons being offer'd as a Comment on the Letter of the Princeſs, work'd ſo effectually on the Heart of the King, that as a Mark of his Favour and Affection, he did immediately preſent her Royal Highneſs with moſt of the late Queen's Jewels; and his Sorrow for the Loſs of ſo good a Wife was in ſome meaſure alleviated, by the Reconcilement of ſo kind a Siſter.

Towards the Beginning of this Seſſion of Parliament, the Popiſh *Lancaſhire* Gentlemen, inſtead of bleſſing God for their late Deliverance, and acknowledging the Lenity and Mercy of the preſent Government, endeavour'd to repreſent their Legal Proſecution, as a Trick of the State, and the Court's Plot againſt them, rather than their Plot againſt the Government. They thought they had an Intereſt ſufficient to ſubmit this Matter to the Examination of the Houſe of Commons; who after the Reading of ſeveral Papers, diſappointed the Petitioners; and juſtly reſolved, on *February* the 6th, "1. That "there does appear to this Houſe, that there was "ſufficient Grounds for the Proſecution and Tryals "of the Gentlemen at *Mancheſter*. 2. That up- "on the Informations and Examinations before this "Houſe, it does appear, that there was a dange- "rous Plot carry'd on againſt the King and Govern- "ment." The Houſe farther order'd, That Mr. *Standiſh*, of *Standiſh Hall* in *Lancaſhire*, ſhould be taken into Cuſtody: And their Meſſenger reporting he was not to be found; they addreſs'd the King to iſſue out his Royal Proclamation, for the apprehending of him. This Repulſe in the Houſe of Commons, did not diſcourage that bold Party from laying their Complaint alſo before the Houſe of Peers; where, after Examining ſome Witneſſes, and entring into proper Debates, the Queſtion being put, "Whether the Government had ſufficient *Lancaſhire Plot.* "Cauſe to proſecute the late Perſons accuſed of a "Plot in *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*? It was carry'd in the Affirmative.

The Commons had proceeded on the Ways and Means of raiſing Money, to anſwer the great Occaſions of the War; and had agreed on a Land-Tax, with *(a)* appropriating ſome Part of the Cuſtoms to the ſame Publick Uſes: So on *Monday*, *February* the 11th, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for granting to his Majeſty an Aid of Four* Acts paſſed. *Shillings in the Pound, for One Year; and for applying the yearly Sum of Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds, for Five Years, out of the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage, and other Sums of Money, payable upon Merchandize exported and imported, for carrying on the War againſt* France *with Vigor.* 2. *An Act for exempting Apothecaries from ſerving the Offices of Conſtable, Scavinger, and other Pariſh and Ward Offices, and from ſerving upon Juries.* 3. *An Act for Rebuilding the Town of* Warwick, *and for Determining Differences touching Houſes burnt or demoliſh'd,*

(a) In the midſt of all theſe Publick Burdens, the voluntary Charity of the Nation raiſ'd very conſiderable Sums of Money for Relief of the *French* Refugees. See the Letters directed to the ſeveral Lords the Biſhops within the Province of *Canterbury*, ſent with their Majeſties Letters Patents, in Behalf of the poor *French* Proteſtants fled into this Kingdom; ſubſcribed by the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Keeper, Lord Biſhop of *London*, Lord Mayor of *London*, Lord Chief-Juſtice *Holt*, and Lord Chief-Juſtice *Treby*. Dat. *June* 20. 1694. —— The Writer of the Life of Mr. *Firmin* tells us, "There "had been Four Briefs granted to the *French* Proteſtants; One "by King *Charles*, in 1681; a Second by King *James*, in "1686; another by King *James*, in 1687; the Fourth by "King *William*, in 169$\frac{1}{4}$. Beſides which, King *William* gave "to them a Thouſand Pounds *per* Month, for Thirty nine "Months. It was Mr. *Firmin* that was chiefly concern'd in "the Diſtribution of all this Money, eſpecially of the Thirty "nine Thouſand Pounds; which was committed to Two Bi- "ſhops, Two Knights, and a Gentleman; but almoſt the whole "Diſtribution was left to Mr. *Firmin*."

1694. 6 W. 3. by reaſon of the late dreadful Fire there. There ſeem'd to be a particular Providence, that directed the King to the Wiſdom of Paſſing the Popular Bill, *for the frequent Meeting of Parliaments*, before the Death of the Queen; for if it had been deferr'd to this Time, ſome People would not have fail'd to ſay, that he had been forc'd to it by the Neceſſity of his Affairs.

The Commons look back into Abuſes and Corruptions. While the Commons were raiſing Money for the future, they wiſely enquired into the Diſpoſal of former Taxes; and diſcovered ſo much Corruption, as was high time to puniſh and prevent. The Occaſion of looking back was given by a Petition of the Inhabitants of *Royſton*, complaining of the great Abuſes committed by Officers and Soldiers, in exacting Subſiſtence-Money. This Petition was Read in the Houſe on *Jan.* 12. and after Examining Mr. *Tracy Pauncefort*, Agent of Colonel *Haſtings*'s Regiment, and the Officers complained of; it was Reſolved, "That the Officers and Soldiers of the "Army, Demanding and Exacting Subſiſtence-Mo"ney in their Quarters, or upon their March, is "Arbitrary and Illegal, and a great Violation of the "Rights and Liberties of the Subject". And it was thereupon Ordered, "That the Commiſſioners for "Taking and Stating the Publick Accounts, do up"on *Friday* Morning next, lay before this Houſe "their Obſervations of the Abuſes and Ill Practices "committed by the ſeveral Agents of the Regiments "of the Army. And that the Commiſſioners ſhould "lay before them the Names of ſuch Agents as "have neglected to attend them upon Summons. "And that Agent *Pauncefort* lay before the Houſe "a particular Account of all the Moneys received "from the Earl of *Ranelagh*, and how he has paid "or diſpoſed of the ſaid Money.

Offenders puniſh'd. Purſuant to this Order, on *Jan.* 25. Mr. *Harley*, from the Commiſſioners for Taking and Stating the Publick Accounts, preſented to the Houſe their Obſervations of the Abuſes and Ill Practices committed by the ſeveral Agents. On *Jan.* 28. Mr. *Tracy Pauncefort* preſented his Accounts, and was Examin'd to the Truth of them. Agent *Roberts*, Agent *Wallis*, Lieutenant *Turner*, Colonel *Haſtings*, and Major *Montall*, were likewiſe Examined; the two latter were Diſcharged, the others were taken into Cuſtody. Mr. *Pauncefort* was brought in Cuſtody to the Houſe on *Feb.* 12. where refuſing to anſwer to ſeveral Queſtions demanded by the Houſe, it was Reſolved, "That by obſtinately refuſing to anſwer "to a Matter of Fact, demanded of him by this "Houſe, he had thereby violated the Privilege, and "contemned the Authority of this Houſe, and the "Fundamental Conſtitution thereof". For which he was brought to the Bar, and upon his Knees received the Judgment of being committed Priſoner to the *Tower* of *London*. On *Feb.* 15. upon his Petition, acknowledging his Offence, and expreſſing his Sorrow, he was again brought to the Bar of the Houſe; but not giving ſatisfactory Anſwers, he was Remanded back to the *Tower*.

His Brother Mr. *Edward Pauncefort* was likewiſe called in and Examined; and on *Feb.* 16. it was Reſolved, "That Mr. *Edward Pauncefort*, for con"triving to Cheat Colonel *Haſtings*'s Regiment of "Five Hundred Guineas, and for giving a Bribe to "obtain the King's Bounty, be taken into Cuſtody. "And that Mr. *Henry Guy*, a Member of the Houſe, "for taking a Bribe of Two Hundred Guineas, be "committed Priſoner to the Tower of *London*." And the Houſe at the ſame Time agreed, "That a Com"mittee be appointed, to prepare an Humble Re"preſentation to be made to his Majeſty, lay"ing before him the ſeveral Abuſes, ill Practices, "and intolerable Exactions of the Agents of the "Regiments of the Army, upon the Inferior Offi"cers and Common Soldiers, whereby they have "been forced to raiſe their Subſiſtence on the "People.

1694. 6 W. 3. This *Humble Repreſentation of the Houſe of Commons to his Majeſty*, was preſented on *Monday*, *March* the 4th.

Repreſentation of the Commons. "We your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal "Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parlia"ment aſſembled, do from a true and unfeigned "Zeal for your Majeſty's Perſon and Government, "(which God long preſerve) and from the Obliga"tion that lieth upon us in behalf of thoſe whom "we repreſent, moſt humbly lay before your Ma"jeſty the Grievance we lie under, by ſome of the "Officers and Soldiers of the Army, in raiſing Mo"ney upon the Country, under pretence of Sub"ſiſtence; which is ſuch a Violation of the Liber"ty and Property of your Subjects, that it needeth "no Aggravation.

"This is, in great Meaſure, occaſioned by the "undue Practices of ſome of the Agents and Offi"cers; the Particulars of which, we beg leave to "lay before your Majeſty, in order to the more "effectual preventing the like Miſcarriages for the "future.

"I. Some of the Agents, amongſt other their "Ill Practices, have detained the Money due to the "Soldiers, in their Hands; and made uſe of it for "their own Advantage, inſtead of immediately ap"plying it to the Subſiſtence of the Officers and "Soldiers, for whom they were entruſted.

"II. Their intolerable Exactions, and great Ex"tortions upon the Officers and Soldiers, for Pay"ing Money by way of Advance; Their Charging "more for the Diſcounts of Tallies than they actu"ally paid: By which fraudulent Impoſing upon "thoſe who ſerve in your Majeſty's Armies, it ap"peareth, That notwithſtanding they have a great"er Pay than is given in any other Part of the "World, they are yet reduced to Inconveniences "and Extremities, which ought not to be put upon "thoſe who venture their Lives for the Honour and "Safety of the Nation.

"III. In particular, Colonel *Haſtings* hath com"pell'd ſome Officers of his Regiment to take "their Cloaths from him at extravagant Rates, by "confining and threatning thoſe that would not "comply therewith; by which the Authority that "may be neceſſary to be lodged in the Colo"nel over the Inferior Officers in ſome Caſes, is "miſapplied, and extended ſo as to promote a "private Advantage of his own, without any Re"gard to your Majeſty's Service, or to the Diſci"pline of the Army.

"IV. Colonel *Haſtings*'s Agent hath preſumed "fraudulently to detain Five Hundred Guineas out "of a Bounty given by your Majeſty to the Of"ficers of that Regiment, under Pretence of gi"ving them as a Bribe to obtain the ſame; to the "Diſhonour of your Majeſty, and Injury to the "Officers thereof. And hath taken Two-pence *per* "Pound out of the Money due to the Officers and "Soldiers; for which Deduction there being no "Warrant, the Colonel (whoſe Servant the Agent "is) is anſwerable.

"V. Colonel *Haſtings*'s Agent hath refuſed, or "neglected to give an Account of the Pay due to "the Captains of his Regiment, and their Com"panies; which tends apparently to the defraud"ing the Officers and Soldiers.

"VI. Some of the Agents aſſume to them"ſelves the Liberty of making great Deducti"ons; which, ſince they know not how to juſti"fy, they endeavour to cover, by putting them "under the Shelter of the uncertain Head of "Contingencies; which giveth them the better "Opportunity of hiding the Fraids and Abuſes, "that would otherwiſe be more liable to be "detected.

"VII.

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" VII. Colonel *Haſtings* hath diſcharged an Enſign " by putting another in his Room, contrary to the " true Diſcipline of an Army; from which the " Colonels have no Right to exempt themſelves, to " enlarge their own Authority, to the Prejudice of " your Majeſty's Service, and of the Officers who " ſerve under them.

" VIII. Colonel *Haſtings* hath taken Money for " the recommending to Commands in his Regi- " ment, to the great Diſcouragement of the Offi- " cers who are to ſerve in your Majeſties Armies; " who ought to be ſuch as deſerve their Commands, " and not ſuch as Pay for them.

" Theſe Things we moſt humbly repreſent to " your Majeſty, in confidence of having them re- " dreſs'd by your Majeſty's Juſtice and Wiſdom.

" Your Loyal Commons, as they have been al- " ways ready to Supply your Majeſty, cannot but " be ſenſible of ſuch Miſcarriages, as may either " diminiſh the Strength of your Armies, or the " Affections of your People: And it is from a Prin- " ciple of the higheſt Duty, That we take this " Way of applying our ſelves to your Majeſty for " Redreſs; having an entire Aſſurance, That this " our moſt humble Repreſentation will not only be " graciouſly accepted, but that our Expectations " from it will be fully Anſwered.

The King Regulates the Abuſes.

His Majeſty was pleaſed to give this ſoft and prudent Anſwer: *Gentlemen, I will conſider your Repreſentation, and take all Care poſſible to have the Grievances Redreſſed.* Accordingly, Colonel *Haſtings* was immediately Caſhier'd, and his Regiment given to Sir *John Jacob*, his Lieutenant Colonel. And while the Complaint was depending, the King in Council was pleaſed to Order, *Feb.* 19. That the chief Officers of the Army ſhould meet twice a Week in the great Chamber at the Horſe-Guards, to Receive and Examine all Informations and Complaints that ſhould be brought before them, of any Wrong or Injury done by any Officer or Soldier of his Majeſty's Land Forces, in order to redreſs the ſame: And on *March* the 11th his Majeſty iſſued out a *Declaration for the ſtrict Diſcipline of the Army, and due Payment of Quarters*; ſtrictly forbidding to Exact or Demand any Subſiſtence-Money, or to commit any Spoil or Diſorder, or to uſe any Violence or Threatning Words, or otherwiſe to miſbehave themſelves under pain of Caſhiering, and Loſs of their Pay.

Farther Enquiry into Abuſes.

To proſecute the Diſcovery of Ill-Practices, Mr. *James Craggs*, one of the Contractors for Cloathing the Army, was Summoned to Attend the Houſe: And after he had given in his Anſwer to the Commiſſioners for Taking and Stating the Publick Accounts, it was demanded of him, *March* the 7th, whether he would produce his Books, and be Examined before the ſaid Commiſſioners upon Oath: He excuſed himſelf, and refuſed to produce his Books. Upon which it was reſolved, that for ſo refuſing, and thereby obſtructing the Enquiry of the Houſe into the Diſpoſal of the Publick Moneys, he be committed Priſoner to the *Tower* of *London.*

1694. 6 *W.* 3.

Soon after, Mr. *Harley* reported the further Examination of Mr. *Edward Pauncefort*, and acquainted the Houſe, that Mr. *Richard Harnage*, another of the Contractors for Cloathing of the Army, had refuſed to be Examin'd upon Oath before the Commiſſioners: Whereupon it was Ordered, That " A " Bill be brought in to oblige Mr. *Edward Paunce-* " *fort* to diſcover how he diſpoſed the Moneys paid " into his Hand, relating to the Army, and for pu- " niſhing him in caſe he ſhould not make ſuch Di- " ſcovery; and that Mr. *Tracy Pauncefort*, Mr. " *James Craggs*, and Mr. *Richard Harnage*, be in- " cluded in the ſaid Bill.

Amidſt the Noiſe of Bribery and Corruption, there was a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, of *Thomas Kemp* and others, on behalf of themſelves and others, the ancient Four Hundred Licenſed Hackney Coach-Men; which being referred to a Committee, it was their Opinion, That the Petitioners the Hackney Coach-Men had proved the Subſtance of their Complaint, and were worthy the Conſideration and Relief of the Houſe: And that ſeveral of the Commiſſioners for Licenſing and Regulating Hackney-Coaches, and Stage-Coaches, had, by receiving Bribes, and by other undue Means, acted Corruptly and Arbitrarily, contrary to the Authority and Truſt repoſed in them by Act of Parliament. Thereupon the Houſe ordered the Committee to diſtinguiſh the Commiſſioners, which they accordingly did; and by their Report on *March* 20, *Henry Aſhurſt* and *Walter Overbury*, Eſquires, were honourably Clear'd, and the others were declar'd Guilty; and an humble Addreſs was made to his Majeſty, that he would remove *Henry Killegrew*, *Henry Villers*, and *Richard Gea*, Eſquires, from the Commiſſion for Licenſing Hackney-Coaches: And they were accordingly removed.

Commiſſioners for Hackney-Coaches.

From theſe Diſcoveries a common Murmur aroſe, that an univerſal Corruption had overſpread the Nation; that Court, Camp, City, nay, and the Parliament it ſelf were infected: Hereupon to wipe off the Suſpicion from the honourable Members, and to expoſe the Guilty, On *March* 7. the Houſe appointed *Paul Foley*, Eſq; Sir *Richard Onſlow*, *John Pollexfen*, Eſq; Sir *John Thompſon*, *Foot Onſlow*, Eſq; *Thomas Tekham*, Eſq; Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton*, *Thomas Wharton*, Eſq; and *Francis Gwynne*, Eſq; as a Committee to inſpect the Books of the *Eaſt India* Company, and alſo the Books of the Chamberlain of *London.*

Eaſt-India Company.

On *March* 17. Mr. *Foley* reported from the ſaid Committee, That as ſoon as they came to the *Eaſt-India* Houſe, they called for an Account of all Moneys paid for the ſpecial Service of the Company; upon peruſal of which, obſerving, that the greateſt Payment was in the Year 1693, they ſearch'd for the Orders for the iſſuing of that Money; the chief of which were, one Dated the 13th of *April*, 1693, another Dated the 24th of *November*, 1693. and another the 22d of *January*, $169\frac{3}{4}$. In purſuance of which, the Sums of 22227 *l.* 24983 *l.* and 30000 *l.* were ſeverally paid out of the Caſh, amounting in all to 77258 *l.* beſides ſeveral ſmaller

(*a*) An Appeal was brought into the Houſe of Peers, upon the Caſe depending on a Grant *ad retinendum*, made to the Right Reverend *Thomas* Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, for holding the Vicarage of St. *Martin in the Fields*, together with his Biſhoprick for a certain Term only, and upon the Expiration of that Term, the Queſtion was, whether the Right of Preſentation to the ſaid Benefice of St. *Martin* ſhould belong to the Crown, or revert to the ordinary Patron the Biſhop of *London* " In this Debate the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, made " a very learned Speech, pleading for the Right of the " Crown (ſays the Writer of his Life) with great clearneſs " of Expreſſion, great ſtrength of Reaſon, cloſeneſs of Ar- " gument, and numerous Precedents both from Law and Hi- " ſtory, and anſwering all the Arguments brought on the con- " trary Part. And Judgment was given purſuant to the In- " tent and Aim of his Speech. —— Upon the Merit of the " ſame Cauſe depended the Appeal brought by *Henry* Lord " Biſhop of *London*, and *Peter Birch*, D. D. againſt the At- " torney-General *pro Domino Rege & Regina*, for the Rectory of " St. *James*'s, *Weſtminſter*, lately taken out of the ſaid Pariſh " of St. *Martins*, wherein upon Judgment for the Crown, the " ſaid Rectory was granted to the Reverend Dr. *William Wake.* " This Caſe is printed at large in Caſes in Parliament, Re- " ſolved and Adjudged upon *Petitions and Writs of Error.* " *London*, 1698, *Fol.*

The Biſhop drew up his own Report, which was inſerted in the Second Part of his *Eccleſiaſtical Caſes*, 8*vo. p.* 437. The Caſe of Commendams as delivered in a Speech in the Honourable Houſe of Lords by Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, 1694-5, upon theſe three Points, I. The King's Prerogative in Right of Promotion. II. The Power of granting a *Commendam.* III. The Act of Parliament made about St. *James*'s Church.

Sums,

1694. 6 W. 3. Sums, amounting in the whole to 10144 *l.* which with the former Sum makes 87402 *l.* All iſſued in the Year 1693, while Sir *Thomas Cooke* was Governor, and *Francis Tyſſen*, Eſq; Deputy-Governor, for the ſpecial Service of the Houſe, and obtaining a new Charter. That they found by Examination of moſt of the Perſons preſent at the Committees of the *Eaſt-India* Company, where the ſaid Orders were made, that the Governor in the ſaid Committees, did only in general inform what Sums he hath disburſed, without naming the Particulars to whom, or to what Service; which ſeveral of them ſaid was a new Courſe ſince Sir *Thomas Cooke* came to be Deputy-Governor or Governor. That in a State of the Company's Caſh, Dated at the *Eaſt-India* Houſe the 7th of *March*, 169¾, and drawn up by ſeveral Members of the Company, empower'd for that Purpoſe, near all the aforeſaid Sums were obſerved to be paid, and placed to the Company's Account of Charges General, paid out of Caſh, *viz.* in 1688, and 1689, Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt*, Governor, and Sir *Joſiah Child*, Deputy-Governor, 2230 *l.* 14 *s.* In 1690 and 1691, Sir *Joſeph Herne*, Governor, and Sir *Thomas Cooke*, Deputy-Governor, 13532 *l.* 9 *s.* In 1692, and 1693, Sir *Thomas Cooke*, Governor, and Mr. *Tyſſen*, Deputy-Governor, 87402 *l.* 12 *s* in the whole 103165 *l.* 15 *s.* That upon Examination of the Company's Caſh-Book, having found the Balance of the 31ſt of *October*, 1694, was 124249 *l.* they demanded of Mr. *Portman* the Caſhier, if he had the ſame in Caſh? That he replied he had not; but inſtead thereof, laid before them in Writing that 90000 *l.* was lent upon Sir *Thomas Cooke*'s Notes, (which he produced) with other Particulars, which made up the above-mention'd Balance. That in his Note, Sir *Thomas Cooke* own'd the Receipt of 90000 *l.* which he had Diſburs'd and Paid for 99197 Pounds Stock in the *Eaſt-India* Company for their Account; tho' they did not find any Warrant for the ſaid Sum, or any of that Stock transferr'd in the Company's Books for their Account, exceeding 18300 *l.* Stock, the 16th of *January*, 169¾. The Committee of the Houſe of *Commons* further reported, that they found a Contract Dated the 26th of *February*, 1693, for 200 Tun of Salt-Petre, to be brought Home in the Ship *Seymour* from *India*, to Pay 12000 *l.* for the ſame, and 25 *l.* Freight *per* Tun, beſides all Charges here. That 2000 *l.* which was the Sum ſent out to purchaſe the ſaid Salt-Petre, was actually paid out of the Company's Caſh, and that a Bond for the remaining 10000 *l.* was given under the Seal of the Company, payable the 31ſt of *March*, 1695, whether the Ship arrived in Safety or not: With this Limitation only, that if two Hundred Tun of Salt-Petre be not Laden upon the ſaid Ship, then to Repay in proportion to the want thereof. So that the Reſult of this Contract was, that the Company ran the Adventure of 12000 *l.* for that which coſt 2000 *l.* and muſt conſequently loſe 12200 *l.* if the Ship miſcarried: And on the contrary, the Seller on the other hand got Ten Thouſand Pound clear, without disburſing, or running the hazard of one Penny; and what is yet more, a certain Loſs of 9 or 10000 *l.* would attend it, if the Ship arriv'd in ſafety. That the Committee having Examin'd the Members of the Company, concerning this Contract, they own'd it to be true, That the 2000 *l.* was Paid, and the 10000 *l.* Bond given to Mr. *Thomas Colſton.* That about the ſame time this Contract was made, ſo many of the Interlopers as would ſell their Shares in the Interlopers to the *Eaſt-India* Company were allow'd their firſt Coſt, and 25 *l. per Cent.* advance; which was done by giving them Credit for ſo much in the *Eaſt India* Books. That the Committee found Sir *Samuel Daſhwood*, Sir *John Fleet*, *John Perrey*, Eſq; Sir *Joſeph Herne*, and Sir *Thomas Cooke*, were preſent at the Court of Committees, when the Orders above-mentioned were made; but they being all Members of the Houſe of Commons, the Committee did not think fit to Examine them. That the reſt of the Committees, who were preſent at making thoſe Orders, and moſt of whom had been Examin'd, could give no Account of the Diſpoſal of the Money iſſued out, during the time of Sir *Joſeph Herne*, and Sir *Thomas Cooke*'s Government; but only that the ſame was paid for ſpecial Service, and that a great Part thereof was put into the Hands of Sir *Baſil Firebraſs*. That one of them, *viz.* Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt* ſaid, Sir *Joſeph Herne* had the greateſt Part of the 13932 *l.* 9 *s.* to diſpoſe of; and Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt* would have call'd for an Account thereof, but Sir *Thomas Cooke* deſired he would not. That the Company's Committee of Nine, had often call'd upon Sir *Thomas Cooke* to give an Account to whom he had diſtributed the Money he received, which he had ſome time promis'd, and afterwards declined to do: So that the Secret of that Service, and the placing of that Money, lay principally with Sir *Thomas Cooke*, and Sir *Joſeph Herne*. That Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt* finding ſo great a Sum as 30000 *l.* charged for Secret Services, he had ſome warm Diſcourſe with Sir *Thomas Cooke* about it, to know how it was Disburs'd: But Sir *Thomas* refus'd to give him any Particulars; and told him, he ſhould remember he was bound by his Oath to the Company, to keep their Secrets. To which Sir *Benjamin* reply'd, *He was under the ſame Obligation to be true to the Intereſt of the Company.* Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt* further ſaid, That about *April*, 1694, underſtanding that they were in want of Money, he look'd into the Caſh-Book, which caſting up he found a conſiderable Sum in Caſh; and taking ſome Perſons with him, diſcourſed Sir *Thomas Cooke* about it, who ſaid, *The* 90000 *l. he had received, was to gratify ſome Perſons in caſe the Bill ſhould paſs.* As for the Contract about Salt-Petre, Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt* ſaid, that it was made by Sir *Thomas Cooke*, and Sir *Baſil Firebraſs*; but he knew nothing of it till it came into Court.

The Committee likewiſe reported, that Sir *Baſil Firebraſs* being examin'd, own'd he had receiv'd upwards of 16000 *l.* which was for buying Shares of Stocks, and of which the Company had allow'd; but ſaid he knew no ground the Committee of Nine had to ſay, that a great Part of the other Sums were put into his Hands. He confeſſed he invited ſeveral Perſons to come into the Company; and offer'd to lay down Money for ſeveral; and that if they liked it not at the Years End he would then take it off their Hands; which Offer he made to Members of the *Houſe of Commons*, among others, and gave an Account to the Company of his doing ſo, who promiſed to indemnify him. That concerning the Accommodation with the Interlopers, the Company had a Letter from the Lord *Nottingham*, *That it was the King's Pleaſure that they ſhould come to an Agreement with the Interlopers*: That the Propoſal to them was 25 *per Cent.* for bringing in their Stock to the Company, and one half of the Profit beſides; which one half of the Interlopers accepted; but Mr. *Godfry*, and ſome others, ſtanding upon 30 *per Cent.* Mr. *Colſton* went off with them, and did not come into the Company. That Mr. *Ward* ſaid it was agreed by the Interlopers that only 2000 *l.* ſhould be employ'd in buying of Salt-Petre; that Mr. *Colſton* was to have the Advantage of it, which he believed was not for Mr. *Colſton* himſelf, but for ſome other Gentleman; and laſtly, that the original Inducement to the Leave of the Interlopers going out, was that Agreement with Mr. *Colſton*.

The ſame Committee of the Houſe of Commons reported, That having inſpected the Chamberlain of *London*'s Books, they found an Order made by a Committee of the Common Council for the City of *London*, (appointed to conſider of Ways and Means for ſatisfying the Debts due to the *Orphans*

1694. 6 W. 3. of the ſaid City) and dated the 12th of *February*, 169¾. by which Mr. Chamberlain was directed to pay to Sir *John Trevor*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, the Sum of 1000 Guineas, ſo ſoon as a Bill was paſſed into an Act of Parliament, for ſatisfying the Debts of the Orphans, and other Creditors of the ſaid City: Which Sum was paid and delivered to Sir *John Trevor*, on the 22d of *June*, 1694, in the Preſence of Sir *Robert Clayton* and Sir *James Houblon*: That they obſerved, that the Order of the Committee of the Common Council, which now ſtood dated the 12th of *February*, was at firſt dated the 13th of *February*; and that the Perſon named therein, was put in a different Hand: That examining who firſt writ the Warrant, Mr. *Borret*, the City Sollicitor, own'd it was his Hand-Writing; and at firſt ſaid, that he believed the Blank at firſt left therein was fill'd up with the Speaker's Name before the Committee ſign'd it, becauſe he believed they would not ſet their Hands to a Blank. But all the Committee who ſign'd it, and who appear'd upon Summons, declared moſt of them poſitively, that there was a Blank for the Perſon's Name when they ſign'd it; and the reſt being doubtful, Mr. *Borret* then ſaid the Blank might be filled up afterwards, though he could not tell the Time; however, he own'd he fill'd it up with another Pen. That they found another Order of the ſaid Committee, dated the 26th of *April*, 1693. directing the Chamberlain to pay to *Paul Jodrell*, Eſq; the Sum of 100 Guineas, for his Pains and Service in aſſiſting the *Orphans* Bill to paſs in Parliament: Which Sum was paid him the 22d of *June*, 1694. That in the Chamberlain's Books were entred ſeveral Sums paid to Mr. *Borret*, to defray the Charge of drawing the Bill, making Copies thereof, and of the Petitions and Orders relating to the ſame: Amongſt which Payments they found 5 Guineas paid to Mr. Sollicitor-General, for his Advice therein; 5 Guineas to Mr. *Harcourt*; 20 Guineas to Mr. *Hungerford*, Chairman of the Grand Committee, for his Pains and Service; and 60*l.* 9*s.* to Mr. *Jodrell*. That they underſtood that the *Orphans*, for the procuring of this Bill, had given Bond to Mr. *Smith* and Mr. *Charles Nois* to allow them 12*d.* in the Pound, when the Bill was paſs'd, for their Pains and Charges in that Matter; which Contract being made void in that Bill, the Court of Aldermen were impower'd to ſatisfy them their real Expences. That upon this, *Smith* and *Nois* applied themſelves to the Court of Aldermen, and got a Petition to be ſign'd by many of the Orphans, that they were willing, notwithſtanding the Act of Parliament, they ſhou'd be allow'd 12*d.* in the Pound. That the ſaid *Nois* and *Smith* brought in a Bill to the Committee of the Common Council of their Charges, amounting to 3457*l.* 16*s.* but, as was alledg'd, they pretended to be more than 10000*l.* out of Purſe; by which Argument they got Subſcriptions to the ſaid Petition; in which Bill there was charg'd 16,0*l.* paid to Mr. *George Finch* for carrying on the Act. That Mr. *Nois* and Mr. *Smith* being examin'd, they did utterly deny that they had given any Money to any Member of Parliament, on the Account of the ſaid Bill, or knew of any to be given; but they were willing to get what they could, having taken a great deal of Pains in long ſolliciting the ſame; and that they did ſay, that notwithſtanding they did charge 8650*l.* to be paid Mr. *George Finch*, yet they had not paid him any Money; but having deliver'd up his Bond for the 12*d.* in the Pound, they valued his Share of the *Orphans* Debt to amount to that Sum. That Mr. *George Finch* being examin'd, did deny to have receiv'd any thing from Mr. *Nois* and Mr. *Smith*, or his paying any Money to any Member of Parliament: But wavering in his Diſcourſe, and being again asked, If he ever did diſtribute, or know of any Money diſtributed on Account of the *Orphans* Bill? he ſaid, *It was a hard thing to be asked ſuch Queſtions*: That however he own'd, that upon Suggeſtion that there were Obſtructions to the Bill, which muſt be removed by Money, he apply'd himſelf to ſeveral of the *Orphans*, and did receive 100*l.* from Mr. *John Chadwick*, 100*l.* from Mr. *Harvey*, 100*l.* from Mr. *Scott*, 50*l.* of Mr. *Herne*, and had a Promiſe of 100*l.* from Sir *John Smith*, which was not yet paid. And laſtly, they reported that Mr. *Chadwick* and Mr. *Herne* proved the Payment of the Money to Mr. *George Finch*, but could give no Account what he had done with it. 1694. 6 W. 3.

The Speaker charg'd with Corruption. The Commons having debated and weigh'd theſe Reports, came to this Reſolution on *March* 12. *That Sir* John Trevor, *Speaker of this Houſe, receiving a Gratuity of a Thouſand Guineas from the City of* London, *after paſſing of the* Orphans *Bill, is guilty of a High Crime and Miſdemeanor.* Upon this Sentence, Sir *John* did not think fit to juſtify himſelf; but ſent the Mace to the Houſe, and wiſely abſented himſelf. So on *March* 14. the Commons reſolved to proceed to the Election of a New Speaker; Sir *Thomas Littleton*, and *Paul Foley*, Eſq; were propoſed; the Majority inclined to chuſe the former; but Mr. *Wharton*, Comptroller of the King's Houſhold, ſpeaking up for him with more than ordinary Zeal, the Majority did from thence preſume that Sir *Thomas Littleton* was too much in the Court Intereſt, and upon that Prejudice only they Elected Mr. *Foley*; who on the next Day, *Friday*, *March* 15. was approved by his Majeſty on the Throne, who then gave his Royal Aſſent to theſe Two Bills, 1. *An Act for ſupplying certain Defects in the Directions made in and by a Deed of Truſt, and the Laſt Will of* George Pitt, *Eſq; deceas'd, for ſettling his Eſtate.* 2. *An Act for Naturalizing of* Bernard Cofferat, *alias* Mourte, *and* Alexander Ringly, *and others.*

Leaves the Houſe. Mr. Foley choſen Speaker. Acts paſſed.

Sir John Trevor Expell'd. On *March* 16. the Commons proceeded upon the Report from their Committee, and reſolv'd, "That "That Sir *John Trevor*, late Speaker of this Houſe, "being guilty of a High Crime and Miſdemeanor, "by receiving a Gratuity of a Thouſand Guineas "from the City of *London*, after the paſſing the "*Orphans* Bill, be Expell'd this Houſe". And ſo he retired to enjoy his other beneficial Place, the Maſterſhip of the Rolls. On *March* 11. Mr. *Bird* made his Excuſe for offering of Money to a Member of the Houſe, to preſent a Petition againſt a Bill depending in the Houſe, and upon his Knees had a Reprimand from Mr. Speaker. And it was then reſolved, "That whoſoever ſhall diſcover any "Money or other Gratuity given to any Member of "the Houſe, for Matters tranſacted in the Houſe "relating to the *Orphans* Bill, or the *Eaſt-India* "Company, ſhould have the Indemnity of the "Houſe for ſuch Guilt". And to carry on the needful Inquiſition, they order'd, that Mr. *Charles Nois*, Mr. *James Smith*, Mr. *George Finch*, Mr. *Dowſe*, Mr. *Hern*, Mr. *Chiſwell*, and Mr. *Chadwick*, ſhould attend the next Morning. They did ſo; and it was then reſolved, That Mr. *Charles Nois* having to ſeveral Perſons pretended he was out of Purſe, or engaged to give great Sums of Money to ſeveral Members of this Houſe, in order to paſs the Orphans Bill; which on his Examination he denied to have given or promiſed, has been an Occaſion of Scandal to this Houſe and the Members thereof; for which he was taken into the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms. And the Houſe proceeding to clear and purge themſelves, did ſoon after reſolve, That Mr. *Hungerford*, a Member of the Houſe, having received Twenty Guineas for his Pains and Service as Chair-man of the Committee of this Houſe, to whom the Orphans Bill was committed, is guilty of a high Crime and Miſdemeanor; for which he was *Expelled the Houſe*.

This Humour of Complaining and Accuſing was likely to have been carried too far; for now ſeveral Perſons betrayed a mighty Diſſatisfaction that our Fleet was ſent into the *Streights*; and pretended a Jealouſy,

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Jealouſy, that they were there to be ſold, or ſacrificed to the *French*. This ill-natur'd Rumor got into the Houſe of Lords; and ſome of the Peers began to argue for the recalling of our Fleet, for fear of the many Inconveniencies that might attend that Voyage. But upon debating this Matter, the Majority of the Lords were of different Sentiments; and inſtead of a Remonſtrance, they thought it proper to make this Addreſs of Thanks to his Majeſty, for ſending his Fleet thither.

Addreſs of the Lords.

" We the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, having reſolved, by the unanimous Vote of this Houſe, That the ſending ſo great a Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, and continuing it in thoſe Parts, has been to the Honour and Advantage of your Majeſty and your Kingdoms; and having ſpent ſome time upon Conſideration of the Condition of the Fleet both at Home and Abroad, and of the great Increaſe of the Naval Force and Strength of our Neighbours, conceive it to be our Duty to your Majeſty and the Kingdom, humbly to repreſent, That the Honour and Safety of this Nation, under the Providence of God, chiefly depends upon your Strength at Sea. And whereas by the long Continuance of this War, the Number of your Ships muſt have been diminiſhed, and thoſe remaining greatly impaired; We think it of the higheſt Importance to your Majeſty's Service, and the Security and Intereſt of your People, That you would be pleaſed to give ſuch ſpeedy and effectual Directions for the Repair and Increaſe of your Royal Navy, as may enable your Majeſty not only to continue a Strength in the *Mediterranean* during this War, which may be ſuperior to that of our Enemies; but likewiſe to maintain ſuch a Force here at Home, and in the *Weſt-Indies*, as ſhall be a Security for our Coaſts and Plantations, and a Protection of our Trade; and ſufficient both for the Annoying of our Enemies, and for the protecting and convoying all ſuch Stores and Proviſions as muſt be ſent to the Fleet in thoſe Parts; upon the effectual and timely providing whereof, the Safety of that Part of your Majeſty's Navy does ſo much depend.

To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to return a moſt gracious Anſwer to the Effect following:

I am very ſenſible how much our Safety depends upon our Strength at Sea; and therefore cannot but deſire the Increaſe of it.

And I ſhall not be wanting to do what is in my Power, as to the Matters mentioned in your Addreſs.

Honours and Preferments.

As to the Honours and Preferments during this Seſſion of Parliament: On the firſt Day of their Meeting, *Nov.* 12. his Majeſty, as a Mark of his Royal Favour to the City of *London*, conferred the Honour of Knighthood on Sir *John Sweetapple* and Sir *William Cole*, the preſent Sheriffs: And on *Nov.* 28. he conferr'd the like Honour upon *Thomas Day*, Eſq; Mayor, and *William Danes*, Eſq; Sheriff of *Briſtol*. On *Dec.* 20. Captain *Elliot*, Commander of a Ship belonging to *Jamaica*, having made his Eſcape from the *French*, and giving timely Intelligence of the Deſign of the *French* upon that Iſland, received from his Majeſty a Medal and Chain of One hundred Pounds Value, and Five hundred Pounds in Money, as a Reward of his Service; and his Majeſty was pleaſed to order, that he ſhould be recommended to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty for an Employment in his Majeſty's Service.

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State of Religion. **Death of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*.**

The Church (*a*) this Year loſt the great Ornament of it, Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, who died at *Lambeth* on *Friday*, *Nov.* 22. His Sickneſs and Death are thus delivered in his Funeral Sermon. " He kept nothing in Reſerve for his laſt Hours; he was ſtill ready waiting for them, ſo he could not be ſurprized, though every Body elſe was. The firſt Attacks came upon him while he was in that Employment in which he delighted moſt, at Church, and in the Worſhip of God: He bore them with the uſual Neglect of himſelf; and though his Countenance ſhew'd he was ill, he would neither interrupt nor break off from thoſe Sacred Exerciſes, nor make haſte to look after his Health. Ah, the unhappy Neglect of a Life that deſerv'd ſo well to be carefully preſerved! The Fit came on ſlowly, but ſeemed to be fatal: All Symptoms were melancholy: It ſoon turned to a Dead Palſy. The Oppreſſion was ſo great, that it became very uneaſy for him to ſpeak; but it appeared that his Underſtanding was ſtill clear, though others could not have the Advantage of it: He only ſaid, That *he had no Burden on his Conſcience*. All Remedies proved ineffectual: He expreſſed no Concern to Live, nor Fear to Die; but patiently bore his Burden, till it ſunk him on the Fifth Day, and in the Sixty-fifth Year of his Age (*b*).

Account of his Sickneſs.

His Body was interr'd, at his own Deſire, in the Church of St. *Lawrence Jury*, in *London*, where he had been the *Tueſday* Lecturer for many Years. The Funeral Sermon was preach'd by the Right Reverend *Gilbert* Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*, whoſe Account and Character of him deſerve to be remembred.

His Character given by the Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*.

" His firſt Education and Impreſſions were among thoſe who were then called *Puritans*, but of the beſt Sort. Yet even before his Mind was opened to clearer Thoughts, he felt ſomewhat within him, that diſpoſed him to larger Notions, and a better Temper. The Books which were put in the Hands of the Youth of that Time were generally heavy; he could ſcarce bear them, even before he knew better Things: He happily fell on *Chillingworth*'s Book; which gave his Mind the Ply that it held ever after, and put him on a true Scent. He was ſoon freed from his firſt Prejudices, or rather he was never maſtered by them; yet he ſtill ſtuck to the Strictneſs of Life to which he was bred, and retained a juſt Value, and a due Tenderneſs for the Men of that Perſuaſion; and by the Strength of his Reaſon, together with the Clearneſs of his Principles, he brought over more ſerious Perſons from their Scruples to the Communion of the Church, and fix'd more in it, than any Man I ever knew.—— That which gave him his laſt Finiſhing, was his cloſe and long Friendſhip with Biſhop *Wilkins*. He went into all the beſt Things that were in that Great Man; but ſo, that he perfected every one of them; for tho' Biſhop *Wilkins* was the more univerſal Man, yet He was the greater Divine; if the one had more Flame, the other was more Correct. Both

(*a*) There were Two private Acts paſſed in this Seſſion with regard to Churches. " 1. An Act for enabling the Inhabitants of the Pariſh of *Chriſt-Church* in the County of *Surrey*, to make Rates for raiſing a Maintenance for a good and able Miniſter; and for the impowering the Truſtees of the Will of *John Marſhall*, deceas'd, to employ Moneys for the finiſhing the ſaid Church. 2. An Act to confirm a Grant made by the Rector of the United Pariſhes of St. *Michael Royal* and St. *Martin* in the *Vintry*, *Lnodon*, Part of St. *Martin*'s Church-yard.

(*b*) There has been ſince publiſh'd, " The Life of the moſt Reverend Father in God, *John Tillotſon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Compiled from the Minutes of the Reverend Mr. *Young*, late Dean of *Saliſbury*. By *F. H.* M. A. With many curious Memoirs communicated by the late Right Reverend *Gilbert*, Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*. *London*: Printed for *E. Curll*, 1717. 8*vo*. With a Defence of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, and his Writings. By Mr. *Le Clerc*. And yet ſome Perſons have Reaſon to believe, that Biſhop *Burnet* and Dean *Young* had little or no hand in that Life of A.Bp. *Tillotſon*.

The Town of *Hallifax*, in Reſpect to this Great Man, put up an Inſcription in their Church in Letters of Gold.

Johannes Tillotſon Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis, natus Sowerbiæ, renatus Halifaxiæ, tertio Octobris 1630. *Denatus Lambethæ* 22. *Novemb. A. D.* 1694. *Ætat.* 65.

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" acted with great Plainneſs, and were raiſed above " regarding vulgar Cenſures.------

" Having dedicated himſelf to the Service of " the Church; and being ſenſible of the great " Good that might be done by a plain and edifying " Way of Preaching, he was very little diſpoſed to " follow the Patterns then ſet him, or indeed thoſe " of former Times. And ſo he ſet a Pattern to " himſelf; and ſuch a one it was, that 'tis to be " hoped it will be long and much followed. He " begun with a deep and cloſe Study of the Scrip- " tures, upon which he ſpent Four or Five Years, " till he had arrived at a true Underſtanding of " them. He ſtudied next all the Ancient Philoſo- " phers and Books of Morality. Among the Fa- " thers, St. *Baſil* and St. *Chryſoſtom* were thoſe he " chiefly read. Upon theſe Preparations, he ſet " himſelf to compoſe the greateſt Variety of Ser- " mons, and on the beſt Subjects, that perhaps any " one Man has ever yet done. (*a*) His joining with " Biſhop *Wilkins* in purſuing the Scheme of an uni- " verſal Character, led him to conſider exactly the " Truth of Language and Stile; in which no Man " was happier, and knew better the Art of pre- " ſerving the Majeſty of Things under a Simplicity " of Words; tempering theſe ſo equally together, " that neither did his Thoughts ſink, nor his Stile " ſwell; keeping always a due Mean between a low " Flatneſs, and the Dreſſes of falſe Rhetorick.---- " He read his Sermons with ſo due a Pronouncia- " tion, in ſo ſedate and ſolemn a Manner, that they " were not the feebler, but rather the perfecter, even " by that Way which often leſſens the Grace, as much " as it adds to the Exactneſs of ſuch Diſcourſes.

" He look'd on the whole Complex of Popery, " as ſuch a Corruption of the whole Deſign of " Chriſtianity, that he thought it was incumbent on " him to ſet himſelf againſt it with the Zeal and " Courage which became that Cauſe, and was ne- " ceſſary for thoſe Times. He thought the Idolatry " and Superſtition of the Church of *Rome* did ener- " vate true Piety and Morality; and that their " Cruelty was ſuch a Contradiction to the Meekneſs " of Chriſt, and to that Love and Charity which " he made the Character and Diſtinction of his " Diſciples and Followers, that he reſolved to ſacri- " fice every thing, except a good Conſcience, in a " Cauſe for which he had reſolved, if it ſhould " come to Extremities, to become a Sacrifice him- " ſelf.

" His Enemies were not wanting in the Arts of " Calumny.------ His endeavouring to make out " every thing in Religion from clear and plain Prin- " ciples, and with a Fulneſs of demonſtrative Proof, " was laid hold on to make him paſs for One that " could believe nothing that lay beyond the Com- " paſs of human Reaſon. And his tender Method " of treating with Diſſenters; his Endeavours to " extinguiſh that Fire, and to unite us among our " ſelves, againſt thoſe who underſtood their own " Intereſt well, and purſued it cloſely, inflaming our " Differences, and engaging us into violent Animo- " ſities, while they ſhifted Sides, and ſtill gained " Ground, whether in the Methods of Toleration, " or of a ſtrict Execution of Penal Laws, as it might " ſerve their Ends; thoſe calm and wiſe Deſigns of " his, I ſay, were repreſented as the want of Zeal " in the Cauſe of the Church, and an Inclination " towards thoſe who departed from it. But how " unhappily ſucceſsful ſoever they might be, in " infuſing thoſe Jealouſies of him into ſome warm " and unwary Men, he ſtill went on in his own " way: He would neither depart from his Modera- " tion, nor take Pains to cover himſelf from ſo falſe " an Imputation.----

" After the Reſtoration of the Church, Anger " upon thoſe Heads was both more in faſhion, and " ſeemed more excuſable: Men coming then out of " the Injuſtice and Violence by which they had " been ſo long ill uſed, and were ſo much pro- " voked; yet neither that, nor the Narrowneſs of " his Fortune, while he needed Supports, and ſaw " what was the ſhorteſt Way to arrive at them, " could make him change his Strain. A Benefice " being offered him in the Country, he once in- " tended to have left this great Scene, and gone to " that Retirment, where he ſpent almoſt a Year: " But he was happily recalled by that Honourable " Society, for whom he always retained juſt Im- " preſſions of Gratitude. And tho' in the Inter- " vals of *Terms*, he could have given a large Part " of the Year to his Pariſh; yet ſo ſtrict he was to " the Paſtoral Care in the Point of Reſidence, that " he parted with it, even when his Incomes here " could ſcarce ſupport him.

" I need not tell you for how many Years, and " with what Labour and Succeſs, he divided him- " ſelf between that Society and this Place.----- " The numerous Aſſembly that this Lecture brought " together, even from the remoteſt Parts of this " wide City; the great Concourſe of Clergymen, " who came hither to form their Minds; the happy " Union that thereby the Clergy of this great Body " grew into; and the bleſſed Effects this had, are " Things which it is to be hoped an Age will not " wear out of Men's Minds. Some great Charity, " ſome Publick Service, or good Deſign, was the " Work of moſt of thoſe Days.----

" Thoſe great Preferments, to which his ex- " traordinary Worth ſeemed to have forced ſome " who had no Kindneſs to him, to advance him af- " terwards, had no other Effect on him, but to en- " large his Capacity of doing Good. He neither " ſlackned his Labours, nor advanced his Fortunes " by them. He did not content himſelf with ſuch " a Reſidence as anſwer'd the Statute, conſidering " his Obligations to attend at Court; but gave as " much of his Time and Labours to his Cathedral, " as could agree with his Obligations here. He " neither aſpired nor hearken'd to the Motions of a " further Advancement; and all that he deſired up- " on this happy Revolution, was ſuch a Change as " did conſiderably leſſen his Income, but deliver'd " him from the invidious Load of having Two Dig- " nities. He bore this in the former Reigns, be- " cauſe the Practice was common; and he was ena- " bled by it to go far in his Charities: But as he " intended to put a Stop to that Abuſe, ſo he re- " ſolved to ſet an Example to others in it.----

" He did truly rejoice in the happy Deliverance " of theſe Nations. He could not but obſerve thoſe " amazing Steps of Providence that accompanied

(*a*) Dr. *Sherlock*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, in his Sermon at the *Temple* on the Queen's Death, ſpeaking of the great and noble Deſigns Queen *Mary* had form'd, to promote true Religion and the Service of the Church of *England*, gave this Encomium of the Archbiſhop. " I have (ſays he) Reaſon to ſay this, from " thoſe frequent Intimations I have had from our late admira- " ble Primate, who had great Deſigns himſelf to ſerve the " Chriſtian Religion and the Church of *England* in its trueſt " Intereſts, and had inſpired their Majeſties, and particularly the " Queen, who had more Leiſure for ſuch Thoughts, with the " ſame great and pious Deſigns. It may be, no Church-Man " ever had; and, I am ſure, not more deſervedly, a greater " Intereſt in his Prince's Favour; and the great Uſe he made " of it, was to do Publick Service to Religion: and, whatever " ſome Men might ſuſpect, to the Church of *England*; tho' " it may be, not directly in their Way. And the greateſt " Fault I knew he had, was, That ſome envious and ambi- " tious Men could not bear his Greatneſs, which he himſelf " never courted; nay, which he induſtriouſly avoided. Be- " fore this, all *England* knew and own'd his Worth; and had " it been put to the Poll, there had been vaſt odds on his ſide, " that he would have been voted into the See of *Canterbury*; " for no Man had ever a clearer and brighter Reaſon, a truer " Judgment, or more eaſy and happy Expreſſion, nor a more " inflexible, fearleſs Honeſty, *&c.*

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“it; and hoped it was a Beginning to great Bleſſings that were to follow it. Many of thoſe who had longed for it, and wiſh'd well to it, did of a ſudden ſtart back; and ſome in high Stations of the Church, would neither declare openly for it, nor act againſt it, according to the Authority of their Characters; one of which they certainly ought to have done. If they did then judge it ſo unlawful as they would now repreſent it, they ought to have Thundred, both with their Sermons and Cenſures againſt it. - - - -

“Our Sovereigns, after a long Forbearance, beyond the Term prefixed by Law, reſolved at laſt to fill the vacant Sees; and that great Judgment which they have ſhewed upon other Occaſions, made them ſoon ſettle on him as the fitteſt Perſon to ſteer this Church. It is well known how long, and how earneſtly he withſtood this. - - - - That which went the deepeſt in his own Mind, and which he laid out the moſt earneſtly before their Majeſties, was, That thoſe groundleſs Prejudices with which his Enemies had loaded him, had been ſo induſtriouſly propagated, while they were neglected by himſelf; that he believed, that He, who (as his Humility made him think) could at no Time do any great Service, was leſs capable of it now than ever. But their Majeſties perſiſting in their Intentions, he thought it was the Voice and Call of God to him, and ſo he ſubmitted. - - - - But he formed Two ſettled Reſolutions, from which he never departed. The one was, That whenſoever the State of their Majeſties Affairs was ſuch, that he could hope to be diſmiſs'd from that Poſt, he would become a moſt importunate Suitor to be delivered from it. The other was, That if the Infirmities of Age ſhould have ſo overtaken him, that he could not go thro' the Fatigue and Labours of it, then he would humbly offer it up to their Majeſties.

“- - - - He had one great Encouragement in that high, but invidious Station; which was, not only the conſtant Favour of their Majeſties, but that which gave him a Support of another Nature, ſince the other was only Perſonal, and ſo was leſs regarded by One that conſidered himſelf very little, was, That he perceived in them ſuch ſerious Deſigns, ſo true a Zeal, and ſo right a Judgment in all the Concerns of Religion, and of this Church, that he often ſaid, *He did not think that any Age had produced Princes who underſtood the true Intereſts of our Church ſo well, and were ſo much ſet on promoting them, as their Majeſties were.* A Zeal he obſerved in them, that was ſo tender, and yet ſo well guided, that he did indeed expect greater Bleſſings from it, than ſo corrupt an Age is either capable of, or can well deſerve and hope for. - - - -

“But as this was the greateſt, ſo it was almoſt the ſingle Satiſfaction that he enjoyed in his Elevation; while he was from other Hands aſſaulted with the moſt boiſterous, the moſt injurious, as well as the falſeſt Calumnies that Malice could invent. And yet how falſe ſoever theſe were generally known to be, the Confidence with which they were averred, joined with the Envy that accompanies a high Station, had a greater Operation than could have been imagined; conſidering how long he had lived on ſo publick a Scene, and how well he was known. It ſeemed a new and unuſual Thing, That a Man who in a Courſe of above Thirty Years had done ſo much Good, ſo many Services to ſo many Perſons, without ever once doing an ill Office, or a hard Thing to any One Perſon; who had a Sweetneſs and Gentleneſs in him, that ſeemed rather to lean to Exceſs, ſhould yet meet with ſo much Unkindneſs and Injuſtice. - - - - Nor had this any other Effect on him, either to change his Temper or his Maxims; tho' perhaps it might ſink too much into him, with relation to his Health. He was ſo exactly true in all the Repreſentations of Things, or Perſons, that he laid before their Majeſties; that he neither raiſed the Characters of his Friends, nor ſunk that of thoſe that deſerved not ſo well of him; (I love not to ſay, Enemies); but offered every thing to them with that Sincerity that did ſo well become him, that Truth and Candor was almoſt perceptible in every thing he ſaid or did. His Looks and whole Manner ſeem'd to take away all Suſpicion concerning him; for he thought nothing in this World was worth much Art, or great Management. With all theſe Things he ſtruggled, till at laſt they overcame him, or rather he overcame them, and eſcaped from them.

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“His Life was not only free from Blemiſhes, which is but a low Size of Commendation, it ſhined in all the Parts of it. In his Domeſtick Relations, in his Friendſhips, in the whole Commerce of Buſineſs; he was always a Pattern, eaſy and humble, frank and open, tender-hearted and bountiful, kind and obliging, in the greateſt, as well as in the ſmalleſt Matters. A decent, but grave Chearfulneſs, made his Converſation as lively and agreeable, as it was uſeful and inſtructing. He was ever in good Humour; always the ſame, both acceſſible and affable. He heard every thing patiently; was neither apt to miſtake, nor to ſuſpect; his own great Candor diſpoſing him to put the beſt Conſtructions, and to judge the moſt favourably of all Perſons and Things. He paſs'd over many Injuries, and was ever ready to forgive the greateſt, and to do all good Offices, even to thoſe who had uſed him very ill. He was never imperious, nor aſſuming, and tho' he had a ſuperior Judgment to moſt Men, yet he never dictated to others. Few Men had obſerved Human Nature more carefully, could judge better, and make larger Allowances for the Frailties of Mankind, than he did. He lived in a due Neglect of his Perſon, and Contempt of Pleaſure; but never affected pompous Severities. He deſpiſed Wealth, but as it furniſhed him for Charity, in which he was both liberal and judicious.

“Thus his Courſe in the private Virtues and Capacities of a Chriſtian, was of a ſublime Pitch. His Temper had made him incapable of the Practices either of Craft or Violence. (*a*)

“In his Function, he was a conſtant Preacher; and diligent in all the other Parts of his Duty; for tho' he had no Care of Souls upon him, yet few that had, laboured ſo painfully as he did, in viſiting the Sick, in comforting the Afflicted, and in ſettling ſuch as were either ſhaking in their Opinions, or troubled in Mind. He had a great Compaſs in Learning; what he knew, he had ſo perfectly digeſted, that he was truly the Maſter of it. But the Largeneſs of his Genius, and the Correctneſs of his Judgment, carried him much further than the Leiſure he had enjoyed for Study ſeem'd to furniſh him; for he could go a great way upon general Hints.

(*a*) Not to add the many Panegyricks upon him from Printed Books, I can't paſs by one, (ſays the Writer of his Life) from a Manuſcript Diary of a late learned and pious Divine, becauſe there is a Particular in it, which muſt ariſe from a Perſonal Knowledge of Biſhop *Tillotſon*. “He taught (ſays he) by his Sermons more Miniſters to Preach well, and more People to Live well, than any other Man ſince the Apoſtles Days. He was the Ornament of the laſt Century, and the Glory of his Function in the Pulpit; another *Chryſoſtom*; and in the Epiſcopal Chair, a Second *Cranmer*. He was ſo exceeding charitable, that whilſt in a private Station, he always laid aſide two Tenths of his Income for charitable Uſes.

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There needs nothing to be added to this Character, but that a greater was given to him by King *William*, who underſtood Mankind, and could not flatter. His Majeſty, after the Archbiſhop's Death, never mention'd him, but with ſome Teſtimony of his ſingular Eſteem for his Memory. He uſed often to tell his Son-in-Law, Mr. *Chadwick*, *I loved your Father: I never knew an Honeſter Man; and I never had a Better Friend.* The Queen was ſenſibly afflicted with the Loſs of him; and tho' ſhe did not ſurvive him above a Month, ſhe found a way to reverence his Memory, by ſetling an Honourable Penſion on his (*a*) Relict, who by her Lord's Generoſity and Charity, had the leſs Proviſion made for her.

Care to fill up the See of *Canterbury*,

It was the ſollicitous Care of the Court to fill up the See of *Canterbury*: The firſt Perſon that ſeem'd to be offer'd to the Eye of the World, was Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*; but his great Abilities had raiſed ſome Envy, and ſome Jealouſies of him; and indeed his Body would not have bore the Fatigues of ſuch a Station. Even the Biſhop of *Briſtol* was recommended by a great Party of Men, who had an Opinion of his Piety and Moderation. But the Perſon moſt eſteem'd by their Majeſties, and moſt univerſally approved by the Miniſtry, and the Clergy, and the People, was Dr. *Teniſon*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*; who had been exemplary in every Station of his Life, had reſtored a neglected large Dioceſe to ſome Diſcipline and good Order; and had before, in the Office of a Parochial Miniſter, done as much Good as perhaps was poſſible for any one Man to do. It was with great Importunity, and after the rejecting of better Offers, that he was prevailed with to take the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*; and it was with greater Reluctancy that he now received their Majeſties Deſire and Command for his Tranſlation to *Canterbury*, to which he was nominated *December* the 8th, ſoon after elected by the Dean and Chapter, and that Election confirm'd in the Church of St. *Mary-le-Bow* in *London*, on *January* the 10th. He obtain'd the Favour of Recommending his Succeſſor in the See of *Lincoln*, the wiſe and good Doctor *James Gardiner*, Sub-Dean of the Cathedral-Church of *Lincoln*; who was nominated by his Majeſty on *January* the 18th, and conſecrated on the Tenth of *March* following.

with Dr. *Teniſon*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

The new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* preaches the Queen's Funeral Sermon.

The firſt diſtinguiſhing Duty which was laid upon the new Archbiſhop, was to preach a Solemn Sermon at the Funeral of the Queen. The Parliament had taken into Conſideration the Reſpect due to this ſad Occaſion; and on *February* the 19th, an Order of Council was publiſh'd, *That* Tueſday *the Fifth of* March *being appointed for the Funeral of her late moſt Gracious Majeſty, of Bleſſed Memory, the biggeſt Bell in every Cathedral, Collegiate, and Parochial Church of* England *and* Wales, *ſhould be Tolled from the Hour of Nine till Ten in the Forenoon, and from Two of the Clock till Three, and from Five till Six in the Afternoon of the ſaid Day.*

The Funeral Proceſſion begun from the Royal Palace of *Whitehall*, to the Collegiate Church of St. *Peter Weſtminſter*; all the way being boarded, rail'd in, and cover'd with black Bays. The Proceeding was, Firſt, The Knight-Marſhal's Men and Deputy, Three Hundred Poor Women, in Mourning Gowns and Hoods; after whom follow'd the Banner of Union, ſeveral Claſſes of their Majeſties Servants; the Children and Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal; more of their Majeſties Servants, Chaplains to their Majeſties, Aldermen of *London*; other of their Majeſties Servants; the Lord-Mayor of *London*; the Houſe of Commons in long Cloaks, with their Speaker, and the Mace born before him, and his Train carried up; and the Houſe of Peers in their Robes, with their Speaker, the Lord Keeper, having the Mace and Purſe carry'd before him, and his Train carried up: The Banners of *Cheſter*, *Cornwall*, and *Wales*, born by the Lord *Spencer*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, and the Lord Viſcount *Longueville*; the Banners of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, by the Earls of *Montrath* and *Selkirk*; the Banners of *England* and *France* quarterly, of *England*, and the great Banner, born by the Earl of *Denbigh*, the Earl of *Stamford*, and the Earls of *Bridgewater* and *Suffolk*. Then followed the Mourning Horſe, led by the Lord Viſcount *Villers*, Maſter of the Horſe to her late Majeſty, attended by Two Equeries; the Helmet and Creſt, Target and Sword, and Surcoat of Arms, born by Officers at Arms, followed by the Lord Marquis of *Wincheſter*, Lord Chamberlain to her late Majeſty. Then the Queen's Body, in a Purple Velvet Coffin, with a rich Cloth of Gold Pall, and thereon the Crown, Orb, and Sceptres on a Cuſhion; one of the Queen's Bed-Chamber Women ſitting at the Feet, and another at the Head, in an open Chariot richly adorn'd, drawn by Eight Horſes cloſe cover'd with Purple Velvet, and adorn'd with Eſcutcheons and Feathers, Six Banerolls on each ſide, born by Baronets; the Pall being ſupported by the Earls of *Derby* and *Kent*, Lord Marquis of *Normanby*, Dukes of *Northumberland*, *Somerſet*, and *Norfolk*; the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* Chief Mourner, ſupported by the Lord Privy Seal, and the Lord Preſident of his Majeſty's Council; the Dutcheſſes of St. *Albans* and *Southampton* Supporters to the Trains, aſſiſted by the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain. Aſſiſtants of the Chief Mourner were, Two Dutcheſſes, Twelve Counteſſes, and Four Baroneſſes. Then the Ladies of the Bed-Chamber; then the Maids of Honour; then the Bed-Chamber Women; all in the deepeſt Mourning. The ſeveral Parts of the Proceeding were attended by the Kings, and other Officers of Arms, with Drums and Trumpets; and the whole cloſed with the Band of Gentlemen-Penſioners, and Yeomen of the Guard. And when the Body was taken out of the Chariot at the Door of the Church, a Canopy of Purple Velvet was carried over it by the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber; and the Crown, Orb, and Sceptres on the Cuſhion, carried by *Clarencieux* King of Arms. The Dean and Prebendaries, with the Choir of *Weſtminſter*, attended at the Entrance of the Church, (which was illuminated with a great Number of Lights) and proceeded before the Body; which was depoſited under a Magnificent *Mauſoleum*, erected in the Middle of the Croſs of the ſaid Church, and there remain'd during the Service and Sermon preach'd by the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The Chief Mourner, and the reſt of the Ladies that went in the Proceeding, were placed about the Body; and the Houſe of Peers and Houſe of Commons were ſeated on each ſide. After Sermon, the late Queen's Secretary and Treaſurer, Maſter of the Horſe, and Lord Chamberlain, the Dean and Prebendaries of *Weſtminſter*, and both Choirs, with the Officers of Arms, and thoſe that bare the Atchievements and *Regalia*, proceeded before the Body to King *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel; which was attended by the Supporters of the Pall, and follow'd by the Chief Mourner. The Dean of *Weſtminſter* perform'd the Office of Burial; which ended, *Garter* pro-

(*a*) " *Anno Septimo* Gulielmi III. *Maij Secundo.* The King " granteth unto *Elizabeth Tillotſon*, Widow and Relict of *John* " late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, an Annuity of Four Hundred " Pounds, during the Term of her Natural Life.

" *Anno Decimo* Guliel. III. *Auguſti Decimo octavo.* The King " granteth unto *Elizabeth Tillotſon*, Relict of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, Two Hundred Pounds *per Annum*; as an Addition to " her Annuity of Four Hundred Pounds *per Ann.* granted to " her by Letters Patents, dated *May* 2. 1695.

claimed

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claimed the Royal Stiles, and the Body was interr'd in a Vault on the *South* Side of the ſaid Chapel.

The Archbiſhop, in a grave and pathetical way, gave theſe agreeable *(a)* Characters.

Character of the Queen given by the Archbiſhop.

“ This Incomparable Princeſs was endowed with more than common Accompliſhments of Mind, whether we have Reſpect either to her Knowledge, or her Wiſdom.

“ Towards her Knowledge, Nature had done a great deal; Education and Converſation of the beſt kind, more ſtill; and moſt of all, the Grace of God. Her Underſtanding was clear and ſteddy, and there was a great Compaſs and Comprehenſion in it. It reached both to the greater Things of Religion, and the leſſer of Oeconomy. It was perpetually fed and improved by Reading, by Hearing Books read, by Diſcourſing, by Meditation.

“ Her Books were many, and well choſen; much delighted in, and therefore well ſtudied, and well remember'd: For her Majeſty's Memory was great, and it was properly exerciſed by Books of Hiſtory. One I may name which ſhe much valued, and often took into her Hands, *Father* Paul's *Celebrated Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent.

“ But the Holy Scriptures were the Oracles which ſhe chiefly conſulted: In them, if any Thing occcur'd which was not at firſt ſo well underſtood, it was by her noted down, as a Subject for After-Thoughts, and to be clear'd by them, or by ſome Comment, or ſome Perſon of eſpecial Ability.

“ Neither was her Wiſdom and Prudence inferior to her Knowledge: And of theſe there are many Inſtances, and of which I ſhall ſelect a few.

“ 1. Her Wiſdom ſhew'd it ſelf in the Governing of her Knowledge: She troubled not her ſelf, or others, with ſuch Curious Queſtions, which the Prudent neither ask, nor think themſelves concern'd to anſwer. Neither was ſhe wrought up to any Bigotry in unneceſſary Opinions: She was moſt converſant in Books of Practical Divinity; of which ſome of the lateſt uſed by her, were certain Sermons, and ſome Diſcourſes concerning Happineſs, Death, and Judgment. She knew good Things, in order to the doing of them. It is true, ſhe read many Volumes of Controverſies betwixt the Reformed and thoſe of the Church of *Rome*; but it was for the Sake of neceſſary Defence, not of vexatious Diſpute.

“ 2. Her Wiſdom was made known, by the wonderful Art ſhe had attained to for the Governing of Time; upon which all Managements do much depend. Her Hours were ſo adjuſted to the ſeveral Affairs of her own, and others, that notwithſtanding the Multiplicity of them, ſhe found a Seaſon for every Thing; and frequently, a Time for diſpatching many Things together. Dreſſing did not wholly prevent Reading, or Hearing, or Working; and nothing prevented the Service of that God, who gives all Time, and expects an Account of it. It was well underſtood by this wiſe Princeſs, That in the Current of Time, Affairs meet at laſt with a Stop, if by Diſpatch ſome of them are not taken out of the way, but all are ſuffer'd to float down together.

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“ 3. Her Wiſdom ſhin'd very gloriouſly in her Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs; for which ſhe has received deſervedly the Publick Thanks, having conducted them with Wiſdom and Temper, and unwearied Application: Application, which was made a Jeſt in a late Age, and the want of which is a Lamentation in this. It was an Obſervation of ſome, who were in Circumſtances to make it, That when ſecret Difficulties occurr'd, this wiſe Princeſs had a due Senſe of them; and together with that, ſuch a Command of her Paſſions, that there appear'd few Signs of Trouble, none of Dejectedneſs in her Countenance; leſt either the Friends of the Government ſhould be diſhearten'd, or its Enemies encourag'd. Add to all this, That the Wiſdom of this Princeſs, was that true Wiſdom which chuſeth the beſt Things in the firſt place; the Honour of God, before the Pomp of Life; the Salvation of the Soul, before the Gaining of the World.

“ She was a Princeſs eminent for Piety: Her Private Devotions were extraordinary; and tho' ſhe ſhut out the World, yet in her high Circumſtances, her very Retirements could not paſs wholly unobſerv'd: And it has at laſt been underſtood, that her Exerciſes of Devotion which were known, were not the Half of thoſe which were then not known. If all were as diligent in examining, and noting down the Condition of their Souls, and comparing the former and the preſent Eſtate of them, Heaven would in ſome meaſure be upon Earth.

“ In Publick, how Pious an Obſerver of the Lord's-Day was this Religious Princeſs! How conſtant at Prayers, at the bleſſed Communion, at Sermons! And at all of them, how reverent, how attentive! Inſomuch that thoſe who gave themſelves any Diverſion from their own Duties, to obſerve the Manner in which ſhe perform'd hers, found her intent upon them; and no further drawn off, than by a ſolemn Look to check any Interruption which might ſometimes happen. So Judicious and Devout a Saint, the degenerate Church of *Rome* can by no means ſhew us; the Zeal of their moſt Pious Recluſes being (from the very Rules of their ſeveral Orders) embaſed with Superſtition; whilſt in hers appear'd no Allay of it.

“ The Genuine Fruit of the True Devotion of this Princeſs, was Chriſtian Charity. Her Charity was as great as her Power, and as diſcreet as it was great; the diſtreſſed *French*, and *Scotch*, and *Iriſh*, and the Needy at Home, were daily refreſhed by it. It extended to Perſons of Condition who were fallen into Decay, and to a very great Number of meaner People, and eſpecially (as I am well aſſur'd) to the Wives and Widows of inferior Soldiers and Seamen. Her Charity was generous and unconſtrain'd: When it was ready, nothing was denied which was fit to be asked: It could not be extorted by the unworthy, and by the worthy it needed not.

“ In granting Charities, there appeared in her Countenance an Air of Satisfaction; and when Supplies were not at hand, it was a Grief to deny, but the manner of it was obliging; whilſt many others, almoſt as often as they give a De-

(a) Dr. *Edward Fowler*, Lord Biſhop of *Glocester*, in a Preface to a Diſcourſe of Reſignation to the Will of God, 8*vo.* gives a great many Inſtances of the Queen's Piety and Goodneſs:—— Particularly, *p.* 18. “ The Queen had enjoined Preaching in the Chapel Royal after Evening Prayers, (tho' there were always Prayer and a Sermon *Twice* every *Sunday* Morning) and likewiſe Two Sermons with the Prayers on all Monthly Faſts; ſo was ſhe conſtantly a moſt ſerious and devout Attender on them, both Parts of thoſe Days; as ſhe was alſo on the Lord's Supper the Firſt *Sunday* of every Month. And ſhe was obſerved to ſpend more Time than ordinary in her Cloſet, not only the *Day*, but alſo the *Week* before every Communion. Nor could any Buſineſs detain her from her Private Chapel, neither Mornings nor Evenings throughout the Week. In all the Times of my Waiting, I never knew her once abſent.

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"nial, create an Enemy. If God had thought us worthy of her Life, ſhe had done more publick and laſting Charities; and particularly in an Hoſpital for Seamen at *Greenwich*, in which the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of the King concurr'd with hers whilſt ſhe was Alive, and which at this time his Majeſty is going on with for the Encouragement of Navigation, the *Engliſh* Nerve of War and Peace.

"To all theſe Graces ſhe gave Ornament by Humility. In this Princeſs, Authority, Majeſty, and Humility met together; that dwelt in her to ſuch a Degree, that in her Preſence, or within her hearing, the ſpeaking of this which I have ſaid, or any thing like this, would have been exceedingly offenſive. But the Juſtice of Nations gives thoſe Praiſes to the Merit of Good Princes, which their own Modeſty would not bear. An ordinary Inſtance may ſuffice, for the ſhewing her Averſeneſs not only to Flattery but to Praiſe: Of a Book addreſs'd to her, ſhe ſaid ſhe had read it, and lik'd it well; but much the better becauſe the *Epiſtle was a bare Dedication.* This Grace of Humility did eminently diſcover it ſelf, when at any time her publick Adminiſtration was to ceaſe: It was laid down with the like Unconcernedneſs, as one uſes when he puts off his Garments, and goes to Reſt.

"It is true, this Grace was accompanied with a remarkable Smoothneſs of Demeanor; but it was not ſuch as the Artificial uſe; it was the Effect of an excellent Spirit, and not of Worldly Craft: It was alſo attended with Familiarity; but with ſuch a good ſort of it as bred rather Veneration than Contempt; and increas'd the Love and Duty even of her Servants, tho' ſhe treated them as her Children. It procur'd that Regularity, and good Order, and Diligence in her greater Family, which in private Ones is ſo much to be deſired.

"Such Accompliſhments as theſe are uſually increas'd by Fame, but diminiſh'd by Preſence; which diſcovers thoſe Imperfections that at a diſtance are not diſcerned. But here, the more this Queen was underſtood, the more ſhe was admir'd; and thoſe who knew her beſt could not but moſt eſteem her.

"After this excellent Princeſs had been very well known for ſeveral Years in a Neighbouring Country, ſhe was ſo extreamly valued, that her Removal from it was lamented as a Death, and occaſioned a deep and univerſal Sorrow.

"Theſe Graces and Virtues were not blemiſhed by Vanity or Affectation. Had that been ſo, ſhe would ſcarce have made ſuch a Profeſſion as this a little before her Death: *I know*, ſaid ſhe, *what looſe People think of theſe who pretend to Religion; they think it is all Hypocriſy: Let them think what they will, I may now ſay, and I thank God I can ſay it, I have not affected to appear what I was not.*

"She was a Wiſe and Good Queen, and Incomparable Wife, and one who (I am well aſſur'd) had all the Duty in the World for other Relations, which after long and laborious Conſideration, ſhe judg'd conſiſtent with her Obligations to God and her Country. She was likewiſe one of the great Supports of God's Church Eſtabliſhed among us; and not without due Temper towards the Scrupulous; A Patroneſs of Religion and Learning; A Miſtreſs whoſe Service was a Pleaſure; A True and Certain Friend; and a Chriſtian Mild and Merciful to her Enemies: Marvel not that ſhe had ſome, the Son of God himſelf was not without them. 1694. 6 W. 3.

"In fine, there was in her Life a perpetual Courſe of Chriſtian Practice. She was not diſtemper'd with Fits of unſubſtantial Piety, which are ſuddenly raiſed, and as ſuddenly vaniſh. The Spring was in the Judgment and the Heart; and from thence the Exerciſes of Holy Living were regular and conſtant. O, how good, how happy a Life was this! &c.

As ſoon as the Archbiſhop was ſettled in his great Charge, he wiſely ſuggeſted to the King the great neceſſity of preſerving and reſtoring the Diſcipline of the Church: And prevailed with his Majeſty to iſſue out theſe Injunctions, given by the King's Majeſty to the Archbiſhops of this Realm, to be communicated by them to the Biſhops and the reſt of the Clergy.

William Rex,

MOST Reverend Father in God, Our Right Truſty and Right entirely beloved Counſellor, and moſt Reverend Father in God, We Greet you well. We being very ſenſible, that nothing can more effectually conduce to the Honour and Glory of God, and the Support of the Proteſtant Religion, than the Protecting and Maintaining of the Church of *England*, as it is by Law Eſtabliſhed, which we are reſolved to do to the utmoſt of our Power, have therefore, upon mature Deliberation with you and other our Biſhops, by virtue of our Royal and Supreme Authority, thought fit, with the Advice of our Privy Council, to Ordain and Publiſh the following Injunctions. King's Injunctions.

"I. That the 34th and 35th Canons concerning Ordination, be ſtrictly obſerved. Anno Dom. 1603.

"II. That every Perſon to be admitted to Holy Orders, do ſignify his Name and the Place of his Abode to the Biſhop Fourteen Days before he is Ordained, to the end that Enquiry may be made into his Life and Converſation. And that he appear at the furtheſt on *Thurſday* in *Ember-Week*, that ſo ſuch, who upon Examination ſhall be found fit, may have time to prepare themſelves by Faſting and Prayer, before the Day of Ordination.

"III. That every Biſhop ſhall be well ſatisfied, that all Perſons that are to be Ordained have a real Title with a ſufficient Maintenance, according to the 33d Canon; in which Matter we require the Biſhops to uſe an eſpecial Care. Anno Dom. 1603.

"IV. That a Certificate of the Age of the Perſon to be Ordained, be brought, if it can be, out of the Pariſh-Regiſter, or at leaſt, a Certificate very well Atteſted.

"V. That the Part of the 34th Canon, which relates to the giving Certificates, concerning the Lives and Manners of thoſe who are to be Ordained, be ſtrictly looked to. And that the Biſhops lay it on the Conſciences of the Clergy, That they Sign no Certificates, unleſs upon their own Knowledge they judge the Perſons to be duly Qualified.

' As to the Behaviour of the Deprived Biſhops, Mr. *Marſhal* repreſents it right in theſe Words of his *Defence of our Conſtitution*, 8vo, *P.* 161. "Our *Nonjuring* Biſhops gave the People all the reaſonable Marks of their Acquieſcence in their Deprivation which could be deſired. It doth not appear by any Authentick Evidence, that they expected or claimed the Obedience of their Eccleſiaſtical Subjects, for divers Years after the Commencement of the (pretended) Schiſm. They communicated long after the vacant Sees were filled, even to this Year 1694, in the moſt ſolemn Acts of Chriſtian Worſhip, with thoſe whom now they call *Schiſmaticks*, and who were *Schiſmaticks* then if they are ſo now. I do not ſay that the Prayers, or thoſe Parts in them which they call Immoral, were uſed at ſuch Times of Worſhip; but Perſons who at all other times uſed them, who themſelves were *Jurors*, and were tainted (according to the preſent Notion) with the Contagion of *Schiſm*, were ſuffered to communicate with them; and Dr. *Hickes* himſelf hath been often preſent, and communicated at ſuch times, and with ſuch Perſons, all which is utterly inconſiſtent with the Plan which is lately publiſhed.

"VI. That

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Articuli pro Clero.

"VI. That every Biſhop ſhall tranſmit, between *Michaelmas* and *Chriſtmas* to the Archbiſhop of the Province, a Liſt of all ſuch Perſons as have been Ordained by him during that Year, according to the Conſtitutions in the Year 1584, in order to be put in a Publick Regiſter, which ſhall be prepared by you for that uſe.

Anno Dom. 1603.

"VII. That the Biſhops ſhall reſide in their Dioceſes; and ſhall take care to oblige their Clergy to ſuch Reſidence as the Laws of the Land and the Canons do require, particularly the 41ſt Canon.

Anno Dom. 1603.

"VIII. That they who keep Curates, have none but ſuch as are Licenſed by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, or in Exempt Juriſdictions by the Ordinary of the Place, having Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, as is required both by the Act of Uniformity, and the 48th Canon; that ſo when the Incumbent does not reſide, the Biſhop or ſuch other Ordinary, may know how the Cure is ſupplied: And that no Perſon ſhall preſume to ſerve any Cure without Licenſe from the Biſhop or ſuch Ordinary, upon pain of Suſpenſion.

"IX. That you uſe the moſt effectual Endeavours to ſuppreſs the great Abuſes occaſioned by Pluralities, and reſtrain them as much as you can, except where the Pariſhes lie near one another, and the Livings are ſmall: That all Qualifications be carefully examined: We being determined to have no Chaplains to be qualified by Us, but ſuch as are admitted to attend upon Us. And that due Caution be taken before any Faculty is granted. And, that ſuch Perſons as are legally Qualified, ſhall reſide at leaſt two Months in the Year in each of their Livings; and provide a Curate to ſerve where they are not in Perſon, with a due Maintenance, to be determin'd by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe; unleſs the two Pariſhes lie ſo near, that the Incumbent can conſtantly ſerve both Cures.

Anno Dom. 1603.

"X. That the Biſhops ſhall look to the Lives and Manners of their Clergy, that they may be in all Things Regular and Exemplary, according to the 75th Canon.

"XI. That the Biſhops do uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to oblige their Clergy to have Publick Prayers in the Church, not only on Holidays, but as often as may be; and to celebrate the Holy Sacrament frequently.

"XII. That the Biſhops ſhall require the Clergy to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours, That the Lord's Day be religiouſly obſerved, That they ſet a good Example to their People, and exhort them frequently to their Duty herein.

Anno Dom. 1603.

"XIII. That the Biſhops remind their Clergy to viſit the Sick frequently; and require them to perform that Duty with great Care and Diligence, according to the 67th Canon.

Anno Dom. 1603.

"XIV. That Catechizing be duly performed according to the 59th Canon.

"XV. That the Biſhops be careful to Confirm, not only in their Triennial Viſitations, but at other convenient Seaſons.

"XVI. That care be taken, that the Arch-deacons make their Viſitations perſonally; and that as much as may be they live within the Bounds of their Juriſdiction, and do their Duty according to the Canons.

"XVII. That no Commutation of Penance ſhall be made, but by the expreſs Order and Directions of the Biſhop himſelf, which ſhall be declared in open Court. And that the Commutation Money ſhall be applied only to Pious and Charitable Uſes, *Articuli pro Clero,* made in the Year 1584, and the Conſtitutions made in the Year 1597.

Anno Dom. 1603.

"XVIII. That no Licenſe for Marriage without Banes ſhall be granted by any Eccleſiaſtical Judge, without firſt taking the Oaths of two ſufficient Witneſſes; and alſo ſufficient Security for performing of the Conditions of the Licenſe, according to the 102d and 103d Canons.

"Theſe Injunctions we do require you to tranſmit to the Biſhops of your reſpective Provinces, to be by them communicated to their Clergy and to be ſtrictly obſerved, and often enquired after both by you and them. For as we eſteem it the chief Part of our Princely Care to promote true Religion, as it is eſtabliſhed in this Church; and in order thereunto we have determin'd not to diſpoſe of any Church Preferments in our Gift, but to ſuch of our Clergy as we ſhall have reaſon to believe do live moſt Exemplary, and Preach and Watch moſt faithfully over the People committed to their Charge: So we aſſure our ſelves, that theſe our Pious Intentions will be effectually ſeconded by you, and the reſt of our Biſhops; and that you will without Favour or Partial Affections, ſtudy to ſuppreſs Impiety and Vice, and to reform all Diſorders as far as in you lies; well knowing that nothing will ſo much advance the great Ends of Religion, and ſo certainly Secure and Eſtabliſh this Church, as the Exemplary Lives, and Faithful Labours of thoſe who Miniſter in it. And ſo we commend our ſelf to your Prayers, and bid you very heartily Farewel.

Given at our Court at Kenſington *the Fifteenth day of* February, 1694. *In the ſeventh Year of our Reign.*

By His Majeſty's Command,
SHREWSBURY.

We left the Parliament ſitting, and enquiring into the Bribery and Corruption of their own Members.

1695.

Proceedings of the Commons, About Bribery and Corruption.

On *March* the 26th, the Commons proceeding on the Report relating to the Members of this Houſe taking Money,

"Reſolved, That Mr. *Hungerford* a Member, being Guilty of a High Crime and Miſdemeanor, by receiving Twenty Guineas for his Pains and Service, as Chairman of the Committe to whom the Orphans Bill was committed, be expelled the Houſe. And Order'd, that Sir *Thomas Cook,* a Member, having refuſed to give an Account of the Money of the *Eaſt-India* Company by him diſtributed, be committed Priſoner to the *Tower*; and a Bill be brought in to oblige him to give ſuch Account". This Bill was preſented by Mr. *Bridges* on *March* the 28th, and Received and Read the firſt time; the next Day it was Read a ſecond

The Form of Retractation and Submiſſion made before the Biſhop of *London* by *John Smith, Clockmaker* of the Pariſh of St. *Auguſtin* in the City of *London,* on *Wedneſday* the 23d of *January,* 1694.

"Whereas I *John Smith,* Citizen of *London,* preſuming too far upon my private Reaſon and Underſtanding, have lately compiled, and raſhly againſt my Duty, ſet forth a Book Entitled, *A deſigned End to the* Socinian *Controverſy.* Printed in the Year 1694, and thereto with uſual Confidence have ſet my Name; in which Book I have undertaken to aſſert, maintain, and prove, ſeveral Points in Divinity contrary to the Articles of Religion, commonly called *The* 39 *Articles of the Church of* England, and contrary to the Eſtabliſh'd Laws and Statutes of the Realm: I *John Smith* do hereby declare, That I am very ſorry for the ſame, and wiſh with all my Heart, I had not either Written or cauſed to be Printed the ſaid Book, asking Forgiveneſs of all ſuch as have been hurt thereby, or juſtly ſcandalized hereat, and retracting all Pernicious, Erroneous, and Heretical Poſitions, contained in the ſaid Book. And I do hereby promiſe with Sincerity and Truth to abſtain from all Occaſions of falling into the like Miſcarriage, as much as in me lies, and to behave my ſelf for the time to come, as befits an Humble, Peaceable, Modeſt and Quiet Chriſtian. In Witneſs whereof, I have hereunto ſet my Hand, *&c.* *John Smith.*

See Sir *Duncomb Colcheſter*'s Penitential Declaration, ſigned by his own Hand, and deſired by him to be publickly Read in the Pariſh Churches of *Michael-Dean* and *Weſtbury,* in the County of *Glouceſter,* in *Novemb.* 1694.

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time, and the Caſhier to the *Eaſt-India* Company, according to Order, produced the Warrants for the Sums paid for Special Service or Charges General.

On *March* the 30th, Sir *Baſil Firebraſs* delivered in an Account of Moneys by him paid for the Service of the *Eaſt-India* Company; and Sir *Thomas Cooke* Petition'd the Houſe, that he might be heard by Council before the Bill do paſs, which was Granted.

Bill againſt Sir *Thomas Cooke.*

On *April* the 2d, the Commons in a Grand Committee went through the Bill and made Amendments, which were reported the next Day.

On *April* the 6th, Sir *Thomas Cooke*'s Council were heard, and the Bill was read a Third time and paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords for their Concurrence.

Oppos'd by the D. of *Leeds.*

At the firſt reading of this Bill in the Houſe of Peers, the Duke of *Leeds*, Preſident of the Council, made a ſerious Speech againſt it, and introduced his Diſcourſe with a ſolemn Proteſtation of his own Innocence and Diſintereſt in the Matter.

On *April* the 13th their Lordſhips ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, deſiring that Sir *Thomas Cooke* might be permitted and order'd to appear at their Bar; and the Commons did accordingly order by Warrant from the Speaker, that Sir *Thomas* ſhould attend the Lords at their Bar. He declared himſelf Ready and very Willing to make full Diſcovery, and ſaid he would have done it before in the Houſe of Commons, if he could have obtained there an indemnifying Vote. It was demanded of him, what he would be indemnified from? He Anſwered from *Scandalum Magnatum*, and all Actions and Suits, except from the *Eaſt-India* Company, whom if he had Injured he would be bound to Satisfy in the utmoſt Rigor.

Sir *Thomas Cooke* being withdrawn, the Duke of *Leeds* ſtood up and declared, "He was very glad "that Gentleman was come to ſuch a Temper, as "to be willing to diſcover, and thereby to prevent a "Bill, which he thought to be of a pernicious Na"ture". Then his Grace minded their Lordſhips, how the Commons took care of the Reputation of their Houſe, in asking Sir *Thomas Cooke*, *Whether he had diſtributed any Money among any of their Members?* Who purged them by a ſolemn Proteſtation, *That he had not.* His Grace therefore thought it ſeaſonable, that the Lords ſhould have ſome Regard to their own Honour; and that Sir *Thomas* might be called in, and asked, Whether he were willing upon Oath to purge all that ſat there? This Motion was rejected, and the Lords reſolved, that the Bill ſent up from the Commons againſt Sir *Thomas Cooke*, ſhould not be proceeded upon; but that a Committee ſhould be appointed to draw up a Bill to indemnify him upon due Diſcovery. This Committee being withdrawn, and having made ſome Progreſs, Notice came from Sir *Thomas Cooke*, that he was afraid he might be miſapprehended as to what he had ſaid concerning a Diſcovery, by having expreſs'd himſelf that he was *Ready* and *Willing*; for by *Ready*, he only meant the more *Willing*; and that he ſhould need at leaſt Four Months to make the Diſcovery he promiſed. This was highly reſented by ſome of the Lords of the Committee, who immediately mov'd, that the Committee might riſe, and report to the Houſe this freſh Matter, and the trifling of Sir *Thomas Cooke*, that ſo the Bill deſign'd to oblige him to give an Account, might now proceed. But ſome other of the Lords mollified the Meaning of Sir *Thomas Cooke*, and prevailed with him to beg a favourable Treatment, and engage to diſcover within Seven Days; upon which the Committee went on with the ſofter Bill, to *Indemnify him from any Actions he might be liable to, by reaſon of his Diſcovery*, &c. And Sir *Thomas* had Leave to go abroad in Cuſtody to inſpect his Papers, that he might the better prepare for ſuch Diſcovery. This Bill of Indemnifying had ſome

Excuſes of Sir *Thomas Cooke.*

Amendments made to it by the Commons, to which the Lords agreed on *April* the 19th. 1695. 7 *W.* 3.

The King was uneaſy at the long Seſſion, and therefore to quicken the Diſpatch of Affairs, on *Monday, April* 22. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to,

The King for diſpatch of Affairs.

Acts paſſed.

1. *An Act for enabling ſuch Perſons as have Eſtates for Life in Annuities, payable by ſeveral former Acts therein mention'd, to Purchaſe and Obtain further or more certain Intereſts in ſuch Annuities: and in default thereof, for admitting other Perſons to Purchaſe or Obtain the ſame, for Raiſing Moneys for carrying on the War againſt* France.

2. *An Act for Granting to his Majeſty certain Rates and Duties upon Marriages, Births and Burials, and upon Batchelors and Widowers, for the Term of Five Years, for carrying on the War againſt* France *with Vigor.*

3. *An Act for Granting to his Majeſty ſeveral additional Duties upon Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, and Spices, towards Satisfaction of the Debts due for Tranſport-Service for the Reduction of* Ireland.

4. *An Act for Appointing and Enabling Commiſſioners to Examine, Take, and State the Publick Accounts.*

5. *An Act for the more effectual ſuppreſſing Prophane Curſing and Swearing.*

6. *An Act for continuing two former Acts for Puniſhing Officers and Soldiers, who ſhall Mutiny or Deſert his Majeſty's Service; and for Puniſhing of falſe Muſters, and for Payment of Quarters for one Year.*

7. *An Act for explaining and regulating ſeveral Doubts, Duties and Penalties in the late Act for Granting ſeveral Duties upon Vellum, Parchment and Paper; and for aſcertaining the Admeaſurement of the Tonnage of Ships.*

8. *An Act for raiſing the Militia of this Kingdom for the Year* 1695, *and for Repealing the Statute of the* 2d *and* 3d *Years of King* Edward IV. *Intituled,* An Act againſt ſhooting in Hail-Shot.

9. *An Act for continuing ſeveral Laws therein mention'd.*

10. *An Act for the better Admeaſurement of Keels and Keel-Boats in the Port of* Newcaſtle, *and the Members thereunto belonging.*

11. *An Act to indemnify Sir* Thomas Cooke *from Actions which he might be liable to, by reaſon of his Diſcovering to whom he Paid and Diſtributed ſeveral Sums of Money therein mentioned, to be received out of the Treaſure of the* Eaſt-India *Company, or for any Proſecution for ſuch Diſtribution.*

12. *An Act to prevent Exactions of the Occupiers of Lakes and Wyers upon the River of* Thames *Weſtward, and for aſcertaining the Rates of Water-Carriage upon the ſaid River.*

13. *An Act for ſettling divers Manors and Lands upon the Marriage of the Marquis of* Taviſtock, *Grandſon of* William *Duke of* Bedford.

14. *An Act for enabling the Inhabitants of the Pariſh of* Chriſt-Church, *in the County of* Surrey, *to make Rates for raiſing a Maintenance for a good and able Miniſter; and for the Impowering the Truſtees of the Will of* John Marſhal, *Deceas'd, to employ Moneys for the Finiſhing the ſaid Pariſh Church.* And to ſeveral other Private Bills. After which, his Majeſty made this Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Take this Occaſion to tell You, That the "Seaſon of the Year is ſo far Advanced, and "the Circumſtances of Affairs are ſo Preſſing, that "I very earneſtly Recommend to You, the ſpeedy "Diſpatching ſuch Buſineſs as you think of moſt "Importance for the Publick Good, becauſe I muſt "put an End to this Seſſion in a few Days.

King's Speech.

On *April* 23. Sir *Henry Goodrick* acquainted the Houſe, that according to Order, their Adreſs had been

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Addreſs of the Commons.

been preſented to his Majeſty, "That he would "pleaſe to give ſuch effectual Directions, that the "Colonels and other Officers of the Army employ- "ed for the Reduction of *Ireland* might ſpeedily "account with, and ſatisfy their inferior Officers "and Soldiers, as far as they had received Money "from his Majeſty." And that his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay, *That he had already given Orders, as well in* Flanders, *as in* England, *for the doing what is mention'd in the Addreſs; and that ſome Officers who neglected to comply with the Directions, have been caſhier'd: However, that he will repeat thoſe Orders under the ſeveral Penalties, to ſuch as ſhall diſobey 'em.*

And Anſwer of the King relating to the Accounts of Officers.

On the ſame Day, Mr. Comptroller acquainted the Houſe, that according to Order, their Addreſs had been preſented to his Majeſty; "Praying that "his Majeſty, in his great Wiſdom, would pleaſe "to take care for the future, that this Kingdom be "put upon an equal Foot and Proportion with the "Allies, in bearing the Charge of the preſent War." And that his Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer in theſe Words: *In this, as in every thing elſe, I ſhall always endeavour to have a due Regard to the Intereſt, and to the Honour of this Nation.*

Addreſs and Anſwer about our Allies.

In purſuance of the Act to indemnify Sir *Thomas Cooke*, a Committee of both Houſes was appointed to receive the Diſcovery to be made by him. He appeared before them on *April* 23. and being ſworn, he deliver'd in Writing an Account of the Diſpoſal and Application of ſeveral large Sums; as of 10000 *l.* deliver'd to *Francis Tyſſen*, Eſq; 12000 *l.* to Mr. *Richard Acton*, 338 *l.* to Mr. *Nathaniel Molineux*, 220 *l.* to Sir *John Chardin*, 350 *l.* to *Paul Dominicque*, Eſq; 382 *l.* to Captain *John Germain*, 1000 Guineas to Colonel *Fitz-Patrick*, 545 *l.* to *Charles Bates*, Eſq; and 40000 *l.* to Sir *Baſil Firebraſs*. All which Sums were ſaid to be paid for ſpecial Service of the *Eaſt-India* Company, to defray the Charges, and acknowledge the Pains and Services of thoſe Perſons and their Friends, on ſolliciting to prevent a Settlement of a New *Eaſt-India* Company, and to endeavour to eſtabliſh the Old; beſides 500 Guineas paid to the Attorney-General, 200 to the Sollicitor, and 200 more to Mr. *Sambrook*.

Sir Thomas Cooke's Account.

The Original being read by Sir *Thomas Cooke*, the Committee conceived it was imperfect, and not ſuch as the Act required; and therefore they acquainted Sir *Thomas*, that they expected a more particular Account from him. Upon this, Sir *Thomas* began to be more plain, and ſaid, "That as to the firſt Sum of 10000 *l.* paid to "Mr. *Tyſſen*, he gave him no Directions how it "ſhould be diſpoſed; but it was in Expectation to "have the Charter of the *Eaſt-India* Company con- "firmed; that it was intended for the Service of "the King, tho' he could not ſay the King had it; "but he believed, that Mr. *Tyſſen* told him, that "he deliver'd it to Sir *Joſiah Child*, who preſented "it to his Majeſty, as a Cuſtomary Preſent; for "the like had been done in former Reigns, as by "the Books of the Company might appear. That "as to the 12000 *l.* next mention'd, it was paid to "Mr. *Richard Acton*, who declared, *He had ſeve- "ral Friends capable of doing great Service to the "Company's Affairs, and ſeveral of them would "ſpeak with Parliament-Men*; That he could not "particularize who they were; but the *End aimed "at*, was to get an Act of Parliament. That "Mr. *Acton* did again ſay, *He could tell ſome Per- "ſons employ'd in that Affair; that he did under- "ſtand that this Money was to be laid out for pro- "moting their Affairs in Parliament; That he could "not ſay to whom it was given; but underſtood it "went no further than the Houſe of Commons; and "that he found no good Fruit by ſuch Diſtribution.* "As to the 338 *l.* paid to Mr. *Molineux*, Sir *Tho- "mas* ſaid, that Mr. *Molineux* told him, this Mo- "ney was to be diſpos'd of to the Lord *Rivers*; "but ſince his Confinement, *Molineux* had told "him, that my Lord never had it, but he had "made uſe of it himſelf. As to the 1000 Guineas "paid to Mr. *Fitz-Patrick*, deceas'd, *Fitz-Patrick* "told him, he had a great Intereſt with the Lord "*Nottingham*, that he would try what he could do, "and he did not doubt but he might do great Ser- "vices, provided he had ſuch a Sum of Money; "yet he believed, *Fitz-Patrick* kept the Money "himſelf; and that there was a Promiſe of a fur- "ther Sum, if the Act for a New Company did "not paſs. That the 545 *l.* was to be paid to "Mr. *Charles Bates*, when the Charter was ſettled, "and was paid accordingly in *October* 1693. That "he had no Acquaintance with Mr. *Bates*; but Sir "*Baſil Firebraſs* told him, that *Bates* had Acquain- "tance with ſeveral Lords, and named the Marquis "of *Carmarthen*, now Duke of *Leeds*. That as to "the firſt 10000 *l.* paid to Sir *Baſil Firebraſs* in "*November*, 1693. it was always his Apprehenſion, "that Sir *Baſil* kept it for himſelf, to recompence "his Loſſes in the Interloping-Trade: And as to "the ſeveral other Sums, compleating the Sum of "Thirty thouſand Pounds paid to Sir *Baſil*, he pre- "ſumed he had occaſion to diſtribute it to ſeveral "Perſons. As to the Sums paid to Sir *John Char- "din* and Mr. *Dominicque*, he believ'd they were "expended in the Company's Service. As to the "382 *l.* to Captain *Germain*, it was paid to bring "him off from the Interlopers, and engage him in "the Company's Intereſt.

On *April* 24. Mr. Comptroller reported this Examination to the Houſe of Commons; upon which the Debates were very warm. One Member ſaid, *No Man is innocent if every Man be guilty. We cannot be innocent, if we do not lay our Hands upon theſe Men that have betray'd Us, and the Company, and, I hope, Themſelves. Let us go as far as we can, and then the Fault will not lie at our Doors.* In the middle of theſe Debates, a Meſſage came from the Lords, deſiring a preſent Conference in the Painted Chamber; which was immediately had. Their Lordſhips propoſed, that all future Examinations of any of the Perſons mention'd in the Report of Sir *Thomas Cooke*, be had before a Committee of both Houſes. To which the Commons agreed.

Conference of both Houſes.

This Committee met the ſame Day; and Sir *Baſil Firebraſs* there depoſed, that the firſt Ten thouſand Pounds were given to him, as a Gratuity for his Loſſes, ſome Time before the Charter for the *Eaſt-India* Company paſſed. That Ten thouſand more was received by him, by virtue of a Contract with Sir *Thomas Cooke*, for Favours and Services done. That the Stock at the Time of the Contract, valued at 150 *l. per Cent.* falling afterwards to 100 *per Cent.* the Difference was Thirty thouſand Pounds; which they made up to him. He was poſitive the 10000 *l.* and 30000 *l.* were for himſelf, and for the Uſe of no other Perſon; except 500 *l.* paid to Mr. *Powell*, becauſe he had good Intereſt amongſt the Interlopers.---- The Committee ask'd Sir *Baſil*, *What particular Service he did, or was to do, for procuring a New Charter?* To which he anſwer'd. That he was unwilling to take too much upon himſelf; that he thought he did great Service to the Company, in ſolliciting their Cauſe; but wiſh'd he might be excuſed to another Time, being now much indiſpos'd.

Examination in a Committee of both Houſes.

The next Day Sir *Baſil Firebraſs* being again examined, further depoſed, "That having had a "Treaty with Mr. *Bates*, whom he thought able to "do Service in paſſing the Charter, and to have "Acquaintance with ſeveral Perſons of Honour, he "gave Two Notes for 5500 Guineas to Mr. *Atwell*, "payable to Mr. *Bates*, or Bearer; one Note for "3000 Pounds, the other for 2500 Guineas, intend- "ed for the doing Buſineſs. That he had theſe "Notes from Sir *Thomas Cooke*, and was accountable "to him for the ſame. That he believed, Sir *Thomas* "did not know how theſe Notes were to be diſpos'd "of; but that he had told Sir *Thomas*, that Mr. *Bates* had

Foul Practices diſcovered.

1695. 7 *W.* 3. " had Acquaintance with ſeveral Lords; naming the " Lord Preſident, and others. That the Deponent " could not tell who this Money was deſign'd for, " or what *Bates* did with it; for that *Bates* would " not deal on ſuch Terms of *Telling Names*. That " *Bates* did introduce him ſeveral Times to the " Lord Preſident; who made ſome Scruples in " point of Law, which were removed by the At- " torney-General. That one Day laſt Week, the " Five thouſand Guineas were offered by *Bates* back " again to him; *Bates* ſaying, *That this might make* " *a Noiſe*. That on *Tueſday* laſt, 4400 Guineas " were brought to this Deponent; and that " the other 400 Guineas were ſtill in *Bates*'s " Hands.---- That they found great Stops in the " Charters, which they apprehended proceeded " ſometimes from my Lord *Nottingham*, and ſome- " times from others. That Colonel *Fitz-Patrick* " received a Thouſand Guineas on the ſame Terms " as was with others, if the Charter paſs'd. " That he pretended great Intereſt with the Lord " *Nottingham*; and that he could get Information " from the Lady *Derby*, how the Queen's Pleaſure " was. That Colonel *Fitz-Patrick* ſaid, he would " try to prevail with the Lord *Nottingham* for Five " thouſand Guineas upon paſſing the Charter, and " Five thouſand Pound on the Act of Parliament; " but that the Earl of *Nottingham* abſolutely re- " fuſed to take it. That the Deponent heard, a " Note ſign'd by Sir *Joſiah Child* and Sir *Thomas* " *Cook*, for Fifty thouſand Pounds, was lodged in " *Tyſſen*'s Hands for about a Year, to be paid in caſe " the Act paſſed; and that it was refus'd, as he " underſtood, by my Lord *Portland*, to whom he " had offer'd it.

Depoſition of Mr. *Acton* " Mr. *Richard Acton* being examined before the " ſame Committee, depoſed, That he received the " Sums of Ten thouſand, and Two thouſand Pounds " of Sir *Thomas Cooke*. That he told Sir *Thomas*, " he had Friends who would take Pains to do the " Company Service; but they would have Ten " thouſand Pound. That he had Two thouſand " Pound for his Trouble in attending Two Seſſions; " and that if the Bill for a New Company had " paſſed, he was to have had nothing. That he " did not diſtribute the Ten thouſand Pound to " Members, but to thoſe who had Intereſt with " Members. That ſome of them to whom he " gave Money to be diſtributed, were Mr. *Craggs*, " with whom this Deponent was concern'd in " Cloathing the Army, Mr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Ridley*, Mr. " *Dominicque*, &c. and that Colonel *Goldwell*, and " Colonel *Dean* (who were ſince dead) were the " only Perſons which he himſelf gave Money to.

Depoſition of Mr. *Bates*. The next Day, *April* 26. the Committee of both Houſes proceeded upon the Examination of the reſt of the Perſons mentioned in their Report; and Mr. *Bates* being ſworn, depos'd, " That Sir *Baſil* " *Firebraſs* did apply himſelf to him, to uſe his " Intereſt for obtaining a Charter for the *Eaſt-India* " Company, the old Charter being forfeited; and " told him, they would be grateful. That the De- " ponent did uſe his Intereſt with the Lord Preſi- " dent; who ſaid, *He would do what Service he* " *could*. That the Lord Preſident had deliver'd his " Opinion publickly for confirming the Charter; " and thought the Forfeiture an Hardſhip. That " having received Notes for Five thouſand five hun- " dred Guineas, he told the Lord Preſident what " Sum he had; and would have paſſed it upon " my Lord, but he refus'd it. That thereupon in " regard he could not very well tell Money himſelf, " he did ask Leave of my Lord, that his Servant " might tell the Money: To which my Lord an- " ſwered, *He gave Leave*; and accordingly Mon- " ſieur *Robart* did receive the Money. That after " Monſieur *Robart* had received it, he brought the " ſame to the Deponent, in whoſe Poſſeſſion it re- " main'd, till he paid 4400 Guineas thereof back " again to Sir *Baſil*. That as to the 600 Guineas " remaining of the 5000, he ſaid he had ſpent " ſome of them. That the Reaſon he paid back " the 4400 Guineas, was the Noiſe that it made; " and that People might think that he did not de- " ſerve them; and that the whole 5500 Guineas " were for his own private Uſe." However, being ſoon after re-examin'd, he own'd, *That the* 4400 *Guineas which he paid back, were brought to him by Monſieur* Robart. 1695. 7 *W.* 3.

Sir *Baſil Firebraſs* being once more examin'd, depos'd, " That Sir *Thomas Cooke*, and others, ob- " ſerving him active, and to have Intereſt among " Noblemen, applied themſelves to him to endea- " vour the procuring a new Charter. That Sir " *Thomas Cooke* was apprehenſive, *That it ſtuck with* " *the Duke of* Leeds; and told the Deponent, " that ſome Way muſt be found out to the Duke. " That he thereupon applied himſelf to Mr. *Bates*, " who would not pretend to talk with the Duke; " but ſaid, the Deponent muſt tell him what the " Company would do. That he told Mr. *Bates*, " he thought a Preſent might be made of 2, or " 3000 *l.* That Mr. *Bates* told him, he went to " *St. James*'s, and ſaid, he had *ſpoke with his* " *Friend*; *and that more had been offer'd him by* " *the other ſide*: And that at another Time *Bates* " ſaid, that 5000 *l.* had been offer'd him by ano- " ther Hand on the ſame ſide. That it was at laſt " agreed, that if the Duke did act in favour of the " Company, he ſhould have 2 or 3000 Guineas, " and *Bates* 500 Guineas to himſelf. That from " the Time the Notes for the 5500 Guineas were " given to *Bates*, they had free Acceſs to my Lord " Preſident, and found him eaſy and willing to give " the Company his Aſſiſtance. That Mr. *Bates* was " ſhy, and call'd it, His Friend at *St. James*'s. " That the Condition of one Draught of a Counter- " Note which Mr. *Bates* brought, was worded, " *In caſe the Lord Preſident did not aſſiſt the Com-* " *pany in paſſing the Charter*: To which this De- " ponent made an Alteration, by putting out my " Lord's Name, and making it not payable, in caſe " the Charter ſhould not paſs. That about a Week " before the Money was brought back again, this " Deponent went to *Bates* about it, who then told " him, *it was all for himſelf*. That the Deponent " did intend a Diſtribution of the above-mention'd " Sum of Thirty thouſand Pound, in manner follow- " ing. To Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *John Trevor*, and " Mr. *Guy*, Ten thouſand Pound, in caſe the Char- " ter and Act of Parliament paſſed: To the Mer- " chant Interlopers Ten thouſand Pound; and to " himſelf Ten thouſand Pound. That as to Five " thouſand Pound, part of the ſaid Thirty thouſand " Pound, he did deſign One Third thereof to Sir *Ed-* " *ward Seymour*, One Third to Sir *John Trevor*, " and One Third to Mr. *Guy*. That Mr. *Guy*, to " whom he made the Propoſal, told him, they did " not deſire to meddle with the Stock, but would " do any Service they could to promote getting the " Charter. That Sir *Edward Seymour* afterwards " meeting this Deponent, chid him for making " that Propoſal; and told him, *he would never* " *have any thing to do with him, if he ever made* " *any ſuch Offers*. That the Deponent thought " himſelf obliged in Honour, to pay Two thirds of " the Five thouſand Pound, when received, to Sir " *John Trevor* and Mr. *Guy*; and intended to keep " the other Third (which Sir *Edward Seymour* re- " fuſed) for himſelf. And that Sir *John Trevor* " did ſome Time afterwards give him ſome Hints of " his Expectation.

Sir *Joſiah Child* being examin'd, ſaid, " He ne- " ver diſpoſed of Ten Pounds of the *Eaſt-India* " Company's; that he did recommend it, that a " Preſent of Fifty thouſand Pounds ſhould be made " to the King, if his Majeſty would ſo far " wave his Prerogative, that an Act of Parliament

might

1695. 7 W. 3. "might be paſſed for ſettling the Company; that "Mr. *Tyſſen* had told him, *the King would not meddle in that Matter*, as he had been inform'd from "my Lord *Portland*.

Debates of the Commons. Theſe Examinations being reported to the Houſe of Commons *April* 27. One of the Members ſtood up, and urg'd the Neceſſity of ſearching this Matter to the bottom; and to provide Laws for the future to prevent the Members of the Houſe taking Money. That Ten thouſand Pound had been pretended to be given to the King; and Fifty thouſand Pound offer'd to buy an Act of Parliament, or gain their Charter. That the Facts proved themſelves, and that Mr. *Bates* had proved an unfortunate Perſon, whom the Care of his Friend (the Duke of *Leeds*) and the Senſe of his Oath, had cauſed to make ſuch Contradictions. Another Member ſaid, that there were never greater, and more general Inſtances of Corruption. He inſiſted on the Neceſſity of a ſpeedy Remedy; and that it was very fit the Houſe ſhould let the World ſee that they were in earneſt. He put them in mind of the Practices and Arts that had been uſed to ſtop their Diſcovery; ſo that what they had, was got as it were, by the utmoſt Force and Conſtraint; at which they could not wonder, when they found ſo great a Man at the Bottom. *But there is*, added he, *no Perſon in a Poſt ſo high, that this Houſe cannot reach; no Man's Practice or Art ſo deep, that this Houſe cannot diſcover. Here have been all imaginable Endeavours us'd to obſtruct the Enquiry.* Firſt, *His Majeſty's Name was made uſe of at the Committees, with Hopes, perhaps, that that might ſtop any further Search; and if it were made uſe of there, you may reaſonably expect it was made uſe of elſewhere. But that appear'd to be ſo far from being a Reflection on the King, that Sir* Joſiah Child *often complain'd of it as a Rudeneſs to his Majeſty, that what other Kings had yearly as a Preſent, they had not offer'd to his Majeſty in Three Years. It was indeed, if not a Matter of Right, a Matter of Cuſtom. As for the Earl of* Portland, *who may be nam'd for his Honour upon this Occaſion, when the great Sum of Fifty thouſand Pound was preſs'd upon him, he did abſolutely refuſe it, and told them,* He would for ever be their Enemy and Oppoſer, if they offer'd any ſuch Thing to him. *Having thus mention'd the Innocent, I muſt,* continued he, *ſay ſomewhat of the Guilty. A Stop having been put, the Duke of* Leeds *muſt be applied to. Certainly there never was a more notorious Bribery; and that in a Perſon, whom we might have expected to have been free from ſuch a Crime, if you reſpect either the Greatneſs of his Place, or of his* former Obligation. *It is fit to ſpeak plainly on ſuch Occaſions: The Houſe ought to endeavour to remove ſuch a Perſon from the* King's Council and Preſence. *What Security can the Nation have, when we are bought and ſold to one another? We have ſeen our Deſigns defeated, our Attempts betrayed; And what Wonder is it? Can any Man think it more ſtrange, that our Counſels ſhould be ſold abroad, than that Charters ſhould be ſold at home? Certainly a Man may reaſonably believe, that he who will* Sell the Subjects, will ſell the Kingdom, if he can have a ſufficient Bribe. *What Prince can be ſafe in ſuch Counſels which are given for private Advantage? Several Propoſals,* ſaid he, in the Concluſion, *may here be offer'd for Remedy. One, That this Houſe ſhould Addreſs his Majeſty to remove the Duke of* Leeds; *but, with Submiſſion, an Addreſs is too mean, too low a Thing for this Houſe to do at this Time, and upon ſuch an Occaſion; I therefore move we may lodge an* Impeachment.

Tho' this Speech was approved in the main, yet ſome Expreſſions in it were thought too reflecting; and another Member ſtood up and ſaid, *He wondred the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, ſhould ſay that, which he hop'd he did not believe,* That that Lord ſhould have ſold our Counſels to *France*. Thereupon the other roſe again, and ſaid, *It was with ſome Uneaſineſs he ſtood up, for he did not take Pleaſure to rake in a Dunghill. That he was far from ſaying the Duke had betray'd our Counſels; but argued only from Poſſibility, that it was as reaſonable to believe one as the other; and that when Honour and Juſtice were not the Rule of Men's Actions, there was nothing incredible that might be for their Diſadvantage.*

Several Members ſeconded the Motion for an Impeachment; adding, *That ſuch Actions as theſe were a Blemiſh, if not a Scandal to the Revolution it ſelf.* And it being demanded, *By what Law it was a Crime to take Money at Court?* It was anſwer'd, *That if there was not a Law, it was time there ſhould be a Law to prevent it; that the Law of God was againſt the Duke; and that there were Parliaments to puniſh ſuch Crimes.* It was again ſuggeſted, that it was doubtful, whether there was Matter in this Report for an Impeachment; and therefore, before the Houſe went to an Impeachment, they ought to put the Queſtion upon the Report; and ſee whether it be a Crime. Thereupon, ſome of the Duke's Friends objected, *That there was no Law, and ſo no Tranſgreſſion*; and mov'd for excuſing him. But the Queſtion being put, *That there did appear, that there was in the Report made from the Committee of both Houſes, ſufficient Matter to Impeach* Thomas *Duke of* Leeds *of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors*, it was carried in the Affirmative; and Mr. Comptroller was order'd to go up to the Lords, and at their Bar, in the Name of the Houſe, and of all the Commons of *England*, to lodge the ſaid Impeachment, which in due Time they would make good. Reſolution to Impeach the Duke of *Leeds*.

About the ſame Time that Mr. Comptroller made the Report to the Commons from the Committee of both Houſes, the Lord Privy-Seal made the Report to the Lords; after the Hearing of which, the Duke of *Leeds* ſaid, "That as he had formerly proteſted "himſelf to be clear in this Matter, ſo he ſtill de-"nied upon his Faith and Honour, that he was "guilty of any ſuch Corruptions as were ſuggeſted "againſt him; and that if the whole Truth were "laid open, it would tend to his Honour and Ad-"vantage. That he would be very free in telling "their Lordſhips now before-hand all that paſſed, "in which he was any ways concerned. That Mr. "*Bates* introduc'd Sir *Baſil Firebraſs* to him; and "that he had Conferences with Sir *Baſil* upon the "Subject of the *Eaſt-India* Company, which *Fire-"braſs* was concern'd for. That ſome time after, "Mr. *Bates* inform'd him, that he was to have "a Sum of Money of Sir *Baſil Firebraſs*, and de-"ſired his Lordſhip to lend him one of his Ser-"vants, (Mr. *Bates* keeping but a Footman) to re-"ceive the Money; and ſo he lent him Monſieur "*Robart*. That he knew nothing of the Sum; but "afterwards Mr. *Bates* came to him, and told him, "he had received 5000 Guineas; and that in Ac-"knowledgment of the many Favours he had re-"ceived from his Lordſhip's Hands, he humbly de-"ſired him to accept the ſame; which he refuſing, "Mr. *Bates* preſſed him earneſtly to take one Half, "or a Quarter; which he ſtill refuſed, declaring "he would not touch a Penny of them. That "however, he told him, ſince he had taken them, "he thought there was no need of returning them; "that they were his own, and wiſh'd him good "Luck with them. And thus, concluded his Grace, "I was but a Shadow to Mr. *Bates*. Defence of the Duke in the Houſe of Lords.

The Duke of *Leeds* had ſcarce ended his Speech, when private Notice came to the Houſe of Lords, that the Commons were proceeding to an Impeachment againſt him; whereupon he left the Houſe in great Haſte, and going to the Door of the Houſe of Commons, deſired to be admitted to be heard. This being granted, and a Chair placed for him within the Bar, his Grace ſat

1695. 7 *W.* 3. down, put on his Hat; then roſe, uncover'd himſelf, and made a Speech to the Houſe: Wherein, in the firſt place, "He thank'd them heartily for this Favour of hearing him; and then "proceeded, declaring his Innocence, and that "he had attended ſooner, if he had had the leaſt "Intimation what the Houſe was upon. That "the Occaſion of his coming, was from the "Two Votes upon the Report from the Committee "of both Houſes; That he had done all he could "to be inform'd of the Particulars, but could not. "That hearing of a Report, a monſtrous long Report, and finding himſelf concern'd, he was earneſt to be heard, to the end he might not lie under the Diſpleaſure of either, or both Houſes. "He ſaid, It is a bold word, but 'tis a Truth, *This Houſe had not now been ſitting, but for me.* He "added, That he was formerly purſued by this "Houſe in Two Points; For being for the *French* "Intereſt, and for *Popery*: That he had then, if "he might have been heard, juſtified himſelf; and "hoped he had ſince, and would by all the Actions of his Life. That one *Firebraſs*, by the "means of Mr. *Bates*, was introduced to him: "That he had long known Mr. *Bates*; and if he "was not much deceived in him, he could not believe that Gentleman would have tranſacted ſuch "a Matter, if put upon it. That the Evidence "was but a Hearſay; and he hoped they would "not condemn on Hearſay. That as well as a Money-Part, there was alſo a Treaty-Part. That as "to the Money-Part, much of it was falſe; and "what was true, he made no Secret. That he "could and did ſay, upon his Faith and Honour, "That neither directly nor indirectly, He never "touched one Penny of the Money. That he obſerved a great deal of Pains had been taken to "hook in this Matter by a Side-Wind: That this "*Firebraſs* thought his Merit would deſerve 10000 *l.* "and 30000 *l.* That this 5500 Guineas was no "Part of the 40000 *l.* That the Witneſſes were "called in by the Committee; but that *Firebraſs*, "after his firſt Hearing, deſired to be called in "again himſelf, contrary to all Rules; which "ſhew'd him at leaſt a very willing Witneſs. "That he had a Thread which he hoped to ſpin "finer, and make it appear, That this was a Deſign laid againſt him long before the naming of "this Committee: That Warning was given him "ſome Time ſince, That this Matter would be improved againſt him; and that *Firebraſs* had been "told, He ſhould be excus'd, if he ſhould charge "the Duke." His Grace in the Concluſion ſaid, "He asked no Favour, but their favourable Juſtice; "and that no ſevere Senſe might be put on what "would bear a candid one. That if it might be, "the Houſe would reconſider what was done, or "at leaſt preſerve him from Cruelty; and not let "him lie on the Rack, and be blaſted, until a Parliament ſhould ſit again; and that if they would "not reconſider, that then he might have ſpeedy "Juſtice: For he had rather want Counſel, want "Time, or want any Thing, than lie under their "or the Nation's Diſpleaſure. (*a*)

The Duke's Plea in the Houſe of Commons.

This Speech being ended, and the Duke withdrawn, Mr. Comptroller (attended by many Members) went up to the Lords with the Impeachment; and at the ſame time it was propoſed in the Houſe, that the Articles ſhould be forthwith drawn up; and thereupon the Committee which were joined with the Lords were order'd to withdraw, and prepare the ſame.

The Duke's Speech conſider'd.

Afterwards the Houſe of Commons took the Duke's Speech into Conſideration; and one of the Members ſtood up, and ſaid, "That by this Noble "Lord's Speech, the Point was now, Whether "the Houſe would arraign the Committee of both "Houſes, or go on with their Impeachment? "That the Duke, when he came to the Matter, "would not enter into Particulars, but paſs'd it "over with Excuſe of wanting Time. That he "made no Excuſe as to the Facts: That his Arguments of a Contrivance was, That the 5000 "Guineas charged on him, was no Part of the "40000 *l. Firebraſs* was to account for. That "this was rather an Aggravation of the Crime; "for Sir *Thomas Cooke* had a double Account, one "with, and another without the 5000 Guineas; "which was an Indication, That if there was a "Contrivance, it was not by the Committee, but "with Sir *Thomas Cooke*, to ſtifle the Enquiry, and "conceal the Corruption. That the ſpeedy Juſtice "of the Houſe was to be wiſh'd and deſir'd: And "that if there was ſuch a Contrivance, ſuch a "Thread as was mention'd by that Noble Lord, "'twas not to be doubted, but that Houſe (where "he was impeached) would clear him." Another Member moved, "That a Committee might "be appointed to withdraw, to conſider what was "to be done, in order to gratify that Noble Lord "by ſpeedy Juſtice; and obſerved, That his Friend "Mr. *Bates*, contradicting himſelf, was more than "the Evidence of *Firebraſs*. That Monſieur *Robart* was a Servant of my Lord Preſident's, and "was fled: That Mr. *Bates* ſaid, he kept the Money in his Houſe; that ſometimes he had ſpent "it, that ſometimes it was in his Cloſet. That he "did own the Money was not in his Houſe on "*Sunday*, but on *Tueſday* Morning Monſieur *Robart* brought it to him; but he would never declare from whom he brought it.

In the Middle of theſe Debates, a Meſſage was ſent from the Lords, to acquaint the Houſe of Commons, "That it was the Opinion of their Lordſhips, That the Diſcovery made by Sir *Thomas Cooke* was not ſatisfactory, nor ſo full as to entitle him to the Benefit of the Act to indemnify "him; and that their Lordſhips deſired the Concurrence of the Commons." They therefore paſs'd a Vote, as the Lords had done, and ſent it up by the Lord *Coningsby*.

Bill for impriſoning Sir *Tho. Cooke*, &c.

On *Monday, April* the 29th, the Lords acquainted the Commons that they had paſſed a Bill, entitled, *An Act for Impriſoning Sir* Thomas Cooke, *Sir* Baſil Firebraſs, Charles Bates, *Eſq*; *and* James Craggs, *and for reſtraining them from Alienating their Eſtates*; to which they deſired the Concurrence of the Commons. After the Reading of this Bill, Mr. Comptroller repeated the Articles of Impeachment againſt the Duke of *Leeds*, for *Contracting and Agreeing with the Merchants Trading to the* Eaſt-Indies, *or their Agents*, *for 5500 Guineas, to procure them a Charter of Confirmation, and a Charter of Regulation*; *or by his Agents and Servants, with his Privity and Conſent.* Theſe Articles were agreed to by the Commons, and by their Order ſent up to the Houſe of Peers; where upon Reading of them, the Duke of *Leeds* made another Vindication of himſelf much to the ſame purpoſe; adding, "That this Storm which was now fallen "upon him, was ſome Time a gathering; and it "was promoted by a Faction and a Party, who had "a Pique againſt him, and an Intention to delay "the King's Buſineſs: That he had an Original "Letter, which gave him an Account of this ſome "Time before it brake out; and it appear'd only "levell'd againſt him, becauſe none elſe were proſecuted: That there appear'd a Joy they could

(*a*) See a Collection of the Debates and Proceedings in Parliament, within the Years 1694, and 1695. upon the Enquiry into the late Briberies and Corrupt Practices. 4*to.* 1695.

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"catch at this Pretenſion; and that Sir *Baſil Fire-* "*braſs* was treated with to diſcover only this Part, "and ſo he ſhould be excuſed from any further "Diſcovery." His Grace concluded with praying a Copy of the Articles of Impeachment, and of the Report of the Committee of both Houſes; which was readily granted.

Duke of *Leeds* anſwers the Articles.

April the 30th, the Commons were acquainted by a Meſſage from the Lords, that the Duke of *Leeds* had put in his Anſwer to the Articles exhibited againſt him, of which their Lordſhips had ſent a Copy to them. Whereupon the Commons ordered, "That the Committee who were appointed "to prepare the Articles againſt the Duke, ſhould "draw up a Replication to his Anſwer.

On *May* the 1ſt, the Ingroſſed Bill from the Lords for Impriſoning Sir *Thomas Cooke*, &c. was read the Third Time by the Commons, and ſent up to the Lords by Sir *Herbert Crofts*, with ſome Amendments. At the ſame Time, a Meſſage was brought from the Lords, *That their Lordſhips conceiving the Seſſion may not continue much longer, they think themſelves obliged in Juſtice to put the Houſe of Commons in mind of the Impeachment brought up againſt the Duke of* Leeds; *to which the Anſwer of the Duke of* Leeds *having been tranſmitted to the Commons, the Lords deſire they may be acquainted when this Houſe can be ready to make good the Articles of the ſaid Impeachment, to the end a certain Day may be appointed by the Lords for that Purpoſe.* The Commons reſolved to ſend an Anſwer by Meſſengers of their own; and to proceed according to the Courſe of Parliaments.

The Lords deſire the Commons to make good their Articles.

Duke of *Leeds* complains of the Delay of the Commons.

On *May* the 2d, the Duke complained in the Houſe of Peers of the Delay of the Commons in not Replying to his Anſwer; alledging, "That "the Impeachment was only to load him with "Diſgrace; and that they never intended to Try "him. That a Set of Men uſed great Partiality "towards him, and did not intend to enquire af- "ter others: And that they ſhew'd their Partiality "and Spleen, in their Amendment to the Bill for "Impriſoning Sir *Thomas Cooke*, Sir *Baſil Firebraſs*, "and the others; whereby Sir *Baſil* was to be bail- "ed, becauſe he was the Witneſs againſt him." The ſame Day the Commons reſolved, *That the Offer of any Money, or other Advantage, to any Member of Parliament, for the Promoting any Matter whatſoever depending, or to be tranſacted in Parliament, was a High Crime and Miſdemeanor, and tended to the Subverſion of the* Engliſh *Conſtitution.* Then Mr. Comptroller reported from the Committee, "That Monſieur *Robart*, who was a Mate- "rial Witneſs for making good the Articles againſt "the Duke of *Leeds*, had been ſummon'd to at- "tend the Committee, but could not be found; "and it not being yet known where he was, they "were of Opinion not to make any further Pro- "greſs in the Matter to them referred, until they "had the further Direction of the Houſe." Upon this Reſolution agreed to by the Houſe, it was ordered, "That Monſieur *Robart* ſhould attend the "Houſe to be examined, and ſhould be ſummon'd "by the Serjeant at Arms.

On *Friday*, *May* the 3d, a Motion being made in the Houſe of Lords, to read the Bill for granting to the King a Duty upon Glaſs, *&c.* the Duke of *Leeds* roſe up, and ſpoke to this Effect: "That it grieved him to think, that he who was "as much as any Man for the Diſpatch of the Mo- "ney-Bills, and never oppoſed any, ſhould be now "conſtrained to do it: But he hoped their Lord- "ſhips would conſider his Caſe, not only as *his*, "but the Caſe of any of their Lordſhips; for it "was in the Power of a Tinker to Accuſe at the "End of a Seſſion; and one might lie under it "without Remedy. But ſince the Commons, by "Miſmanagement, had delay'd this Money-Bill for "Six Weeks, it would not be of mighty ill Conſe- "quence, if it ſhould lie a Day or two longer. "In the mean Time, he muſt earneſtly preſs, that "if the Commons did not reply, the Impeach- "ment might be diſcharg'd; for if it were not, "he might lie under the Reproach of it all his Life. "He had Reaſon to believe the Commons would "do nothing in it; for tho' they had appointed a "Committee to meet, they had met but once, and "that for Form ſake.

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Monſieur *Robart* not to be found.

On the ſame Day, Mr. Speaker of the Houſe of Commons acquainted them, "That the Serjeant at "Arms had inform'd him, that his Meſſenger had "been at the Duke of *Leeds*'s, and ſpoke to his "Porter, and enquired for Monſieur *Robart*, to "ſummon him to attend this Houſe: And that "the Porter ſaid, He was not within; nor could "tell when he would be: And that he had not ſeen "him for Three Days paſt; and that he believ'd he "was in the Country, but could not tell where." Upon this the Commons deſired a Conference with the Lords; to which they agreed immediately in the Painted Chamber: Where the Managers delivered a Paper to their Lordſhips, importing, "That the Commons will make good the Charge "againſt the Duke of *Leeds*, in Manner and "Form as in the Articles mentioned: That the "Committee appointed to draw the ſaid Articles, "had been daily employed in looking into the "Evidences againſt the ſaid Duke, but had met "with an Obſtruction, in that Monſieur *Robart*, a "Material Witneſs, was withdrawn ſince the Im- "peachment carry'd up; which hath been the Rea- "ſon the Commons have not yet acquainted their "Lordſhips when they can be ready to make good "the ſaid Impeachment; the Commons being de- "ſirous that Juſtice be done without any manner of "Delay." This Paper being read in the Houſe of Lords, it was moved and agreed to, without any Objection made by the Duke of *Leeds*, That an Addreſs ſhould be made to the King, to iſſue a Proclamation for Stopping the Ports, and Seizing Monſieur *Robart*; which was accordingly done. Then the Duke roſe up, and blamed the Commons for doing an unprecedented Thing, "To "charge a Man with Crimes, before they had all "the Evidences to make it good: That it was "ſtrange they ſhould ſay they wanted a Material "Witneſs, and lay it upon him to produce this "Witneſs. As if a Perſon were obliged to pro- "duce Evidence to accuſe himſelf. He would be "very ingenuous, and tell their Lordſhips, That "in truth he had ſent Monſieur *Robart* to ſee his "Daughter *Lempſter*; and order'd him to call at "*Mims*, to ſee his Daughter *Plimouth*; where the "Meſſenger of the Houſe of Commons might "have known he was gone, if he had asked. "That he had ſent a Meſſenger on purpoſe for "*Robart*; That *Robart* return'd about Two of the "Clock on *Sunday* Morning; but being inform'd "that his Lord was impeach'd, and Mr. *Bates* in "Priſon, he was frighted, and went towards *Har-* "*wich*, deſigning for his own Country, (*Switzer-* "*land*) thro' *Holland*. That his Grace knew by "the Temper of the Man, and by a particular "Knowledge he had of him, that he would not "be ſeen here again in Haſte. *So that my Lords*, "ſaid his Grace, *if this Man be inſiſted upon as a* "*Material Evidence, and that my Tryal is to be* "*delay'd till this Perſon is forth-coming, When am* "*I likely to be try'd? I humbly move your Lord-* "*ſhips, that you will come to ſome Reſolution, that* "*if this Matter be not immediately proceeded upon,* "*ſo that I may be tried before the Ending of this* "*Seſſion, the Impeachment may be diſcharged.*" To which ſome Lords cry'd, *Well Moved*; but the King's Coming to the Houſe prevented any further Reſolution.

TheDuke's Vindication of himſelf.

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Impeachments interrupted.

On the ſame Day the Houſe of Commons having read a Report of the Committee of both Houſes, proceeded towards the Impeaching other Perſons therein mentioned, and in particular, Sir *John Trevor* : But they were interrupted by the Black Rod, and commanded to attend the King in the Houſe of Peers, where his Majeſty was come to reconcile the Fatal Differences, by the only Method, that of putting an End to the Seſſion.

Ill State of the Coin.

We muſt firſt obſerve, that amidſt all theſe Diſputes, a great Thing was done for the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation, by Redreſſing the bad State of the common Coin of the Kingdom. This Difficulty lay ſo heavy upon the Government, that a ſtop was almoſt put to Trade and Taxes : The Current Silver Coin had for many Years began to be Clipp'd and Adulterated, and the Miſchief of late had been ſo ſecretly carried on by a Combination of all People concerned in the Receipt of Money, and ſo induſtriouſly promoted by the Enemies of the Government, that all Pieces were ſo far diminiſh'd and debaſed, as that Five Pounds in Silver *Specie* was ſcarce worth Forty Shillings, according to the Standard ; beſides an infinite deal of Iron, Braſs, or Copper waſh'd over, or Plated. The Nation had ſuffer'd moſt grievouſly by this Evil, and the Cure of it could be no longer delay'd, without apparent and inevitable Ruin to the Publick, and an Obſtruction to all Private Commerce. Under this Neceſſity, the Houſe of Commons on *Jan.* 8. appointed a Committee to receive Propoſals, *How to prevent Clipping of the Coin of this Kingdom for the future, and the Exportation of Silver.* This Committee having ſat ſeveral times, Mr. *Scobel* at laſt reported their Opinion : 1. That the beſt way to prevent Clipping the Silver Coin, was to New-Coin the ſame into Mill'd Money. 2. That 1000000 *l.* was a ſufficient Sum, to make good the Deficiency of the preſent Clipped Coin of this Kingdom. 3. That the Money hereafter to be Coined, ſhould be of the preſent Weight and Fineneſs. 4. That the Crown-Piece ſhould go for 5 *s.* and 6 *d.* and the Half-Crown for 2 *s.* and 9 *d.* 5. That all Money to be Coined under the Denomination of the Half-Crown, ſhould have a Remedy of Sixpence in the Ounce. 6. That for as much of the preſent Coin as any Perſon brought into the Mint, he ſhould have Weight for Weight, and the Overplus by a Bill or Ticket at - - - *per Cent.* on a Fund to be appropriated for that Purpoſe. 7. That the preſent Laws againſt Clipping be enforced by ſome Additions. 8. That all Perſons, whoſe Profeſſions require ſuch like Tools or Engines as may be made uſe of for Coining or Clipping, be obliged to Regiſter their Names and Places of Abode ; and that it ſhould be Penal on ſuch as ſhould neglect to do the ſame. 9. That it be Penal on all ſuch Perſons, as give more for any Silver Coin than it ought to go for by Law. 10. That it be Penal on all ſuch Perſons, on whom Clippings are found. 11. That no Preſſes, ſuch as are uſed for Coining, be in any other Place than his Majeſty's Mint. 12. That it be Penal in all ſuch Perſons as ſhall import any Clipp'd or Counterfeit Money. 13. That it be Penal in any Perſon to export *Engliſh* Bullion, and the Proof to lie upon the Exporter. 14. That it be Penal in any Perſon to Counterfeit any Foreign Mark upon Bullion.

This Report lay ſome Time neglected in the Houſe of Commons, till the Lords having paſs'd an Act *to prevent the Counterfeiting and Clipping the Current Coin of this Kingdom*, and on *March* the 19th, ſent it down to the Commons for their Concurrence. Then the former Reſolutions of the Committee were taken into Conſideration, and out of them ſeveral Amendments were inſerted in the Lords Bill ; to which Amendments the Lords agreed, and ſo made the moſt Expedient Act ready for the Royal Aſſent.

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Bills left unfiniſh'd.

Several Bills were left unfiniſh'd this Seſſion ; ſuch as, 1. A Bill *touching Free and Impartial Proceedings in Parliament* ; which was begun in the Houſe of Commons, and there rejected after the Third Reading. 2. A Bill *for Regulating Tryals in Caſes of High Treaſon* ; which having paſs'd the Lower Houſe, was amended by the Lords, and occaſion'd ſeveral further Conferences and Debates between both Houſes. 3. A Bill *for Regiſtring Memorials of Deeds, Conveyances, and Wills* ; which was obſtructed by the Lawyers in the Houſe of Commons, as tending to abridge Law-Suits, and ſo to prejudice their Profeſſion. 4. A Bill *for the Encouragement of Privateers.* 5. A Bill *for the better Encouragement of Seamen.* 6. A Bill *to diſable Perſons from Voting in Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament, who ſhould refuſe to take the Oaths to the Government* ; which never came to a Second Reading. 7. A Bill *for the better Diſcovery of Bankrupts Eſtates* ; which was only read Twice. 8. A Bill *to veſt the Forfeited Eſtates in* Ireland *in his Majeſty* ; wherein as little Progreſs was made. 9. A Bill *to Regulate Printing Preſſes.* 10. A Bill *requiring certain Perſons to take the Oaths to his Majeſty* ; which having paſs'd the Lords, and coming down to the Commons, was by them rejected after the Second Reading. 11. A Bill *for Naturalizing Foreign Seamen* ; which being ſent from the Lords, was likewiſe rejected by the Commons. 12. A Bill *to aſcertain the Aſſize of Bread.* 13. A Bill *to oblige* James Craggs *and* Richard Harnage, *to diſcover how ſome of the Monies for Cloathing the Army had been diſpos'd of.* And laſtly, A Bill *for Puniſhing* Tracy Pauncefort, *and his Brother* Edward Pauncefort, *for Corrupt Practices* ; which having been read Three Times by the Commons, was order'd to lie upon the Table.

In the midſt of the Debates in both Houſes, upon the ſame Subject of Impeachments, (as before obſerv'd) on *Friday, May* 3. the King came to the Houſe of Peers, attended with the uſual Solemnity, and gave the Royal Aſſent to,

Acts paſſed.

1. *An Act for Granting to his Majeſty certain Duties upon Glaſs Wares, Stone and Earthen Bottles, Coals and Culm, for carrying on the War againſt* France.

2. *An Act for the King's moſt Gracious, General, and Free Pardon.*

3. *An Act to prevent Counterfeiting and Clipping the Coin of this Kingdom.*

4. *An Act for Impriſoning Sir* Thomas Cooke, *Sir* Baſil Firebraſs, Charles Bates, *Eſq*; *and* James Craggs, *and reſtraining them from Alienating their Eſtates.*

5. *An Act for Reverſing the Attainder of* Jacob Leiſler, *and others.*

After which, his Majeſty made this Speech to the Two Houſes.

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Am come to give You Thanks for the Supplies provided for carrying on the War in which We are Engaged ; and at the ſame time to conclude this Seſſion, which cannot be continued longer, without manifeſt Prejudice to the Ends for which theſe Supplies are given : The Seaſon of the Year making it ſo neceſſary for Me to be Abroad, that it were to be wiſh'd our Buſineſs at Home would have allowed Me to have been there ſooner.

" I will take Care to place the Adminiſtration of Affairs, during my Abſence, in ſuch Perſons on whoſe Care and Fidelity I can entirely depend : And I doubt not, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, but every one of you, in your ſeveral Stations, will be aſſiſting to them. This is what I require of

" You,

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"You, and that You be more than ordinarily vigilant in preſerving the Publick Peace.

Then the Lord-Keeper, by his Majeſty's Command, ſaid,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Parliament Prorogued

"It is his Majeſty's Royal Will and Pleaſure, "That this Parliament ſhould be prorogued to "*Tueſday*, the Eighteenth Day of *June* next, and "this Parliament is accordingly Prorogued to *Tueſday* the Eighteenth Day of *June* next.

Lords Juſtices in his Majeſty's Abſence.

On the ſame Day the Parliament was Prorogued, his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare in Council, that he had appointed *Thomas* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Sir *John Somers*, Kt. Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Privy-Seal, *William* Duke of *Devonſhire*, Lord Steward of his Majeſty's Houſhold, *Charles* Duke of *Shrewsbury*, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, *Charles* Earl of *Dorſet*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin* Firſt Commiſſioner of his Majeſty's Treaſury, to be *LORDS JUSTICES* of *England*, for the Adminiſtration of the Government during the King's Abſence: And at the ſame time his Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute Sir *William Trumball* one of the principal Secretaries of State, in the room of Sir *John Trenchard* lately Deceaſed; the next Day his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare, that he had thought fit to appoint *Henry* Lord *Capel* to be Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. And within Four Days after *William de Naſſau Signeur de Zuleſtein*, was created a Baron, Viſcount, and Earl of this Kingdom, by the Name and Stile of Baron of *Enfield*, Viſcount *Tunbridge*, and Earl of *Rochford*; and *Ford* Lord *Grey* of *Werke*, was created Viſcount *Glendale* and Earl of *Tankerville*. On the next Day *May* the 9th, the Duke of *Schomberg*, the Earl of *Tankerville*, and *Peregrine Bertie*, Eſq; Vice-Chamberlain to his Majeſty, were Sworn and Admitted of the Privy-Council.

Honours and Preferments.

King goes to *Holland*.

On *May* the 12th the King went in the Morning from *Kenſington* to *Graveſend*, and went Aboard the *William* and *Mary* Yatch about Six that Evening, attended by the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Portland*, and too few other Perſons of Quality. (*a*) On *Monday* about Four in the Morning his Majeſty Sailed from the *Buoy in the Nore*, with a fair Wind, Convoy'd by Sir *George Rook*, who lay at the *Gunfleet* with a Squadron of Eighteen Men of War; and by Nine the next Morning his Majeſty Landed at *Orange Polder*, Dined with Monſieur *Regnenburgh*, and came that Evening to the *Hague*, being there received with great Acclamations of Joy. On the Morrow being *Wedneſday*, *May* the 17th, his Majeſty was complimented upon his ſafe Arrival, by the States-General, the States of *Holland*, and the Council of State, and by all Foreign Miniſters; after which his Majeſty went into the ſeveral Aſſemblies, and having concerted the proper Meaſures of the Campaign, he diverted himſelf ſome Days at *Loo*, and then appear'd at the Head of the Army.

The King opens the Campaign.

The King was reſolved to form ſome conſiderable Enterprize either in *Flanders* or on the *Maeſe*, according as the beſt Opportunity ſhould offer to put it in Execution on either ſide. In order to this, before his Majeſty left *Holland*, he had given Directions for the ſetting up and ſtoring of great Magazines in ſeveral Places, and for the making all other neceſſary Preparations; and order'd two Armies in the Field, to keep the *French* in Awe on both Sides, and draw their whole Strength on that for which their Jealouſie ſhould be the greateſt, and afterwards fall on the other with more probability of Succeſs. A Siege in *Flanders* ſeem'd to be attended with leſs Difficulty than on the *Maeſe*, where the only Place that could be Attempted was *Namur*, the ſtrongeſt of all the *Low Countries*; and therefore as moſt People looked upon ſuch an Undertaking to be impoſſible, ſo the *French* themſelves did leaſt ſuſpect it, and turned their greateſt Precautions towards *Flanders*, where they drew a new Line from the *Lys* to the *Scheld*, before the Allies could form a Body of Troops to oppoſe them. By this Act of Security, it ſeem'd probable, that the *French* would content themſelves to act defenſively this Summer; to which they might be the more diſpos'd by the loſs of their beſt General, the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, whoſe Place was unequally ſupplied by the Mareſchal *de Villeroy*.

The Confederates Superior to the *French*.

While the *French* were perfecting their Lines, the Confederates who were grown ſuperior to them by near two Thouſand Men, formed two great Armies in *Flanders* and *Brabant*; the firſt conſiſted of Seventy Battallions of Foot, and 82 Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons, moſt *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, and the reſt *Dutch*, encamped between *Shields* and *Deynſe*, to be commanded by the King in Perſon, and under him by the Old Prince of *Vaudemont*; to be reinforc'd upon Occaſion by Twenty Battallions, and Ten Squadrons that lay near *Dixmuyde*, under the Command of Major General *Ellemberg*: The other Army conſiſted of Thirty-ſix Battallions of Foot, and 130 Squadrons of Horſe, of *Spain*, *Holland*, and *Bavaria*, encamp'd on the Road from *Bruſſels* to *Dendermond*, to be Headed by the Elector of *Bavaria*, and under him by the Duke of *Holſtein Ploen*. There was another little Army which was called the *Body of the Maeſe*, encamped on the *Mehaigne*, conſiſting of 18 Battallions of *Brandenburghers*, and 7 *Dutch*, and of 17 Squadrons of *Brandenburgh*, and 15 of *Liege*, commanded by the Baron *de Heydon*, Lieutenant-General of *Brandenburgh*, and Count *de Earlo*, General of the *Liege* Cavalry. On the other Hand the Mareſchal *de Villeroy*, who commanded the *French* Forces in chief, had drawn his Army together at *Leuze*, between *Conde*, *Tournay*, and *Aeth*. Mareſchal *de Bouſflers*, and Count *Guiſcard*, with a Body of 12000 Horſe and Foot lay Encamped about the *Sambre*, and Monſieur *Montal*, with another ſmall Body, lay near *Ipres*, to obſerve Major-General *Ellemberg*.

Opening of the Campaign.

This was the Poſture both Parties were in when the King arrived at *Ghent*, on *June* 5. *N. S.* where the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Duke of *Holſtein Ploen* waited on him, and the Governor and Burghers received his Majeſty with the like Reſpects that are uſually paid to a King of *Spain*. His Majeſty went that Evening to his Army at *Arſeele*, and upon a Review of his Forces finding them in a very good Condition, he detach'd on *June* the 11th three Brigades of Horſe, to reinforce the Elector of *Bavaria* in his Camp at *Ninove*, from whence the Earl of *Athlone* had by the King's Order marched with 40 Squadrons to obſerve *Bouſflers*, who had paſſed the *Sambre*, and was now advanced to *Flerus*. On *June* 12. the King decamp'd from *Arſeele*, and march'd his Army to *Bourſelaer*, having ſent all the heavy Baggage to *Bruges*. On the 13th he encamp'd at *Berelder*, from whence a Party was ſent out that Routed two Parties of the Enemy, and purſued them to the very Walls of *Ipres*. Mareſchal *de Villeroy* march'd at the ſame time from *Eſranaſſe*, and retired behind the Lines between *Menin* and *Ipres*, having detach'd ten thouſand Men to reinforce *Bouſflers*, who was advanced to *Pont-Eſpierre*.

(*a*) "By the Lords-Juſtices; A Proclamation for a General "Faſt, on *Wedneſday* the 19th of *June*, for ſupplicating Almighty God for the Pardon of our Sins, and for imploring "his Bleſſing and Protection in the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, and Proſperity of his Arms both at "Land and Sea. Given at *Whitehall*, *May* 23, 1695.

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The ſame Day in the Evening, the King went to view the Enemies Lines, and found the main Body of their Army Encamped within them, ſtanding to their Arms, as expecting to be Attacked; but tho' there was little Probability of Succeſs in attempting to force their Lines, yet it was highly convenient for his Majeſty's Project to give the *French* ſuch Umbrage as to oblige them to bring all their Forces to defend them. Therefore the Body of the *Maeſe* advanced towards *Namur*, and the Elector of *Bavaria* march'd the 12th from *Ninove*, paſſed the *Scheld* on the 16th, poſted himſelf at *Herkhaven* near *Hunterine*, facing the new Lines, and forced Mareſchal *Boufflers* to retreat within them.

The King ſent the Duke of *Wirtemburg* to make an Attempt upon the Fort *Kenoque* to increaſe the Enemies Jealouſy for *Flanders*, and draw their Force the more on that ſide, ſending Orders at the ſame time to the Baron *de Haden* to advance towards *Flanders*, with the Troops under his Command, but directed him ſoon after to make a Counter-March. By this and ſeveral other Stratagems, the King brought on his Deſign of beſieging *Namur*, and directed the Earl of *Athlone* and the Baron *de Haden* to inveſt it, and by an Expreſs communicated the whole Scheme of the Siege to the Duke of *Bavaria*, who highly approved it: The Earl of *Athlone* being join'd by the *Brandenburgh* Troops on *June* 28, marched toward *Charleroy*, and the King himſelf leaving his Army at *Rouſelaer*, under Command of Prince *Vaudemont*, advanced with a ſtrong Guard toward the *Maeſe*. Theſe Motions put the *French* in ſuſpence whether the Confederates deſigned to attack *Namur* or *Charleroy*; the latter was moſt feared by the Marquis *de Harcourt*, who therefore reinforced that Gariſon with a good Body of Dragoons. But the Earl of *Athlone* having paſſed the *Sambre* at *Caſſelet* below *Charleroy*, marched again down that River towards *Namur*; ſo that his Lordſhip being by this time reinforced by a Body of Horſe and Dragoons from the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Army, took all the Poſts from the *Sambre* to the *Maeſe*, whilſt the Baron *de Haden*, with the *Brandenburgh* and *Dutch* Forces, inveſted the Place between the *Maeſe* and the *Sambre*. Another Detachment was order'd to ſurround *Namur* on the *Condroz* ſide, but their not coming in time, by the reaſon of the difficulty of the Ground, and the vaſt Extent of the Circumvallation, gave Mareſchal *Boufflers* an Opportunity to throw himſelf into the Place, with ſeveral Regiments of Dragoons, and many Engineers; ſo that with this Reinforcement the Gariſon conſiſted of near Fifteen Thouſand Men, and moſt of them the beſt Troops of *France*.

Siege of *Namur*.

Boufflers throws himſelf into *Namur*.

The King came to the Caſtle of *Faliſe* on *July* 2. and the next Day the Elector of *Bavaria* having brought up the reſt of his Army with great Expedition, the Town and Caſtle of *Namur* were entirely inveſted, and his Majeſty diſpoſed the Troops into three General Quarters. The *French* prepared themſelves for a vigorous Reſiſtance, and depended on the Strength of the Place, which had always been accounted impregnable; and by the Advantage of its Situation, as well as the Nature of its Fortifications, was the beſt Bulwark of *Brabant*. And the Strength of the Place was very much improved, ſince it fell into the Hands of a Monarch who never ſpared Charges to put his Frontiers and Conquered Cities into the beſt defence they are capable to receive from Art and Nature; and the Caſtle was ſo ſituate upon a Hill, in an Angle formed by the Confluence of the *Sambre* and the *Maeſe*, that it was hardly poſſible to make ſo much as an Attack upon it: Beſides, the Place was provided with all Neceſſaries for many Months, ſo that the King's Enterprize of this Siege was look'd upon by the *French* as a raſh Project, that muſt needs be fatal in breaking the Confederate Army. But all theſe Obſtacles, however to appearance invincible, were not able to ſhake the Reſolution of King *William*, they ſerved only to keep up his Fortitude, Prudence and Vigilance, and to make him concert effectual Meaſures to ſurmount all Difficulties, which he did to his own Immortal Glory, the Aſtoniſhment of his Enemies, and the Admiration of all *Europe*.

Condition of the Town.

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To raiſe this Siege, the Mareſchal *de Villeroy* marched toward the Prince of *Vaudemont*, to attack him in his Camp at *Aeerſele*: The Prince had Fifty Batallions of Foot, and Fifty-one Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons; *Villeroy* with double the Number came up to him on *July* 14. but found the Prince's Camp ſo ſtrongly fortified, that he would not hazard a Battel till *Montal* had taken his Poſt in the Rear of the Prince's Right, ſo to inviron him, as to fall on all ſides the next Morning. The Prince found it neceſſary to provide for a Retreat, which he manag'd with ſo much Conduct and Bravery, that the Honour of it was equal to a Victory; and this Senſe the King expreſs'd in a Letter to him in theſe Words:

Attempt to raiſe the Siege.

Retreat of Prince *Vaudemont*.

Couſin,

" You cannot believe how much your Letter of " Yeſterday Noon, which I received this Morning " by break of Day diſturbed Me: On the other ſide, " how joyful I was upon the Receipt of the other " Letter, Dated from *Mary-kirk*, near *Ghent*, this " Day at Three in the Morning. I am much " obliged to you, for in this Retreat you have gi-" ven greater Marks of a General conſummate in " the Art of War, than if you had gained a Vi-" ctory. I abſolutely approve of your Conduct up-" on this Occaſion, and I hope it will hinder the " Enemy from undertaking any more of the ſame " Nature: Nevertheleſs, I ſhall be impatient till I " know which way they bend their March, ſince this " Blow has failed them,

Letter of K. *William*.

I remain always, &c.

The Siege of (*a*) *Namur* was carried on with great Application; the Beſieged had made two or three ſmall Sallies with no Succeſs, and made another more conſiderable on *July* 18, with Twelve Hundred Horſe, and Four Squadrons of Dragoons, but after a ſharp Encounter were beaten back, with the Loſs of 200 Men. On the ſame Day the King reſolved to ſtorm the advanced Works and Traverſes of the Enemy; and accordingly Major-General *Ramſey*, and the Lord *Cutts*, at the Head of Five Batallions of the Foot-Guards, *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Dutch*,

(*a*) Captain *Denty*, now living, who had the honour to be an Officer in this Siege, took theſe Minutes of it: " *June* 26. being " *Wedneſday*, we arrived before *Namur*. *July* 2. Trenches " opened. 5th. Attack made upon the Fort called *Coquett*, " and the Enemy beaten out of it. 16th. The Redoubt before " the Port St. *Nicholas* ſurrendred upon Diſcretion. 17th. An " Attack was made upon the Town, and our Men lodg'd in " the Cover'd-Way; the ſame Day the Enemy was beaten from " the Abby *Salrines*. 20. The Enemy was Attack'd in three " ſeveral Places, and beaten out of their Lines toward the Ca-" ſtle. The 23d. The Enemy was again attack'd and beaten " three times from the Baſtion by St. *Nicholas* Port. The 24th " the Town hung out a Flag to Parley. The 25th they capi-" tulated. The 26th they ſurrendred. The 31ſt we march'd " with the King, and join'd Prince *Vaudemont*'s Army at *Water-* " *loo* three Hours from *Bruſſels*. *Aug.* 2. we march'd back to " *Namur*. The 11th, Our Batteries were finiſhed, and we be-" gan to Thunder upon the Caſtle. The 15th, we took the " Redoubt near the *Sambre*. The 20th, we ſtorm'd the Caſtle " and Fort *Cohorn*. 21ſt, we march'd to obſerve the *French* " Army, and encamp'd at *Longchamp*. 22d; The Enemy beat " a Parley, and Capitulated at Night. 23. We march'd back " and encamp'd at *Bougitt*. 26. The *French* march'd out of the " Caſtle about 10 in the Morning, being about 5500 ſtrong. " Mareſchal *Boufflers* was ſtopp'd, and kept Priſoner. 29. We " march'd out of our Camp towards *Breda*.

began

1695. 7 W. 3. began the Onſet on the Right, while Major-General *Saliſch*, with Eight Regiments, and Nine Thouſand Pioneers, inſulted the Enemy on the Left. To defend themſelves from this Attack, the Beſieged brought out Eight Batallions, a great Detachment of Dragoons, and all their Grenadiers to defend their Retrenchments; the Diſpute was obſtinate for two Hours, but at laſt the *French* were beaten back, and purſued to the very Gates of the Town. The King, who according to his Cuſtom remain'd upon the Place during the whole Action, was ſo well pleas'd with the Bravery and Excellent Order of his Men, that laying his Hand over the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Shoulder, he told him ſeveral times in a way of Tranſport, *See my Brave* Engliſh; *See my Brave* Engliſh.

Bravery of the *Engliſh*.

The great Rains that fell about this Time very much incommoded the Beſiegers, and interrupted their Approaches: However, on the 25th they plied their Batteries with Succeſs, rais'd new ones, ſet on Miners to the Redoubt of *Balart*, near St. *Nicholas* Gate, and the next Day forc'd the Captain that commanded in it, to ſurrender at Diſcretion. On the 24th, the King went into the Trenches, and perceiving the Batteries had made great Breaches in St. *Nicholas* Baſtion, the Demi-Baſtion of *Roche*, and at the End of the Counterſcarp of the Town; his Majeſty diſpos'd all things for the general Attack of the firſt Counterſcarp, which was perform'd towards Five a-Clock that Afternoon, in this manner: The *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, commanded by Major-General *Ramſey*, and Brigadier *George Hamilton*, came out of the Trenches to the Right, and attack'd the Point of the foremoſt Counterſcarp, which encloſed the *Sluys* or Water-ſtop: The Enemy receiv'd them with a furious Diſcharge; which however did not hinder them to go on briskly, and maugre the diſmal Eruption of Three or Four Fougades of Bombs that lay buried in the Glacis, which put them at firſt into ſome Diſorder; they return'd more animated to the Charge, and drove the Enemy from that Counterſcarp. But it unluckily fell out, that whilſt the Workmen were making a Lodgment, ſome Sacks of Wool took Fire, whereby Part of the Lodgment was conſum'd, and the *Engliſh* expos'd to the Shot of the Counter-Guard and Demi-Baſtion of St. *Roche*: Which they ſuſtain'd and anſwer'd with incredible Reſolution, till the Fire was extinguiſh'd, and ſome Traverſes caſt up. On the other hand, the *Hollanders* ſeeing the *Engliſh* in ſo hot a Place, immediately went up along the *Maeſe*, towards the Breach of the Counter-guard, and ſo vigorouſly attack'd the Enemy with their Hand-Granado's, that the latter thought it ſafer to retreat than to defend themſelves; which very much eas'd the *Engliſh*. Thereupon the *Dutch* lodged themſelves upon the Counter-guard; and thus both they and the *Engliſh* preſerved the foremoſt Covered Way before St. *Nicholas* Gate, from the *Maeſe* to the Water-Stop, with Part of the Counter-guard. The Valour and Firmneſs of the Confederates Infantry in this Action is ſcarce to be parallel'd: And it muſt alſo be acknowledg'd, that the *French* Officers behaved themſelves like Men of true Courage, expoſing themſelves on the Breach of the Counter-guard, with their Swords in their Hands, in order to encourage their Soldiers. The Enemy did not throw many Bombs, but they fir'd inceſſantly into the Trenches with Five or Six Pieces of Cannon; which kill'd ſeveral Perſons about his Majeſty; particularly Mr. *Godfrey*, Deputy-Governor of the *Bank* of *England*, who being come into the Camp to wait on the King about Money for the Payment of the Army, had the Curioſity to ſee this Attack; and ſought his Death, where he ſhould have only minded his Profit.

General Attack.

Death of Mr. *Godfrey*.

In the mean time, the Elector of *Bavaria*, poſted between the *Sambre* and the *Maeſe*, commanded an Attack to be made toward the Abbey of *Salſines*; which was performed with ſo much Vigor, that he not only forc'd the Retrenchments next the *Sambre*, but made himſelf Maſter of the Fort of *La Balance*, repuls'd Four Squadrons of Horſe that came out of the Caſtle, laid a Bridge over the *Sambre*, paſſed that River amidſt the Enemies continual Fire, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſaid Abbey: A Poſt of great Importance, and which favour'd the Attack of *Vauban*'s Line that ſurrounded the Works of the Caſtle. This Line the Elector reſolv'd to ſtorm, and order'd General *Coehorn* to diſpoſe all things for that Purpoſe towards *Salſines*, and General *Fleming* to do the ſame on the other Side of the *Maeſe*. On the 30th of *July*, by Break of Day, his Electoral Highneſs, with the *Spaniſh* and *Bavarian* Generals, and General *Coehorn*, began the Attack towards *Salſines*; and aſſaulted the Retrenchment in Flank with about 3000 Foot, ſuſtain'd by ſome Battalions, and 1000 *Spaniſh* and *Bavarian* Horſe. Major General *Swerin* attacked the Line in Front with 500 Grenadiers, as many Muſqueteers, and 1000 Pioneers; and the *Brandenburgh* Generals, with 500 Grenadiers, ſupported by 2000 Foot, and their Grand Muſqueteers, Gens d'arms, and Horſe-Grenadiers, inſulted the Enemies Flank on the *Maeſe* Side. The Beſieged at firſt made ſome Reſiſtance, by Favour of a Line of Communication of one Redoubt and Two Trenches; but being aſſailed on all ſides, and that too with extraordinary Bravery, they were driven to the Counterſcarp of *Coehorn* Fort. Animated with this Succeſs, the Beſiegers purſued the Runaways as far as the *Devil's Houſe*; where the *French* had ſeveral Cannon laden with Cartouches, and about 900 Men laid flat upon their Bellies; who now ſtanding up on the ſudden, pour'd in Vollies of Shot upon the Aſſailants. The latter receiv'd the Fire with incredible Undauntedneſs, forc'd the *French* to quit the Counterſcarp of the Fort, and made themſelves Maſters of it; however, it being impoſſible for them to lodge themſelves there, they retired in pretty good Order. By this brave Action, at the Expence of about 200 Men kill'd or wounded, the Beſiegers gain'd a Lined Redoubt, ſome advanc'd Batteries, and *Vauban*'s Retrenchments from the *Sambre* to the *Maeſe*; which, with immenſe Labour, the *French* had cut through the Rock, and which they boaſted would coſt the Allies 5000 Men before they ſhould take it. This Attack on the Caſtle-ſide, where the King was preſent, being over, his Majeſty went to view the Trenches of the Town-ſide; and finding that a Mine had been ſprung, which had overturn'd a good part of the Water-Stop into the Ditch, whereby the Water was lower by Two Foot; he order'd the Miners to work on, in order to drain the Moat, and all things to be ready to make a Lodgment on the Demi-Baſtion. The Two following Days, the Beſiegers batter'd the Works before St. *Nicholas* Gate with great Fury, and threw many Bombs, which did conſiderable Execution; and particularly one fir'd by Lieutenant-Colonel *Brown*, which ſet on fire the Enemies Magazine in the Demi-Baſtion. On the 2d of *Auguſt*, towards Evening, my Lord *Cutts* with 2000 *Engliſh* Grenadiers, and Brigadier *Dedem* with a like Number of *Dutch*, both which were to be ſuſtain'd by the Battalions in the Trenches, were order'd to attack the *Saillant Angle*, and the other the Demi-Baſtion; which they perform'd with great Bravery, and after ſome Reſiſtance lodg'd themſelves on the Second Counterſcarp. The Cannon having by this time widen'd the Breaches, and all things being ready for a General Aſſault, Count *Guiſcard*, the Governor, demanded to capitulate for the Town: Which being readily granted, the Articles were agreed upon, and ſign'd on the 4th of *Auguſt*, by the Elector of *Bavaria* for the Allies, and by Count *Guiſcard* for the Beſieged. The ſame Day the Iron-Gate was deliver'd to the Beſiegers; and on the 6th, the *French* evacuated the Town, and retired into the Caſtle.

Freſh Attacks.

The Town capitulates.

1695. 7 W. 3.

Motions of M. Villeroy. He takes Dixmude & Deynſe.

To wait awhile upon the Mareſchal *d'Villeroy*, after he fail'd in his Deſign upon Prince *Vaudemont*, and loſt his Opportunity of ſurprizing *Newport*, he march'd towards *Dixmude*, and order'd *Montal* to lay Siege to it. The Town was indeed but weak; yet conſidering the Strength of the Gariſon, it might have held out a Fortnight, or at leaſt have ſurrendred with leſs Ignominy; but Major-General *Ellenburgh*, the Governor, being a Soldier of Fortune, was ſo far diſpirited, that after a ſlight Reſiſtance of 36 Hours, he yielded himſelf and his whole Gariſon Priſoners of War. *Deynſe* followed the Example of *Dixmude*, which Colonel *O Farrell* ſurrendred to the *French* at Diſcretion, without firing a Gun. *Villeroy* order'd the Fortifications of theſe Two Places to be raz'd, and then paſs'd the River *Lys* at *Warker*, and march'd up the Lines to the *Scheld*, which he croſs'd at *Eskanaff*, in order to continue his March to *Ninove*; giving out, that he was going to the Relief of *Namur*. Upon Advice of this Motion, the Prince of *Vaudemont* decamp'd on *Auguſt* 4. from *Ghent*, and paſſing the Canal at *Vilvoerd* and the *Burnt-Bridge*, pitch'd his Camp at *Dighem*, having his own Quarters at the Caſtle of *Beaulieu*. His Highneſs ſent to the *French* to demand the Gariſons of *Dixmude* and *Deynſe*, according to the Agreement about the Exchange of Priſoners; but the Mareſchal of *Villeroy*, upon frivolous Pretences, refus'd to ſend them back: And contrary to the Cartel, moſt of the Soldiers were forced to Liſt themſelves in the *French* Service, or were ſent to *Catalonia*, and other remote Parts.

Engliſh Fleet.

The *Engliſh* Fleet this Summer, commanded by the Lord *Berkley*, was ſpreading Terror and Conſternation all along the Coaſts of *France*. On *July* 4. they Bombarded *St. Malo*, that Neſt of Privateers, which of all others had moſt infeſted the Channel, and moleſted our Merchants, and now felt a Retaliation ſevere enough. Colonel *Richards*, and Captain *Bembo*, who had the Direction of the Bomb Ketches, on *July* 6. came before *Granville*, a little Town on the Sea-ſhore, which they ſet on fire in ſeveral Places: But we fail'd in our Attempts upon *Dunkirk*, and were able only to burn ſome few Houſes at *Calais*. Theſe repeated Inſults could not but be reſented by the King of *France*, who thereupon ſent Orders to Mareſchal *Villeroy* to Bombard *Bruſſels*. Upon the *French* marching to *Engbein* with a great Number of Wagons laden with Bombs and Fireworks, Prince *Vaudemont* immediately gueſs'd their Deſign; which could not be prevented, unleſs the Confederate Army, which might be reinforc'd by the Detachments under the Command of the Earl of *Athlone* and Connt *Naſſaw*, ſhould advance and encamp in the Plain of *Gigot* and *St. Anne Pee*: But becauſe this could not be done neither, without giving *Villeroy* an Opportunity to poſt himſelf between the Prince's Army and *Namur*, whereby he might have been able to raiſe that Important Siege; his Highneſs did prudently leave the Earl of *Athlone* and Count *Naſſau*, with the Forces under their Command, between *Water-Loo* and *Genap*; and maintain'd a Communication with 'em, by paſſing his Infantry on the Eminences about *Bruſſels*, between Fort *Montera* and the Counterſcarp of *Ikſel*, extending his Horſe and Dragoons along the Canal to hinder the Enemy from paſſing it.

Villeroy Bombards Bruſſels.

After ſeveral Marches and Counter-Marches, *Villeroy* appear'd before *Bruſſels* on *Auguſt* 13. and taking his Quarters at *Anderleck*, he wrote a Letter to the Prince of *Bergin* the Governor, to acquaint him, "That the King his Maſter ſeeing the Prince "of *Orange* had ſent his Fleet upon the Coaſts of "*France* to Bombard his Sea-port Towns, and en"deavour to ruin them, without getting any other "Advantage by it; had thought that he could not "put a ſtop to ſuch Diſorders, but by uſing Repri"ſals; which was the Reaſon that his Maſter had "ſent him an Order to Bombard *Bruſſels*; and at "the ſame time to declare, That 'twas with Relu"ctancy his Majeſty had put himſelf upon it; "and that as ſoon as he ſhould be aſſur'd, that the "Sea-Ports of *France* ſhould be no more Bombard"ed, the King his Maſter would not Bombard any "Places belonging to the Princes againſt whom he "was at War; reſerving nevertheleſs the Liberty on "both Sides, to do it in ſuch Places as ſhould be "beſieged. That his Majeſty had reſolv'd upon "the Bombarding of *Bruſſels* with ſo much the "more Pain, that the Electoreſs of *Bavaria* was "there. That if the Governor would let him "know in what Part of the Town ſhe was, the "King his Maſter had commanded him not to fire "there: Concluding, that he ſhould ſtay for his "Anſwer till Five of the Clock in the Evening; af"ter which time he ſhould obey his Orders without "Delay". The Prince of *Berghen*, after having communicated this Letter to the Elector of *Bavaria*, who was come in great haſte to *Bruſſels* upon this Occaſion, ſent an Anſwer to Monſieur *Villeroy*: "That "the Reaſon the King of *France* aſſigned for his Or"ders to the Mareſchal to Bombard *Bruſſels*, did ſole"ly regard the King of *Great Britain*, who was be"fore the Caſtle of *Namur*: That his Electoral "Highneſs would acquaint the King with it, to "have an Anſwer in 24 Hours, if Monſieur *Ville"roy* would agree to it. And that as for the Con"ſideration his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had for the "Electoreſs, that ſhe was at the Royal Palace". It ſoon after appeared, that *Villeroy*'s Meſſage was but an inſignificant Compliment; for inſtead of allowing the Governor time to get his *Britannick* Majeſty's Anſwer to the *French* King's Propoſal, he began that very Evening to fire upon the City with 25 Mortar Pieces, and 18 Pieces of Canon, that ſhot red-hot Bullets. It was not long before the Fire broke out in ſeveral Places, eſpecially about the Town-Houſe. The Enemy continued firing without Intermiſſion all that Night, the Day following, and the next Night after that; during which aroſe a high Wind, which would have ſpread the Conflagration throughout the whole City, if the Inhabitants had not wiſely blown up ſeveral Houſes on the 15th of *Auguſt*: The ſame Day about Noon the *French* gave over firing, and ſoon after drew off towards *Enghien*. The *Lower-Town* ſuffer'd the moſt by the Enemies Bombs; and ſeveral Houſes near the Market-place were quite laid in Rubbiſh: And as for the Electoreſs of *Bavaria*, though ſhe was remov'd to the Suburbs, beyond the Reach of the Canon; yet ſhe was ſo frighted with its continual Roaring, that ſhe miſcarried upon it.

Siege of the Caſtle of Namur.

In the mean time, the Siege of the Caſtle of *Namur* was carried on with ſteddy Reſolution; the Beſiegers broke Ground on *Auguſt* 12. and carried on their Trenches about 150 Paces before the *Coehorne* Fort towards the *Sambre*, and made a good Lodgment. Beſides the Batteries already erected between the *Sambre* and the *Maeſe*, ſome others were order'd to be rais'd, both of Cannon and Mortars, as well in the Ramparts as in the Gardens of the City, in order to batter *Terra Nova* and Fort *Coehorne* both at once. On the 13th, the Beſiegers began to play from no leſs than Twelve Batteries; and one of their Bombs falling upon the Magazine of the *Devil's-Houſe*, blew up above 1000 Grenadoes charg'd, ruin'd a great Quantity of Arms, and kill'd and wounded ſeveral Perſons. *Boufflers* himſelf being unuſed to this unequal way of fighting, began to wiſh himſelf in the open Field, and form'd a Deſign to break through the Confederates Camp with his Cavalry; but the King having notice of it, ordered ſtrong Guards to be placed at all the Paſſages of the *Sambre*, and the ſame was done along the *Maeſe* by General *Flemming*; ſo as *Boufflers* was forced to ſhare the Fate of his Gariſon. However, on the 18th, towards Midnight, they made a Sally

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1695. 7 W. 3. *Sally of the Beſieged.* with 200 Dragoons mounted, and 500 Grenadiers: Of the latter, 150 made the Attack on the Right Hand, but were repulſed by the Count *de Rivera*; and the reſt on the Left, where my Lord *Cutts* had juſt poſted the Advanced Guards to ſecure the Workmen: The Dragoons fell upon Lieutenant-Colonel *Sutton*, who being poſted in the Plain of *Salſine*, with about Forty *Fuſileers*, let them come on till they were very near him, then gave them a round Volley, and retreated to his Body; but the Dragoons preſſing upon him, he commanded his Men to fire upon them: The *French* being little daunted at it advanced boldly on, and had their Grenadiers charged at the ſame time, they would undoubtedly have cauſed a great Confuſion in the Trenches; but the *Spaniſh* and *Bavarian* Horſe, who were near at Hand, fell upon the Enemy with ſo much Vigor, that they drove them to the very Palliſadoes of the Caſtle, killing ſome, and making others Priſoners.

Villeroy pretends to raiſe the Siege. After the Bombardment of *Bruſſels*, the Mareſchal *de Villeroy* being conſiderably reinforced with all the Troops that could be ſpared out of the Gariſon, and the Forces from the Sea-Coaſts, marched directly towards *Namur* with an Army of Ninety Thouſand Men, with which they confidently boaſted to raiſe the Siege of the Caſtle: When they were come as far as *Flerus*, they gave the Beſieged a Signal of their Approach, by the Diſcharge of Ninety Pieces of Cannon; which was anſwer'd by a great Light ſet upon the higheſt Part of the Caſtle. This obliged the King to leave the Care of the Siege to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Duke of *Holſtein Ploen*, and on *Auguſt* the 26th, to repair to the Army ſtrongly encamped at *Mazy*, within Five *Engliſh* Miles of *Namur*. On *Auguſt* the 29th, the Mareſchal *de Villeroy* advanced toward the Confederates Camp, but found them ſo well poſted, that he thought fit to retire in the Night without Noiſe. The next Day he moved along the *Mehaigne*, extending his Right to *Perwys*, and his Left to the Abby of *Boneffe*; whereupon his *Britannick* Majeſty cauſed his Army to move towards *Oſtin* and *Longchamp*, to obſerve the Enemy, who durſt not make any nearer Approaches to raiſe the Siege.

General Aſſault appointed. *Auguſt* the 30th was appointed for a General Aſſault upon the Caſtle, when the Beſiegers began early to batter the Breaches of *Coborn Fort*, and *Terra Nova*, and continued till Eleven of the Clock; when his Electoral Highneſs ſent Count *de Horn*, accompanied by the Earl of *Portland*, to ſummon the Beſieged. The Batteries having given over firing, Count *de Horn* called to the Enemy, and told Count *de Lanmont*, Commander of the *French* Foot; who anſwer'd him from the next Baſtion, attended by the Marquis of *Grammont* and St. *Hermine*, That the Mareſchal *de Villery*, after having been Three Days in ſight of the Confederate Army, had thought fit to retire towards the *Mehaigne* without fighting: That the Gariſon could not expect now to be relieved; and that his Electoral Highneſs being willing to ſpare the Lives of ſo many brave Men on both ſides, had charg'd him to offer honourable Terms to Count *Guiſcard*, if he would ſurrender; but that he gave him but a quarter of an Hour to deliberate upon the Propoſals. Thereupon Count *Lanmont* took upon him to acquaint *Parley.* Count *Guiſcard*, and Mareſchal *de Boufflers*, with Count *de Horn*'s Meſſage, and promiſed to bring back a ſpeedy Anſwer; but not returning in half an Hour, Count *de Horn* grew impatient, and told the Marquis *de Grammont* that he had already outſtay'd his Time, and therefore deſir'd him to ſend ſomebody to the Governornor for an immediate Anſwer: A Second Meſſenger was thereupon diſpatch'd away; but he tarrying alſo above a Quarter of an Hour, and ſeveral Officers of the Gariſon being come to view the Breach of *Terra Nova*, the Earl of *Portland* did not think it convenient to wait any longer. Thus the Parley was broke, and the Batteries play'd inceſſantly againſt the Breaches till between One and Two, when the General Aſſault began in the following manner. 1695. 7 W. 3.

As ſoon as the Signal was given, my Lord *Cutts*, at the Head of Three Hundred Grenadiers, ruſhed out of the Trenches of the Second Line, which were 7 or 800 Paces diſtant from the Breach of *Terra Nova*, where he was commanded to lodge himſelf; and Colonel *Marſigly* marched on his Right, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Line of Communication next *Coborn Fort*; Count *de Rivera*, Major-General of the *Bavarians*, with 3000 Men, march'd out of the Trenches of the firſt Line in order to Attack the Breaches of *Coborn-Fort*; Major-General *le Cave* advanced to attempt the ſame Fort at the Point; and Major-General *Swerin* march'd againſt the *Caſotte* with 2000 *Brandenburghers*. The *Engliſh* Grenadiers under my Lord *Cutts*, born away by their own Native Ardor, and animated by the Example of their brave Leader, and of Colonel *Windſor*, Colonel *Stanhope*, Mr. *Thompſon*, and ſeveral other *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who expoſed themſelves as Volunteers, ran faſter toward the Enemy than they could be followed by the Batallions of *Couthorp*, *Buchan*, *Hamilton*, and *Mackay*, who mov'd from *Salſine* to ſupport them. The Grenadiers mounted the Breach without oppoſition, the Enemy not expecting to be Attack'd on that Side, by reaſon of the great diſtance of the Trenches; but as ſoon as the *French* ſaw that theſe bold Adventurers were not ſuſtained, they brought down 2000 of their beſt Foot and Dragoons, into the Space between the *Coeborn* and the *Terra Nova*, to fall on the *Engliſh* in Flank and in Rear, which obliged the latter to make a ſpeedy Retreat. The Beſieged made a ſhew of purſuing them, but by this time three of the forementioned Regiments being come up to their Aſſiſtance, the *French* retired through the Breach of *Terra Nova*, after having ſurpriz'd and defeated the 500 Men under Colonel *Marſigly*. The Colonel himſelf being wounded was made Priſoner, and ſoon after kill'd by a Cannon-Ball from the Beſiegers Batteries, with the *French* Officer that carried him into the Caſtle. The *Engliſh* having born ſix ſeveral Diſcharges, had ſeveral kill'd and wounded; and among the latter was my Lord *Cutts* himſelf, who received a Shot in his Head, which diſabled him for ſome time. *General Aſſault made.*

Whilſt this paſſed on the ſide of *Terra Nova*, Count *de Rivera*, with the *Bavarians*, inſtead of marching to the left of the Platform, went a little too much to the Right towards the Cover'd Way, which was well Palliſado'd, and thick ſet with Muſqueteers, who made a terrible Fire. Through this Miſtake, inſtead of ſtorming the two ſmall Breaches of the Angle of the Platform, according to the Scheme made for this Attack, the *Bavarians* attempted to force the Cover'd Way before the great Breach, whereby they remain'd expoſed for two Hours to the Enemies double Fire, which killed them abundance of Men, and amongſt them Count *Rivera* himſelf, with moſt of the Officers of the *Bavarian* Guards.

The Lord *Cutts* was ſcarce dreſs'd of his Wounds, when growing impatient to be idle, while others were ſtill engaged, he put himſelf again at the head of his brave Countrymen; but finding the Aſſault of the *Terra Nova* not poſſible to be retrieved, and obſerving that the *Bavarians* notwithſtanding the loſs of their Leader, had fix'd themſelves upon the uttermoſt Retrenchment of the Point of *Coborn*, next to the *Sambre*, and maintain'd that Poſt with a great deal of Obſtinacy, but could not gain any more Ground; he thereupon reſolved to make good their Attack. To effect this, he order'd that a Detachment of 200 Men ſhould be made out of ſuch as were moſt forward to ſignalize themſelves, whom he ſtill encouraged by Pro- *Hard Service.*

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miſes of diſtinguiſhing Rewards: That thoſe ſhould be ſuſtain'd by the Regiment of *Mackay*; and that the other *Engliſh* Forces ſhould rally, and follow as ſoon as poſſible. Being come to the Place of Action, his Lordſhip detach'd a Party of the forementioned choſen Men, headed by Lieutenant *Cockle* of *Mackay*'s Regiment, whom he ordered to attack the Face of the *Saillant Angle* next to the Breach, Sword in Hand, without Firing a Gun; to paſs the Palliſadoes, and enter the Cover'd-Way; and there to make a Lodgment, if they found any Place capable of it. And at the ſame time, his Lordſhip commanded the Enſigns of *Mackay*'s Regiment to march ſtrait to the Pllalliſadoes, and place their Colours upon them. All this was ſo well executed, that Lieutenant *Cockle* breaking through the Palliſadoes beat the Enemy from the Cover'd-Way, lodg'd himſelf in one of their Batteries, and then turn'd their own Cannon againſt themſelves. On the other hand, whilſt *Mackay*'s Enſigns advanc'd to the Palliſadoes, the *Bavarians* renew'd their Attack with undaunted Vigor, and ſo this Poſt was made good. The Troops were already ſo fatigu'd by an Aſſault that had laſted ſeveral Hours, that the Beſiegers contented themſelves to have gain'd the Cover'd-Way before the Breach of *Coehorn*, and the *Saillant-Angle* towards the *Sambre*, and to make a Lodgment there without any further Attempt upon the Breach. However, this ſeaſonable Reinforcement which the Lord *Cutts* brought to the *Bavarians*, had this further good Effect, that it kept the Enemy employ'd in the Defence of this moſt important Poſt, which very much facilitated Major-General *La Cave*'s Enterprize upon the Cover'd-Way before the Ravelin, and upper Point of the *Coborne*, and ſo up towards the *Caſotte*, where he lodg'd himſelf without any conſiderable Loſs. On the other Hand, Major-General *Swerin*, who commanded the Right Attack of all before the *Caſotte*, made up boldly towards the Cover'd-Way and Retrenchment between the *Caſotte* and the *Maeſe*; overcame the Enemies Reſiſtance, drove them from their Poſts, ſecur'd all the Avenues, and made a very good Lodgment all along this Cover'd-Way and Retrenchment, of about 300 Paces, which he extended to the Left, turning in towards the *Coehorne* about 140 Paces more, to join it to that of Major-General *La Cave*, that reach'd to the Ravelin of the *Coehorne*. Thus, altho' for want of a due Correſpondence among the ſeveral Attacks, either by the Failure or Miſtake of the Signals, the Beſiegers miſcarried in the great Deſign of this general Storm, which was to have taken the Caſtle with all its prodigious Outworks all at once; yet they were now Maſters of one of the greateſt Lodgments that ever was made in one Aſſault, being near an *Engliſh* Mile in extent. Such a vaſt Lodgment could not be done in a Moment; neither could the Aſſault, which laſted till Evening, be maintain'd without conſiderable Loſs on both Sides.

Great Loſs.

The Beſiegers, by their own Confeſſion had two Thouſand Men Kill'd or Wounded, and among them many Perſons of Note. Count *de Rivera*, Major-General; the Colonels *Couthorp*, *Marſigly*, *Lindroot*; the Baron *de Herkeren*; Lieutenant-Colonel *Fabricius* of *Du Theil*'s Regiment; and Captain *Mitchel* of the *Engliſh* Guards were counted among the Slain: And among the Wounded were reckoned the Prince of *Holſtein Norburgh* and the Lord *Cutts* Brigadier-Generals; the Prince of *Heſſe Homburgh*, *Eppingen*, *Zinzenburgh*, *Caunits*, *Horne*, Count *Dona*, *Luzelburgh*, *Mehn*, Count *de Denhoff* and *Hamilton*; all Ten Colonels. Several Officers of his Majeſty's *Engliſh* Guards; particularly Colonel *Windſor*, Colonel *Stanhope*, Colonel *Evans*, and Mr. *Thompſon*; beſides a great many Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, and Subaltern Officers of other Regiments. The Loſs of the Beſieged in this Action did not exceed 600 Men, either Kill'd or Wounded. The Elector of *Bavaria* expos'd himſelf to a Degree not to be imagin'd, riding from Place to Place, and giving his Orders where the Diſpute was moſt obſtinate, inſomuch that ſeveral Perſons were Killed and Wounded about him. Neither was his Electoral Highneſs contented to encourage the Officers and Soldiers by his own Example; but animated the Firſt by extolling their Valour; and the Latter by the more powerful Incentives of immediate Rewards, diſtributing Handfuls of Gold amongſt them. All the Troops of the ſeveral Nations behaved themſelves with equal Intrepidity: However, it may be ſaid, that the *Engliſh* were the moſt bold and puſhing, the *Bavarians* the moſt firm, and the *Brandenburghers* the moſt ſucceſsful. In Acknowledgment of which Service, his Majeſty writ with his own Hand the following Letter to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, now King of *Pruſſia*.

K. William's Letter to the Elector of Brandenburgh.

" You Intereſt your ſelf ſo far in the Publick " Good, that you muſt needs receive a particular " Satisfaction in hearing of the Surrender of the " Caſtle of *Namur*, eſpecially conſidering what ſhare " you had in that Enterprize, which could not poſ- " ſibly have ſucceeded without the Aſſiſtance of " your Troops, whom I cannot enough commend; " nor can be leſs pleas'd with the admirable Con- " duct of your Generals. They have gain'd to " themſelves the greateſt Glory and Reputation by " this Action: And I aſſure you, 'tis impoſſible for " any one to be more ſenſible of an Obligation, " than I am of that you have laid on Me, by Aſſiſt- " ing Me in an Undertaking of ſuch Conſequence, " which God has vouchſafed to bleſs; and which, " I hope will be a conſiderable Advantage to all the " Allies. And you may aſſure your ſelf, I ſhall " omit no Occaſion of giving you effectual Proofs " of my Gratitude.

The 31ſt of *Auguſt*, (*N. S.*) was wholly ſpent by the Beſiegers in perfecting the Lodgments they had made the Day before, and in preparing all Things for a ſecond general Aſſault: But the next Day, the Beſieged having demanded a Ceſſation of Arms to bury their Dead, which was readily granted; the Count *de Guiſcard* came upon the Breach a little before the Truce was over, and deſired to ſpeak with the Elector of *Bavaria*.

The Beſieged demand a Ceſſation of Arms.

His Electoral Highneſs having mounted the Breach, the Count offer'd to Surrender the *Coehorne* Fort: But the Elector anſwering, that if he would Capitulate it muſt be for the whole; Count *Guiſcard* replied, That the Mareſchal *de Boufflers* commanded in the Caſtle, and that he would let him know; and deſired, that in the mean while the Ceſſation of Arms might be continued: To which his Electoral Highneſs having agreed, Mareſchal *de Boufflers* conſented to Treat for the whole.

Treaty of Surrender.

Thereupon an Adjutant was immediately diſpatch'd to give the King an Account of it at *Oſtend*; Which Expreſs met his Majeſty, with the Prince of *Vaudemont*, then coming to the Siege in his Coach, to give Directions concerning a further Attack. Upon his Majeſty's Arrival, Hoſtages were exchang'd, and Propoſitions brought from the Caſtle; the chief of which was, That they might have Ten Days to expect Succours. This being abſolutely denied, the *French*, after ſome Debates amongſt themſelves, were contented to receive ſuch Terms, as the Elector, with his Majeſty's Conſent, would grant them; being ſuch as are uſual upon the Surrender of a ſtrong Fortreſs, whoſe Gariſon has made a gallant Defence. The Capitulation was agreed on that very Night, and ſign'd the next Morning; and part of the Outworks were given up preſently after to the Allies; the Beſieged having three Days more allow'd them to evacuate the Caſtle. 'Tis remarkable, that the Count *de Guiſcard* oblig'd the Mareſchal *de Boufflers* to ſign the Articles, becauſe he had commanded in the Caſtle during the Siege; whereas the Count had only com-

Capitulation Signed.

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manded in the *Coehorn*, and the Outworks: And that perhaps this was the firſt Capitulation that was ever ſign'd by a Mareſchal of *France*; which was ſo much the more to the Honour of the Confederate Arms, that they took this almoſt impregnable Place in Sight of another Mareſchal of *France*, who was advanc'd to relieve it with 100000 Men, but was only a Spectator of the Bravery in the former, and of a conſummate Prudence in the King of *Great Britain*, under whoſe Conduct and Direction all was happily atchieved; it being univerſally acknowledged, that no Siege was ever carried on with more Regularity.

Motion of the Two Armies.

The Firſt of *September* the Two Armies obſerved one another; but the next Day the Mareſchal *de Villeroy* being informed of the Surrender of the Caſtle of *Namur*, by a Triple Diſcharge of all the Artillery, and Three Salvo's in a running Fire along the Lines of the Confederate Army, he retired from his Camp at *Gemblours*, and paſſed the *Sambre* near *Charleroy* with great Precipitation. Upon Advice of this Motion, the King order'd ſeveral Brigades towards *Salſines*, and a Bridge to be laid over the *Sambre*, to oppoſe the Enemy, in caſe they ſhould make any Attempt between the *Sambre* and the *Maeſe*, whilſt the *French* Gariſon was ſtill in Poſſeſſion of the *Terra Nova*. But it ſeems Monſieur *de Villeroy* had quite laid aſide all Thoughts of Fighting; for having ſent Two Thouſand Men to reinforce the Gariſon of *Dinant*, he marched with the reſt of his Army towards the Lines near *Mons*.

The French retire.

Surrender of the Caſtle of *Namur*.

On the 5th of *September*, the Day prefixed for the *French* to evacuate the Caſtle, the Horſe and Foot that were encamp'd between the *Sambre* and the *Maeſe*, were commanded to make a Lane on both Sides, from the Breach of *Terra Nova*, thro' which the Gariſon was to march out up the Hill, and ſo down again to the *Maeſe*, to the way that leads to *Givet*; whither (it was agreed) they ſhould be ſafely conducted. About Ten of the Clock in the Morning, the Gariſon (which from 14000, was reduced to 5538 Men) began their March. The Mareſchal *de Bouſſlers*'s Guard *de Corps* went out firſt; then his Domeſticks, and next himſelf, with Monſieur *de Guiſcard* the Governor, at the Head of the King's and *Alfeld*'s Dragoons, as many as were mounted, that is, between Eighty and Ninety in all. The King was *incognito* in a Coach, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Chief Officers of the Army on Horſeback, to ſee them paſs, within Two Hundred Paces of the Breach, and were ſaluted by the *French* Mareſchal and Count with their Swords. This Civility was hardly over, when Monſieur *Dyckvelt* accoſted *Bouſſlers* with a Meſſage, which ſomewhat diſcompos'd his Countenance; and as they were riding up to the Top of the Hill, Monſieur *de l'Etang*, Brigadier-General of the Brigade of the Life-Guards, made up boldly to the Mareſchal, with about Twelve of the Gentlemen of the Life-Guard, and arreſted him in his *Britannick* Majeſty's Name, by way of Repriſal for the Gariſons of *Dixmuyde* and *Deynſe*, which were detain'd and ill treated by the *French*, contrary to the Cartel. The Mareſchal ſeem'd at firſt very much incens'd; alledging, in a broken Speech, "That the Laws and Cuſtoms of "War were violated, and particularly the Capitu-"lation lately ſign'd by the Duke of *Bavaria*, where-"in he was expreſly mention'd. That the King "of *France* his Maſter would reſent this Treat-"ment of a Man of his Character, and revenge it "to the utmoſt of his Power: And that for his "Part, he had defended the Place like a Man of "Honour, and did not deſerve it." To this Monſieur *Dyckvelt* reply'd, "That the *French* King his "Maſter, by detaining the Gariſons of *Dixmuyde* "and *Deynſe*, contrary to their Capitulation, (by "which they were made Priſoners of War, and "conſequently ſhould have been diſcharged within "the limited Time, paying their Ranſom, which "was offer'd) had forced his *Britannick* Majeſty "to that way of demanding Satisfaction for that "Infraction. That the Mareſchal's being arreſted, "was not out of any Diſreſpect to his Perſon, but "rather the contrary: For when it was propoſed to "the King of *Great Britain* to detain the whole "Gariſon by way of Repriſal, his Majeſty had "expreſs'd ſo much Value of his Perſon, that he "look'd upon him as a ſufficient Caution to anſwer "for 6000 Men, the Number of the Two Gariſons of *Dixmuyde* and *Deynſe*: But that at the "ſame Time he had his Majeſty's Order, to offer "him his Liberty, if he would paſs his Word for "ſending back the ſaid Gariſons, or return himſelf "a Priſoner within a Fortnight." To which *Bouſſlers* anſwer'd, *That he could not paſs his Word of Honour in a Matter which he could not execute himſelf: That if he were at the Head of* 50000 *Men, he would not ſuffer himſelf to be arreſted; but now he muſt ſubmit.* Thereupon he put up his Sword, and went back with his Domeſticks to *Namur*; where the Earl of *Portland* gave him a Viſit, and told him as from himſelf, "That he made no "doubt of his Releaſement upon his Parole of "Honour:" But the Mareſchal anſwer'd, "That "in regard he knew not the Reaſons why his Ma-"ſter detain'd thoſe Gariſons, he could not engage "for any Thing." From *Namur* he was conducted to *Maeſtricht*; and treated in both Places with all the Civility and Reſpect due to his Quality. His Confinement was not long; for upon the Return of the Captain of his Guard, whom he ſent to give the King of *France* an Account of what had happen'd; and the Mareſchal engaging his Word that the Gariſons of *Dixmuyde* and *Deynſe* ſhould be ſent back, as ſoon as he himſelf ſhould be ſet at Liberty; his *Britannick* Majeſty order'd the Governor of *Maeſtricht* to releaſe him, and give him a Guard to conduct him ſafe to *Dinant*.

Mareſchal *Bouſſlers* arreſted.

The Mareſchal releaſed.

Joy in *England*.

The News of the Surrender of the Caſtle of *Namur* no ſooner reach'd *England*, but it filled the Hearts of all the well-affected to the preſent Government with an unſpeakable Joy: And K. *William*'s expreſſing his juſt Reſentment for the Affront lately put upon his Majeſty, by the detaining the Gariſons of *Dixmuyde* and *Deynſe*, was highly applauded by a Nation, which, of all others, is impatient of Injuries, and jealous of the Honour of their Sovereign. The Lords Juſtices having appointed a (*a*) Day of Publick Thankſgiving for the Glorious Succeſs of his Majeſty's Arms, the ſame was religiouſly obſerved at *London*, and throughout all *England*. On this Occaſion, on *September* the 9th, the Earl of *Romney*, Maſter-General of the Ordnance, order'd a Firework to be prepared in St. *James's Square*; which being fired to the General Satisfaction, his Lordſhip gave a great Entertainment to ſeveral Perſons of Quality; the Night ending with Bonfires, Illuminations, and Ringing of Bells. Amidſt theſe Publick Rejoicings, the diſaffected remain'd (as it were) Thunder-ſtruck: And indeed, their Diſappointment ſeemed to allow their Concern; for not only their Hopes of ſeeing the Confederates Attempt upon *Namur* baffled, were fruſtrated, but a great many of them were totally ruin'd, by the Loſs of conſiderable Wagers they had laid upon it.

(*a*) See a Form of Prayer and Thankſgiving, on *Sunday Sept.* 8. and *Sunday Sept.* 22. for the great Succeſs of his Majeſty and his Allies, in taking the Town and Caſtle of *Namur*, and protecting his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon. 4*to*.

In

1695. 7 *W.* 3. In the mean Time, the King having left the Command of the Army to the Elector of *Bavaria*, his Majeſty went to *Dieren*, and from thence to *Loo*, his uſual Receſs for Diverſion from Buſineſs: whilſt both Armies continued in the Field till the Twenty fifth of *September*, and then began to ſeparate. The *French* King's Houſhold return'd into their Quarters, and moſt of the reſt of his Troops retir'd within the Lines. As for the Allies, their Forces were diſtributed into ſeveral Neighbouring Gariſons, except ſome Detachments which marched towards *Newport*, under the Command of the Prince of *Wirtembergh*, for the Security of that Place. And thus the Campaign in *Flanders* ended on both ſides, much about the Cloſe of the Month of *September*. (*a*)

The King leaves the Campaign.

Affairs in *Ireland.*

To caſt an Eye upon *Ireland*, we muſt obſerve, That on *Auguſt* the 27th, the Parliament was open'd in *Dublin* Caſtle; and the Lord *Capel*, Lord Deputy, being attended with all the uſual Ceremonies, made this Speech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"MAny and great are the Obligations you owe "to his Majeſty; I ſhall mention but a "few of them. His Majeſty has appear'd him"ſelf in your Cauſe; He has fought your Battels, "and at his own Perſonal Hazard, has reſtored you "to your Religion and Eſtates. And that every "Thing may concur to make you happy, his Ma"jeſty has now called you together in Parliament, "that by Reaſonable and Neceſſary Laws, you may "prevent the like Dangers for the Time to come, "and ſecure your ſelves and your Poſterity upon the "beſt and ſureſt Foundations.

"I ſhall not, I am ſure I ought not to doubt, "but you will make Returns of Loyalty and Af"fection ſuitable to the extraordinary Benefits you "have received; which cannot be better expreſſed, "than by a dutiful and grateful Comportment to"wards his Majeſty, and by ſhewing a perfect and "forward Zeal in ſuch Things as tend to his Ho"nour, and your own Advantage.

"I muſt acquaint you, That his Majeſty's Re"venue has fallen ſhort of the Eſtabliſhment, which "has occaſion'd great Debts to the Civil and Mili"tary Liſts: That it is with Difficulty, and ſtop"ping of all manner of Payments, but what are "abſolutely neceſſary, that the Army hath hither"to been ſubſiſted. There are alſo ſeveral other "Debts due from the Crown; a State whereof I "have order'd to be laid before you, Gentlemen of "the Houſe of Commons; by which you will ſee "that Supplies are neceſſary for Diſcharge of thoſe "Debts, and for the Support of the Govern"ment.

"For raiſing ſome Part of this Money, his Ma"jeſty has ſent you a Bill for an Additional Duty "of Exciſe; and he expects from you, Gentlemen "of the Houſe of Commons, that you will conſi"der of Ways and Means for raiſing ſuch other "Sums as are requiſite for his Service, and pre"pare Heads of Bills to be paſſed into Laws in due "Form. And you will be the more chearful in "giving, when I aſſure you, that what Money you "give ſhall be applied to the Uſes for which it "is given.

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'One Thing I muſt recommend to you; That "you will take ſome Care for the Rebuilding and "Repairing of Churches in the ſeveral Parts of "your Country; that the People having Decent "Publick Places of Worſhip, may be better in"ſtructed in their Duty to their God, and Obedi"ence to their King. It is a Tribute due to Al"mighty God for our late Preſervation and Deli"verance; and will, I am verily perſuaded, be one "of the beſt Means you can think of, to preſerve "the true Eſtabliſh'd Religion, and to provide a"gainſt future Rebellions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I muſt inform you, That the Lords Juſtices of "*England* have, with great Application and Diſ"patch, conſider'd and retranſmitted all the Bills "ſent to them. That ſome of theſe Bills have more "effectually provided for your future Security, than "hath ever heretofore been done: And in my Opi"nion, the want of ſuch Laws has been one of the "great Cauſes of your paſt Miſeries: And it will "be your Fault, as well as Misfortune, if you "neglect to lay hold of the Opportunity now put "into your Hands by our Great and Gracious King, "of making ſuch a laſting Settlement, that it may "never more be in the Power of your Enemies to "bring the like Calamities again upon you, or to put "*England* again to that vaſt Expence of Blood and "Treaſure, it hath ſo often been at for ſecuring this "Kingdom to the Crown of *England*.

"His Majeſty has been pleaſed to appoint me "his Deputy in this Government: I am truly ſen"ſible of my Unfitneſs for this great Station, and "the Difficulties which attend it; yet I aſſure you "I have, and will diſcharge the Truſt repoſed in "me, with a ſtedfaſt Loyalty and Truth to his Ma"jeſty's Intereſt and Service, and with a perfect "Sincerity to yours; and that I have no other End "or Ambition, than to ſee you ſettled under his "Majeſty's moſt Happy Government in Peace and "Proſperity.'

The Lords and Commons return'd their Thanks, in Addreſſes to his Excellency for his Speech; and paſs'd this Vote, *That they would to the utmoſt of their Power, ſtand by and aſſiſt his Majeſty and his Government, againſt all his Enemies, Foreign and Domeſtick.* After this, both Houſes proceeded with great Unanimity and Diſpatch to the Conſideration of the Matters before them; ſo that on the 6th of *September*, the Lord Deputy gave the Royal Aſſent to, *An Act for an Additional Duty of Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors.* Another, *For taking away the Writ* de Heretico Comburendo. A Third, declaring *all Attainders, and all other Acts made in the late pretended Parliament, to be void.* A Fourth, to *reſtrain Foreign Education*; which was principally deſign'd to hinder the Growth of *Popery.* A Fifth, for *the better Securing the Government, by diſarming Papiſts*: And a Sixth, for *the better ſettling of Inteſtates Eſtates.* Three Days after, the Houſe of Commons, by unanimous Conſent, granted to his Majeſty a Supply of 163325 *l.* to

(*a*) The *Jacobites* in *England* kept a ſecret Correſpondence with the Court of St. *Germains*, and received back Advices and Directions, chiefly from the Earl of *Middleton*; who having the greateſt Intereſt of any of King *James*'s Followers in the Friends they left here, King *James* carry'd it moſt kindly to him, and ſeem'd to have ſome Confidence in him. However, he was never Prime Miniſter, as *Melfort* was; nor had any Concern in the Management of Affairs between *Verſailles* and St. *Germains*; that being done by *Innes* and *Porter*. He was ſeldom call'd to Council; and the *French* Court never depended on his Correſpondence. He always declared againſt Reſtoring King *James* by a *French* Power; wiſely and honeſtly conſidering, That it would be to reduce *Britain* to the State of being a Province to *France*: For which he ſo incurr'd the Diſpleaſure of that Court, that he was at laſt abridg'd of his Penſion; and to gain a ſorry Subſiſtence, oblig'd to abandon that Religion, which had till then been the Occaſion of his Misfortunes. The worſt of it all was, his Converſion was never thought ſincere; and he could not get above Five Hundred Crowns yearly for his Maintenance. A poor Bargain he made; and his unhappy Life and Death ſhew, what thoſe may expect, who place their Hopes in the Eſtabliſhment of Popery and Tyranny. *Secret Hiſt. of* Europe, P. II. p. 257.

be

1695. 7 *W.* 3. be raiſ'd, partly by a Poll-Tax: And on the 18th of the ſame Month, having conſider'd the State of the Nation, they reſolved, *That the great Intereſt and Countenance the* Iriſh *had in the Court of* England *during the Two laſt Reigns, had been the chief Cauſe of all the Miſeries and Calamities that had ſince befallen this Kingdom.* On the 12th of *October*, the Commons proceeded upon the farther Conſideration of Ways and Means to raiſe the Supply; and having agreed upon a Computation of what the Exciſe and Poll-Tax might amount to, they paſs'd a Vote, *That the Exciſe ſhould be continued Two Years longer, after Expiration of the preſent Act*: And afterward reſolved to lay a Duty upon Tobacco, Old and New Drapery, Muſlins, Callicoes, and all Sorts of Linnen, and on Wine, to compleat the Supply granted. Which done, both Houſes adjourn'd themſelves for ſome Time.

State of *Scotland.*

As to the State of *Scotland*, a Parliament met there according to Summons, on *May* 9. when the Marquis of *Tweedale*, his Majeſty's Commiſſioner, went thither, attended in the uſual manner; and his Majeſty's Letter to the Lords Temporal, and Shires, and Burghs, was to this Effect.

King's Letter.

"That the Continuation of the War ſtill hindred "him from purſuing his Reſolution of being a"mongſt them in Perſon, and ſo obliged him to "call them together once more in his Abſence. "That therefore he had appointed the Marquis of "*Tweedale* to be his Commiſſioner, and to repre"ſent his Perſon and Authority among them. That "the Marquis had given Proofs of his Capacity "and Experience in Buſineſs, as well as of his Fi"delity and Zeal, by his many and long Services "to the Crown and Nation, particularly ſince his "being Lord Chancellor; which would render him "very acceptable to them. That his Majeſty had "fully entruſted him with his Mind, and given "him Powers to paſs all ſuch Laws for the Good of "that his Majeſty's ancient Kingdom, as had been pro"poſed to his Majeſty at this Time. That the Mar"quis was to ask nothing of them in his Majeſty's "Name, but that which the Intereſt of the Coun"try made neceſſary to be done. That therefore "his Majeſty need not mention to them, that the "Subſidies for paying the Forces were now expired, "and that their Peace and Safety required the re"newing of them during the War. That his Ma"jeſty was glad of any Appearances of a Diſpoſi"tion to Moderation and Union about Church"Matters; and he hop'd they would encourage it, "and promote it, by removing the Subjects of "Differences as much as they could. That he "was not unmindful of the Letter to him in the "Cloſe of the laſt Seſſion. That the known Inter"ruptions he had had in Buſineſs this Winter, had "been a great Hindrance to him; but he was re"ſolved to do whatſoever might be for the Security "of the Government, and the Satisfaction of his "good Subjects. In the Concluſion, his Majeſty "recommended to them Calmneſs and Unanimity in "their Proceedings; not doubting but they would "act ſuitably to the Confidence he had put in them, "in calling them again in his Abſence.

This Letter was back'd by the High Commiſſioner's Speech, who told that Great Aſſembly, "That "his Majeſty's tender Care and Concern for their "Safety and Welfare did evidently appear, in every "thing that might contribute thereto; particularly "as to the Church, that all Differences might be "compos'd; it being his Majeſty's Purpoſe to main"tain *Preſbyterian* Government in the Church of "*Scotland*; and that the Peace and Security of the "Kingdom againſt Foreign Invaſion, and Inteſtine "Commotion, be provided for. That if they "found it would tend to the *Advancement of* "*Trade*, that an Act be paſſed for the Encourage"ment of ſuch as ſhould acquire and eſtabliſh a "Plantation in *Africa* or *America*, or any other "Part of the World, where Plantations might be 1695. 7 *W.* 3. "lawfully acquired, his Majeſty was willing to "declare, that he would grant to the Subjects of "this Kingdom, in *favour of theſe Plantations*, "ſuch Rights and Privileges as he granted in like "Caſes to the *Subjects of his other Dominions*; and "that the Judicatories, Higher and Subaltern, be ſo "regulated in their Proceedings, as that Juſtice "might be adminiſtred with the greateſt Diſpatch, "and leaſt Charge to the People. That theſe "things had taken up ſome part of his Majeſty's "Time and Thoughts theſe Months paſt, and had "been frequently diſcours'd by him; and then put "in the Method of Inſtructions and Directions for "his Grace's Behaviour. That therefore it only re"main'd for them to take theſe weighty Affairs into "Conſideration, and to conſult of the beſt Ways "and Means to enable his Majeſty to perfect ſo "good Deſigns, by granting him Supplies for main"taining the preſent Land-Forces, and for pro"viding and entertaining a competent Naval Force, "for the Defence of the Coaſt, and ſecuring of "Trade. In order to which, his Majeſty had "granted a Commiſſion of Admiralty for managing "the Affairs thereof; not omitting to take Care for "the other unavoidable Contingencies of the Go"vernment, wherein the Civil Liſt came ſhort; "concluding, that the Diſpatch of theſe great Af"fairs with Chearfulneſs and Alacrity, would per"fect a good Underſtanding, and perpetuate a Con"fidence between the King and them." The Earl of *Annandale*, Lord Preſident of the Parliament, made likewiſe a Speech to them on this Occaſion. He acknowledged his Majeſty's gracious Letter, wherein he asked nothing for himſelf, but only prevented their neceſſary Cares for the Peace, Welfare, and Advantage of this Kingdom. He took Notice of the freſh Aſſurances they had of his Majeſty's firm Reſolutions to maintain the "*Preſbyterian* "*Government* of this Church; and ſaid, He hop'd "the Moderation and Calmneſs that ſhould at this "Time appear in all their Proceedings in Church"Matters, would ſatisfy the World, *That this is* "*the Government moſt agreeable to the Temper and* "*Inclination of this People, and moſt ſuitable for* "*the Intereſt and Support of their King, the Civil* "*Government, and Peace of this Kingdom.*" And in the Concluſion, he enforced all that had been ſaid, "by one thing, which did juſtly challenge a more "than ordinary Zeal and Vigor in their Duty at "this Time, which was the ſad and irreparable Loſs "they had ſuſtained of the beſt of Queens; wiſh"ing they might all of them make this uſe of it, "that as now the whole Sovereignty was lodg'd in "his Majeſty, it might appear by their Actings, "that they had doubled their Forwardneſs and "Endeavours to ſerve him; which was the only "way now left them to ſhew their juſt Senſe of "their inexpreſſible Loſs, and to make it, in ſome "meaſure, more ſupportable by his Majeſty.

Theſe Speeches had the deſir'd Effect. The Parliament order'd an Anſwer to his Majeſty's Letter, and an Addreſs of Condolance for the Death of the Queen, to be drawn up and ſent to his Majeſty; and appointed a Committee for the Security of the Kingdom, and another for Trade. The firſt of theſe Committees having made their Report concerning the Supplies to be given to the King, it was unanimouſly reſolv'd, that the Sum of 1440000 Pounds *Scots*, be granted for Maintenance of the Land-Forces, and for providing and maintaining Cruiſers and Convoys for Defence of the Coaſts and Trade. Towards the raiſing of which Sum, they made an Act for a General Poll, another for a Supply of Six Months Ceſs out of the Lands Rents, and a Third for an Additional Exciſe; and a Fourth for three Months Ceſs more. The other Committee, after ſeveral Sittings, prepared an Act *for ſettling a Trade in the* Weſtern *Plantations*; which was approved and

paſſed.

1695. 7 W. 3. paſſed. Several other good Laws were made by this Parliament: As an *Act againſt Popiſh Parents making Deeds, or Diſpoſitions, in prejudice of their Heirs who turn Proteſtants. An Act in favour of the Linnen Manufactory. An Act for obviating the Frauds of Apparent Heirs. An Act for a Manufactory of Paper. An Act for ſettling the Poſt-Stages within the Kingdom of* Scotland. *An Act for Sale of Bankrupts Eſtates, for the Uſe of their Creditors. An Act for the Regulation of the Mint. An Act againſt Intruders into Churches, without a Legal Call and Admiſſion. An Act againſt Blaſphemy: Another againſt Prophaneneſs: Another againſt irregular Baptiſms and Marriages: And another concerning the Church. An Act to raiſe* 1000 *Men Yearly, to recruit the* Scotch *Regiments now Abroad. An Act for Burying in* Scotch *Linnen.* And Laſtly, *An Act for Erecting a Publick Bank in this Kingdom.*

But this Seſſion of the *Scotch* Parliament is chiefly remarkable in this Piece of Hiſtory, for their ſtrict Enquiry into a Paſſage that made a great Noiſe in the World. In *January* 1692. the King ſent Inſtructions to the Commanders of his Forces in *Scotland*, touching the *Highland* Rebels, who did not in due Time accept of the Benefits of his Majeſty's Indemnity; and which contain'd a Warrant of Mercy to all, without Exception, who ſhould offer to take the Oath of Allegiance, and come in upon Mercy, tho' the Firſt Day of *January*, 1693. prefix'd by the Proclamation of Indemnity, was paſt. Contrary to his Majeſty's Intention, 38 of the Inhabitants of *Glencoe*, a Town in the *North* of *Scotland*, after they had laid down their Arms, were inhumanly butcher'd in their Beds, their Houſes plunder'd, and their Cattle carried away in *February* 169½. Which Piece of Barbarity having given the King's Enemies a ſeemingly juſt Occaſion of reflecting on his Government, the Committee for Security of the Kingdom, made a Motion for enquiring into that Matter. Thereupon his Majeſty's Commiſſioner acquainted the Parliament, that the King had given Commiſſion to ſeveral Perſons to make Enquiry into that Affair; which Commiſſion being produced, read, and agreed to, it was unanimouſly voted, that the High Commiſſioner ſhould be deſired to tranſmit their humble Thanks to his Majeſty, for his Care to vindicate the Honour of the Government, and the Juſtice of the Nation, by granting ſuch a Commiſſion.

Caſe of Glencoe.

The Commiſſioners appointed by the King to enquire into the Slaughter of the *Glencoe* Men, having ſpent ſome Weeks in that Affair, on *June* 10. preſented to the Parliament the private Articles agreed in *July* 1691. between the Earl of *Brodalbine* and Major-General *Buchan*, with ſeveral of the *Highland* Clans; as alſo the Depoſitions of the Laird of *Glengarie* and Colonel *Hill*, containing Informations of High Treaſon againſt the ſaid Earl of *Brodalbine*; which being read, after ſome Debate, an Order was made for his Proſecution before the Parliament, and for his Commitment to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh.* A Fortnight after, the Report of the Commiſſioners was communicated to the Houſe, and the ſame being read, with the Depoſitions of Witneſſes, the King's Inſtructions, and ſeveral Letters from the *Maſter* of *Staires*, Secretary of State, it was voted by unanimous Conſent, *That his Majeſty's Inſtructions to Sir* Tho. Levingſtone, *and Colonel* Hill, *contained no Warrant for the Execution of the* Glencoe *Men; that the ſaid Execution was a Murder; that the* Maſter *of* Staires *Letters did exceed the King's Inſtructions; and that Sir* Thomas Levingſton *had reaſon to give the Orders he had given.* On the 2d of *July* the Parliament went upon the ſame Affair, and Colonel *Hill* and Lieutenant *Hamilton* were call'd: The firſt appear'd, was examin'd and clear'd; but the latter not appearing, was order'd to be apprehended, and afterwards on *July* the 8th, voted *Guilty of the* Murder of the *Glencoe* Men. Then the Houſe proceeded againſt the other Perſons that were Actors therein; and agreed upon an Addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would ſend them home to be proſecuted, or not, as his Majeſty ſhould think fit; and that he would take into his Princely Conſideration the Caſe of the *Glencoe* Men. This Addreſs was on *July* the 10th recommended to the King's Commiſſioner, to be tranſmitted to his Majeſty, with Duplicates of his Majeſty's Inſtructions, and the Maſter of *Staire*'s Letters. At the ſame time his Majeſty's Commiſſioners received the unanimous Thanks of the Parliament, for laying the Diſcovery of the Matter of *Glencoe* before them, and for their careful Procedure in their Commiſſion; and a new Protection was granted to the *Glencoe* Men.

Vindication of the King's Honour.

On the 1ſt of *July*, the Earl of *Brodalbine* being brought to the Bar of the Parliament, in order to his Trial, delivered in a Petition, Praying he might be allowed ſome competent Time for bringing of Witneſſes from remote Places, and for Recovery of ſuch Documents, as he was to make uſe of for his Vindication, both from the Secretaries Office at *London*, and his Houſe in the Country. The Advocates on both Sides having been heard upon this Petition, it was put to the Vote, whether the Day for his Lordſhip to give in his Defence, ſhould be the 8th, or 15th of the current Month; and it was carried the 15th, and that in the mean time, he might raiſe Letters of Exculpation. Then the Indictment againſt him was read, and he remanded to Priſon. The ſame Day the Proceſs of Treaſon, at the Inſtance of the King's Advocate, againſt the Earl of *Melfort*, and others in *France*, being call'd, the King's Advocate produced his Warrant from the Privy-Council, for raiſing this Proceſs againſt them, and deſired that it might be Recorded, Afterwards the Indictment was read, and the King's Advocate declared, he inſiſted at that time only againſt the Earls of *Middleton* and *Melfort*, and Sir *Adam Blair*, and on that Part of the Indictment which recited, that by the Act of Parliament 1693. it was declared Treaſon to be in *France* after the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1693. and therefore craved the Indictment might be found to be good in Law; which being put to the Vote, it was carried in the Affirmative. The next Day the Houſe paſſed Sentence againſt the Earls of *Middleton* and *Melfort*, and Sir *Adam Blair*, to forfeit Life and Fortune; and order'd the reſt who adhered to his Majeſty's Enemies, and were then in *France*, to be proſecuted before the Lords of the Juſticiary. On the 15th of *July*, the Earl of *Brodalbine* being again brought to the Bar, begg'd more Time to make his Defence, which was granted him till the 25th of the ſame Month; but all the Publick Affairs being happily concluded by the 17th, it was moved and agreed to, that the Proceſs of Treaſon againſt him ſhould be continued till the next Seſſion of Parliament. After which his Majeſty's Commiſſioner gave the Parliament Thanks for their real and hearty Compliance with his Majeſty's Demands; recommended to them the Preſervation of the Publick Peace in their ſeveral Countries; and adjourn'd them till the 7th of *November* next.

Whilſt the Parliament of *Scotland* was ſitting, Mr. *Craven*, Mr. *Burnet*, and Mr. *Thompſon*, Three of the Miniſters in the Synod of *Aberdeen*, who proteſted againſt the Commiſſion of the late General Aſſembly, were called before the Houſe, and examin'd. After ſome Debate, the Churches of the ſaid Miniſters were on *July* the 1ſt, declared to be vacant, and they debarred of their Miniſterial Function, until they had qualified themſelves by taking the Oath of Allegiance to his Majeſty, and ſubſcribing the Aſſurance; and impriſon'd till they gave Caution not to go on the *North* ſide of the River *Forth*, under the Penalty of 100*l.* Sterling. However the ſaid Miniſters were Four Days after ſet at Liberty, upon their ſingle Promiſe not to go beyond that River.

We

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The King returns to England.

We now return to *England* with his Majeſty, who on *October* the 9th embark'd in the *Maeſe* on Board the *William* and *Mary* Yatch, and the next Day landed ſafely at *Margate*, convoy'd by a Squadron under Command of Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*. That Night his Majeſty lay at *Canterbury*, and on the 11th came to *Kenſington*, the People expreſſing a ſingular Joy for his ſafe and glorious Return.

Places and Honours.

From the Time of his Majeſty's Abſence, theſe Honours and Preferments were well beſtowed. On *May* 23. *John Smith*, Eſq; one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, was ſworn of the Privy-Council, and *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, Eſq; was ſworn Clerk of the Council in Extraordinary. On *June* 8. Sir *Edward Ward*, his Majeſty's Attorney-General, was made Serjeant at Law, and in the Evening was ſworn Lord Chief Baron of the Court of *Exchequer*, and receiv'd his Patent. In his room, Sir *Thomas Trevor*, on *June* 11. was ſworn his Majeſty's Attorney-General; and on *July* 13. *John Hawles*, Eſq; of *Lincolns-Inn*, was ſworn his Majeſty's Sollicitor-General. The ſame Evening his Majeſty came to *Kenſington*, he held a Council, and therein ordered a Proclamation to be iſſued for diſſolving the preſent Parliament, and iſſuing out of Writs for the calling of a new Parliament, to begin at *Weſtminſter*, on *Friday November* 22.

Parliament Diſſolved.

The King's Progreſs.

In the mean time, his Majeſty took a Progreſs, and went firſt to *Newmarket* on *Thurſday*, *October* 17. where he received the Compliments of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. He went thence to *Althrop* in *Northamptonſhire*, the Seat of the Earl of *Sunderland*, whoſe Counſels and Converſation b[illegible] to be more and more acceptable to his Majeſ[illegible] While he lay here, he made a Viſit to the Earl of *Northampton* at *Caſtle-Aſhby*, and to the Earl of *Montague* at *Boughton*; and was entertain'd at both thoſe Places with a ſplendid Dinner. From *Althrop* the King went to *Stamford*, *Octob.* 28. and in his way took a View of *Burleigh-Houſe*, without ſeeing the Owner of it. On *October* 30. his Majeſty went to *Lincoln*, and having heard Prayers at the Cathedral, purſued his Journey to *Welbeck*, the Duke of *Newcaſtle*'s Seat in *Nottinghamſhire*. Here the Archbiſhop of *York*, with his Clergy, waited upon his Majeſty on *November* 2. to congratulate his happy Succeſs and ſafe Return, expreſſing their Gratitude for his Majeſty's Care of the Church, and for ſhewing himſelf truly a Defender of the Faith. On *November* 3. the King left *Welbeck*, and came that Evening to the Earl of *Stamford's Houſe* at *Broadgate*. On *November* 4. he went to the Lord *Brook*'s at *Warwick* Caſtle. Next Day he dined with the Duke of *Shrewsbury* at *Eyeford*, and came that Evening to *Burford*, and Three Days after to *Woodſtock*; from whence, on *November* 10. his Majeſty came to *Oxford*, being met by the Duke of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the Univerſity, Dr. *Adams*, Vice-Chancellor, with other Doctors and Maſters, in their Academical Habits. The King alighted at the *Eaſt* Gate of the Schools, and paſſed directly to the Theatre, where a Noble Banquet was provided, with great Variety of Muſick. Mr. *Codrington*, Fellow of *All-Souls*, expreſſed the Publick Thanks of the Univerſity, in an Elegant Oration. The Chancellor on his Knees preſented his Majeſty with a large *Engliſh* Bible and Common-Prayer-Book, the Cuts of the Univerſity, and a Pair of Gold-Fring'd Gloves. It was expected his Majeſty ſhould have ſat down to the Banquet; but whether he was indiſpoſed to eat, or whether diſcouraged by an idle Letter dropt in the Street, and intimating the Deſigns of Poiſon, his Majeſty roſe up, and immediately took Coach for *Windſor*; declaring, as a Reaſon of his ſhort Stay, and his not going to ſee the Colleges, *That this was a Viſit of Kindneſs, not of Curioſity, he having ſeen the Univerſity before*.

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Meeting of the New Parliament.

On *Friday*, *Nov.* 22. The (a) Parliament met according to the Writs of Summons, and the King being ſeated on the Throne, the Commons were ſent for up, to whom my Lord Keeper ſignified his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that they ſhould forthwith proceed to the Choice of a Speaker. After which, the Commons return'd to their Houſe, and unanimouſly made choice of *Paul Foley*, Eſq; who being preſented the next Day, his Majeſty did graciouſly approve of him, and then made this Speech to both Houſes.

Paul Foley, Eſq; Speaker.

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"IT is with great Satisfaction that I meet you "here this Day, being aſſured of a good Diſpo"ſition in my Parliament, when I have had ſuch "full Proofs of the Affection of my People, by "their Behaviour during my Abſence, and at my "Return.

"I was engaged in this preſent War by the Ad"vice of my firſt Parliament, who thought it ne"ceſſary for the Defence of our Religion, and the "Preſervation of the Liberties of *Europe*. The "laſt Parliament with great Chearfulneſs did aſſiſt "me to carry it on; and I cannot doubt but that "your Concern for the Common Safety will oblige "you to be unanimouſly zealous in the Proſecution "of it. And I am glad that the Advantages which "we have have had this Year, give us a reaſonable "Ground of hoping for further Succeſs hereafter.

"Upon this Occaſion, I cannot but take Notice "of the Courage and Bravery which the *Engliſh* "Troops have ſhewn this laſt Summer; which I "may ſay, has anſwer'd their higheſt Character in "any Age: And it will not be denied, that without "the Concurrence of the Valour and Power of "*England*, it were impoſſible to put a Stop to the "Ambition and Greatneſs of *France*.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I think it a great Misfortune, that from the Be"ginning of my Reign, I have been forced to ask "ſo many, and ſuch large Aids of my People; and "yet I am confident you will agree with me in "Opinion, that there will be at leaſt as great Sup"plies requiſite for carrying on the War by Sea and "Land this Year, as was granted in the laſt Seſſion; "rather, becauſe our Enemies are augmenting their "Troops, and the Neceſſity of increaſing our Ship"ping does plainly appear.

"The Funds which have been given, have proved "very deficient.

"The Condition of the Civil Liſt is ſuch, that it "will not be poſſible for me to ſubſiſt, unleſs that "Matter be taken into your Care.

"And Compaſſion obliges me to mention the "miſerable Circumſtances of the *French* Proteſtants, "who ſuffer for their Religion.

"And therefore, *Gentlemen*, I moſt earneſtly re"commend to you to provide a Supply ſuitable to "theſe ſeveral Occaſions.

"I muſt likewiſe take Notice of a great Diffi"culty we lie under at this Time, by reaſon of the "ill State of the Coin, the Redreſs of which may "perhaps prove a further Charge to the Nation; but "this is a Matter of ſuch general Concern, and of "ſo very great Importance, that I have thought fit "to leave it entirely to the Conſideration of my "Parliament.

(a) By the King, A Proclamation for a General Faſt and Humiliation throughout the whole Kingdom, for imploring a Bleſſing upon the Conſultations of this preſent Parliament, on *Wedneſday* the 11th of *December* next. Given at *Kenſington* the 30th of *November*, 1695. A Form of Prayer to be uſed on the ſaid Faſt Day. A Sermon preached before the Houſe of Lords at the Abbey-Church of *St. Peter's Weſtminſter*, on *Wedneſday* the 11th of *December*, 1695. by the Right Reverend *James* Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*. *London*, for *Jo. Everingham*, 4to.

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"I did recommend to the laſt Parliament the "Forming ſome good Bill for the Encouragement "and Increaſe of Seamen; I hope you will not let "this Seſſion paſs without doing ſomewhat in it; "and that you will conſider of ſuch Laws as may "be proper for the Advancement of Trade, and "will have a particular Regard to that of the *Eaſt-Indies*, leſt it ſhould be loſt to the Nation. And "while the War makes it neceſſary to have an Army Abroad, I could wiſh ſome Way might be "thought of to raiſe the neceſſary Recruits, without giving occaſion of Complaint.

"My deſire to meet my People in a new Parliament, has made the Opening of this Seſſion "very late; which I hope you will have ſuch regard to, as to make all poſſible Diſpatch of the "great Buſineſs before you; and will call to mind, "that by the long continuance of the laſt Seſſion, "We did not only loſe Advantages which we might "have had at the beginning of the Campaign, but "gave the Enemy ſuch an Opportuuity as might "have proved very fatal to Us. And I am the more "concern'd to preſs this, becauſe of the great Preparations which the *French* make to be early in "the Field this Year.

My Lords,

"I have had ſuch Experience of your good Affections; and I have ſuch an entire Satisfaction in "the Choice which my People have made of You, "*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, that I promiſe my ſelf a happy Concluſion of this Seſſion, "unleſs you ſuffer your ſelves to be miſled into "Heats and Diviſions; which being the only Hope "our Enemies have now left, I make no doubt but "you will entirely diſappoint by your Prudence and "Love to your Country.

Addreſſes of the two Houſes.

Both Houſes in their reſpective Addreſſes, with great Zeal and Unanimity, congratulated the glorious Succeſs of his Majeſty's Arms Abroad, and his ſafe Return Home; and likewiſe return'd his Majeſty Thanks for the Truſt and Confidence he repoſed in their Affections; aſſuring Him, that they would ſupport his Majeſty and his Government againſt all his Enemies Foreign and Domeſtick, and effectually aſſiſt him in the Proſecution of the preſent War, in which he was engaged for the Safety of *England*, and Liberty of *Europe*. The Commons Addreſs being preſented by the whole Houſe, his Majeſty gave them this Anſwer:

Gentlemen,

"I heartily thank you for the Marks you give "me of your Affection: Our Intereſts are inſeparable, and there is nothing I wiſh ſo much as the "Happineſs of this Country where God has placed "Me.

The next Buſineſs of the Commons was to addreſs the King, that he would pleaſe to appoint a Day of Faſting and Humiliation for imploring the Bleſſing of Almighty God upon the Conſultations of this preſent Parliament; and his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint *Wedneſday, Dec.* 11. to be ſtrictly kept and obſerved within the Bills of Mortality; and *Wedneſday* 18. in all other Places. Dr. *Haley* being appointed to preach before the Commons in the Morning; and Dr. *Williams* in the Afternoon.

Order for no Written Protections.

The many Protections given to the Servants of Parliament-Men, and the taking Men into Cuſtody upon Complaints of the Breach of thoſe Protections, was really become a Grievance to the Subject; and therefore on *Nov.* 30. it was ordered, "That "all Protections and Written Certificates of the "Members of this Houſe be declared void in Law, "and be forthwith withdrawn, and called in, and "that none be granted for the future; and that if "any ſhall be granted by any Member, ſuch Member ſhall be liable to the Cenſure of this Houſe; "and that the Privileges of their Menial Servants "be obſerved according to Law: And that if any "Menial Servant ſhall be arreſted and detained contrary to Privilege, he ſhall (upon Complaint "thereof made to the Speaker) be diſcharged by "Order from him. And that no Perſon ſhall be "taken into Cuſtody upon Complaint of any Breach "of Privileges of this Houſe before the Matter be "firſt examined; which Order was not to extend "to any Breach of Privilege upon the Perſon of "any Member of this Houſe.

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Reſolutions for Supply.

The next Thing conſidered, was a Supply to be granted to his Majeſty, which was referred to a Committee; from which Sir *Thomas Littleton* reported theſe Reſolutions, which were agreed to by the Houſe. They granted the Sum of Two Millions, Five Hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling for the Navy. Sixteen Thouſand, Nine Hundred, Seventy and Two Pounds for the Officers of the two Marine Regiments. Two Millions, Seven Thouſand, Eight Hundred Eighty-Two Pounds for the Pay of 87440 Men, including Commiſſion and Non-Commiſſion Officers, making up the Horſe, Dragoons and Foot, which according to the Liſt of the Land-Forces, deliver'd into the Houſe, they had voted neceſſary for the Service of the Year 1696. And laſtly, 500000 *l.* for the Office of Ordnance, the Pay of the great Officers, Tranſports, Hoſpitals, Contingencies, and other extraordinary Charge of the War: In all, Five Millions, Twenty-Four Thouſand Eight Hundred Fifty Three Pounds.

Bill for regulating Tryals in Caſes of Treaſon.

The Bill for regulating Tryals in Caſes of Treaſon, and Miſpriſion of Treaſon, which has been ſeveral times loſt in the former Parliaments, was again brought into the Houſe of Commons, *Nov.* 26. and in a ſhort time read three times there, and ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence, by which many Hardſhips upon the Liberty of the Subject were removed, or mitigated: For it was hereby Enacted, "That all Perſons indicted for High-Treaſon, or "Miſpriſion of it, ſhall have a Copy of the Indictment five Days before their Tryal, and ſhall be "admitted to make their Defence by Counſel "learned in the Law, not exceeding Two. That "no Perſon ſhall be Indicted or Attainted but by "the Oaths of two Lawful Witneſſes. That no "Perſon ſhall be proſecuted, unleſs the Indictment "be found within three Years after the Offence "committed. That all Perſons Indicted ſhall have "Copies of the Jury two Days before their Tryal; "and ſhall have like Proceſs to compel their Witneſſes to appear for them, as is uſually granted "to Witneſſes againſt them". To this Bill the Lords added the Clauſe they had always inſiſted upon; "That upon the Tryal of any Peer or Peereſs for Treaſon or Miſpriſion, all the Peers who "have a Right to ſit and vote in Parliament, ſhall "be duly ſummoned Twenty Days at leaſt before "ſuch Tryal, and ſhall not Vote without firſt taking "the Oaths appointed by the Act of the Firſt of "*William* and *Mary*, and ſubſcribing and repeating "the Declaration mentioned in the Act made 30. "*Car.* II. which Clauſe was agreed to by the Commons". It is remarkable, that whilſt this Bill was depending in the Houſe of Commons, the Lord *Shaftsbury* roſe up in order to ſpeak for it; and having begun his Speech, he ſeemed to be ſo ſurpriz'd, that for a while he could not go on; but having recover'd himſelf, he took Occaſion from his very Surprize, to *Enforce the Neceſſity of allowing Counſel to Priſoners who were to appear before their Judges, ſince he who was not only innocent and unaccuſed, but one of their own Members, was ſo daſh'd when he was to ſpeak before that Auguſt Aſſembly.* This Turn of Wit did Service in promoting that Expedient Bill.

The Lords were conſidering that part of the King's Speech that related to the ill State of the Coin,

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Ill State of the Coin.

Coin, and had drawn up an Addreſs, to which in a Conference they deſir'd the Concurrence of the Commons; who choſe rather to proceed in their own Way, by appointing a Committee, who ſhould have Power to conſider of a Fund to make good the Deficiency of the Clipt Money. And here the great Queſtion was, *Whether it was neceſſary or expedient to recoin the Silver Money?* The Country Party held the Negative; the Court Party the Affirmative; and the Arguments were weighty on both ſides. The Reaſons againſt calling in, and recoining the Money were; "That this was no fit "Juncture for it, while the Nation was engaged in "a burthenſome and doubtful War, by which the "Kingdom had already greatly ſuffer'd, and of "which it grew every Day more ſenſible. That "therefore the People, on whoſe Good Affection "the Government ſo much depended, ſhould not "be provoked by freſh Grievances, greater than "any they had yet felt, as thoſe would certainly "be, that muſt ariſe from the calling in the Silver "Coin. That if this was done, however Things "might be managed and accommodated at Home, "it were impoſſible to maintain either the Commerce or the War abroad; for neither the Merchant could be paid his Bills of Exchange, nor "the Soldier receive his Subſiſtence. That this was "to lay the Axe to the Root, and to dig up the "Foundation of the Government. That if this "Deſign was proſecuted, Trade muſt ſtand ſtill for "want of mutual Payments; whence ſuch Diſorder and Confuſion would certainly follow, as "would diſcourage and diſhearten the People in "the higheſt meaſure, if not drive them to a perfect "Deſpair, as Deſpair would to the moſt terrible "Extremities. That therefore the recoining the "Money at this time was by no means to be attempted without hazarding All.

Arguments for recoining the Silver Money.

'Twas alledged by thoſe of the contrary Opinion, at the Head of whom appear'd Mr. *Charles Mountague*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, "That the "Miſchief would be fatal, if a preſent Remedy "was not found out and apply'd. That by Reaſon "of the ill State of the Coin, the Exchange abroad "was infinitely to the Nation's Prejudice. That "the Supplies that were rais'd to maintain the Army would never attain their End, being ſo much "diminiſh'd and devour'd by the unequal Change, "and exorbitant *Premiums* before they reach'd the "Camp. That this was the unhappy Cauſe that "the *Guineas* advanc'd to Thirty Shillings, and "Foreign Gold in proportion: That therefore to "the Nation's great Loſs, not only the *Dutch*, but "indeed all *Europe* ſent that Commodity to this "Market, and would continue to do ſo, till the "Nation ſhould be impoveriſh'd and undone by "Plenty of Gold. That we muſt exchange for "Gold our Goods, or our Silver, till at laſt we "ſhould have only Guineas to trade withal; which "no body could think our Neighbours would be "ſo kind to receive back at the Value they were at "here. That therefore this Diſeaſe would every "Day take deeper root, infect the very Vitals of "the Nation, and if not remedied, would ſoon become incurable. That our Enemies muſt be mightily intimidated by ſo great an Action, and would "ſooner be induc'd to agree to Honourable Terms "of Peace, in caſe they ſaw us able to ſurmount "this Difficulty, by the retrieving the ill State of "the Coin, on which their Hopes of the Nation's "ſpeedy Ruin ſo much depended; and that it "would juſtly create a mighty Eſteem abroad, of "the Greatneſs and Wiſdom of the Parliament of "*England*, which was able to conquer ſuch an obſtinate and almoſt inſuperable Evil in ſuch a Juncture of Affairs.

Theſe Matters being fully debated, the Parliament reſolved to call in, and recoin the Silver-Money, chuſing rather to run the Hazard of ſome great Inconveniencies, than by a longer Neglect to expoſe the Kingdom to apparent Ruin. The next Step was to conſider, *Whether the ſeveral Denominations of the New Money ſhould have the ſame Weight and Fineneſs as the Old; or, Whether the Eſtabliſh'd Standard ſhould be rais'd?* This Queſtion produced many Debates: Thoſe who were for raiſing the Standard did argue, "That the Price of an Ounce "of Silver Bullion was advanced to Six Shillings "and Three Pence, and therefore the Standard "ought to be rais'd to an Equality. That the raiſing "the Standard would prevent the Exportation of "our Coin, and the melting of it down, which of "late Years has been much practiſed, to the great "Prejudice of this Kingdom; and that it would "encourage People to bring in their Plate and Bullion into the Mint." The Court-Party, who were for preſerving the Old Standard, urged, "That "as to the Price of Bullion, now rais'd to Six Shillings and Three-pence, it was impoſſible the Price "of Silver could riſe and fall in reſpect of its ſelf, "but the Alteration of the Value of Bullion was "merely in relation to diminiſh'd Money; for it "was ſtill Matter of Fact, that with Five Shillings "and Two-pence of New Mill'd Money, they "could buy an Ounce of Bullion; whilſt thoſe "who bought it with Clipp'd Pieces, paid Six "Shillings and Three-pence.

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Queſtion, Whether the Standard ſhould continue?

As to the Argument of preventing the Exportation of Money by raiſing the Standard, it was anſwer'd, "There was no way poſſible to keep our "Money at home, but by out-trading our Neighbours; that is, by ſending them more Commodities, or of greater Value than thoſe we received "from them, *&c.*

Reſolutions about the Coin.

After theſe Debates, the Commons reſolv'd on *Dec.* 10. "That all Clipp'd Money be recoined according to the Eſtabliſh'd Standard of the Mint, "both as to the Weight and Fineneſs. That the "Loſs of ſuch Clipp'd Money ſhall be born by the "Publick. That a Day be appointed, after which "no Crowns or Half-Crowns be allowed in any "Payment. That another Day be appointed for all "Perſons to bring in their Clipp'd Money to be recoined into Mill'd Money: And that a Fund be "ſettled for ſupplying the Deficiencies." After this Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* reported the Form of an Addreſs, to deſire his Majeſty to regulate the Currency of Clipp'd Money, according to the foregoing Reſolutions; which Addreſs being preſented to the King, he cauſed his Royal Proclamation to be iſſued out for that Purpoſe. And the Lords had already Addreſs'd his Majeſty to the ſame Effect.

Some time before, the Commons having conſidered, that the maintaining an Army Abroad occaſioned the Exportation of the Coin, which could not be prevented, but by ſupplying the ſaid Army with Neceſſaries out of this Kingdom, on *Dec.* 13. Ordered an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, *That he would pleaſe to procure, that all Commodities and Proviſions, that ſhould be Tranſported from* England *for the Uſe of the Forces in his Majeſty's Pay abroad, might be exempted from any Duty or Exciſe, throughout the* Spaniſh *and* United Netherlands. To which the King anſwer'd, *That what was deſired by the Commons, had been done in a good Meaſure for ſeveral Years; and that he would ſee what could be further done in it.*

Bill for regulating Coinage.

The Commons having conſidered the Bill *for Regulating the Coinage of the Silver Money*, which the Chancellor of the *Exchequer* had prepared, and preſented to the Houſe on *Dec.* 17. ordered on *Dec.* 23. a Clauſe of Loan to be inſerted in it, in favour of ſuch as would advance Money on Credit of the *Exchequer* in general, transferrable to ſuch Funds as ſhould be ſettled by Parliament, towards making good the Deficiencies of the Clipp'd Money; and likewiſe order'd the ſame Committee to take care, that all Perſons who ſhould bring in Clipp'd Money

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On the 31ſt of *December*, the Commons reſolv'd to raiſe the 1200000*l.* for ſupplying the Deficiency of the Clipp'd Money, by a Duty laid upon all Dwelling-Houſes, except Cottages; to wit, Two Shillings Yearly upon each Houſe; Four Shillings upon every Houſe having Ten Windows; and Eight Shillings upon ſuch Houſes as have Twenty Windows, over and above the ſaid Two Shillings; which Duty was to be paid by the Inhabitants of the ſaid Houſes, and to be continued for the ſpace of Seven Years, and no longer.

The Days appointed by the King's Proclamation for putting a ſtop to the Currency of Clipp'd Money, were ſo ſhort, that an immediate ſtop was thereby put to Trade: So as the Houſe of Commons were obliged in a Grand Committee to conſider the State of the Nation, and how to prevent the Stop of Commerce during the Recoining of the Clipp'd Moneys. After ſome Debates for ſeveral Days, the Commons reſolv'd on *Jan.* 9. Firſt, "That the Recompence for ſupplying the Deficiency of Clipp'd Money, ſhould extend to all "Clipp'd Money which was Silver, although of a "courſer Allay than the Standard. Secondly, That "the Collectors and Receivers of his Majeſty's "Aids and Revenues, be enjoined to receive all "ſuch Moneys. Thirdly, That a Reward of Five "Pounds *per Cent.* be given to all ſuch Perſons as "ſhould bring in either Mill'd or Broad Unclipp'd "Money, to be applied in Exchange of the Clipp'd "Money throughout the Kingdom. Fourthly, That "a Reward alſo of Threepence *per* Ounce be given "to all Perſons who ſhould bring in wrought Plate "to the Mint to be re-coined. Fifthly, That for "the ſooner bringing in the Clipp'd Money to be "recoined, any Perſons might pay in their whole "next Years Tax of Four Shillings in the Pound, "in the ſaid Clipp'd Money, at one convenient "time appointed for that Purpoſe. Laſtly, That "Commiſſioners be appointed in every County, to "pay and diſtribute the Mill'd and Broad Unclipp'd "Money, and the New Coin'd Money, and to receive the Clipp'd Money". And at the ſame time appointed a Committee to prepare and bring in a Bill upon the ſaid Reſolutions. This Bill was accordingly preſented, and after a ſecond Reading on *Jan.* 21. committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe; who Reſolved, "That a further Encouragement be given for bringing in Plate to be "Coined, and Broad-Money in order to be exchang'd for Clipp'd Money: And that a Clauſe "be inſerted in the ſaid Bill, to prevent the Melting down and Exportation of Coin, or any Bullion; and another Clauſe to prohibit the Uſe of "Plate in Publick Houſes"; which at laſt prov'd the beſt Expedient to ſupply the Mints with Bullion.

The Lords having made ſeveral Amendments to the *Bill for Regulating the Coinage of the Silver Money of this Kingdom*; moſt of them, after ſeveral Debates and Conferences, were diſagreed to by the Commons: Whereupon Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, according to Order, preſented to the Houſe another *Bill for Remedying the Ill State of the Coin of this Kingdom*: Which was receiv'd, and after ſome Amendments order'd to be Engroſs'd, and ſent up to the Lords, who gave their Concurrence to it.

Addreſs againſt the *Scots Eaſt-India* Company.

On *Dec.* 14. the Lords in a Conference communicated to the Commons an Addreſs to his Majeſty, in relation to an injurious Act of Parliament made in *Scotland*, for Erecting a Company Trading to *Africa* and the *Eaſt-Indies*: To which Addreſs the Commons gave their Concurrence; and on the 17th they appointed a Committee to examine what Methods were taken for obtaining that *Scotch* Act; and who were the Subſcribers for Eſtabliſhing that *Eaſt-India* Company, and who were the Promoters and Adviſers of it. On the ſame *Tueſday* Afternoon, both Houſes attended the King with that Addreſs: To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to make this Anſwer; *I have been Ill-Served in* Scotland; *but I hope ſome Remedies may be found to prevent the Inconveniences which may ariſe from this Act.*

This Buſineſs purſued in other Reſolutions.

This Buſineſs did not ſtop here: For the Committee appointed by the Commons to examine by what Methods the ſaid Act was obtained, having made their Report, and delivered a Copy of an Oath *de Fideli*, taken by the Directors of the *Scotch Eaſt-India* Company, and of the Journal of the Proceedings of the ſaid Directors; and the ſaid Report, Oath, and Journal being Examin'd; as alſo the Petition preſented to the Houſe by the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, it was reſolv'd on *Jan.* 26 "That the Directors of the Company of *Scotland*, "Trading to *Africa* and the *Indies*, adminiſtring "and taking here in this Kingdom an Oath *de Fideli*; and under Colour of a *Scotch* Act of Parliament, ſtiling themſelves a Company, and "acting as ſuch, and raiſing Moneys in this Kingdom for carrying on the ſaid Company, were "guilty of a high Crime and Miſdemeanor; and "that the Lord *Belhaven*, *William Paterſon*, *David Nairne*, *James Smith*, *James Cheiſly*, *William Shepherd*, *Robert Blackwood*, *James Balfour*, "*James Fowlis*, *Thomas Coutts*, *Abraham Wilmer*, "*Daniel Van Mildert*, *Robert Williamſon*, *Anthony Merry*, *Paul Dominique*, *Robert Douglas*, *Thomas Skinner*, *Hugh Fraizer*, *James Bateman*, "*Walter Stewart*, and *Joſeph Cohen D' Azevedo*, "be Impeached of the ſaid High Crimes and Miſdemeanors". Whilſt a Committee was drawing up the Impeachments, *Roderick Mackenzee* endeavour'd to ſuppreſs the Evidence he had given againſt the ſaid Perſons, for which he was order'd to be taken into Cuſtody, but he made his Eſcape; nor could he be apprehended, although the King, at the Requeſt of the Commons on *Feb.* 13. had iſſued out a Proclamation for that Purpoſe. However, the worſt of this Affair was, That the Commons having ſeveral times in a Grand Committee conſider'd the State of the Nation, in relation to Trade; and Reſolved, *Firſt*, "That a Council of Trade be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, with Powers for "the more effectual Preſervation of the Trade of "this Kingdom. *Secondly*, That the Commiſſioners "conſtituting the ſaid Council, be Nominated by "Parliament. *Thirdly*, That none of the Commiſſioners be of this Houſe. *Fourthly*, That the "ſaid Commiſſioners ſhould take an Oath, acknowledging, That King *William* was Rightful and "Lawful King of this Realm; and that the late "King *James* had no Right or Title thereunto; "and that no other Perſon has any Right or Title "to the Crown, otherwiſe than according to the "Act of Settlement, made in the Firſt Year of his "Majeſty's Reign, *&c.*" And theſe and Ten more Reſolutions relating to the ſaid Council, being reported to the Houſe on *Jan.* 13. the Firſt and Second, with ſome others, were indeed approv'd, but ſeveral others, and eſpecially the Fourth, whereby King *William* was to be acknowledg'd Rightful and Lawful King; and which occaſion'd a warm Debate, were rejected by the Houſe. And a Bill was ordered to be brought in upon the Reſolutions agreed unto.

Reſolutions for Trade.

Ways and Means.

Amidſt theſe Important Affairs, the Commons did not forget the Ways and Means of raiſing the Neceſſary Aids for the War. They Tax'd Land Four Shillings in the Pound, and laid the ſame Impoſition upon all Perſonal Eſtates, and upon all Offices and Employments of Profit other than Military Offices in the Army, Navy, and Ordnance. They proceeded to theſe further Reſolutions. 1. "To "enlarge the Times for Perſons to come in and "purchaſe certain Annuities, mentioned in a for-

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1695. 7 *W.* 3. "mer Act. 2. To continue the Duties formerly "charg'd on Low Wines and Spirits of the firſt "Extraction. 3. To continue the Duties upon all "Wines, Vinegar, and Tobacco, from the 24th of "*June*, 1698, to the 29th of *Sept.* 1701. 4. To "continue the Duties upon all *Eaſt-India* Goods "and Manufactures, and upon all Wrought Silks, "and ſeveral other Goods, from the 10th of *Nov.* "1697, to the 29th of *Sept.* 1701. 5. To ſettle "a Fund by continuing the Duties upon Salt, for "the Payment of Intereſt, not exceeding 7*l. per* "*Cent.* redeemable by Parliament. And 6. That "the Duties of 25 *l. per Tun* be laid upon all "*French* Wine, 30 *l. per Tun* upon all *French* Brandy, and 15 *l. per Tun* on all *French* Vinegar, and "25 *l. per Cent. ad Valorem*, upon all other Goods "of the Growth, Product, or Manufacture of "*France*, Imported after the Twelfth Day of "*March*, 1697, for the Term of 21 Years, over "and above the Duties already charged thereupon; "and ſeveral Bills were prepared and brought in "according to the ſaid Reſolutions.

Acts paſſed.

On *Tueſday*, *Jan.* 21. his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for Enlarging the Times to come in, and Purchaſe certain Annuities therein mentioned; and for continuing the Duties formerly charg'd on Low Wines, or Spirits of the Firſt Extraction, for carrying on the War againſt* France. 2. *An Act for Regulating of Tryals in Caſes of Treaſon, and Miſpriſion of Treaſon.* 3. *An Act for Remedying the ill ſtate of the Coin of the Kingdom.* 4. *An Act for preventing Charge and Expence in Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament.* 5. *An Act for Enabling Sir* Thomas Parkins, *Bart. to ſell certain Meſſuages, Lands and Hereditaments in* Huby *and* Eaſingwould *in the County of* York; *and for ſettling other Lands and Hereditaments of greater Value in lieu thereof.* 6. *An Act to enable Sir* Thomas Pope Blount, *Bart. to make a Settlement upon the Marriage of his Eldeſt Son.* 7. *An Act for Veſting the Mannor of* Madeley, *in the County of* Salop, *in Truſtees, for certain Purpoſes therein mentioned.* 8. *An Act for Enabling the Lady* Katherine Fane *to ſell the Reverſion of certain Fee-Farm Rents, given to her by her Grandfather,* John Bence, *Eſq*; 9. *An Act for Enabling* Thomas Stoner, *Eſq*; (*Son and Heir of* John Stoner, *Eſq*; *Deceaſed*) *to make a Jointure and Settlement of his Eſtate in Marriage, notwithſtanding his Minority.* 10. *An Act for veſting ſeveral Meſſuages and Lands belonging to* Samuel Powell, *Eſq*; *in Truſtees for Payment of his Debts.*

Grants to the Earl of *Portland*.

There was another Affair depending in this Seſſion, which very ſenſibly concern'd his Majeſty. The Earl of *Portland* had begg'd of his Majeſty the Lordſhips of *Denbigh*, *Bromfield*, and *Yale*, and other Lands in the Principality of *Wales*; which his Majeſty readily Granted to him and his Heirs for ever: The Warrant coming to the Lords of the Treaſury, the Gentlemen of the County upon ſhort Notice were heard on *May* 10. before their Lordſhips. Sir *William Williams* then alledg'd, That theſe Lordſhips were the Ancient Demeſnes of the Prince of *Wales*; that the *Welſh* were never Subject to any but God and the King. That in the Statute for Granting Fee-Farm Rents, there was an Exception of the Rents belonging to the Principality of *Wales*; which imported, that the Parliament took thoſe Revenues to be unalienable; that upon Creation of a Prince of *Wales* there were many Acknowledgments payable out of thoſe Lordſhips; and though there were at preſent no Prince of *Wales*, yet he hop'd to ſee one of the King's own Body, *&c.* Sir *Roger Puleſton* alledg'd, That the Revenues of theſe Lordſhips did ſupport the Government of *Wales*, by paying the Judges and other Officers their ſtated Salaries; and if given away there would be a Failure of Juſtice. And Mr. *Price*, a Gentleman of great Parts, (ſince one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*) did boldly urge, "That the "Grant was of a large Extent, being Five Parts in "Six of a whole County, which was too great a "Power for any Foreign Subject to have; and that "the People of the Country were too great to be "ſubject to any Foreigner. Let it be conſidered, "(ſays he) Can it be for his Majeſty's Honour or "Intereſt, (when the People hear this and underſtand it,) That he daily gives away the Revenues "of his Crown, and what is more, the Perpetuity "of them to his Foreign Subjects? Good Kings, "after a long and chargeable War, were wont to "tell their People, That they were ſorry for the "Hardſhips the Nation underwent by a long War "and heavy Taxes; and that now they would Live "upon their own: But it is to be feared, if Grants "are made ſo large and ſo frequent, there would be "nothing for the King or his Succeſſors to call "their own to Live upon. He concluded thus: "It is to be hop'd your Lordſhips will conſider, "That we had but one Day's Notice of this Attendance, and muſt come therefore very much "unprovided; yet we doubt not, theſe Hints "and broken Thoughts we have offer'd to your "Lordſhips, you will, by your great Judgments "improve, whereby the ill Conſequences of this "Grant may truly be repreſented to his Majeſty". The Lord *Godolphin*, the Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, ask'd for Satisfaction, "Whether the "Earl of *Leiceſter* had not thoſe Lordſhips in Grant "to him in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time? Sir *Robert Cotton* anſwered, He believ'd he could give the beſt Account in that Caſe: "That the Earl of *Leiceſter* "had but one of thoſe Lordſhips; and that was "*Denbigh*: That he was ſo oppreſſive to the Gentry of the Country, that he occaſion'd them to "take up Arms, and to oppoſe him; for which, "Three or Four of his (Sir *Robert Cotton's*) Relations were hang'd; but that it ended not there, "for the Quarrel was kept ſtill on foot, and the "Earl glad to be in Peace, and to Grant it back to "the Queen; ſince which time it had ever been "in the Crown". Whereupon the Lord *Godolphin* ſaid, "They had offer'd many weighty Reaſons, "which they ſhould repreſent to his Majeſty." From the Treaſury the Gentlemen of *Wales* attended the Grant to the Privy-Seal, where their Reaſons and Complaints againſt it were heard and receiv'd with all Candor and Goodneſs. Yet notwithſtanding all this, the ſaid Grant being only ſuperſeded, but not recalled, Sir *Thomas Groſvener*, Sir *Richard Middleton*, Sir *John Conway*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *William Williams*, Sir *Roger Puleſton*, *Edward Vaughan*, *Edward Brereton*, and *Robert Price*, Eſq; addreſs'd themſelves by Petition to the Commons.

Offenſive to the Gentry of *Wales*.

Upon this Occaſion the ſame Mr. *Price*, a Member of that Houſe made a memorable Speech; wherein he ſaid, "That this Petition, though ſubſcribed by "a few Hands, had the Approbation of many "Thouſands who were not influenced by their own "Intereſt, but acted for the Honour of the Crown, "and Welfare of the *Britiſh* Nation. That if he "could conceive how the Glory and Grandeur of "*England* was, or could be upheld by a poor Landleſs Crown, and a miſerable neceſſitous People, he "could be then eaſily perſuaded to believe that his "Majeſty was well adviſed to grant away all the "Revenues of the Crown; and that his Government thereby would be well ſecured, and his "People beſt protected, when they had little or "nothing left; but he was ſure they were not "*Engliſh*, but Foreign Politicians, who might "revere the King, and yet hate his People. "That the Kings of *England* always reigned beſt, "when they had the Affections of their Subjects; "of which they were ſecure, when the People "were ſenſible the King was entirely in their Intereſt, and lov'd the *Engliſh* Soil, as well as the "People's Money, *&c.*" When he had repreſented

to

1695. 7 W. 3. to 'em the Nature of that mighty Grant to this Noble Lord, the ill Conſequences that muſt attend the Publick, and more particularly the Dominion of *Wales*, and eſpecially the County of *Denbigh*, by the paſſing of it; he concluded thus: "I muſt "needs confeſs, that my Thoughts are troubled "with ſtrange Apprehenſions of our deplorable "State: We are in a Confederacy in War, and "ſome of thoſe Confederates our Enemies in Trade, "tho' planted amongſt us; Some of the King's "Council; Some in the Army; and the Common "Traders have poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Out-"Skirts of this Great City. We find ſome or other "of them naturaliz'd, and others made *Denizens*: "Every Parliament we find Endeavours for a General Naturalization, and that warmly ſollicited "from Court. We ſee our good Coin all gone, "and our Confederates openly Coining baſe Money "of *Dutch* Alloy for us. We ſee moſt Places of "Power and Profit given to Foreigners. We ſee "our Confederates in Conjunction with the *Scotch*, "to ruin our *Engliſh* Trade. We ſee the Revenues "of the Crown daily given away to one or other, "who make Sale of them, and tranſmit their E-"ſtates elſewhere. We do not find any of them "buy Lands or Eſtates amongſt us; but what they "can get from us, they ſecure in their own Coun-"try. How can we hope for Happy Days in *Eng-"land*, when this Great Lord, and the other Fo-"reigners, (tho' Naturaliz'd) are in the *Engliſh*, "and alſo in the *Dutch* Councils? If theſe Stran-"gers (tho' now Confederates) ſhould be of diffe-"rent Intereſts, (as moſt plainly they are in point "of Trade) to which Intereſt is it to be ſuppoſed "thoſe Great Foreign Counſellors and Favourites "would adhere? So that I foreſee, that when we "are reduced to extreme Poverty, (as now we are "very near it) we are to be ſupplanted by our Neigh-"bours, and become a Colony to the *Dutch*.

"I ſhall make no ſevere Remarks on this Great "Man, for his Greatneſs makes us little, and will "make the Crown both poor and precarious: "And when God ſhall pleaſe to ſend us a Prince "of *Wales*, he may have ſuch a Preſent of a "Crown made him, as a Pope did to King *John*, "who was firnam'd *Sans Terre*, and was by his "Father (King *Henry* the Second) made Lord of "*Ireland*: Which Grant was confirm'd by the "Pope, who ſent him a Crown of Peacocks Fea-"thers, in Deriſion of his Power, and the Poverty "of his Revenue. I would have us to conſider that "we are *Engliſhmen*, and muſt (like good Patri-"ots) ſtand by our Country, and not ſuffer it to "become tributary to Strangers. We have re-"joiced that we have beat out of this Kingdom "Popery and Slavery, and do now with as great Joy "entertain *Socinianiſm* and Poverty; and yet we "ſee our Properties daily given away, and our Li-"berties muſt ſoon follow.

---- "I deſire Redreſs rather than Puniſhment; "therefore I ſhall neither move for an Impeach-"ment againſt this Noble Lord, nor for the Ba-"niſhment of him; but ſhall only beg that he "may have no Power over us, nor we any Depen-"dance upon him: And ſo concluded with this Mo-"tion, That an Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, "to ſtop the Grant that is paſſing to the Earl of "*Portland*, of the Lordſhips of *Denbigh*, *Brom-"field* and *Yale*, and other Lands in the Principality "of *Wales*; and that the ſame be not granted, but "by Conſent of Parliament.

This ſtout and Eloquent Speech made ſo great an Impreſſion, that Mr. *Price*'s Motion was carry'd by an unanimous Conſent; and on *January* 22. this Addreſs was preſented to the King by the Speaker, attended by the whole Houſe.

Addreſs of the Commons.

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

"We your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal "Subjects, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in "Parliament aſſembled, humbly lay before your "Majeſty, That whereas there is a Grant paſſing to "*William* Earl of *Portland*, and his Heirs, of the "Manors of *Denbigh*, *Bromfield* and *Yale*, and di-"vers other Lands in the Principality of *Wales*, to-"gether with ſeveral Eſtates of Inheritance, enjoy'd "by many of your Majeſty's Subjects, by virtue of "Ancient Grants from the Crown:

"That the ſaid Manors, with the large and ex-"tenſive Regalities, Powers and Juriſdictions to "the ſame belonging, are of great Concern to your "Majeſty and the Crown of this Realm; and that "the ſame have been uſually annex'd to the Princi-"pality of *Wales*, and ſettled on the Princes of "*Wales* for their Support: And that a great Num-"ber of your Majeſty's Subjects in thoſe Parts hold "their Eſtates by Royal Tenure, under great and "valuable Compoſitions, Rents, Royal Payments, "and Services to the Crown and Princes of *Wales*; "and have by ſuch Tenure great Dependance on "your Majeſty and the Crown of *England*; and "have enjoy'd great Privileges and Advantages with "their Eſtates under ſuch Tenure.

"We therefore moſt humbly beſeech your Ma-"jeſty, to put a Stop to the Paſſing this Grant to "the Earl of *Portland*, of the ſaid Manors and "Lands; and that the ſame may not be diſpoſed "from the Crown, but by Conſent of Parlia-"ment: For that ſuch Grant is in Diminution of "the Honour and Intereſt of the Crown, by pla-"cing in a Subject ſuch large and extenſive Royal-"ties, Powers and Juriſdictions, which ought only "to be in the Crown, and will ſever that Depen-"dance which ſo great a Number of your Majeſty's "Subjects in thoſe Parts have on your Majeſty and "the Crown, by reaſon of their Tenure, and may "be to their great Oppreſſion in thoſe Rights "which they have purchaſed, and hitherto enjoy'd "with their Eſtates; and alſo an Occaſion of great "Vexation to many of your Majeſty's Subjects, "who have long had the abſolute Inheritance of "ſeveral Lands (comprehended in the ſaid Grant "to the Earl of *Portland*) by Ancient Grants from "the Crown.

His Majeſty, in Anſwer, was pleaſed thus to expreſs himſelf:

Gentlemen,

I have a Kindneſs for my Lord Portland, *which he has deſerved of me by long and faithful Services; but I ſhould not have given him theſe Lands, if I had imagined the Houſe of Commons could have been concerned: I will therefore recall the Grant, and find ſome other way of ſhewing my Favour to him.*

Acts paſſed.

On *Tueſday*, *February* the 13th, his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for granting to his Majeſty an Aid of Four Shillings in the Pound for one Year, for carrying on the War againſt* France. 2. *An Act to prevent Falſe and Double Returns of Members to ſerve in Parliament.* 3. *An Act for the more eaſy Recovery of Small Tythes.* 4. *An Act to enable* Anthony *Earl of* Kent, *and* Henry Gray, *his Son and Heir apparent, to make a Jointure for* Jemima, *Wife of the ſaid* Henry Gray. 5. *An Act to enable the Lord* Francis Pawlett *to charge his Eſtate with Proviſions for his Younger Children.* 6. *An Act for Veſting the Eſtate late of Sir* Nicholas Stoughton, *and Sir* Lawrence Stoughton, *Baronets, deceas'd, in Truſtees, to be ſold for the Payment of their Debts, and raiſing Portions for the Daughters of the ſaid Sir* Nicholas Stoughton. 7. *An Act to enable* Richard Haynes, *Eſq; to ſettle a Jointure on his own Wife, and to exchange Lands with the Truſtees of* Thomas Stephens, *Eſq; deceas'd.* 8. *An Act for enabling Truſtees to ſell Part of the Eſtate of* Edward Warner, *deceas'd, for Payment of his Debts, and for preſerving the reſt for*

1695. 7 W. 3. *for the Benefit of his Heirs.* 9. *An Act to enable* John Aunger, *an Infant, and his Mother, to make a Leaſe of his Eſtate for the Improvement thereof.* 10. *An Act to enable Truſtees to ſell Part of the Manor of* Barkhamſted, *and to pay off the Incumbrances charged upon the ſame; and to lay out the Overplus in an Eſtate, to be ſettled as the ſaid Manor is now veſted.*

The horrid Aſſaſſination Plot.

And now broke out the horrid Conſpiracy of Aſſaſſinating the King's Perſon; a Villany that was firſt laid beyond the Seas: For Captain *Waugh* of *Brentford*, who in *November* 1694. was ſent over by the *Jacobites* to concert their Affairs in *France*, addreſſes to Colonel *Parker*, Mr. *Caryl*, and other Confederates of that Party; who telling him, The *French* were not yet at Leiſure to furniſh them with ſo many Men as were deſir'd for the Invaſion, they fell upon what they thought would more ſpeedily accompliſh the Reſtoration of their Maſter, and that was, the *Taking off King* William. Theſe Perſons had been long in the Secret, and had agreed upon the Methods; but becauſe many of the *Jacobites* abhorred ſuch a black and deteſtable Enterprize, (and even others refus'd to engage in it, unleſs they had a Special Order) a Commiſſion muſt be had from the Abdicated King for the doing of it, under the Phraſe of *Attacking the Prince of* Orange *in his Winter-Quarters.* Now leſt the Year 1695 ſhould be left without putting this wicked Deſign in Execution, Mr. *Waugh* was ſent into *England* from the Court of St. *Germains*, to give the *Jacobites* here Aſſurance, that thoſe who would engage in the Aſſaſſination, ſhould have ſuch a Commiſſion ſent them as was deſired: And thoſe who were for the Invaſion only, ſhould have their Spirits kept up with the Hopes of a powerful Aſſiſtance from *France*, as ſoon as the Blow was given. And Major *Croſby* came over with Aſſurance, (as was depoſed by Sir *John Fenwick*, in a Paper annexed to his Lady's Petition for his Reprieve) *That he ſaw the Commiſſion ſign'd, and under Seal in* France: *That it was ſent away before him; and if not already come, he was certain it was upon the Road, and would be here in a few Days.* This was privately communicated to the *Jacobites*, in order to cut off King *William* before he went to *Holland*; but Providence convey'd his Majeſty ſafe thither and Home again.

At his Majeſty's Return, they carry'd on the double Plot of Invaſion and Aſſaſſination: Several Meetings were appointed and held by the Ringleaders of the Party; particularly in *May* 1695, at the Old King's-Head Tavern in *Leadenhall-ſtreet, London*; there met there the Earl of *Ayleſbury*, the Lord *Montgomery*, Sir *John Friend*, Sir *William Perkins*, Sir *John Fenwick*, Mr. *Charnock*, Captain *Porter*, Mr. *Cooke*, and Mr. *Goodman.* There they conſulted on the beſt way to reſtore the late King; and all agreed, that the moſt proper Method was, To ſend a Special Meſſenger to his Majeſty, and deſire him to procure of the *French* King Ten Thouſand Men. Mr. *Charnock* was the Perſon they pitch'd upon to manage this Affair; who ſaid, *He would not go on a fooliſh Errand; and therefore would know what the Company would do, if Foreign Forces could be procured?* Whereupon they all unanimouſly promis'd, *That if King* James *would come over with ſuch a Number of Men as was deſir'd, they would meet him at the Head of Two Thouſand Horſe, whereever he would appoint them.* At the latter end of *June* they had another Meeting; where, after many Diſcourſes upon that Subject, Mr. *Charnock* received a further Confirmation of their Reſolutions, and thereupon took his Journey into *France.*

The Invaſion being thus promoted, that the Aſſaſſination might keep pace with it, ſome of the Conſpirators calling to mind, that nothing of that kind could be attempted, without a Commiſſion from King *James* to do it, (which *Croſby* ſaid was coming;) Captain *Porter* and Mr. *Goodman* communicated this Scruple to Sir *George Barclay*, who was then in *England*, and upon his Departure for *France*; telling him what Difficulties they labour'd under for want of a Commiſſion; and that a longer Delay of ſending it over, would certainly put a Stop to the Affair: Sir *George* not only approves, but commends the Deſign; and that ſuch a hopeful Project might not miſcarry, promiſes to uſe all his Intereſt at St. *Germains*, that the Commiſſion might no longer be wanting. The Beginning of *Auguſt* 1695 brings Mr. *Charnock* again to *London*, with the unwelcome News, That the King of *France* was not in a Condition to ſpare King *James* ſo many Men; which being communicated to the Party, the Deſign was laid aſide till Winter.

But notwithſtanding this poſitive Anſwer, the *French* (at the ſame Time) were taking ſuch Meaſures as might ſuit with the *Jacobites* Requeſt, tho' they durſt not truſt them with the Secret: Nay, not King *James* himſelf; till a Squadron of Men of War, and near Four Hundred Tranſport-Ships were fitted out, and the *French* Army (conſiſting of Thirty Battalions) were ready to embark, and Money and Directions ſent his Majeſty to go on Board, and take Poſſeſſion of *England.*

In *December*, 1695, Sir *George Barclay*, who had formerly been a General Officer, and was then (in *France*) an Officer in King *James*'s Guards, came over into *England*, and brought with him a Commiſſion from the late King, *To attack and ſeize the Prince of* Orange *in his Winter-Quarters*; or, as others report, *To levy War upon the Prince of* Orange, *and all his Adherents.* Before him, with him, or after him, Two and twenty of King *James*'s Guards and Officers, who had all Inſtructions to obey the Orders of Sir *George*, came alſo into *England.*

Sir *George Barclay* and his Men being arriv'd at *London*, they endeavour'd to ſtrengthen their Party by the Addition of Major *Lowick*, Mr. *Knightley*, Mr. *Bertram*, Mr. *Rookwood*, Mr. *La Rue*, Mr. *Goodman*, Captain *Porter*, *Chambers*, *Durant*, *Cranburn*, *Kendrick*, *Grimes*, and *Waugh*; ſome of which were engaged in the Aſſaſſination the Year before. Thoſe that came from *France* knew not the Particulars of what they were ſent about, being kept in a blind Obedience to *Barclay*'s Orders; but ſome in *England* were privy to the whole Deſign: And tho' ſome of them ſtartled at its firſt being propos'd to them, yet the Authority of King *James*'s Commiſſion, and their imaginary Proſpects of large Rewards at his Return, made them conſent to hazard their Lives in it. Several Conſultations were held, and ſeveral Ways propos'd to effect what they aim'd at: Some were for Seizing his Majeſty, and carrying him alive into *France*; and to that purpoſe, a Feint was made, That a Caſtle on the Sea-ſide was ſecur'd, to detain the King, till a Ship was ready to tranſport him over: But the more wicked among them, that underſtood what was meant by *Seizing the Prince of* Orange's *Perſon*, laughed at this as a mere *Chimera.* Others propos'd to kill his Majeſty at *Kenſington*, by attacking his Guards, and forcing his Palace in the Dead of Night: But this, upon weighing the Difficulties, was found wholly impracticable. Others, again, were for murdering the King as he came on *Sunday* to St. *James*'s Chapel: For which purpoſe, Forty Men (well arm'd) were to attack his Majeſty's Guards, (which before the Diſcovery of the Plot did not exceed Twenty five) whilſt Six Men on Foot ſhould ſhut *Hide-Park* Gate, and the reſt aſſaſſinate his Majeſty. It was propoſed alſo to kill the Coach-Horſes, as they were entring into the Park; that the Paſſage being ſtopt, the Guards might not be able to come up, till the Aſſaſſins had done their Work. Another Propoſal was, to murder the King as he return'd from Hunting, in a narrow Lane by a Wood

Several Projects of Villany.

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ſide near *Richmond*, leading to the *Thames*, on the other ſide the Water, about a Hundred and fifty Paces long; in which there is a Gate, that (when ſhut) hinders Coaches and Horſes from coming that way. One of the Conſpirators was ſent to view this Ground, and another to ſurvey the Lane above-mention'd; but Sir *George Barclay*, the chief Director of this wicked Enterprize, did not approve that Place, and ſo that Project was alſo laid aſide. At laſt they all fix'd upon a Place between *Turnham Green* and *Brentford*, in a Mooriſh Bottom, where there is a Bridge, and divers Roads that croſs one another. On the *North*-ſide, there is a Road which goes round *Brentford*; and on the *South*, a Lane that leads to the River; ſo that Paſſengers may come thither ſeveral Ways. After you have paſs'd the Bridge, the Road grows narrow; having on one ſide a Foot-Path, and on the other a high thick Hedge: Here the barbarous Parricide was to be committed. And indeed, all Circumſtances conſider'd, a fitter Place could hardly have been found; for his Majeſty often return'd late from Hunting, and uſually paſs'd thro' this Lane after his Landing at *Queens-Ferry*, with no greater Attendance than Five or Six of his Guards. It was alſo his Majeſty's Cuſtom to enter the Ferry-Boat in his Coach, and as ſoon as he landed on this ſide the Water, the Coach drove on without expecting the reſt of his Guards; who could not croſs the *Thames*, till the Boat return'd to *Surrey* ſide, to bring them over; and ſo the reſt of his Guards could not have come to his Aſſiſtance. For this purpoſe, the Conſpirators were divided into Three Parties, and were to make their Approaches Three ſeveral ways; One of which was to attack the Guards in the Front, the other in the Rear, whilſt Ten or Twelve of the bloodieſt amongſt them were to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty in his Coach.

The Day appointed for Aſſaſſination of the King.

The 15th of *February* was the Day appointed to act this barbarous Tragedy; and the Conſpirators having long kept Two Men at *Kenſington*, to watch the King's going to hunt, which was commonly every *Saturday*; one of theſe *Orderly Men* (for ſo they call'd them) brought them word, that the King did not go abroad that Day. This Diſappointment was ſome Alarm to their Fears of a Diſcovery; and thereupon *Ploudon*, *Kendrick* and *Sherburn*, began to be timorous, declin'd the Action, and withdrew themſelves. But the boldeſt of the Plotters, Sir *George Barclay*, Sir *William Perkins*, Captain *Porter*, and Mr. *Goodman*, had another Meeting, and there reſolv'd to execute their bloody Project on *Saturday*, *February* the 21ſt. That Morning was ſpent in an eager Expectation of the News that the King was gone abroad; but inſtead of that Account, *Keys*, one of their *Orderly Men* at *Kenſington*, brought Advice, That the Guards were all come back in a Foam; and that there was a Muttering among the People, *That a damnable Plot was diſcover'd.* This aſtoniſhing News alarm'd and diſpers'd all the Conſpirators, and drove them to ſhift for themſelves by a ſpeedy Flight.

The Plot diſcover'd;

Nor were *Keys*'s Report and their Apprehenſions groundleſs, for the Plot, and every Step of it from Time to Time, had been diſcover'd by *Richard Fiſher*, and ſomething of it by Mr. *Grimes*, to the Earl of *Portland*. *Fiſher* had his Knowledge of it from *Harriſon* the Prieſt, who took him to be one of their Party; and *Grimes* had ſome dark Hints from another; But both refuſing to give his Lordſhip the Names of the Conſpirators, little Credit was given to their Informations, till they were confirm'd by other Teſtimonies.

Chiefly by Mr. *Pendergraſs.*

Mr. *Pendergraſs*, who was wholly ignorant of the Deſign till he was ſent for to *London*, being ſtruck with Horror at the firſt Propoſal of it, even then took up a Reſolution to ſave his Majeſty's Life; tho' the better to manage his intended Diſcovery, he ſeem'd willing to engage in the helliſh Enterprize. This Gentleman, on the 14th of *February* at Night, went to the Earl of *Portland*, and being admitted to Privacy with his Lordſhip, (tho' wholly a Stranger) without further Addreſs, accoſted his Lordſhip with this ſurprizing Requeſt: *Pray, my Lord, perſuade the King to ſtay at Home To-morrow; for if he goes abroad to hunt, he will be murder'd.* The ſame Night, tho' late, he was introduc'd to his Majeſty, and diſcover'd the whole Plot: And his whole Deportment ſhewing him to be a Man of Honour, a great Streſs was laid upon his Information.

Mr. *De La Rue.*

The next Day after, Mr. *De La Rue* made the ſame Diſcovery; which he would have done before, but that his Friend, Brigadier *Lewſon*, who deſign'd to introduce him to the King, was gone out of Town. Upon his Return to *London*, Brigadier *Lewſon* acquainted the King, That Mr. *De La Rue* had inform'd him of a Deſign carrying on to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty; and propos'd a way, if the King thought fit, how all the Conſpirators might be taken in Arms. Tho' *Pendergraſs* and *De La Rue* acted upon a ſeparate Bottom, yet they punctually agreed in all the Circumſtances of the Conſpiracy; which render'd their Diſcovery unqueſtionable: But yet both peremptorily refus'd to name the Conſpirators; which might have been of fatal Conſequence, if the Earl of *Portland* had not found the happy Expedient to prevent it, by perſuading his Majeſty to give himſelf the Trouble of examining them ſeparately in his Cloſet. The King having accordingly, on *February* the 21ſt, examin'd Mr. *Pendergraſs* before the Earl of *Portland* and the Lord *Cutts*, and Mr. *De La Rue*, before the ſame Earl and Brigadier *Lewſon*; his Majeſty ſhew'd himſelf extremely well ſatisfied in the Truth of their Diſcoveries; and in a very obliging manner expreſs'd his Reſentment for their Generoſity, in the great Care and Zeal they ſhew'd for the Preſervation of his Life, and the Safety of the Kingdom; and at laſt gave them ſuch unanſwerable Reaſons, why, as Men of Honour, and Lovers of their Country, they ſhould compleat their Duty and Affection, by naming the Conſpirators, as quite overcame their former Unwillingneſs, and prevail'd with them to tell the Names of the Aſſaſſins, under the Promiſe of not being made uſe of as Evidences. But not many Days after, Mr. *Pendergraſs* hearing that Mr. *Porter* (who engaged him in the Plot) had, by an allowable Stratagem, been frighted into a Diſcovery, and accuſed him; he thought himſelf diſcharg'd from any Obligation of Honour in concealing it; and therefore afterwards came in as an Evidence at *Charnock*'s Tryal.

Murder of the King to have been ſeconded by an Invaſion.

This Execrable Murder of the King was to have been ſeconded by a dreadful Invaſion of the Kingdom: New Levies had been made in *France* this Winter; and a great Number of Forces were drawn toward *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, which gave no ſmall Umbrage to the Confederates, and eſpecially to the *Dutch*, who feared thoſe Troops were to inſult their Coaſts with the Shipping prepar'd for them. But the Deſign was quickly unravell'd: For towards the Beginning of *February*, it was a publick Diſcourſe in *France*, That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was now fully reſolved to re-eſtabliſh King *James*; and had concerted Meaſures ſo well, that nothing remain'd but a fair Wind, and a few Days to compleat the Glorious Work. And indeed, the Poſture of Affairs in *England* ſeem'd favourable enough for ſuch a daring Enterprize: For at this Time a very inconſiderable Number of Troops were left in *England*; the great Ships, that were ſome Months before return'd from the *Mediterranean* with Admiral *Ruſſel*, were laid up; and ſuch as were fitted out, had Orders to ſail (with a great Fleet of Merchant-Men) to the *Streights*, in order to enable Sir *George Rooke* to defend that Paſſage againſt the *Thoulon* Fleet.

On

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K. *James* at *Calais* in Expectation of Succeſs.

On *February* the 18th, King *James* came in a Poſt-Calaſh to *Calais*; and immediately upon his Arrival, the Troops, Artillery and Stores were order'd to be put on Board with the utmoſt Diligence; whilſt the Signal was impatiently expected from the *Jacobites* in *England*, to ſet Sail. And ſo confidently ſure they were in *France* of a ſucceſsful Expedition, that the Duke of *Orleans* urg'd it as an Argument to the Duke of *Savoy*, to make his ſeparate Peace before the total Overthrow of the Confederates, which of Neceſſity muſt attend the Reſtoration of King *James*. Upon the firſt News of King *James*'s coming to *Calais*, the Duke of *Wirtembergh* diſpatch'd one of his *Aids de Camp* to King *William*, to give his Majeſty Notice of it; and to acquaint him, That the Duke had ſtopp'd all the Ships in the Harbour and Canal of *Oſtend*, as well as of *Bruges*, in order to tranſport the Forces under his Command for his Majeſty's Service: And that in caſe he did not quickly hear from his Majeſty, he would run the Hazard of bringing them over; which he accordingly did, with great Affection and Honour. This Meſſenger narrowly eſcaping the *French* at Sea, got to the *Engliſh* Court on *Feb.* 22. And immediately after, the King received other Expreſſes from the Duke of *Bavaria* and the Prince of *Vaudemont*, who were then at *Bruſſels*.

Proclamation againſt the Traytors.

King *William* now having a perfect Knowledge of the Double Blow from Abroad and at Home, on *Feb.* 23. publiſh'd his Proclamation, *To diſcover, take, and apprehend James* Duke of *Berwick*, Sir *George Barclay*, Major *Lowick*, *George Porter*, Captain *Stow*, Captain *Walbank*, Captain *James Courtney*, Lieutenant *Sherburn*, *Brice Blair*, ------ *Dinant*, ------ *Chambers*, ------ *Boiſe*, *George Higgens*, and his Two Brothers, Sons to Sir *Thomas Higgens*, ------ *Davis*, *Cardell Goodman*, ------ *Crambourne*, ------ *Keys*, ------ *Pendergraſs*, ------ *Bryerly*, ------ *Trevour*, Sir *George Maxwell*, ------ *Durance*, a *Flemming*, *Chriſtopher Knightley*, Lieutenant *King*, ------ *Holmes*, Sir *William Perkins*, and ------ *Rookewood*, *as wicked and traiterous Perſons, who had entred into a horrid and deteſtable Conſpiracy, to aſſaſſinate and murder his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon*, &c. With a Promiſe of One thouſand Pounds Reward for every Offender that ſhould be taken and brought to Juſtice. The Forces in *England* were ordered to be in a Readineſs to march; a Train of Artillery was prepar'd to attend them. Admiral *Ruſſel* repair'd immediately to *Deal*, to take upon him the Command of the Fleet; which, by a particular Providence, had been detain'd many Weeks in the *Downs*, by contrary Winds, and which was ſoon reinforc'd by other Men of War from the River, and Twelve *Dutch* Ships from *Spithead*. So that in Five or Six Days time, this induſtrious Admiral had near Sixty Men of War; with which he ſtood over directly for the Coaſts of *Calais* and *Dunkirk*, and ſtruck Terror and Amazement on the Enemy, who could now truſt to nothing but their Harbours.

Immediately after the Royal Proclamation was out, Mr. *George Hains*, one of the Perſons that was ſent out of *France*, to obey the Orders of Sir *George Barclay*, and was actually engag'd in the Aſſaſſination-Plot, reſign'd himſelf to Sir *William Trumbal*; and confeſs'd the double Deſigns, tho' he was not able to tell the particular Circumſtances that were to attend them. So that every Day producing freſh Evidences of the *Jacobite* Conſpiracy, the King thought it Time to communicate the Diſcovery of it to the Two Houſes. Hence, on *Monday*, *February* 24. the King, with uſual Solemnity, came to the Houſe of Peers; and ſending for the Commons, gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for Taking, Examining, and Stating the Publick Accounts.* 2. *An Act for Repairing the High-Ways, between the City of* London *and Town of* Harwich, *in the County of* Eſſex. 3. *An Act for Naturalizing of* Henry de Naſſau, *and other Children of* Henry de Naſſau, *Seignior* de Overquerque. 4. *An Act to enable* John Fowne, *Eſq*; *to Sell certain Lands in the County of* Devon, *which were ſettled on his Marriage; and to Settle other Lands of an equal Value to the ſame Uſes.* And afterwards his Majeſty was pleaſed to make this Speech to both Houſes.

The King communicates his Deliverance to the Two Houſes.

Acts paſſed.

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King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Am come hither this Day upon an extraordinary Occaſion, which might have proved fatal, if it had not been diſappointed by the ſingular Mercy and Goodneſs of God; and may now, by the Continuance of the ſame Providence, and our own prudent Endeavours, be ſo improv'd, as to become a ſufficient Warning to us, to provide for our Security againſt the pernicious Practices and Attempts of our Enemies.

"I have received ſeveral concurring Informations of a Deſign to aſſaſſinate me, and that our Enemies at the ſame time are very forward in their Preparations for a ſudden Invaſion of this Kingdom; and have therefore thought it neceſſary to loſe no Time in acquainting my Parliament with thoſe Things, in which the Safety of the Kingdom, and the Publick Welfare, are ſo nearly concern'd, that I aſſure my ſelf, nothing will be omitted on your Part, which may be thought proper for our preſent, or future Security.

"I have not been wanting to give the neceſſary Orders for the Fleet; and I hope we have ſuch a Strength of Ships, and in ſuch a Readineſs, as will be ſufficient to diſappoint the Intentions of our Enemies.

"I have alſo diſpatch'd Orders for bringing home ſuch a Number of our Troops, as may ſecure us from any Attempt.

"Some of the Conſpirators againſt my Perſon are already in Cuſtody, and Care is taken to apprehend ſo many of the reſt as are diſcovered; and ſuch other Orders are given, as the preſent Exigency of Affairs does abſolutely require at this Time for the Publick Safety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Having now acquainted you with the Danger which hath threatned Us, I cannot doubt of your Readineſs and Zeal to do every thing which you ſhall judge proper for our Common Safety: And I perſuade my ſelf, we muſt be all ſenſible how neceſſary it is in our preſent Circumſtances, that all poſſible Diſpatch ſhould be given to the Buſineſs before you.

Upon this excellent Speech, the Two Houſes immediately agreed to wait upon the King that very Evening at *Kenſington*, with this Humble Addreſs.

Addreſs of both Houſes.

Die Lunæ 24 *Feb.* 1695.

"We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, having taken into our ſerious Conſideration what your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to communicate to us this Day, think it our Duty, in the firſt place, to give your Majeſty moſt humble Thanks for having acquainted your Parliament with the great Danger your Sacred Perſon hath been ſo nearly expoſed to, and the Deſign of an Invaſion from our Enemies Abroad. We heartily congratulate your Majeſty's happy Preſervation, and thankfully acknowledge the ſignal Providence of God in it; and at the ſame time, declare our Deteſtation and Abhorrence of ſo villanous and barbarous a Deſign: And ſince the Safety and Welfare of your Majeſty's Dominions do ſo entirely depend upon your Life, we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take more than ordinary Care of your Royal Perſon. And we take this Occaſion to aſſure your Majeſty of our utmoſt Aſſiſtance to defend your Perſon, and ſupport your Government againſt the late King *James*,

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" and all other your Enemies both at Home and " Abroad; hereby declaring to all the World, " That in caſe your Majeſty ſhall come to any violent Death, (which God forbid) we will revenge " the ſame upon all your Enemies, and their Adherents: And as an Inſtance of our Zeal for your " Majeſty's Service, we will give all poſſible Diſpatch to the Publick Buſineſs. And we make it " our Deſire to your Majeſty, to ſeize and ſecure all " Perſons, Horſes and Arms, that your Majeſty " may think fit to apprehend upon this Occaſion.

His Majeſty gave the Two Houſes this agreeable Anſwer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I thank you heartily for this kind Addreſs. On my Part, you may be aſſured, that I will do all that is within my Power, for the Conſervation of this Kingdom, to which I have ſo many Obligations. I will readily adventure my Life for the Preſervation of it, and recommend my ſelf to the Continuance of your Loyalty and Good Affections.

This Plot had a good Effect on the Two Houſes.

The Houſe of Commons dropt the Senſe of all former Animoſities, and generouſly fell into the immediate Meaſures of Reſpect and Loyalty to the King; giving a new Proof of this Obſervation, *That Plots, when diſcover'd, ſtrengthen the Government they were deſign'd to ruin.* On the ſame Day with the Speech and Addreſs, they order'd, " That Leave " be given to bring in a Bill to empower his Majeſty " to ſecure and detain ſuch Perſons as his Majeſty " ſhall ſuſpect are conſpiring againſt his Perſon or " Government." They gave ſeveral Inſtructions for the more effectual raiſing the Militia. They reſolv'd, " That Leave be given to bring in a Bill, " That whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to afflict theſe " Realms by the Death of his preſent Majeſty, the " Parliament then in being ſhall not be diſſolved " thereby, but ſhall continue until the next Heir to " the Crown in Succeſſion, according to the late Act " of Settlement, ſhall diſſolve the ſame. And that " an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, " that he will pleaſe to iſſue his Royal Proclamation " to baniſh all Papiſts from the Cities of *London* " and *Weſtminſter*, and Ten Miles from the ſame: " And give Inſtructions to the Judges going the Circuits, to put the Laws in Execution againſt Papiſts and Non-Jurors." And as the greateſt Teſt of Loyalty, they drew up this Form of Aſſociation, to be ſubſcribed by all the Members.

Form of Aſſociation.

" Whereas there has been a horrid and deteſtable Conſpiracy formed and carried on by Papiſts, " and other wicked and traiterous Perſons, for aſſaſſinating his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, in order to " encourage an Invaſion from *France*, to ſubvert our " Religion, Laws and Liberty; we whoſe Names " are hereunto ſubſcribed, do heartily, ſincerely and " ſolemnly profeſs, teſtify and declare, That his " preſent Majeſty King *William* is Rightful and " Lawful King of theſe Realms. And we do mutually promiſe and engage to ſtand by and aſſiſt " each other to the utmoſt of our Power, in the " Support and Defence of his Majeſty's moſt ſacred " Perſon and Government, againſt the late King " *James*, and all his Adherents. And in caſe his " Majeſty come to any violent or untimely Death, " (which God forbid) we do hereby further freely " and unanimouſly oblige our ſelves to unite, aſſociate, and ſtand by each other, in revenging the " ſame upon his Enemies, and their Adherents; " and in ſupporting and defending the Succeſſion " of the Crown, according to an Act made in the " Firſt Year of the Rign of King *William* and Queen " *Mary*, Entitled, *An Act declaring the Rights and* " *Liberties of the Subject, and ſettling the Succeſſion* " *of the Crown.*

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To be ſubſcrib'd by all Members.

This Aſſociation was on the Three following Days ſign'd by all the Members that came to the Houſe; and becauſe ſome others had abſented themſelves upon Pretence of Health or Buſineſs, but in reality to avoid ſetting their Hands to an Acknowledgment of King *William* being Rightful and Lawful King: It was therefore ordered on *Feb.* 27. " That ſuch " Members of the Houſe who had not already " ſign'd the Aſſociation, ſhould do it by *Monday* " Fortnight, or declare their Refuſal, nothwith" ſtanding their Leave to be abſent." On the appointed Day, *March* 16. the Names of ſuch Members were called over as were abſent upon the laſt Call of the Houſe; and ſeveral of them being ſtill abſent in the Country, or ill in Town, ſignifying their Intentions to ſign the Aſſociation, were excuſed their Attendance: And the Speaker was ordered to write to ſuch Members as are in the Country, and have not ſigned the Aſſociation, or declared their Refuſal ſo to do, to know what they will do, and to return their Anſwer by the firſt Opportunity. And at the ſame time the Clerk of the Houſe was to attend ſuch Members as were ill in Town with the ſaid Aſſociation, in order to their ſigning the ſame, or receiving their Anſwer of Refuſal. The abſent Members ſeeing themſelves ſo preſs'd, and the Nation at this Time in ſo great a Ferment againſt the Diſaffected, thought it Prudence to yield to the Times, and either to ſubſcribe the Aſſociation, or to promiſe to do it upon their firſt coming up to Town, tho' it was againſt the Inclination of ſome; and, perhaps, againſt the Principles of others.

Honours and Preferments.

As to the Honours or Preferments diſpoſed ſince the King's Return. On *Octob.* 14, when the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Lieutenancy of *London*, came to congratulate his Majeſty's ſafe and happy Return, and the glorious Succeſs of his Arms, with hearty Wiſhes for his long and proſperous Reign, his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *Edward Wills* and *Owen Buckingham*, the preſent Sheriffs. On *Octob.* 29. his Majeſty was pleaſed, upon the Death of Sir *Giles Eyres*, one of the Juſtices of the Court of *King's-Bench*, to appoint Sir *Tho. Rokeby*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, to ſucceed him; and Sir *John Powell*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, was made one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*; and Sir *Littleton Powys*, Serjeant at Law, and one of the Juſtices of *Cheſter*, came into his Place in the *Exchequer*. Some few Days before, the King, at *Althrop*, conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *John Combs*, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*; and on *Nov.* 8. his Majeſty was pleaſed to grant to Sir *Salathiel Lovell*, Serjeant at Law, Recorder of *London*, the Office of Second Juſtice of the Counties of *Cheſter*, *Flint*, *Denbigh*, and *Montgomery*, in the room of Sir *Littleton Powys*. At *Kenſington*, *Jan.* 6. his Highneſs the Duke of *Glouceſter*, to whom the King paid a particular Affection and Reſpect, was elected into the moſt Noble Society of the *Garter*, and Knighted and Inveſted with the Enſigns of that Order. On *Jan.* 10. his Majeſty was pleaſed to create the Lord *George Hamilton*, Earl of *Orkney*, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in conſideration of his

The King, to encourage the Fidelity of his Seamen, and to provide for the better Reception and Maintenance of ſuch as ſhould be maimed and diſabled in his Service, granted a Commiſſion to ſeveral Perſons for building and governing the Royal Hoſpital at *Greenwich.* Dated *Weſtminſter*, *March* 12. In the Seventh Year of our Reign. Printed by *Charles Bill*, *Fol.* I have ſeen a good Learned Letter from the Reverend Mr. *Flamſteede*, to the excellent Judge of Marine Affairs, Mr. *Pepys*, dated from his Royal Obſervatory at *Greenwich*, *April* 19. 1697. recounting the many Advantages that may be propos'd from Seminaries of well educated Seamen; and repreſenting the Condition of Navigation, as well before the Invention of the Compaſs, as betwixt that Invention and the Diſcoveries of the *Indies*, and the great Improvements made in later Times.

Services

1695. 7 W. 3. Services in Ireland and *Flanders*, upon many Occaſions during this War. On *Jan.* 13. his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare *John* Lord *Murray*, eldeſt Son to the Marquis of *Athol*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in the Place of the Lord *Stairs*. On *Feb.* 6. the King conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon Col. *Willoughby Chamberlain* of *Barbadoes*, for his good and faithful Services in that Iſland. On *March* 22. his Majeſty beſtow'd the like Honour of Knighthood upon *Charles Turner*, Eſq; one of the Members of Parliament for the Corporation of *Lynn Regis*.

The laſt thing done in the Parliament this Year, was his Majeſty's coming to the Houſe of Peers on *Saturday*, *March* 7. and giving the Royal Aſſent to theſe ſeveral Publick and Private Bills.

Acts paſſed. 1. *An Act for continuing ſeveral Duties granted by former Acts upon Wine and Vinegar, and upon Tobacco and* Eaſt-India *Goods, and other Merchandizes imported, for carrying on the War againſt* France. 2. *An Act for empowering his Majeſty to apprehend and detain ſuch Perſons as he ſhall find Cauſe to ſuſpect are conſpiring againſt his Royal Perſon and Government.* 3. *An Act for taking off the Obligation and Encouragement for coining Guineas for a certain Time therein mention'd.* 4. *An Act for Relief of Poor Priſoners for Debt or Damages.* 5. *An Act for making Navigable the Rivers of* Wye *and* Lugg, *in the County of* Hereford. 6. *An Act to enable Truſtees to exchange Lands of Sir* James Chamberlain, *Baronet, an Infant, lying in the Common Hill or Fields of* Selford, *in the County of* Oxford, *for like Quantities of Lands there, in order to the making an Incloſure.* 7. *An Act for Naturalizing* James Stanhope, *Eſq; and others.* 8. *An Act to enable the Pariſh of St.* James's *within the Liberties of the City of* Weſtminſter, *to raiſe upon themſelves ſo much Money as will diſcharge their Debt for building their Pariſh-Church, Rector's Houſe, Veſtry, and other Publick Works there.* 9. *An Act to Aſcertain and Settle the Payment of the Impropriate Tithes of St.* Lawrence Old Jewry, *in* London, *to the Maſter and Scholars of* Baliol *College in* Oxford, *and for confirming an Award made concerning the ſame.* 10. *An Act to enable Truſtees to make and fill up Leaſes of the reſpective Eſtates of* Bluett Wallop, *Eſq;* and John Wallop, *Gent. during their Minorities, and to purchaſe other Lands by the Fines thereby to be received, to the ſame Uſes as the Eſtates ſo to be leaſed are already ſettled.* 11. *An Act for Naturalizing* Solomon Eyme, *and others.* 12. *An Act for enabling Truſtees to ſell the Manor of* Peſpoole, *in the County of* Durham, *part of the Eſtate of* William Midford, *an Infant, for Payment of Debts and Incumbrances charged thereon; and for preſerving the reſt of the ſaid Infant's Eſtate.* 13. *An Act to confirm and eſtabliſh an Exchange made between* Thomas Ryder, *Eſq;* 1695. 7 W. 3. *and* Chriſtopher Clithero, *Eſq; of certain Meſſuages in* London, *for the Manors of* Bilſington, *and other Lands in* Kent *of the like Value.*

In the State of Religion, the peſtilent Sect of the State of Religion. *Socinians*, by the Countenance of the Act of Toleration, and the looſe Sentiments of ſome of our own Divines, had gotten conſiderable Ground in *England* ſince the Revolution; and being favour'd by the Licentiouſneſs of the Preſs, they publiſh'd many of their The *Socinians* very diligent. Pamphlets, enough to provoke any Chriſtian Government. To check their Inſolence, Dr. *Sherlock*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, undertook the Vindication of the Orthodox Doctrine concerning the *Trinity*; but becauſe *Myſteries of Faith*, being above Reaſon, are not to be explain'd by Reaſon, elſe they would ceaſe to be *Myſteries*, it far'd with the Doctor, that whilſt he en- Unhappy Diſpute between Dr. *Sherlock* and Dr. *South*. deavour'd to prove *Three Diſtinct Perſons*, he was charg'd with proving *Three Diſtinct Gods*; having aſſerted, That there were in the Godhead, *Three Minds, Three Beings, and Three Intelligences.* This new Explication giving the *Unitarians* occaſion to triumph, Dr. *South*, one of the Prebends of *Weſtminſter*, and a Divine of great Parts, undertook to confute Dr. *Sherlock*'s new way of vindicating the *Trinity*. His Antagoniſt was not ſilent, but by way of Recrimination, attempted to prove that Dr. *South*'s Doctrine ſavour'd of *Sabellianiſm*. The Quarrel grew hot, the Two Doctors were learned and witty in their ſeveral Anſwers and Replies, and ſome of their Seconds began to come in to each ſide. On the Feaſt of St. *Simon* and *Jude*, this Year, at *Oxford*, a Fellow of *Univerſity* College, in a Publick Sermon before the Univerſity, fell in with the Notions of Dr. *Sherlock*, and aſſerted, Preacher in *Oxford* Cenſur'd. (*a*) *That there were Three infinite Diſtinct Minds and Subſtances in the Trinity*; and alſo, *That the Three Perſons in the Trinity, are Three Diſtinct Minds or Spirits, and Three Individual Subſtances.* The Friends of Dr. *South* made a Complaint of theſe Words, and procured them to be cenſur'd by a ſolemn Decree in Convocation, *Nov.* 25. wherein they *Judge, Declare, and Determine the aforeſaid Words lately deliver'd in the ſaid Sermon, to be Falſe, Impious, and Heretical, diſagreeing and contrary to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, and eſpecially to the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *publickly received.* This Solemn Decree was ſo far from compoſing the Differences, that it ſerv'd rather to irritate the Parties, and to let the *Socinians* make their Advantage of it. It was now The King's Injunctions for Unity in the Church. therefore high time for the King to interpoſe his Royal Authority, by giving theſe excellent *Directions to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, for the preſerving Unity in the Church, and the Purity of the Chriſtian Faith concerning the Holy Trinity.*

(*a*) *Decretum Domini Vice-Cancellarii & Præfectorum Collegiorum & Aularum Univerſitatis Oxon. in Conventu eorundem habito* 25. *Novemb.* 1695. *ex quo judicant declarant & decernunt hæc verba in Concione nuper prolata eſſe falſa impia & hæretica,* There are Three infinite Diſtinct Minds and Subſtances in the *Trinity*. *Item,* The Three Perſons in the Trinity, are Three diſtinct Minds or Spirits, and Three Individual Subſtances. *Impreſs. Oxon.*

See, 1. An Account of the Decree of the Univerſity of *Oxford* againſt ſome Heretical Tenets. 2. A modeſt Examination of the *Oxford* Decree, by *William Sherlock*, D. D. Dean of St. *Pauls*. 3. Remarks upon Dr. *Sherlock*'s Examination of the *Oxford Decree*. 4. What Dr. *South* has ſaid upon this Occaſion in his Preface to the Tranſlation of the Hiſtory of *Valentinus Gentilis*. Dr. *South* therein complain'd of his Brother, Dr. *Payne*, Preb. of *Weſtminſter*, Rector of *Whitechapel*. " Says he, " The Doctrine of Three Eternal Spirits in the Bleſſed Trinity, " which was *Tritheiſm*, as firſt vented and aſſerted by Dr. *Sherlock*, and ſince that by one *J. B.* Miniſter of *Folkſtone* in " *Kent*, and Preach'd up before the Univerſity of *Oxford*, by a " Fellow of *Univerſity* College, has been lately maintained, " and with great and even foaming Vehemence preached up " in one of the moſt eminent Cathedrals in *England*, by one " of the Prebendaries of the ſame: Firſt, on the 30th of " *November*, 1695, and ſince that, on the 12th of *Jan.* 169⅚. " whoſe Name, together with the Heterodoxies then and there " deliver'd by him, are ready to be produc'd, as there ſhall " be Occaſion.

Sir *Thomas Cooke* of *Bentley*, in the County of *Worceſter*, Baronet, who had founded and endowed a School at *Broomſgrove*, in the ſaid County, in 1693. did ſince that Time, eſtabliſh a like School at *Feckenham*; and by Deed, dated about 24. *March*, 1695. ſettled on Truſtees Fifty Pounds *per Ann.* for a Schoolmaſter and Twelve poor Boys, with the ſame Allowance and Rules as at *Broomſgrove*, aforeſaid. Sermon of Dr. *Jepthcott* in 1697.

The Biſhop of *London* being ſenſible of the ſad Spiritual Eſtate of the poor Priſoners in *Newgate*, had enjoin'd the Clergy of the City to enter into a Combination of viſiting by Turns the Dying Criminals; as thus remembred by Mr. *Crook*, in the Dedication of his *Two Sermons preached before the Condemned Criminals at* Newgate, 1795. to the Biſhop of *London*. " My " Lord, Theſe Diſcourſes are the immediate Effect of your " Lordſhip's tender Regard for the miſerable Objects they " were directed to. The ſad and difficult Buſineſs of *Newgate* " is a Task above the Labour of any one Perſon; and there- " fore your Lordſhip's charitable Appointment of ſome of " our Clergy carefully to aſſiſt the Ordinary every Seſſions, " is an Act of the greateſt Compaſſion, and will, without " doubt, be readily obey'd. Neither was the Piety of the " Civil Magiſtrate wanting in ſo good a Deſign; for, God be " thanked, there was a direct Invitation, and the higheſt En- " couragement from the late Lord Mayor, Sir *Thomas Lane*, to " the Performance of it.

1695. *William R.*
7 *W.* 3. "MOST Reverend, and Right Reverend Fathers in God, we Greet you well. Whereas we are given to underſtand, that there have of "late been ſome Differences among the Clergy of "this our Realm, about their Ways of expreſſing "themſelves in their Sermons and Writings, concerning the Doctrine of the Bleſſed Trinity, which "may be of dangerous Conſequence, if not timely "prevented: We therefore, out of our Princely Care, "and Zeal for the Preſervation of the Peace and "Unity of the Church, together with the Purity of "the Chriſtian Faith, have thought fit to ſend you "theſe following Directions, which we ſtraitly "Charge and Command you to Publiſh, and to "ſee that they be obſerved within your ſeveral "Dioceſes.

"I. That no Preacher whatſoever, in his Sermon "or Lecture, do preſume to deliver any other Doctrine concerning the Bleſſed Trinity, than what "is contain'd in the Holy Scriptures, and is agreeable to the Three Creeds, and the Thirty-Nine "Articles of Religion.

"II. That in the Explication of this Doctrine "they carefully avoid all new Terms, and confine "themſelves to ſuch Ways of Explication, as have "been commonly uſed in the Church.

"III. That Care be taken in this Matter, eſpecially to obſerve the Fifty-Third Canon of this "Church, which forbids publick Oppoſition between Preachers; and that above all Things they "abſtain from bitter Invectives, and ſcurrilous Language againſt all Perſons whatſoever.

"IV. That the foregoing Directions be alſo obſerved by thoſe who Write any thing concerning "the ſaid Doctrine.

"And whereas we alſo underſtand, that divers "Perſons who are not of the Clergy, have of late "preſumed, not only to Talk and Diſpute againſt "the Chriſtian Faith, concerning the Doctrine of "the Bleſſed Trinity, but alſo to Write and Publiſh Books and Pamphlets againſt the ſame, and "induſtriouſly ſpread them through the Kingdom, "contrary to our known Laws Eſtabliſhed in this "Realm: We do therefore ſtrictly Charge and "Command you, together with all other Means "ſuitable to your Holy Profeſſion, to make uſe of "your Authority according to Law, for the Repreſſing and Reſtraining of all ſuch Exorbitant Practices. And for your Aſſiſtance we will give Charge "to our Judges, and all other our Civil Officers, to "do their Duty herein, in Executing the Laws "againſt all ſuch Perſons as ſhall by theſe Means "give Occaſion of Scandal, Diſcord, and Diſturbance in our Church and Kingdom.

Given at our Court at Kenſington *the Third Day of* February, 1695. *In the Seventh Year of our Reign: By his Majeſty's Command.*

SHREWSBURY.

Archbiſhop *Teniſon*, who in all his private Stations had been an Eminent Example of doing Good, was now careful to ſerve the Church in a more publick Manner; and therefore he had not only prevail'd with the King to ſend out thoſe Injunctions, that Reinforced the wholeſome Diſcipline of the Church and Clergy, and likewiſe to give thoſe Directions, for the preſerving Unity and Purity of Faith; but his Grace ſent abroad his own Circular Letter to all the Suffragan Biſhops of his Province, Dated *July* 16, 1695. to recommend ſuch Rules and Orders, as (if well obſerved) would mightily tend to the Peace and Honour of the Eſtabliſhed Church. The Letter runs thus: — The Archbiſhop's Letter.

My very good Lord,

"Having well conſider'd the following Particulars, together with ſuch of our Brethren, as were "in or near *London*, and believing them to be "Means very proper for the promoting the Glory "of God, and the Edification of his Church; I "do hereby recommend them to you, as I have "alſo done to the reſt of the Biſhops of this Province, deſiring you and them, to ſee them carefully obſerv'd in your reſpective Dioceſes.

"In the firſt place, It is the King's Pleaſure, "That you take eſpecial Care concerning the late "Act againſt Prophane Curſing and Swearing; "not only, that it be publickly Read as the Law "has in that Caſe provided, but that the Clergy "be directed both in their Catechizing and Sermons, to inſiſt often upon thoſe Points, to the "end, that by God's Bleſſing upon their Faithful "Endeavours, a Stop may be put to thoſe Execrable Wickedneſſes, which, if they be ſuffer'd to "continue, will bring down God's heavy Judgments upon this Church and Nation.

"Secondly, There are alſo other Acts to be Read "publickly in Churches, which yet are not Read "(as I underſtand) in many Places. I deſire you "to remedy that Neglect. — 3. Jac. 1. c. 1. &c. See the King's Letter. An. 1689. Sect. 7.

"Thirdly, It ſeems very fit, that you require "your Clergy in their Prayer before Sermon, to "keep to the Effect of the 55th Canon: It being "commonly reported, that it is the manner of "ſome in every Dioceſe, either to uſe only the "Lord's Prayer (which the Canon preſcribes as "the Concluſion of the Prayer, and not the whole "Prayer) or at leaſt to leave out the King's Titles, "and to forbear to Pray for the Biſhops as ſuch. — Canon 55. An. 1603.

"Fourthly, I commend to your Care the Preaching of your Clergy in the Afternoons, upon Catechetical Heads, both that the People may be the "better rooted and grounded in the Faith, and alſo kept from other Aſſemblies.

"A Fifth Particular recommended to you, is, "That you be very careful in the giving of Inſtitutions; and particularly, That you uſe good and "diligent Examination and Care to foreſee and prevent all Simoniacal Pacts or Covenants with the "Patrons, or the Preſenters, for the Spoil of their "Glebe, Tythes, or Manſion-Houſes; and in eſpecial manner, thoſe Artificial Bargains, which are "made by Bonds of Reſignation. — Art. An. 1564. for certifying Orders in Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

"A Sixth is, The cauſing of Stipends of Curates to be proportioned to the Value of the Benefice, and the Greatneſs of the Duty required "of them; eſpecially where the Incumbent is a "Pluraliſt, and cannot conſtantly reſide in Perſon. "That the Service of God may not ſuffer by the "Employing of ſuch Ignorant and Scandalous Men "as theſe Incumbents generally procure, who "chuſe to have ſuch for their Curates, as will ſerve "for the meaneſt Salaries.

"A Seventh is, The preventing of Dilapidations, "eſpecially where Pluraliſts do not keep conſtant "Reſidence: Towards which, frequent Views of "Chancels, and Parſonage and Vicaridge-Houſes, by "your Arch-Deacon or Arch-Deacons, or other "Officers, and Reports made to you upon thoſe "Views, will much conduce. And as for ſuch, "who upon any Pretences whatſoever, deſire a "Diſpenſation of Non-Reſidence, I intreat you not "to grant it to any of them, without their giving "ſufficient Security to keep their Chancels, and "Parſonage or Vicaridge-Houſes in good Repair, if they be ſo already; or if not, to put "them in good Repair with all convenient Speed, "and to keep them ſo for the future.

"The Eighth is, Your cauſing the Clergy to "purſue very carefully the End of the Eighty-Seventh Canon, relating to Terriers of Glebe-Lands, and other Poſſeſſions belonging to Churches; "for want of which, great Controverſies daily "ariſe, and the Rights of the Church are often loſt.

"The Ninth is, your hindring (as much as in "you lies) all ſuch from being Surrogates, who "are not qualified by the Canon; and to ſee that "none be inſtrumental in diſpatching Licenſes of "Marriage, and Solemnization of Matrimony Illegally, — Can. 128. An. 1603.

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Vid. Art. pro Clero. Sect. 3, 4. & Can. An. 1571. Sect. *Forma Sent. excommun.*

" gally, or in pronouncing the Sentences of Ex-" communication and Abſolution, without ſuch So-" lemnity as that great and weighty Affair requires.

" Tenthly, When any Miniſter removes out of " your Dioceſe into another, to any Cure of Souls, " I deſire you in a Letter to the Biſhop, into whoſe " Dioceſe he is going, to give a juſt Character of " him. Alſo when any ſuch Miniſter comes into " your Dioceſe, not to admit him, but with the " like Letter from his former Dioceſan; or in a " Vacancy, from the Guardian of the Spiritualties.

" Eleventhly, I beſeech you to think of, and to " uſe all proper Methods for the time to come, for " the preventing of ſuch from being admitted into " Holy Orders, who are not likely to purſue the " Sacred Ends of them. Some ſuch Methods I " here lay before you, deſiring you to take them " into your Conſideration.

" 1ſt, That you take all poſſible care, that there " be good School-Maſters in the ſeveral Publick " Schools within your Dioceſe, not Licenſing any " but ſuch as upon Examination ſhall be found of " ſufficient Ability, and do exhibit very ſatisfactory " Teſtimonials of their Temper and good Life; " that ſo in the Education of Youth, eſpecially " ſuch as are deſign'd for Holy Orders, there may " not be an ill Foundation laid.

Can. 34. An. 1603.

" 2dly, That you Ordain no Man Deacon or " Prieſt, who hath not taken ſome Degree in School " in one of the Univerſities of this Realm, unleſs " in ſome Extraordinary Caſe.

" 3dly, That you accept of no Letters Teſtimo-" nial brought by Perſons to be Ordained, unleſs " there be a Clauſe inſerted in them by the Teſti-" fiers to this Effect, That they believe them to be " Qualified for that Order, into which they deſire " to be admitted.

Vid. Art. An. 1564. for certifying Orders in Ecclesiastical Polity.

" 4thly, That as ſoon as any apply to you " for Holy Orders, you give timely Notice of this " at the Place where the Perſon reſides, or lately re-" ſided, that ſo the Exceptions againſt him, (if any ſuch there be) may come timely to your know-" ledge.

" 5thly, That when any Perſon comes to you to " be Ordained, you lay it upon his Conſcience, to " obſerve ſuch Faſting as is preſcribed upon *Ember-" Days*, and to give himſelf in moſt ſerious man-" ner to Meditation and Prayer. After ſome com-" petent time after every Ordination, whether *intra* " or *extra Tempora*, at leaſt between *Michaelmas* " or *Chriſtmas*, I deſire you to ſend a Return under " your Hand, atteſted by the Arch-Deacon, and " ſuch other Clergymen as aſſiſted at the Ordina-" tion, containing the Names and Sir-Names of " all the Perſons then Ordained; the Place of their " Birth, their Age, and College where they were " Educated, with the Degree they have taken in " the Univerſity, the Title upon which they were " Ordained, and upon whoſe Letters Demiſſory, if " they came out of another Dioceſe; and to ſub-" join a particular Account of all ſuch as then of-" fer'd themſelves to Ordination, and were refuſed; " as alſo of the Reaſons for which they were re-" fuſed. All which I undertake and promiſe, to " cauſe to be Enter'd into a Leidger Book for that " Purpoſe. By this means counterfeit Orders may " be detected; Men who come up for Preferment " may be the better underſtood and diſtinguiſh'd; " and ſuch who have had the Misfortune either to " loſe their Orders or to want them here, upon " any emergent Occaſion may be in ſome Meaſure " helped.

" And that the King may be the better enabled " to give you his further Aſſiſtance, in theſe and " other Affairs of the Church, you are deſired and " required to comply with his Majeſty's Command " to me ſignified, in giving me an Account of " what has been done in your Dioceſe, in purſuance " of his Injunctions, when you come next to Par-" liament; as alſo of the preſent State of it, in as " particular Manner as you well can; that ſuch " Accounts may be laid before him, in order to the " Supplying of what is Wanting, and Rectifying " of what is Amiſs. Not doubting of your Lord-" ſhip's Care and Zeal in theſe weighty Matters, " I recommend you, and all your Affairs to the " Bleſſing of God Almighty, and Remain

Your very Loving
Friend and Brother,
Tho. Cantuar.

1695. 7 *W.* 3.

1696. Parliament Sitting.

We left the Parliament ſitting, and the Commons taking the needful *Aſſociation*, the Form whereof with their Subſcriptions to it they preſented to his Majeſty in a Body, on *Friday April* 3. and at the ſame time requeſted his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to Order, " That the ſaid *Aſſo-" ciation*, and all other *Aſſociations* by the Com-" mons of *England*, might be lodg'd among the " Records of the *Tower*. Upon which Occaſion his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay,

Gentlemen,

King's Speech on the Aſſociation.

" I take this as a moſt Convincing and moſt Ac-" ceptable Evidence of your Affection: And as " you have freely Aſſociated your ſelves for our " Common Safety, I do heartily enter into the " ſame Aſſociation, and will be always ready with " You and the reſt of my good Subjects, to ven-" ture my Life againſt all who ſhall endeavour to " ſubvert the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of *En-" gland*. And I will take care, that this and all " other Aſſociations preſented to Me be lodged " among the Records in the *Tower*.

Upon Report of this gracious Acceptance, the next Day the Houſe Reſolved, " That whoever " ſhall by Word or Writing affirm, That the Aſ-" ſociation enter'd into by any Member of this " Houſe, or any other Perſon is Illegal, ſuch Per-" ſon ſhall be deem'd a Promoter of the Deſigns " of the late King *James*, and an Enemy to the " Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom." Soon after, the Houſe of Lords agreed in the ſame Aſſociation, and preſented it to the King; and the Example of both Houſes of Parliament was followed by all the Corporations of the three Kingdoms.

A Bill for Security of his Majeſty's Perſon, &c.

On *April* 2. Upon a Report of the Examination and Confeſſion of Sir *William Perkins* and Sir *John Friend*, it was Reſolved, That a Bill be brought in *for the better Security of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government*; and that the Heads of the Bill ſhould be, 1. That ſuch as ſhall refuſe to take the Oaths to his Majeſty, ſhall be ſubject to the Forfeitures and Penalties of Popiſh Recuſants Convict. 2. To inflict a Penalty on ſuch as ſhall by Writing, or otherwiſe, Declare, That King *William* is not Lawful and Rightful King of theſe Realms; or that the late King *James*, or the pretended Prince of *Wales*, or any other Perſon, than according to the Act of Settlement of the Crown, hath any Right to the Crown of theſe Realms. 3. To Ratify and Confirm the Aſſociation enter'd into by all his Majeſty's good Subjects, for the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government. 4. That no Perſon ſhall be capable of any Office of Profit or Truſt, Civil or Military, that ſhall not ſign the ſaid Aſſociation. 5. That the ſame Penalties be inflicted on ſuch as come out of *France*, as upon thoſe that go thither.

(*a*) See the Declaration and Profeſſion of the Reverend Mr. *John Kettlewell*, (who departed this Life, *Apr.* 12. 1695.) made by him at the Receiving of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, *March* 23, 1694-5, from the Hands of the Right Reverend Father in God, *William* Lord Biſhop of *Norwich*, Deprived. Printed at the end of the Second Edition of Mr. *Kettlewell's Practical Believer*.

The

1696.
8 *W.* 3.

Civil Liſt and the diſtreſſed *French* Proteſtants.

The Commons had conſidered that part of his Majeſty's Speech at the opening of this Parliament, wherein he recommended to them the *Civil Liſt*, and the (*a*) *Diſtreſſed* French *Proteſtants.* And the Committee of the whole Houſe having ſat ſeveral times on that Affair; it was at laſt Reſolved on *March* the 17th, that the Sum of Five Hundred Thouſand Pounds be granted for defraying the Expences of the Firſt, and Fifteen Thouſand Pounds for the Relief of the Latter; which Sums on *March* the 28th they reſolved to raiſe by a Duty upon all Low-Wines, and Spirits of the Firſt Extraction, and alſo upon all mixt Liquors, commonly called Sweets, for the ſpace of Five Years, from the 25th of *March*, 1696. And the Committee who were to prepare this Bill were inſtructed to receive a Clauſe for preſerving the Revenue to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark.*

Bill for a Land-Bank.

The Bill for continuing ſeveral Duties upon Salt, for taking off thoſe of Tonnage upon Ships, and upon Coals, and for Eſtabliſhing a National Land-Bank, having been read a Second Time, the Committee of the whole Houſe (to whom it was committed) were inſtructed, on *March* the 18th, to *reſtrain the Bank not to lend Money but upon Land-Security, or to the Government into the Exchequer*; and to receive a Clauſe, *That if the Money did not come in by a certain Time, his Majeſty might be enabled to borrow the ſame.* The next Day, the Bank of *England* preſented a Petition againſt this Bill, and were afterwards (by Order of the Houſe) heard by their Council, but without Succeſs; ſo that the Houſe went on with the Bill, and reſolved on *April* the 9th, "*Firſt*, That towards the Supply to be "granted to his Majeſty, for making up the Fund "of Intereſt of Seven *per Cent.* for Two Millions "Five Hundred Sixty Four Thouſand Pounds, (the "Capital Stock of the intended National Land-"Bank) certain Duties upon Glaſs-Wares, Stone and "Earthen Bottles, granted before to the King for "a Term of Years, be granted to his Majeſty, his "Heirs and Succeſſors. *Secondly*, That a Duty be "laid upon Tobacco-Pipes: And *Thirdly*, That a "further Duty be laid upon all Stone and Earthen "Ware." Which Reſolutions were order'd to be inſerted in the Bill for Settling the National Land-Bank.

Acts paſſed.

On *Friday*, *April* the 10th, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to theſe ſeveral Bills. 1. *An Act for granting to his Majeſty ſeveral Rates or Duties upon Houſes, for making good the Deficiency of the Clipp'd Money.* 2. *An Act for granting to his Majeſty an Additional Duty upon all* French *Goods and Merchandizes.* 3. *An Act for the Continuing, Meeting, and Sitting of a Parliament, in caſe of the Death or Demiſe of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors.* 4. *An Act for Continuing Four former Acts, for preventing Theft and Rapine upon the* Northern *Borders of* England. 5. *An Act for Raiſing the Militia for the Year One Thouſand Six Hundred Ninety Six, altho' the Month's Pay formerly advanced be not repaid.* 6. *An Act for further Regulating Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament, and for the preventing irregular Proceedings of Sheriffs, and other Officers, in the Electing and Returning ſuch Members.* 7. *An Act for Continuing ſeveral former Acts, for Puniſhing Officers and Soldiers, who ſhall mutiny, or deſert his Majeſty's Service; and for Puniſhing falſe Muſters; and for Payment of Quarters for One Year longer.* 8. *An Act for the Increaſe and Encouragement of Seamen.* 9. *An Act for Preventing Frauds, and Regulating Abuſes in the Plantation Trade.* 10. *An Act to encourage the bringing Plate into the Mint to be Coined, and for the further remedying the ill State of the Coin of this Kingdom.* 11. *An Act requiring the Practiſers of the Law to take the Oaths, and ſubſcribe the Declaration therein mention'd.* 12. *An Act for the Repair of the Highways between* Wymondham *and* Attleborough *in the County of* Norfolk. 13. *An Act for Empowering the moſt Noble* Anne *Dutcheſs of* Buccleugh, *and the Right Honourable* James *Earl of* Dalkeith, *her Son, of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *to grant Leaſes for Improving a Piece of Ground in the Pariſh of St.* Martin's *in the Fields, in the County of* Middleſex. 14. *An Act to enable Truſtees to raiſe Money for the making a Wet Dock, and Improving the Eſtate of the Marquis and Marchioneſs of* Taviſtock, *at* Rotherhith *in the County of* Surrey. 15. *An Act to Naturalize* William, *commonly called Viſcount* Tunbridge, *and other Children of the Earl of* Rochfort. 16. *An Act for the better Improvement of a Houſe and Ground in* Great Queenſtreet. 17. *An Act to enable Truſtees to ſell a Meſſuage, Garden and Out-Houſes in* Lincolns-Inn-Fields, *late of Sir* Robert Sawyer, *Knight, deceaſed; and for Purchaſing other Lands and Tenements, to be ſettled to the ſame Uſes.* 18. *An Act for Settling divers Lands and Rent-Charges on the Rector of the Church of* Maidwell, *in the County of* Northampton, *and his Succeſſors; and in Lieu thereof, for Settling other Lands, and diſcharging Tithes belonging to the ſaid Church, according to ſeveral Agreements between the Patron and the ſaid Rector, made upon the Encloſing of Lands in* Maidwell, *and afterwards (with the Conſent of the Ordinary) confirm'd by ſeveral Decrees in the Court of* Chancery. 19. *An Act for Settling the Perſonal Eſtates of* Richard Jones, *Eſq; and* Mary Gifford, *Spinſter, Minors, in Truſtees, for the Purpoſes therein mentioned.* 20. *An Act for the better Supplying the City of* Briſtol *with Freſh Water.* 21. *An Act for Erecting of Hoſpitals and Work-Houſes within the City of* Briſtol, *for the better Employing and Maintaining the Poor thereof.* 22. *An Act for making good the laſt Will of Sir* William Barkham, *Baronet, deceaſed, and Veſting of Lands in Truſtees, to be ſold for Payment of his Debts, and making Proviſion for his Children.* 23. *An Act to enable Sir* Charles Heron, *Baronet, to ſell Lands for Payment of a Portion and Debts.* 24. *An Act to enable Sir* Thomas Wagſtaff, *Knight, to raiſe and ſecure a Portion for* Frances, *his only Daughter and Heir apparent.* 25. *An Act for Veſting a Moiety of the Manor of* Shipton Mallet, *in the County of* Somerſet, *and a divided Moiety of the Manor of* Wells, *in the ſaid County, in Truſtees, to be ſold, for Payment of a Mortgage charged thereon; and for making a Proviſion for the Maintenance of* Mary, *the Wife of* William Sands, *Eſq; and her Children.* 26. *An Act for making the Towns of* Stretton *and* Princethorp, *a ſeparate Pariſh from* Woolſton *in the County of* Warwick. 27. *An Act for Veſting Part of the Eſtate of* Joſeph Dawſon, *Eſq; in Truſtees, for Payment of Debts, and for a Proviſion for the Maintenance and Marriage of his Daughters.* 28. *An Act for the Sale of the Lands in* Horſington, *in the County of* Somerſet, *Part of the Eſtate of* William Ridout, *an Infant, for Payment of Incumbrances charged thereon, and for Preſerving the Reſidue of the ſaid Eſtate for the Infant.* 29. *An Act for Veſting certain Lands of* Thomas Bigg *and his Wife, in* Chiſlett, *in the County of* Kent, *in Truſtees, for Payment of Debts, and making Proviſion for their Children.*

(*a*) The Diſtribution of the King's Charity to the *French* Refugees, rais'd a Complaint among thoſe who had not been conſider'd in it. There was a Memorial deliver'd unto the King's Majeſty, this preſent *January*, 1695. containing thoſe Reaſons which were offer'd by the poor Exil'd Miniſters of the Goſpel of the *French* Nation, and now living in *England*, why thoſe *French* Gentlemen who have hitherto diſtributed the King's Charity to them, ſhould not be any longer employ'd in that pious Office. With a Catalogue of thoſe poor Miniſters of the Goſpel of the *French* Nation, who are refugee'd here in *England*, groaning under ſore Wants, Oppreſſions, and deplorable Neceſſities.

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There was another Bill that had paſs'd both Houſes, for the *Regulating Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament*; to which his Majeſty did not give his Royal Aſſent. This Omiſſion was ill reſented by ſome of the Commons, who valued themſelves on the projecting of it; and they hop'd, on this Occaſion, to make an open Rupture, which muſt have been fatal at this Juncture: Therefore, on *Tueſday, April* the 24th, a Motion was made, and the Queſtion was put, "That whoſoever adviſed his Majeſty not to give the Royal Aſſent to the Bill for further Regulating Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament, (which paſſed both Houſes) is an Enemy to the King and Kingdom." But the Majority were ſo wiſe as to decline the Occaſion of any Difference; and therefore for the Affirmative of the Queſtion, there were but Seventy Voices; while for the Negative, there was no leſs than Two Hundred and Nineteen. And it was order'd, "That the Speaker do (with the Votes) print this Queſtion, together with the Numbers of the Affirmative and Negative.

Bill for regulating Elections not paſſed.

Other Acts paſſed.

On *Monday, April* the 27th, the King came to the Houſe of Lords, and gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for laying ſeveral Duties upon Low Wines, or Spirits of the firſt Extraction; and for preventing the Frauds and Abuſes of Brewers, Diſtillers, and other Perſons chargeable with the Duties of Exciſe.* 2. *An Act for Continuing to his Majeſty certain Duties upon Salt, Glaſs-Wares, Stone and Earthen Bottles; and for granting ſeveral Duties upon Tobacco-Pipes, and other Earthen Wares; for carrying on the War againſt* France, *and for Eſtabliſhing a National Land-Bank, and for taking off the Duties upon Tonnage of Ships, and upon Coals.* 3. *An Act for the Enforcing the Laws which reſtrain Marriages, either without Licenſe, or Banns; and for the better Regiſtring Marriages, Births and Burials.* 4. *An Act for the better Security of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government.* 5. *An Act for the more effectual Preventing the Exportation of Wooll, and for Encouraging the Importation thereof from* Ireland. 6. *An Act for Encouraging the Linnen Manufacture of* Ireland, *and Bringing Flax and Hemp into, and Making of Sail-Cloth in this Kingdom.* 7. *An Act for Continuing ſeveral Acts of Parliament therein mentioned.* 8. *An Act for taking away the Cuſtom of* Wales, *which hinders Perſons from Diſpoſing their Perſonal Eſtates by their Wills.* 9. *An Act for the Eaſe of Jurors, and better Regulating of Juries.* 10. *An Act for the better Repairing and Amending the Highways, and Explanation of the Laws relating thereunto.* 11. *An Act for Encouragement of Charitable Gifts and Diſpoſitions.* 12. *An Act for the better Encouragement of the* Green-Land *Trade.* 13. *An Act that the Solemn Affirmation and Declaration of the People call'd* Quakers, *ſhall be accepted inſtead of an Oath, in the uſual Form.* And Laſtly, *An Act for Re-veſting in his Majeſty the Honour of* Tutbury, *Foreſt of* Needwood, *ſeveral Manors, Parks, Lanes, and Offices, and other Profits thereunto belonging; and for Vacating certain Letters Patents therein mentioned.* Then his Majeſty made this Speech to both Houſes.

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"YOU have ſhewn ſo great Concern for my Perſon, and Zeal for my Government; and have done ſo much for the Preſervation of the one, and for the Strengthening of the other, by the Good Laws which have been made, and by the Supplies you have provided for the ſeveral Occaſions of this Year; that the late Deſigns of our Enemies are, by the Bleſſing of God, like to have no other Effect, than to let them ſee how firmly we are united, and to give me this Occaſion to acknowledge your Kindneſs, and to aſſure you of all the Returns which a Prince can make to his People.

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My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The Neceſſity of Affairs requiring my Abſence out of the Kingdom for ſome Time, I do earneſtly recommend to you, That in your ſeveral Stations, you will be aſſiſting to thoſe whom I ſhall leave to adminiſter the Government; and that you will be careful in preſerving the publick Peace of the Kingdom.

Then the Lord Keeper, by his Majeſty's Command, prorogued the Parliament till *Tueſday* the 16th Day of *June* next.

Other Bills dropp'd and loſt.

Beſides the Bills that were paſs'd this Seſſion, ſeveral others were begun, and loſt upon various Accounts: Such as, A Bill for Regulating *Printing and Printing-Preſſes. Secondly*, A Bill for Reverſing a Judgment given againſt Sir *William Williams*, in 2 *Jac.* II. for what he did as Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; and for Aſcertaining the Rights and Freedoms of Parliaments. *Thirdly*, A Bill for Settling and Regulating the *Eaſt India* Trade. *Fourthly*, Another to Regulate the Trade of *Africa. Fifthly*, A Bill to confirm the Earl of *Torrington*'s Grant. *Sixthly*, Two Bills to Veſt in the Crown all forfeited Eſtates in *England* and *Ireland*, and to Vacate all Grants made thereof. *Seventhly*, A Bill to prevent Stock-Jobbing: And *Eighthly*, A Bill for preventing *Papiſts* from diſinheriting their Proteſtant Heirs.

Execution of Conſpirators.

We have already given an Account of the Diſcovery of the horrid Conſpiracy againſt the King's Life, and for invading the Kingdom; we muſt now give an Account of the Apprehenſion and Execution of the Chief Conſpirators. Great Diligence was us'd by the Government to apprehend the Conſpirators: In this Service, none ſhew'd more Zeal and Activity than the Lord *Cutts*, Colonel of his Majeſty's Foot-Guards; and the powerful Allurement of a Thouſand Pounds Reward inciting others to imitate his Lordſhip's Example, moſt of the Plotters (who had not committed their Safety to a ſpeedy Flight beyond Sea) were in a few Days ſecur'd. *Porter, Harris, Bertram, Boys, Goodman, Pendergraſs*, and *De la Rue*, came in voluntarily. The firſt of the Priſoners that were try'd, was Mr. *Robert Charnock*, a late Popiſh Fellow of *Magdalen* College, a Man of Parts and Bigotry, and one who (next to Sir *George Barclay*) was the chief Manager and Promoter of the intended Aſſaſſination. He did, with a good Preſence of Mind, and competent Knowledge of the Laws, and a Readineſs of Speech, make a long, but a frivolous Defence.

Charnock, King and Keys.

With *Charnock* were try'd Lieutenant *King*, and *Thomas Keys*, formerly a Trumpeter, and lately Captain *Porter*'s Servant; who had little to ſay for themſelves: So that upon a full Hearing of the Evidence, they were all Three found guilty of High Treaſon, and executed at *Tyburn* upon the 18th of *March*. Before the Executioner did his Office, the Malefactors deliver'd each a Paper to the Sheriffs, wherein they confeſs'd the Crime they were accuſed of, but which they endeavour'd to palliate, and at the ſame Time to juſtify both King *James*, the *Jacobites*, and *Roman-Catholicks*. Mr. *Charnock* particularly own'd, That to facilitate King *James*'s Invaſion upon *England*, himſelf and ſome others did agree to attack the Prince of *Orange* and his Guards: That as for any Order or Commiſſion of K. *James*'s for aſſaſſinating the Prince of *Orange*, he neither ſaw nor heard of any; but had had frequent Aſſurances of his Majeſty's having rejected ſuch Propoſals, when they had been offer'd. That he did hear that there was a Commiſſion arriv'd for Levying of War; which was natural to believe, if the King was in ſuch Readineſs to come over as was reported; but that he never ſaw it. And as to what regarded the Body of the *Roman-Catholicks*, he muſt do them the Juſtice, That they had no manner of

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Knowledge of this Deſign; nor did he believe it was communicated to any other Party of ſuch as were reputed the King's Friends, but carried on merely by a ſmall Number, without the Advice, Conſent or Privity of any Parties whatſoever.

Tryal of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins.

Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Perkins* were brought to their Tryal at the *Old Baily*, on *March* the 23d and 24th, and were both brought in guilty of High Treaſon, and received Judgment. While they lay under Condemnation, a Committee was appointed by the Houſe of Commons to examine them: And on *April* the 2d, the Lord Marquis of *Wincheſter* reported to the Houſe, "That the Committee had gone yeſterday to *Newgate*; and had ſent for Sir *William Perkins* and Sir *John Friend* ſeverally, and acquainted them with the Order of the Houſe, and according thereunto did examine them: And that Sir *William Perkins* own'd his being privy to the intended Aſſaſſination, and of being in Company when it was diſcourſed of at Two or Three Meetings; and thinks it was a Fault that he did approve of it. That he had received Hints ſeveral times of King *James*'s Deſign of coming over, and particularly now; and was reſolved to ſerve him whenever he came, with himſelf and Friends, thinking that he had Wrong done him; and that it was his Duty to help him whenever he could. That he conſulted not with any, but thoſe that he could engage, and he had an Influence upon. That he gueſſed he could have been able to have brought in to the Number of a Troop, but that he would never redeem his own Blood at the Expence of theirs that he had drawn in. That ſince *Chriſtmaſs*, he did ſee a Commiſſion, which he underſtood to be King *James*'s, directed to his Loving Subjects, to levy War againſt the Prince of *Orange*, and all his Adherents. He believes it was ſigned by King *James*. That it had a Seal to it, and that he ſaw it in the Hands of a Friend, which he deſired not to name, but he believes he is not in *England*.

"And that Sir *John Friend*, on his Examination, diſowned knowing any thing of the intended Aſſaſſination, but expreſſed his Abhorrence of it. He confeſſed he was at the Two Meetings mention'd at his Trial, and that the Perſons named to be preſent, were there likewiſe; and that *Charnock* was ſent to *France* from one of thoſe Meetings, to acquaint King *James*, that if he would come over with Eight Thouſand Foot, and Two Thouſand Horſe, that Three or Four Thouſand Horſe would be ready to join him here; of which he did engage to furniſh about Two Hundred.

Their Execution.

On *April* 3. (a) Sir *William Perkins* and Sir *John Friend* were drawn on a Hurdle to *Tyburn*, and executed, according to the Sentence pronounced againſt them. Sir *John Friend*, tho' he had ſufficiently own'd his Guilt, yet he now endeavour'd to juſtify the Merit of his Cauſe, by ſaying, "That the Cauſe he ſuffer'd for, he did firmly believe to be the Cauſe of God and True Religion, and agreeable to the Laws of the Land, which he had ever heard to require a firm Duty and Allegiance. That as no Foreign, ſo neither any Domeſtick Power can alienate our Allegiance; for it was altogether new and unintelligible to him, That the King's Subjects can depoſe and dethrone him on any Account, or conſtitute any that have not an immediate Right to his Place: And that as they ought not to do this, ſo when it was done, to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of his Right, was juſtifiable, and their Duty. He profeſs'd himſelf a Member of the Church of *England*, which he heartily beſought God Almighty to bleſs and preſerve; to deliver this ſinful Nation from the Guilt of Rebellion, Blood and Perjury; to comfort the diſtreſſed King, reſtore him to his Right, and his miſled Subjects to their Allegiance; and to bleſs his Royal Conſort, and his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, *That he might grow in Stature, and in Favour with God and Man.*" As for Sir *William Perkins*, he confeſs'd, "That he was privy to a Deſign upon the Prince of *Orange*, but was not to act in it; and he was fully ſatiſfy'd, that very few or none knew of it, but thoſe who undertook to do it. That he had ſeen the Commiſſion from K. *James*, to levy War againſt the Prince of *Orange*; but as for any Commiſſion particularly levell'd againſt his Perſon, he neither ſaw nor heard of any ſuch. That he thought it for his Honour, to ſay, That he was entirely in the Intereſt of King *James*, being always firmly perſuaded of the Juſtice of his Cauſe; and look'd upon it as his Duty, both as a Subject and an *Engliſhman*, to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of his Throne; which he believed his Majeſty to be deprived of, contrary to all Right and Juſtice; in which Opinion he took the Laws and Conſtitution of his Country for his Guide. And laſtly, That he died in the Communion of the Church of *England*, in which he was educated." It's remarkable, That Mr. *Jeremy Collier*, a Nonjuring Divine, who aſſiſted Sir *William Perkins* at the Place of Execution, pronounced both to him and to Sir *John Friend*, the Abſolution of the Church, as it ſtands in the Viſitation of the Sick, and accompanied this Ceremony with a ſolemn Impoſition of Hands. The Court, and indeed the Body of the Nation, were very much offended at this formal Act of Abſolution, which at firſt Bluſh ſeem'd to juſtify the Conſpiracy, and to recommend the Traytors: A Practice more becoming the Church of *Rome*, where many ſuch Criminals have been reputed Saints.

Abſolved at the Gallows.

Declaration of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops againſt this inſolent Act of Abſolution.

And therefore Fourteen of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops (who were all of that Order that were then in Town) publiſh'd a (b) *Declaration*; wherein they "Cenſured the Performance of this Office of the Church, without a previous Confeſſion made, and Abhorrence expreſs'd by the Priſoners, of the heinous Crime for which they died; as extreamly inſolent, and without Precedent in the Manner, and altogether irregular in the Thing it ſelf: It being a manifeſt Tranſgreſſion of the Church's Order, and prophane Abuſe of the Authority of Chriſt; ſince Mr. *Collier*, Mr. *Snatt*, and Mr. *Cook*, (the Three Nonjurors who attended the dying Malefactors) muſt look on the Perſons abſolv'd as Impenitents, or as Martyrs." An Account whereof was publiſh'd in *Quarto*, printed for *John Everingham*, and entitled, *A Declaration of the Senſe of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, now in and about* London, *upon the Occaſion of their Attendance in Parliament; concerning the irregular and ſcandalous*

(a) See 1. *A true Relation of the horrid Conſpiracy againſt the Life of the King; with an exact Liſt of the Priſoners committed to the* Tower, Newgate, Gatehouſe, *and the* Fleet, *upon the Account of the Plot. In a Letter to a Friend,* 1696, 4to. 2. *The Hiſtory of the late Conſpiracy againſt the King and the Nation; with a particular Account of the* Lancaſhire *Plot, and all other Attempts and Machinations of the diſaffected Party.* 1696, 8vo. 3. *An Account of the Execution of Brigadier* Rookwood *and Mr.* Cranburn, *at* Tyburn, April *the 29th,* 1696. *with their Confeſſion that they did know of the intended Aſſaſſination of the Prince of* Orange.

See "A Form of Prayer and Thankſgiving to Almighty God, to be uſed on *Thurſday* the 16th of *April*, 1696. for diſcovering and diſappointing a horrid and barbarous Conſpiracy of *Papiſts*, and other Traiterous Perſons, to aſſaſſinate and murder his moſt Sacred Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and for delivering this Kingdom from an Invaſion intended by the *French*. By his Majeſty's Special Command." 4to.

(b) The Declaration was ſubſcribed; *Tho. Cantuar. Jo. Ebor. H. London. N. Dureſme. P. Wincheſter. W. Cov. Litchf. Tho. Roffen. Sy. Elien. Gil. Hereford. Jo. Norwich. Ric. Peterburg. Ed. Glouceſter. Rob. Chicheſter. E. Aſaph.*

I *Proceed-*

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Proceedings of certain Clergymen, at the Execution of Sir John Friend *and Sir* William Perkins. On *April* the 7th, the Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench* did likewiſe repreſent to the Grand Jury the ſhameful and pernicious Practices of thoſe Three Abſolving Prieſts. Whereupon the Jury made a Preſentment to the Court; "That *Collier, Cook* and "*Snatt*, Clerks, did take upon them to pronounce "and give Abſolution to Sir *William Perkins* and "Sir *John Friend*, at the Time of their Execution "at *Tyburn*; immediately before they had ſeverally deliver'd a Paper to the Sheriff of *Middleſex*, "wherein they had ſeverally endeavour'd to juſtify "the Treaſons for which they were juſtly condemn'd and executed: And that they the ſaid "*Collier, Cook* and *Snatt*, had thereby countenanced "the ſame Treaſons, to the great Encouragement of "other Perſons to commit the like Treaſons, and "to the Scandal of the Church of *England* Eſtabliſhed by Law, and to the Diſturbance of the "Peace of the Kingdom." Upon which, the Court order'd an Indictment to be preferr'd againſt them; and on *April* the 8th, (*a*) Mr. *Cook* and Mr. *Snatt* were committed to *Newgate*, for Suſpicion of High Treaſon and Treaſonable Practices: But ſuch was the Lenity of the Government, that no manner of Puniſhment was inflicted on 'em; and Mr. *Collier*, with great Aſſurance, publiſh'd ſeveral Papers, to juſtify his Practice.

The Non-juring Abſolvers preſented.

And indicted.

Trial of other Traitors.

On *Tueſday, April* the 21ſt, Brigadier *Rookwood*, Major *Lowick*, and Mr. *Crambourn*, Three other Conſpirators, were brought to their Tryal, and were the firſt that had the Benefit of the Statute made this very Seſſion, to regulate Tryals in Caſes of High-Treaſon: But neither the Copy of the Indictment, which was deliver'd to them, nor the Advantage of being defended by Sir *Bartholomew Shower*, and Two other Eminent Lawyers, did avail them much; the Evidence againſt them being ſo plain and poſitive, that they were all Three found guilty, and received Sentence accordingly. Great Interceſſion was made by ſome Noblemen for the Life of *Lowick*; and *Cramburn* petition'd to be tranſported; but both to no purpoſe. *Cramburn* died on *April* the 29th, a Proteſtant; read a Paper, and ſpoke much to the Spectators; and ſaid, *He ſuffer'd for his Loyalty*; pretending what he would have done, was his Duty. *Rookwood* and *Lowick* died on the ſame Day, *Roman-Catholicks*; and deliver'd each a Paper to the Sheriffs, wherein they partly own'd their Crime, but juſtified King *James* as to the pretended *Commiſſion for Murdering the Prince of* Orange. Mr. *Cooke* and Mr. *Knightley* were the Two laſt that were try'd this Year: But tho' they received Sentence of Death, (the firſt upon his being convicted, and the other upon his freely confeſſing the Fact) yet upon his Majeſty's unparallel'd Clemency, Mr. *Cooke* was only baniſh'd *England*, and Mr. *Knightley* was graciouſly pardon'd.

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Cooke and *Knightley* pardon'd.

As ſoon as the News came into *Flanders*, that the Conſpiracy was happily diſcover'd, the King ſafe, and *England* freed from the Apprehenſions of an Invaſion; the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and other Generals, bethought themſelves of making an extraordinary Bonfire for Joy, at the Expence of the *French*. In order to which, having drawn together a Body of Troops from ſeveral Gariſons, the Earl of *Athlone* and Lieutenant-General *Cohorn* marched from *Namur* on the 13th of *March*, (*N. S.*) with Forty Squadrons, Thirty Battalions, Fifteen Pieces of Cannon, and Six Mortars. While the Earl with the greateſt Part of theſe Forces inveſted *Dinant*, and kept in that Gariſon, the Engineer advanc'd with the reſt of the Troops (and all the Artillery) to *Givet*, where the Enemy had laid up a vaſt Magazine; and having got his Batteries in Readineſs, by the 16th in the Morning, he began to fire into the Town with Bombs and red-hot Bullets, which ſet both the Forage and Houſes on fire. At the ſame Time, a Detachment of Soldiers were commanded to enter the Town with large Flambeaux in their Hands; which they performed with great Bravery, firing the Cazerns and Granaries where the Oats and other Proviſions lay, ſo that the whole Town and Magazine were utterly conſumed; and all this executed with the inconſiderable Loſs of Nine or Ten Men. Not long after, Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* ſail'd out of the *Downs* with ſeveral Men of War and Bomb-Veſſels; and being come to *Calais*, Captain *Bembow*, notwithſtanding the vigorous Oppoſition from the Enemies Boats and Half-Gallies, threw between Three and Four Hundred Bombs; moſt of which fell in the Town, and among the Embarkations, and ſet fire in Three or Four Places, and in ſome of the Veſſels in the Port. Tho' the Succeſs of this Bombardment did not anſwer either

Joy in *Flanders* for the King's Safety.

(*a*) The deprived Biſhops were not unreaſonably ſuſpected of being privy to theſe deſperate Deſigns againſt the Government; and the rather, becauſe they had unhappily recommended a Collection for their Friends in Diſtreſs, which might have ſome Appearance of raiſing a Fund for the Cauſe. Their Brief run thus: "To all Chriſtian People, to whom this Charitable Recommendation ſhall be preſented; *Grace be to you, and Peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* "Whereas we the preſent depriv'd Biſhops of this Church "have certain Information, that many of our deprived Brethren of the Clergy, with their Wives, Children and Families, are reduced to extreme Want:—— Now we, in "Compliance with their Intreaty, and with all due Regard "to their ſuffering Circumſtances, have thought it our Duty "(as far as in Law we may) heartily to recommend their neceſſitous Condition to all pious and good People; hoping "and praying that they will take their Caſe into their ſerious "Conſideration, and putting on the Bowels of Charity, extend their Alms to them and their needy Families: And we "will not ceaſe to pray for a Bleſſing upon ſuch their Benefactors, and remain in all Chriſtian Offices,

Yours,

William, Biſhop of *Norwich.*
Robert, Biſhop of *Gloceſter.*
Thomas, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells.*
Thomas, Biſhop of *Peterborough.*

(Now depriv'd.)

See *An Account of the Examination of Dr.* Thomas Ken, *deprived Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells, *before the Privy Council*; *upon a Printed Paper ſubſcribed by him, and other deprived Biſhops, to beg the Alms of Charitable People*; April 28. 1696. Biſhop *Ken* ſaid, "My Lords, I will ſincerely give your Lordſhips an Account "of the Part I had in it. The firſt Perſon who propos'd it "unto me, was Mr. *Kettlewell*, that Holy Man who is now with "God; and after ſome Time it was brought to this Form, "and I ſubſcrib'd it, and then went into the Country to my "Retirement, *&c.*

To prepare the Minds of the People for the Change now projected, the Party for King *James* had again been very loud for their Doctrines of Paſſive Obedience, and Submiſſion to the Divine Right of Princes by Inheritance, *&c.* and renew'd the Story of the *Thebean Legion*, to influence (if poſſible) the Military Power of the Government to ſtand ſtill at leaſt, and not oppoſe Him they were to call their *Old Maſter*. And indeed, moſt People were apt to take that Glory of the *Thebean Legion* for true Fact, if not for ſtrict Example. It was the greater Service to Truth and Liberty, to publiſh the following Treatiſe. *An Hiſtorical Diſſertation upon the* Thebean Legion; *plainly proving it to be Fabulous. By* John Dubourdieu, *M. A. Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of* Schombergh *and* Lemſter, *and one of the Miniſters of the* French *Church in the* Savoy. *London*, for *R. Bentley*, 1696. *8vo.* In an Epiſt. Ded. to the Lord *Mounthermer*, he gives his Lordſhip the Hiſtorical Occaſion of it. "The Duke of *Schombergh*, whom I had the Honour to "ſerve as Chaplain, arriv'd at *Turin* the 18th of *July*, 1691. "——Upon the firſt Advantage againſt the *French*, a Holiday "was kept in Honour of the *Thebean* Soldiers, *Solutor, Adventor*, and *Octavius*, &c.

See *Remarks on the Papers deliver'd by Sir* William Perkins, *and Sir* John Friend, *Knights, at their Execution.* Printed by *Edw. Jones*, 1696. *4to.* concluding——"Theſe Poor Gentlemen have carried their Burden along with them into another World, where I am afraid their Abſolution will ſerve "them in no ſtead. But I am ſure the Circumſtances of this "Execution let us all ſee in what Danger we are, when we "have among us ſuch a deſperate Crew, who have acted "ſuch a Part as theſe Abſolvers have done in ſo impudent "manner.

1696. 8 *W.* 3. the Expence or Expectation of the *Engliſh*, yet the Damage was not ſo inconſiderable as the *French* gave it out; it being certain that ſeveral Houſes were burnt and ſpoiled, beſides the Church and Convent, and ſome Part of the Cazerns: And 'tis remarkable, that the *French* have raiſed a Croſs and Oratory near a Shell, which to this Day ſticks in the Market-Place at *Calais*, where they often pray againſt the Fury of *Engliſh* Bombs; and which is no leſs a Monument of their Deliverance, than of their Fears.

Honours and Preferments. Before his Majeſty left *England*, he beſtowed Marks of his Royal Favour on ſeveral Perſons. On *March* the 31, he conferr'd the Honour and Dignity of a Baronet upon Mr. *Richard Blackham*, an eminent *Turkey-Merchant*, in conſideration of his Loyalty and Services. And upon the Occaſion of preſenting the Aſſociations, his Majeſty beſtow'd the Honour of Knighthood upon the Preſenters of them; as on *Alexander Rigby*, Eſq; who preſented the Aſſociation of *Wigan* in *Lancaſhire*: On *William Milard*, Eſq; High Sheriff of the County of *Bedford*: On *Charles Morley*, Eſq; one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament of the Borough of *Hindon*, in the County of *Wilts*: On *George Hanger*, Eſq; High-Sheriff of the County of *Glouceſter*; on *John Elwill*, Eſq; one of the Repreſentatives of *Beeralſton*; on *John Robinſon*, Eſq; one of the Burgeſſes for *Sudbury*; and the Dignity of a Baronet upon *Thomas Wheat* of *Glympton*, in the County of *Oxford*, Eſq;. On *May* 1. his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare in Council, that he had appointed the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord-Keeper, the Lord *Pembroke*, the Duke of *Devonſhire*, the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Lord *Godolphin*, to be Lords Juſtices of *England*, for the Adminiſtration of the Government during his Majeſty's Abſence. At the ſame time, his Majeſty created Sir *John Lowther* of *Lowther*, Baronet, Baron *Lowther* of *Lowther*, and Viſcount *Lonſdale* in the County of *Weſtmoreland*. His Majeſty was alſo pleaſed to create Sir *John Thompſon*, Baronet, a Baron of this Kingdom, by the Stile and Title of Baron *Haverſham* of *Haverſham*, in the County of *Bucks*; and to conſtitute Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Baronet, one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; and to give to *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, Eſq; the Office of Clerk of the Ordnance; and to *James Lowther*, Eſq; that of Clerk of the Delivery of the Ordnance. The ſame Day his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *Theodore Janſen*, Eſq; for his good Services, and the Zeal he had on all Occaſions expreſs'd for his Majeſty's Government. And the ſame Evening, when the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors took their Leave of the King at *Kenſington*, his Majeſty Knighted Signior *Soranzo*, the Eldeſt of the Ambaſſadors, (as had been practiſed by his Royal Predeceſſors) and made him a Preſent of his Sword. Not long after, his Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute and appoint the Lord-Keeper, the Preſident of the Council, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, the Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, the two principal Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being; and the Earls of *Bridgwater* and *Tankerville*, Sir *Philip Meadhouſe*, *William Blathwaite*, *John Pollexfen*, *John Lock*, *Abraham Hill*, and *John Methuen*, Eſquires, to be Commiſſioners for Encouraging, Improving, and Protecting the Trade of this Kingdom, and the Plantations, Manufactures, and Fiſhery of the ſame.

Lords Juſtices.

On *Saturday*, *May* 2. The King went from *Kenſington*, and Lay at the Houſe of Capt. *Ball* near *Margate*. The next Day about 2 in the Afternoon, his Majeſty went on Board his Yacht, the Wind being then at *S. S. E.* but it veering in the Evening to the *Eaſtward*, and there being an appearance of foul Weather, his Majeſty came on ſhoar (*a*) again. Two Days after, the Wind being more favourable, and the Weather very fair, he went on Board the *Elizabeth*, Commanded by Vice Admiral *Aylmer*, and on *May* 7. Landed ſafely at *Oranie Polder*, and about Midnight arrived at the *Hague*; and with all poſſible Expedition put himſelf at the Head of the Confederate Forces in *Flanders*. Tho' the *French* took the Field before the Allies, to whom they were at firſt ſuperior in Number, yet the latter being ſoon reinforced by the coming up of the *Germans*, and both Armies ſuffering equally for want of Pay; the *French* by reaſon of the general Poverty of their Kingdom, and the *Engliſh* on Account of the calling in the Money to be Recoined: The Generals on both ſides ſpent the whole Campaign in obſerving one another, and endeavouring to poſſeſs themſelves of the moſt convenient Camps, for the Subſiſtance of their indigent Troops. The Straits to which the Armies were reduc'd, ſeem'd to favour Monſieur *Calliere*'s Negotiation; who before the King arriv'd at the *Hague*, was come thither from *France*, with Propoſals towards concluding a General Peace, by ſettling ſuch Preliminaries as might be a ſufficient Baſis to ground a Treaty upon. 'Tis generally believed, that hitherto there was little Diſpoſition in the *French* Court to a General Peace, wherein they foreſaw they muſt Sacrifice the Intereſt of King *James*, on whoſe Account chiefly the War was undertaken and carried on: But the Loſs of *Namur*, *Cazal*, and other Diſadvantages, without all doubt prevail'd on his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to make theſe Advances; and nothing could have delay'd them ſo long, but the plauſible Hopes of Succeſs in the intended Invaſion of *England*, and that in ſuch a favourable Conjuncture as the Badneſs of our Coin rendred it. Now the former failing, and *England* having a fair Proſpect of overcoming all Difficulties in relation to the Money, there was no room for a longer delay. The King of *France* addreſs'd himſelf to the *Dutch*, becauſe he ſuppos'd that they could not but be weary of a tedious War, that had almoſt ruin'd their Trade, the only Spring of their Riches and Subſiſtance; and would therefore ſooner hearken to Peace, than either the Emperor or the King of *England*, whoſe Power and Authority daily increaſed, at leaſt among their reſpective Subjects, by the continuance of the War. It's true, the *Hollanders* had an abſolute Dependance upon his *Britannick* Majeſty, not only becauſe he was their Stadtholder, but alſo becauſe ſince their firſt Settlement they always found it, and eſteem'd it their Intereſt to keep cloſely united to *England*, in order to maintain a Balance between the Houſes of *Bourbon* and *Auſtria*, and preſerve themſelves from being cruſh'd by either: Yet, as the *French* King was at laſt reſolv'd to acknowledge King *William*'s Title to the Crown of *England*, ſo he believ'd that what Ties ſoever there might be between his *Britannick* Majeſty and the *Dutch*, the latter would never coldly entertain the Propoſals which he deſign'd to make them; ſince by removing this great Obſtacle, the Way ſeem'd to lie fair and open to a General Peace.

1696. 8 *W.* 3. The King goes for *Holland*. And puts himſelf at the Head of the Army. Inclinations toward a General Peace.

The States of *Holland* finding by the *French* King's Propoſals, and his Offers to deliver up ſo many Places, that there was room for an honourable

(*a*) See "A Form of Prayer to be uſed next after the "Prayer in the Time of War and Tumults, in all Churches "and Chapels, at Morning and Evening Prayer, as often as "there is Divine Service, during the Time of his Majeſty's "Abſence. By his Majeſty's Special Command.

"A Form of Prayer to be uſed throughout the whole Realm, "on *Wedneſday* the 19th of *June*, being the Faſt-Day ap-"pointed by Proclamation, for a Bleſſing in the Preſervation "of his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon. and the Proſperity of His "Arms, both at Sea and Land. By Order of the Lords "Juſtices.

and

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and laſting Peace, made Monſieur *Cailliere* a favourable Reception; but yet refuſed either to grant him a Paſſport, but by the concurring Allowance of King *William*; or to Treat with him without the Conſent of his *Britannick* Majeſty, and their other Allies. This was no more but what Monſieur *Cailliere* expected; for tho' at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, the *French* Plenipotentiaries found a way to draw the *Dutch* to a ſeparate Peace, by making them Jealous of the then Prince of *Orange*; yet he was perſuaded that the *Hollanders* were by this time too ſenſible of their former Miſtake, to ſuffer the *French* to play the ſame Game over again. However, Monſieur *Cailliere* having poſitive Orders from his Maſter not to acknowledge King *William* till he had good Aſſurances of the Peace, he found out an Expedient, which was, That the States and he ſhould come to a final Concluſion; but if they found reaſon to diſagree upon any Point, that the ſame ſhould not be communicated to their Allies. To this *Medium* the *Dutch* readily conſented; and amongſt other Particulars, demanded as Preliminaries of this Treaty, the Reſtitution of *Lorrain*, and of the Towns of *Straſburgh* and *Luxemburgh*. Monſieur *Cailliere* granted both, in his Maſter's Name; but upon Condition, that *Lorrain* ſhould be reſtored to the Duke of that Name, on ſuch Terms only as had been agreed to at *Nimeguen*. This was oppoſed by the Preſident *Canon*, who took care of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Intereſt in *Holland*, under pretence that when his Maſter enter'd into the Grand Alliance, the Confederates engag'd never to conclude a Peace, till he had full Satisfaction done him; urging, that if the Duke's Dominions were not reſtor'd to him but upon the Terms of the Peace of *Nimeguen*, he ſhould rather be a Loſer than a Gainer by the Confederacy, ſince he could have made a better Bargain with the *French* King before he enter'd into the War. But as in moſt Alliances great Potentates ſeldom regard the Concerns of thoſe Petty Princes they have engag'd in their Quarrel, when they have no need of them; ſo the Allies after having ſpoke once or twice in the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Behalf, thought it not worth their while to inſiſt any longer upon that Affair; tho' Preſident *Canon* gave in ſeveral Memorials, which were ſome time back'd by the Imperial Miniſters, whoſe Maſter was deſirous to prolong the Concluſion of the Treaty, which would leſſen the Dependance of the *German* Princes upon him. Things being thus far advanced on the Part of the *Dutch*, and the *Engliſh* being rather inclin'd than averſe to a Peace, by reaſon of their great Loſſes at Sea, their heavy Taxes at Home, and the diſheartning Proſpect of getting nothing by the War, it was agreed on all Hands, thro' the Mediation of the King of *Sweden*, and the wiſe Management of the Baron *de Lilienroot*, his Ambaſſador in *Holland*, That Plenipotentiaries ſhould be nam'd to bring that to Perfection, which as yet was only begun.

To make the *Spaniards* the more willing to put an End to the War, the Duke *de Vendoſme*, who this Year commanded the *French* Forces in *Catalonia*, reſolv'd to make them feel the Power of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Arms, by attacking them in their Camp near *Oſtalrick*. In order to that he paſs'd the River *Ter*; and underſtanding that the *Spaniſh* Cavalry, commanded by the Prince of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, had advanced out of the Lines to obſerve him, he fell upon them firſt with great Vigor. The *Spaniards* ſeeing none but Horſe appear againſt them in the beginning, reſolutely ſtood their Ground, and forc'd ſome of the *French* Squadrons to recoil; but when they ſaw the Number of the Enemy increaſe, and a ſtrong Body of Infantry come up to ſupport them, they retreated in very good Order, under the Cannon planted on their Lines, where the *French*, greedy of Purſuit, met with ſuch a warm Entertainment as quickly oblig'd them to retire in their Turn. In this Fight, which was the only Action worth remark, that happen'd this Year on this ſide, the *Spaniards* by their own Confeſſion loſt near 300 Men, and the *French* about 200.

1696. 8 *W.* 3.

The Campaign on the *Rhine* was ſtill more inconſiderable. Indeed the *French* in the beginning of the Spring boaſted their paſſing that River, and forc'd Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to intrench himſelf to avoid an Engagement: But now towards the end of the Year, the Prince in his Turn croſſes the *Rhine* near *Mentz*; and being join'd by the *Heſſian* Troops advances to *Newſtadt*, where the *French* were ſo ſtrongly intrench'd, that all he could do was to Cannonade them for ſeveral Days. It was at the ſame time ſo contriv'd, that General *Thungen* ſhould have paſs'd the *Rhine*, not far from *Philipsburg*, in order to have attack'd the *French* in the Rear; but they having notice of that Deſign, detach'd the Marquiſs *d Uxelles* to diſappoint it; ſo that the *Germans*, after they had got ſome Booty, and divers Hoſtages for Contribution, repaſs'd the *Rhine* towards the beginning of *October*, and then march'd into Winter-Quarters.

The main Buſineſs of this Year, in relation to the Grand Confederacy, was manag'd on the ſide of *Italy*. During the Winter, the Court of *France* renew'd their Intrigues with the Duke of *Savoy*, to engage him to a ſeparate Peace: The Pope's Nuncio, and the *Venetian* Envoy, ſeconded the Deſigns of that Crown; and in his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Name, made ſuch large and advantageous Offers to his Royal Highneſs, that he at laſt reſolv'd to accept them. 'Tis true, he was tyed by his Word and Honour to the Confederates, but now-a-days the ſignification of theſe Terms among Princes ſeems to be reſtrain'd to Policy and Intereſt; and, not to mention the Example of his Predeceſſors, his Royal Highneſs had often ſeen this Maxim confirm'd by the Practice of ſome of his Neighbours. But beſides, he wanted not plauſible Reaſons to juſtify his Conduct; for tho' *England* and *Holland* had ever punctually paid in the Subſidies they had promis'd him, and even ſomething more, yet the Emperor and King of *Spain* were much behind-hand in their Contributions and Supplies. Indeed the Allies did not fail to aſſure his Royal Highneſs that they would procure him Conditions at the general Treaty, as much, if not more advantageous than thoſe *France* offer'd him at preſent: But thoſe were looſe and diſtant Promiſes, and thoſe of *France* certain and at Hand; and ſupported beſides by Threats from that Crown to invade the reſt of the Duke's Country next Summer with a formidable Army. However, tho' his Royal Highneſs urg'd the Probability of the Effects of this Meaſure to juſtify his Conduct to the Allies; yet 'tis certain, a ſtronger Motive inclin'd him to a ſeparate Peace, and that was the Matching his Eldeſt Daughter to the *Dauphin*'s Eldeſt Son. It was not ſafe to conclude this Treaty at *Turin* where the Duke was narrowly obſerv'd by the Vigilant Lord *Galloway*; and therefore his Royal Highneſs, to avoid the prying Sagacity of that Miniſter, went towards the Cloſe of the Winter with a ſmall Retinue of his own naming, to our Lady of *Loretto*, concealing a Political Journey, under the pretence of a Religious Vow. This gave no ſmall Umbrage to the Lord *Galloway*, who knowing the Prince to be more a Stateſman than a Bigot, and being refus'd to accompany him, ſent Spies after his Royal Highneſs: But notwithſtanding all their Watching, they could never get the leaſt notice of the Treaty of Peace, which the Duke Sign'd at *Lorettò* by the Mediation of the Agents of *Rome* and *Venice*, and a private Meſſenger from the Mareſchal *de Catinat*. By this Treaty the *French* reſtor'd to his Royal Highneſs all the new Conqueſts they had made; as alſo *Pignerol* demoliſh'd, gave him Four Millions of Livres, towards the Reparation of the Damages he had

Duke of *Savoy* makes a ſeparate Peace.

ſuſtain'd

1696. 8 *W*. 3. ſuſtain'd during the War; engaged to aſſiſt him with 8000 Foot and 4000 Horſe to be maintain'd at the Charge of the King of *France*; and that a Marriage between the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Princeſs, his Royal Highneſs's Daughter, ſhould forthwith be treated on, to be conſummated as ſoon as they ſhould be of Age. As for the Princeſs's Portion, it was agreed that the Duke ſhould give her Two hundred thouſand Crowns of Gold; toward the Payment of which, his Royal Highneſs was to give a Diſcharge for 100000 Crowns of Gold which remain'd due by *France* to the Houſe of *Savoy*, as part of the Dutcheſs Royal's Portion: And the Remainder the King of *France* promis'd to remit, in conſideration of this preſent Treaty, of which the Pope and *Venetians* were Guarantees, and which was ſoon after ratified in *France*.

Match of the Duke of *Burgundy* with a Daughter of the D. of *Savoy*.

Nor were our Affairs at Sea much more ſucceſsful than at Land. All Things betray'd on all Sides a Weakneſs and Wearineſs of War. At the firſt breaking out of the Plot, Sir *George Rook* commanding the Fleet at *Cadiz*, had Orders ſent him to return home; and he ſafely came upon our Coaſts towards the latter end of *April*. This diſſipated the Fears of *England*, leſt the *French* Fleet from *Thoulon* ſhould overtake and ruin our inferior Number of Ships. And indeed the *French* were not far behind; for before Sir *George* could purſue the Orders of joining with ſome Men of War that lay in the *Downs*, and then bearing for the Coaſt of *Breſt* to intercept and fight them, they were got ſafe into that and other neighbouring Ports of *France*. Hereupon Sir *George Rook* left the *French* Coaſt, and went into *Torbay*, *May* 23. from whence he ſet out for *London*, to aſſiſt at the Admiralty Board, having reſign'd the Command of the Fleet to the Lord *Berkley*, who about *June* 24. ſail'd out of *Torbay*, ſteering his Courſe toward *Uſhant*, in order to inſult the Coaſt of *France*. On *July* the 3d. his Lordſhip commanded the *Burford* and the *Newcaſtle* Men of War, with a Fireſhip, to land on the Iſland of *Groy*, and at the ſame Time ſome ſmall Veſſels were ſent along the Shore. The next Day the Fleet came to an Anchor about two Leagues off *Belle-Iſle*, and the Barges and Pinnaces were immediately Mann'd, and order'd to land upon *Horeal*, one of the Iſlands call'd the *Cardinals*; which they did without any Oppoſition either from the Inhabitants, or the Gariſon of the adjacent Fort; made themſelves Maſters of the whole Iſland, and burnt the Town of *Horeal*: They afterwards did the like upon the Iſland of *Hodicke*. On the 5th, Three more *Engliſh*, and Two *Dutch* Men of *War*, with the Long Boats of divers other Ships, and Seven hundred Soldiers and Mariners, were ſent to join the *Burford* and *Newcaſtle* at *Groy*, who finiſh'd what Captain *Fitzpatrick* had begun; having deſtroy'd there about Twenty Villages, kill'd and carried away 1300 Head of Black Cattle and Horſes, and taken Twenty Boats and ſmall Veſſels. While this was doing near *Belle-Iſle*, Sir *Martin Beckman*, with the Bomb-Veſſels and a Squadron of Ten Men of War under the Command of Captain *Mees*, arrived on *July* 5. before St. *Martin's*, a Trading and Wealthy Town in the Iſle of *Rhee*, going in with *French* Colours, which they took down when they Anchor'd. In the Evening, Sir *Martin Beckman* began the Bombardment, and that Night and the next Day fired about Two thouſand Bombs and Carcaſſes with ſuch Succeſs, that the greateſt and richeſt part of the Town was burnt down, or miſerably ſhatter'd. The *French* at laſt recover'd their Surprize, and brought down Canon and Mortars to the Front of the Town towards the Sea, and began to fire upon the *Engliſh*, who contenting themſelves with the Damage already done to *St. Martins*, bore away towards *Clonne*, where they had but little Succeſs, thro' a Miſtake of the Situation of the Place. The *French* thought the Miſchief done upon their Coaſts to be in ſome manner reveng'd by the Bold and Famous *Du Bart*, who on *June* 8. with Eight Men of War and Four Privateers fell in with a great Fleet of *Dutch* Merchant-Ships, bound home from the *Sound*, under Convoy of Six or Seven Frigats, about Six Leagues off the *Ulie*; and having taken the ſaid Frigats and burnt Four of them, he deſtroyed about Thirty of the Merchant-Ships, and took ſeveral of the reſt.

Our Inſulting the *French* Coaſts.

1696. 8 *W*. 3.

In the next Seſſion of Parliament, the Commons, in conſidering the State of the Nation, took Notice of the late Miſcarriages of the Fleet; and on *Nov.* 4. order'd Sir *George Rook* to attend the Houſe, to give an Account, *Why the* French Thoulon *Squadron was not intercepted in going into* Breſt? That Admiral attended accordingly, and produced Copies of his Journal, and of the Orders he had received from the Admiralty; which being examin'd, Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* was likewiſe order'd to lay before the Houſe the Copies of all ſuch Inſtructions as he had receiv'd from the Admiralty, in order to the joining Sir *George Rook*. Soon after Sir *Robert Rich*, from the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, preſented to the Houſe of Commons Copies of all Orders ſent both to Sir *George* and Sir *Cloudeſly*, in relation to the Fleet in General, between *January* the 1ſt, 1696. and the Time the *French* got into *Breſt*; as alſo an Account of what Intelligences they received of the *Thoulon* Squadron's fitting out, and their Motion towards *Breſt*. When nothing of Diſcovery was made by the Commons, the Lords appointed a Committee to make an Enquiry concerning the *Thoulon* Squadron's getting into *Breſt*, without any Oppoſition? But neither could their Lordſhips tell where to lay the Blame.

State of *Scotland*.

The Parliament of *Scotland* met at *Edinburgh* on *September* 8. and the Lord *Murray*, lately created Earl of *Tullibardine*, his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner, made a Speech to them on occaſion of their Meeting; as did likewiſe the Lord *Polwarth*, Lord High Chancellor of *Scotland*. Two Days after, the King's Letter to the Parliament was read; after which, Committees were appointed, as uſual, for the Security of the Kingdom, for Trade and Controverted Elections. Then all the Members ſign'd an *Aſſociation*, being the ſame in Subſtance with that which the Parliament of *England* had ſubſcribed. They ſoon reſolved to give his Majeſty a Supply of 1440000 Pound *Scots*, to be raiſed by a Land-Ceſs; and an additional Exciſe, for maintaining the Standing Forces both by Sea and Land. They order'd an Act to be brought in for ſecuring their Religion, Lives and Properties, in caſe his Majeſty ſhould come to an untimely Death; and another for obliging all in Publick Truſt to ſign the *Aſſociation*. On the 20th of *September*, the Parliament read and approved the latter of the ſaid Acts; as alſo their Anſwer to the King's Letter; and on the 25th the Lord Commiſſioner gave the Royal Aſſent to the *Act for the Supply*, and to ſome others. On *October* the 9th his Grace return'd to the Parliament, and touch'd with the Sceptre, *An Act for the Security of the Kingdom. An Act in favour of Preachers at Vacant Churches. An Act in favour of the Univerſities, Schools and Hoſpitals. An Act for the Levy of* 1000 *Men. An Act againſt Proteſtant Servants in Popiſh Families. An Act for better providing of the Poor. An Act againſt* Prophaneneſs; and ſeveral other Acts. And on the 12th of *October*, the Parliament was adjourned to the 8th of *December* following.

In *Ireland*, the Lord *Capel*, Lord Deputy, after a long Sickneſs, died on *May* the 30th, whereupon the Council in purſuance of an Act made 33 *Henry* VIII. elected the Lord Chancellor *Porter* to be Lord Juſtice and Chief Governor of that Kingdom, till his Majeſty's Pleaſure was known. On *June* the 27th, the *Iriſh* Parliament met at *Dublin*. In the Lords Houſe the King's Commiſſion was read, appointing the Lord Chief Juſtice *Hely* to be their Speaker; who being ſworn, a Motion was made, and unanimouſly agreed to, that the whole Houſe with their Speaker, ſhould wait on the Lord Juſtice *Porter*, to congratulate his being placed in the Govern-

State of *Ireland*.

ment

1696. ment of that Kingdom; the Commons at the ſame Time, having firſt expell'd Mr. *Sanderſon*, the only Member of their Houſe, who refus'd to Sign the Aſſociation, made the ſame Unanimous Vote; and in the Afternoon both Houſes attended the Lord Juſtice, and then adjourned to the 4th of *Auguſt*; upon which Day Sir *Charles Porter*, Lord Chancellor, and the Earls of *Montrath* and *Drogheda*, lately appointed Lords Juſtices, and General Governors of *Ireland*, ſignified His Majeſty's Pleaſure to the Parliament, That they ſhould further adjourn themſelves. On *Dec.* 8. in the Evening Sir *Charles Porter* was ſeized with an Apoplectick Fit, and died immediately; and the 10th at Night his Corps was privately Interr'd at *Chriſt-Church*.

Proceedings of the Lords Juſtices in *England*.

The Lords Juſtices of *England*, during His Majeſty's Abſence, did all that was poſſible to preſerve the Peace, and to improve the Honour of the Nation. By Proclamation dated the 18th of *May*, they Prorogued the Parliament from *June* 16 to *July* 28, and ſo on by ſhort Intervals till His Majeſty's Return. By another Proclamation dated *May* 23. they appointed a General Faſt to be obſerved on *Friday, June* 26. for a *Special Bleſſing on His Majeſty's Righteous Undertakings, and that God would conſummate the Deliverance of theſe Nations, by ſettling the ſame in a firm and laſting State of Peace, Security and Proſperity.* On *May* 30. They gave an Order in Council, That Mr. Attorney General ſhould Proſecute all ſuch Perſons who had enter'd into Unlawful Confederacies and Agreements, whereby they had engag'd and obliged each other under Penalties, not to employ any Perſons in making the Woollen and other Manufactures of this Kingdom. On *July* 2. They made another Order in Council, That the Juſtices of Peace ſhould frequently meet in their Diviſions, and conſult how they may relieve the Labourers and poorer ſort of People, who ſuffer Hardſhip by the great Difficulty in the Exchange of Money. On *July* 17. they iſſued a Proclamation for apprehending the Famous Pyrate *Henry Every* and his Crew, who had committed ſeveral Depredations in the *Eaſt Indies*, to the great prejudice of the *Engliſh* Company and Trade. On *Auguſt* 31. they publiſhed a Proclamation for apprehending *William Brickenhead*, who being committed to *Newgate* for High-Treaſon, had made his Eſcape out of the ſaid Priſon. On *Sept.* 10. another Proclamation for apprehending Captain *William Wintour* of *Dymock*, in the County of *Glouceſter*, and ſeveral other Clippers and Coiners. On *Sept.* 24. they made an Order in Council for encouraging the Coining of New Money in Gold and Silver.

The King leaves the Army.

King *William* being weary of a Campaign that afforded him no Opportunity for Action, left the Army towards the latter end of *Auguſt*, under the Command of the Elector of *Bavaria*, and went to His uſual Diverſion of Stag-hunting, about His Royal Palaces of *Dieren* and *Loo*. On the 14th of *September* His Majeſty ſet out from this Place, accompanied by the Duke of *Zell* (a Prince whom he ever reſpected as a Father, and lov'd as a Boſom Friend) and the next Day went to *Cleves*, where he was magnificently entertain'd by the Court of *Brandenburgh*, who were come thither on purpoſe to receive His Viſit. Having ſpent two Days at this Agreeable Place, His Majeſty and His Dear Companion, the Duke of *Zell*, went back to *Loo*, where three Days after he was followed by the Electoral Prince of *Brandenburgh*, in return of His Majeſty's Viſit at that Court. Having ſtaid three Weeks longer at this Place, His Majeſty went to the *Hague*, and on the 14th of *October*, (*N. S.*) embarked on board the *William* and *Mary* Yatch, attended by ſeveral other Yatches, and a Squadron of Men of War, under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Aylmer*. Two Days after, His Majeſty landed at *Margate*, and arrived the ſame Evening at *Kenſington*, where on the 8th of the ſame Month (*O. S.*) the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of *London* attended His Majeſty, and Mr. Recorder, in the Name of the City, "Did Congratulate His Majeſty's "Safe Return, and gave Him their Hearty "Thanks for His Princely Care, and Indefatigable Pains for the Safety of His Own Kingdoms, "and the Security of *Chriſtendom*; with the "Humble Aſſurance of the City's Sincere Affection, and conſtant Loyalty, which they would "upon all Occaſions effectually demonſtrate to "the utmoſt of their Power." His Majeſty received their Compliment very graciouſly, and on that Occaſion conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *John Johnſon*, Eſq; one of the Aldermen, and upon *John Wolfe*, and *Samuel Blewett*, Eſquires, the Preſent Sheriffs. No other Honour had been conferr'd during the King's Abſence, ſave only that the Duke of *Glouceſter* on his Birth-day, *July* 24, being now ſeven Years of Age compleat, was Inſtall'd Knight of the Garter, in the Chapel of St. *George* at *Windſor*, with great Order and Magnificence. And all the Companions and other Nobility there preſent, were ſplendidly entertain'd by her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*; the Evening concluded with a Ball at Court, and an Excellent New Ode and Muſick in Honour of his Highneſs's Birth-day, and with Ringing of Bells, Bonfires and Illuminations. On *Sep.* 18. Mr. Serjeant *Blencowe* was appointed by the King to be one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, in the room of Mr. Juſtice *Turton*, who was removed to the Court of *King's Bench*, upon the Death of Mr. Juſtice *Gregory*. (*a*)

The King returns to *England*.

Duke of *Glouceſter* Knight of the Garter.

Parliament meets.

On *Tueſday*, *Octob.* 20, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and the King being ſeated on the Throne, with the uſual Solemnity, made this Speech to both Houſes.

(*a*) As to the Court at St. *Germains*, King *James* reſolv'd to prevent the coming of any Proteſtant Divines thither, and therefore ſent Major *Scot* and Mr. *Macquean* to *England*, to let his Friends know he deſir'd no ſuch Company, and order'd them to make uſe of other Meſſengers. The Affairs of State were manag'd by a Cabinet-Council, conſiſting of Mr. *Brown*, Father *Innes*, Sir *Richard Neagle*. Mr. *Caryl*, and Mr. *Stafford*, all Papiſts; when the Church of *England*-Men ſaw they could not carry the Point of the Chapel, they made a ſecond Effort to procure, that at leaſt one of the Five might be of their own Religion; they inſiſted on the Advantages which might thence redound to his Majeſty's Affairs. The Reaſons they gave for it were ſo ſtrong, that to prevent their Succeeding, the Comptroller *Skelton*, and Sir *William Sharp*, accus'd Sir *Edward* of ſaying, *King* James's *violent Temper would Ruin himſelf, and all that follow'd him*; which Words, Sir *Edward Herbert* frankly confeſs'd, but made ſo ingenuous an Explanation of his Meaning, in relation to the *Act of Settlement* in *Ireland*, that King *James* was ſatisfy'd. However, this enrag'd the *Iriſh* Party in the Court ſtill more, and they contriv'd another Plot againſt him, charging him with Correſpondence with the *Engliſh*, and miſrepreſenting the Actions of that Court; upon which he and an *Engliſh* Lady were confin'd, and *Bromfield* a Quaker Refugee at St. *Germains*, ſent to the *Baſtile*.

To which may be added, That Sir *Edward Herbert*'s Correſpondence with *England* was only with his Brother the Earl of *Torrington*; and the Subject of his Letters was only complaining of his Wants, and begging Relief. The Earl his Brother did ſend him over ſeveral Sums; and when his Lordſhip was no longer willing to Anſwer his Demands, he dyed of Poverty and broken Spirit.

1696.

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Have called you together as ſoon as was poſſible; and I think it a great Happineſs that this Year has paſs'd without any Diſadvantage Abroad, or Diſorder at Home, conſidering Our great Diſappointment in the Funds given at your laſt Meeting, and the Difficulties which have ariſen upon the Re-coining of the Money.

" This is ſo Convincing a Proof of the good Diſpoſition of My Army, and of the Steady Affections of My People, that I cannot but take notice of it with great Satiſfaction.

" Our Enemies have not been without hopes, That ſuch a Conjuncture might have prov'd fatal to us: But as they have failed in thoſe Expectations, ſo I am fully perſuaded that your Unanimous Proceedings in this Seſſion will make them for ever Deſpair of an Advantage from any Diſagreement among Our Selves.

" It muſt be confeſſed, that the Buſineſs which you have before you will be very great, becauſe of the neceſſity of ſupplying former Deficiencies, as well as making Proviſions for the next Year's Service.

" And upon this Occaſion it is fit for Me to acquaint you, that ſome Overtures have been made in order to the entring upon a Negotiation for a General Peace: But I am ſure We ſhall agree in Opinion, That the only way of treating with *France*, is with Our Swords in Our Hands; and that We can have no reaſon to expect a Safe and Honourable Peace, but by ſhewing Ourſelves prepar'd to make a Vigorous and Effectual War: In order to which, I do very earneſtly recommend to you, *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, That you would conſider of raiſing the Neceſſary Supplies, as well for maintaining the Honour of Parliaments in making good the Funds already granted, as for carrying on the War the next Year; which I think ought not to be leſs than what was intended to be raiſed for that purpoſe the laſt Seſſion.

" I muſt alſo put you in mind of the Civil-Liſt, which cannot be ſupported without your Help; and the Miſerable Condition of the *French Proteſtants* does oblige Me to mention them to you again.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" It may deſerve your Conſideration, whether there do not ſtill remain ſome Inconveniencies relating to the Coin, which ought to be remedied: And I hope you'll find out the beſt Expedients for the recovery of Credit, which is abſolutely neceſſary, not only with reſpect to the War, but for carrying on of Trade.

" I am of Opinion, that there is not one good *Engliſhman*, who is not entirely convinc'd how much does depend upon this Seſſion, and therefore I cannot but hope for your Unanimity and Diſpatch in your Reſolutions, which at this Time are more neceſſary than ever for the Safety and Honour of *England*.

1696.

Proceedings of the Commons.

The Commons having appointed their Grand Committees, for Religion, for Grievances, for Trade, for Courts of Juſtice, and for Privileges and Elections, reſolved *Nemine contradicente*, " That they would ſupport His Majeſty and His Government againſt all His Enemies both at Home and Abroad, and that they would effectually aſſiſt Him in the Proſecution and carrying on the preſent War againſt *France*: And that an Humble Addreſs ſhould be preſented to His Majeſty purſuant to the ſaid Reſolution." Which Addreſs was drawn up by Mr. *Mountague*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and preſented to His Majeſty on *October* 23. by the whole Houſe in theſe Words:

May it pleaſe Your Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

Addreſs to the King.

" This is the Eighth Year in which your Majeſty's Moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, have aſſiſted Your Majeſty with large Supplies for carrying on a Juſt and Neceſſary War, in Defence of our Religion, Preſervation of our Laws, and Vindication of the Rights and Liberties of the People of *England*; which we have hitherto preſerved; and, by the Bleſſing of God, upon Your Majeſty's Conduct and Good Government, will ſtedfaſtly maintain and entail on our Poſterity.

" This has coſt the Nation much Blood and Treaſure, but the Hopes of accompliſhing ſo Great and Glorious a Work, have made Your Subjects cheerfully ſupport the Charge. And to ſhow to Your Majeſty, and all *Chriſtendom*, that the Commons of *England* will not be amuſed or diverted from their Firm Reſolutions of obtaining by War a Safe and Honourable Peace, we do, in the Name of all thoſe we repreſent, renew our Aſſurances to Your Majeſty, That this Houſe will ſupport Your Majeſty and Your Government againſt all Your Enemies both at Home and Abroad; and that they will effectually aſſiſt You in the Proſecution and Carrying on the Preſent War againſt *France*.

His Majeſty in Anſwer was pleaſed to expreſs Himſelf thus kindly.

Gentlemen,

The continuance of Your Zeal and Affection is the Thing of the World I value moſt, and I will anſwer it by all the Ways I can think of; and will make your Good, and the Safety of the Nation, the Principal Care of my Life.

The Commons proceed to Buſineſs.

Theſe Aſſurances of Affection on the one ſide, of Loyalty on the other, and of Mutual Confidence on Both, being happily given, the Commons enter'd with great Alacrity upon the Three Great Affairs that had been recommended to 'em from the Throne: To wit, *The further remedying the Ill State of the Coin: The providing a Supply for the next Year's Service: And the reſtoring of Publick Credit.* All which had a near dependance one upon the other, and made the Difficulties more intricate and hard to compoſe.

(*a*) It ſeem'd to be very ill taken from ſome of the Clergy, that they were not enough hearty and zealous in Defence of the Government, as Settled on the Happy Revolution; but were rather Paving the Way for the Return of Popery and Tyranny, by keeping up the Diſtinction of a King *de Jure* and *de Facto*, and ſo ſubmitting for Conveniency, not for Conſcience ſake; and by hating the Diſſenters for gaining a Legal Indulgence, and attempting to recover a Power of Perſecution. The Author of *The Account of the Growth of Deiſm in* England, *in a Letter to a Friend*, 1696. 4to. ſaid to be a Reverend Divine, wrote thus, —" And though at preſent there be a Toleration by Law granted, yet 'tis ſtill oppos'd by the Spirit of the Church, as appears by Sermons Preach'd at Viſitations, and the conſtant ordinary Diſcourſes of the Clergy, in which the Church of *England* is always repreſented as at this Time, in greater Danger than ever it was. When the King had better Titles to his Crown, as the Conſent of the People in Parliament, and his Matrimonial Title with the Queen; yet he muſt be made to Pay the greateſt Price for the weakeſt and worſt of all Titles, and give Dr. *Sh——ck* Sixteen Hundred Pounds a Year for a *de Facto*-ſhip only.

In

1696.

State of the Coin.

In order to remove the Firſt and the Laſt, the Commons reſolved on their very firſt Day of meeting, That *They would not alter the Standard of the Gold or Silver in Fineneſs, Weight or Denomination*; *and that they will make good all Parliamentary Funds ſince His Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Crown, that have been made Credits for Loan from the Subject.* And becauſe the Circulation of Guineas was obſtructed by reaſon of the want of other Coin, and by reaſon of the Act made the laſt Seſſion, to take off the Obligation of Coining Gold, a Bill was Order'd to be brought in *Oct.* 22. *For the giving leave to import Guineas, and to Coin Gold at the Mint*: And that they might proceed in their Debates with the leſs Reflection from Abroad, they cenſur'd a Printed Pamphlet, Entitled, *An Account of the Proceedings in the Houſe of Commons, in relation to the Recoining the Clipt Money, and Falling the Price of Guineas*; as Falſe, Scandalous and Seditious, and Deſtructive of the Freedom and Liberties of Parliament: and order'd the ſaid Pamphlet to be burnt by the Common Hangman, and addreſs'd His Majeſty to iſſue His Proclamation, promiſing a Reward of 500*l.* for the Diſcovery of the Author of that Libel. And two Days after the Houſe being inform'd of a Printed Paper, Entitled, *A Summary Account of the Proceedings upon the Happy Diſcovery of the* Jacobite *Conſpiracy*, They reſolv'd, "That the Printing the Names of the Members "of their Houſe, and reflecting on them for their "Proceedings in Parliament, was a Breach of the "Privileges of that Houſe, and deſtructive of the "Freedom and Liberties of Parliament." On *Octob.* 28. two other Bills were likewiſe order'd to be drawn up; One, *For the further Remedying the Ill State of the Coin*; and the other, *For encouraging the bringing in Plate into the Mint to be Coin'd*: Which at laſt with great Application were put into one Bill; and on *Dec.* 3. the King came into the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for Importing and Coining Guineas and Half-Guineas.* 2. *An Act to Explain that Part of the Act paſſed the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, for laying ſeveral Duties on Low Wines, and Spirits of the firſt Extraction; and for preventing the Frauds and Abuſes of Brewers, Diſtillers and other Perſons chargeable with the Duties of Exciſe, which relates to the Payment of Tallies, and the Intereſt thereof.* 3. *An Act for the further Remedying the Ill State of the Coin of the Kingdom.*

Acts paſſed.

Supply.

As for the *Supply*, the Commons having conſider'd the State of the War for the Year 1697, both in relation to the Navy and Land Forces, which at their Deſire, His Majeſty order'd to be laid before them, they granted the Sum of Two Millions Three Hundred Seventy Two Thouſand One Hundred Ninety Seven Pounds, for the Maintenance of Forty Thouſand Seamen, and of the Two Marine Regiments; and for the Ordinary of the Navy, and the Charge of the Regiſtry of Seamen; And the Sum of Two Millions Five Hundred Seven Thouſand Eight Hundred and Eighty Two Pounds, both for the Maintaining Eighty Seven Thouſand Four Hundred and Forty Men, which according to the Liſt of the Land-Forces delivered into the Houſe, they Voted neceſſary to be employ'd in *England*, and beyond the Seas; and for the Extraordinary Service of the Office of Ordnance, the Pay of the General Officers, and the Charge of the Tranſports, Hoſpitals, and other Contingencies of the War. Beſides which, they afterwards, on *December* 23. Voted a ſupply of One Hundred Twenty Five Thouſand Pounds, for making good the Deficiency in Recoining Hammer'd Money, and the Recompence to be given for bringing Plate into the Mints to be Coined.

1696.

Ways and Means.

The Ways and Means of raiſing this Supply, were, Firſt, A General Capitation or Poll-Tax: Secondly, A Tax of Three Shillings in the Pound upon Land: And Thirdly, A Duty upon all Paper, Paſtboard, Velum and Parchment, Imported or made in this Kingdom.

Loſs of Credit to be Retriev'd.

But ſtill the greateſt Difficulty of all, was the Loſs of Publick Credit: For the Tallies ſtruck, or Funds ſettled by Parliament, eſpecially ſuch as were remote, were exchanged for ready Money, at a mighty Loſs: And the Government was oblig'd to make exceſſive Diſcounts and Allowances to bring Treaſure into the Exchequer. This great Loſs of Credit, which was like to prove fatal to our Affairs abroad the laſt Summer, aroſe chiefly from two Springs: Firſt, the Deficiencies of Parliamentary Funds, particularly the unhappy Project of the *Land Bank*, which proved wholly Abortive, and did not produce one Penny of above Two Millions and a half with which it was charged: Secondly, The Recoining of our Silver. The firſt created Truſt, and the latter deſtroy'd it, by making Money to be very ſcarce. 'Tis eaſie to imagine what periſhing Circumſtances the Nation was in, when the Notes of the Bank of *England*, which had been a mighty help to the Publick, were diſcounted at Twenty, and Tallies at Forty, Fifty, or Sixty *per Cent.* The Government had Contracted a great Debt; ſome Funds were wholly taken away, and the reſt proved Deficient; great Numbers of Tallies were on Funds very remote, and many had no Funds at all. Hereby the Truſt and good Opinion of the People were ſo far loſt, that thoſe few who had any Money to lend, ſhew'd the greateſt backwardneſs imaginable to bring it into the *Exchequer*, when they could Stock-job it to ſo great Advantage upon the *Royal-Exchange*; and therefore all Loans to the Government were procured on Exorbitant Præmiums.

Great Difficulty.

All Men were amaz'd and confounded at this Obſtruction to Trade and Credit, and hardly believ'd that the Wit of Man was able to find out any Expedient, that could be effectual to retrieve ſo great a Miſchief. The Nation is the more oblig'd to the Wiſdom, Sagacity, and Eloquence of Mr. *Mountague*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who Animated the whole Deſign, and Projected the moſt happy Methods to bring it to a happy Effect. On *November* 25. the Commons Reſolved, *That a ſupply be Granted to His Majeſty to make good the Deficiencies of Parliamentary Funds*; and afterwards order'd an Eſtimate to be laid before them, of what Sums were, or would be wanting to ſatisfie and diſcharge all Principal and Intereſt due, or to become due on the ſeveral Aids, Duties, or Funds, over and above all Arrears, ſtanding out upon them which were determin'd; and beſides all Moneys to be rais'd by ſuch as were then unexpired. And the Computation of all the particular Sums that were wanting to make good all the Deficient Funds, being made, the whole amounted to Five Millions, One Hundred and Sixty Thouſand, Four Hundred Pounds. Having now got to the bottom of the Diſeaſe, they Reſolved on a thorough Cure. For being ſenſible, that had ſome Deficiencies been taken care of, and others neglected, Publick Credit muſt have continued Lame, and the Government have Halted, if it had not fallen to the Ground, they judg'd it of abſolute neceſſity to make Proviſion for the whole; that ſo there ſhould remain no Tally without a Fund, nor any Tally on a Deficient Fund, but what in its courſe of Payment ſhould be ſatiſfied and diſcharged. In order to

To make good the Deficiencies.

1696. this, they continued divers Duties ariſing not only by the Cuſtoms, but by continued and additional Impoſitions; Paper and Parchment, Births, Marriages, and Burials, Windows, the Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage, after the Day on which they would otherwiſe have expir'd, to the 1ſt. Day of *Auguſt*, 1706. and appointed all the Moneys which ſhould ariſe, and be brought into His Majeſty's Exchequer from any of theſe Taxes or Duties, from the Day on which they were otherwiſe to Expire, to the ſaid Firſt Day of *Auguſt*, 1706. to be the *General Fund* for making good all the Deficient ones, by the Satisfaction and Payment of the Principal and Intereſt due, or become due thereupon. And that all occaſion of Complaint might be remov'd, and equal Proviſion made for all, the Parliament directed that all Moneys ariſing from the Duties, ſo as before continued and appropriated for the General Fund, ſhould be diſtributed and applied to pay Principal and Intereſt upon every one of the Deficient Funds, in proportion to the Sum of which they were deficient; and that all the Money which ſhould be in ſuch a due Proportion diſtributed or placed to the Account of each deficient Tax or Fund, for the diſcharge of Principal and Intereſt, ſhould be paid out to all who were intitled to receive the ſame, in ſuch Courſe and Order, as if the ſame were Moneys really ariſing by the reſpective deficient Funds, and that without being Diverted, Miſapplied, or Poſtpon'd; and made the Officers of His Majeſty's Treaſury liable to great Penalties, in caſe this Method were not obſerved. Moreover, to remove all Doubts about the Security intended to be given, in caſe on the 1ſt. of *Auguſt*, 1706. or within Three Months, then next enſuing, the whole Produce of the ſeveral Funds and Revenues appropriated for a General Fund, together with other Grants then in being, ſhould not be ſufficient to diſcharge the Sum of Five Millions, One Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Four Hundred Pounds, intended to be diſcharged, that then what was deficient, ſhould be made good out of ſuch Aids or Revenues as ſhould be granted in the next Seſſions of Parliament. Thus the Commons, by an admirable Stroke of Wiſdom, as well as a noble Act of publick Juſtice, provided a ſufficient Security for this great Debt that lay heavy on the Nation; which was all that could be demanded or expected, at a Time when Money was not in being, and therefore not to be had. And becauſe all the Branches of Publick Credit did plainly depend on, and mutually ſupport one another, the Parliament took into Conſideration, by what means they might Buoy up the Credit of the Bank of *England*, which was then ready to ſink.

Great Honour and Juſtice.

Ways and Means. In order to this, the Parliament on *February* 3. Agreed to augment the common Capital Stock of the Bank of *England*, by admitting new Subſcriptions; which new Subſcriptions ſhould be made good in Tallies and *Bank-Notes*. The Proportion was Four Fifths of the Firſt, and one Fifth of the Laſt, and an Intereſt of Eight *per Cent.* was allowed, as well for ſuch Tallies that ſhould be brought in to enlarge their Stock by new Subſcription, as for thoſe Tallies which the Company was then poſſeſſed of; provided they did not exceed the Value of thoſe Bank-Notes which ſhould be paid in upon this Engraftment on their Stock; and for ſecuring the Payment of this Intereſt of Eight *per Cent.* the Additional Duty on Salt was afterwards granted and appropriated. The Time of the continuance of the Bank of *England*, they thought fit to extend to the Year 1710. and Reſolv'd likewiſe, "That before the Day were fix'd for the beginning New Subſcriptions, the old Stock be made One Hundred *per Cent.* and that what ſhould exceed that Value, ſhould be divided among the old Members. That all the Intereſt due on thoſe Tallies which ſhould be ſubſcribed into the Bank-Stock, at the time appointed for Subſcriptions, (to the end of the laſt preceding Quarter, on each Tally) be allowed as Principal. That Liberty be given by Parliament to enlarge the Number of Bank-Bills, to the Value of the Sum which ſhould be ſo ſubſcribed, over and above the 1200000 *l.* provided they be obliged to anſwer ſuch Bills at Demand; and in Default thereof, to be anſwer'd by the *Exchequer* out of the firſt Money due to them. That no other Bank be erected, Permitted, or Allowed by Act of Parliament within this Kingdom, during the Continuance of the Bank of *England*. That on ſuch new Settlement, the Bank of *England* be exempted from all manner of Parliamentary Taxes. That no Act of the Corporation ſhould forfeit the particular Intereſt of any Perſon concern'd therein. That Proviſion be made for the effectual preventing the Officers of the *Exchequer*, and all other Officers and Receivers of the Revenue, from diverting, delaying or obſtructing the Courſe of Payments to the Bank. That Care be taken to prevent the Abetting, Counterfeting, or Forging any Bank-Bills or Notes; as likewiſe againſt the Defacing, Raſing, or Altering any Indorſement upon any ſuch Bill or Note. That the Eſtate and Intereſt of each Member in the Stock of the Corporation, be made a Perſonal Eſtate. And Laſtly, That no Contract or Agreement made for any Bank-Stock to be Bought or Sold, be Valid in Law or Equity, unleſs the ſaid Contract be actually Regiſtred in the Books of the Bank within Seven Days, and actually transferr'd within Fourteen Days next after the making ſuch Contract." Upon which Encouragements, a Million was Subſcribed and paid in Tallies and Banks-Notes, as the Parliament had directed. This Expedient was the Reſult of Mr. *Charles Mountague*'s Skill and Prudence; and tho' many Perſons who were Intereſted in it, could not preſently Apprehend the Reaſonableneſs of it, yet the Advantages they afterwards receiv'd, did fully convince them, that no other way could have been found to call back their ſinking Credit: For the Value of Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds in Bank-Notes being ſunk by the New Subſcription, the reſt, as it was reaſonable to believe they would, began preſently to riſe in worth; and ſo likewiſe did the Tallies, after ſo many as amounted to Eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds were paid in to enlarge the Bank. Upon this the Credit of the Bank recover'd a-pace; till in a ſhort time their *Notes*, which bore no Intereſt, were equal with Money; and their Bills that bore Intereſt better than Money: And by this means the Face of Affairs was quickly much changed for the better; Credit began to revive, and Money to circulate on Moderate Terms; Foreign Exchange was leſs to our Diſadvantage, and ſoon after came to an Equality: And whatever Hardſhips the People had undergone by reaſon of a long and expenſive War, and the Recoining the Silver Money, which could not but occaſion many Complaints, yet the greateſt part attributed this to the Neceſſity of Affairs, and began to hope, both from the Proſpect of a Peace, and the Wiſdom of thoſe at the Helm, that they ſhould enjoy more favourable Times.

Another Evil of no leſs Difficulty or Importance than the loſs of Credit, (and which, as was hinted before, was one of the Springs of the latter)

Want of Money in Specie.

1696. latter) remain'd ſtill to be remov'd; and that was the great *Scarcity of Money*. The Parliament to prevent Diſappointments, by ſettling Funds which might be Deficient, came to a Reſolution on *November* 20. *That the Supplies for the Service of the Year* 1697 *ſhould be raiſed within the Year.* But how could above Five Millions be raiſed within the Year while the Silver Money was called in, and Recoining, and there was not Current Coin enough in the Nation, to anſwer the Occaſions of Trade, and ſcarcely the Conveniencies and Neceſſities of Life? This Vote of Parliament ſeem'd impracticable; the Enemies of the Goverment made themſelves Merry with it; and inſtead of raiſing their Spleen, 'twas the Entertainment of their pleaſant Humour: And many, even of the beſt Friends of the Government, imagin'd that the Parliament by this, rather expreſs'd their Zeal and Willingneſs, than their Ability to ſupport the State, and maintain the preſent Settlement. But this Parliament, for whoſe Wiſdom it was reſerv'd to ſurmount Difficulties that were look'd on as Invincible, made Money without Bullion, and Diſtributed great quantity of Coin without the help of the Mint. This they did by Authorizing the Lords of the Treaſury, to Iſſue out Bills from the Exchequer, to the Value, firſt and laſt, of above Two Millions; which Bills were firſt appointed to be brought in and ſunk upon the Capitation Tax. But before the Seſſion ended, the Parliament being convinc'd by the firſt Collection of that Duty, that it would prove very deficient; they appointed the Exchequer Bills to be brought in, on any other of the King's Duties or Revenues excepting the Land-Tax; and allowed an Intereſt of Seven Pounds Twelve Shillings *per Annum*, upon the ſecond Iſſuing the ſaid Bills out of the Exchequer, whereas at firſt they bore no Intereſt. By this the Parliament laid a good Foundation for *Paper Money* to ſupply the Place of our Silver Coin; for ſo many Payments were at this time to be made into the *Exchequer* that when the People had aſſurance given them, that the *Exchequer* Notes ſhould be received back again in Payment of the King's Taxes, they were very well ſatisfied to take them, at firſt indeed at ſmall Diſcount, but not long after at an Equality. A great number of theſe Notes were only for Five or Ten Pounds, which anſwer'd the neceſſity of Commerce among the meaner People, for the Common Conveniences of Life. And that thoſe who had advanced Money on Loans on any part of the King's Revenues, might not be obliged to receive it back in Notes that were under the Value of Money, to ſtrengthen the Reputation of theſe Bills, the Parliament authorized the Lords of the Treaſury to contract with any Corporation, or Numbers of Private Men, and to allow them a competent *Premium*, provided they oblig'd themſelves to exchange thoſe Notes for Ready Money, when tender'd to them for that purpoſe; which the Lords of the Treaſury did accordingly. The Credit of the *Exchequer* Notes being thus ſecur'd, they daily aroſe nearer to *Par*, till at laſt they exceeded the Value of Money; And whereas the Truſtees, with whom the Government had contracted to exchange them, were at firſt allow'd Ten *per Cent*, as a *Premium*, they were ſince contented to do it for Four. Theſe Bills paſs'd as ſo many Counters, which the People were ſatisfied to receive, becauſe they knew the *Exchequer* would receive them again as ſo much ready Money: And theſe State-Counters ſo well ſupply'd the want of Money, till New Coin was iſſued from the Mint, that Trade and Commerce were maintain'd, and Mutual Payments well enough made, to anſwer the Neceſſities of the Government and the People. This Project (which proved an Effectual, though a Paper Prop to ſupport the State, when its Silver Pillars, if I may ſo ſpeak, were for a time remov'd) was likewiſe owing to the Prudence and Induſtry of Mr. *Charles Mountague*, as well as that of recoining the Money; which thoſe very Men, who envied moſt his Succeſs in the Houſe of Commons, and Growing Power at Court, were afterwards contented to call a *Fortunate Temerity*. 1696.

Supplied by Exchequer Bills.

The greateſt Interruption to the more Publick Affairs, was the Caſe of Sir *John Fenwick*, a Perſon concern'd in the late Conſpiracy, who endeavouring to fly over into *France*, under the Name of *Thomas Ward*, was ſeized at *New-Romney* in *Kent*, and from thence brought up to *London*, and on *June* the 11*th*. committed Priſoner to the *Tower*, and afterwards to *Newgate*. As ſoon as he was Apprehended, he Wrote a Letter with a Black-Lead Pencil to his Lady, in theſe words.

Caſe of Sir *John Fenwick*.

"What I Fear'd is at laſt happen'd; had I gone alone, I had done it; but the other was Betray'd from *London*. It is God's Will, ſo we muſt ſubmit; I know nothing can ſave my Life, but my Lord *Carliſle*'s going over to * Him, back'd by the reſt of the Family of the *Howards* to Beg it; and offering that I will be abroad all His Time, where I cannot Hurt Him, and that I will never Draw Sword againſt him. I muſt leave it to you what elſe to ſay. All Friends muſt be made. My Lord *Devonſhire* may perhaps by my Lady; my Lord *Godolphin* and my Lord *Pembroke* by my Lady *Montgomery*. Mr. *Nelſon* by the Biſhop of *Canterbury*. My Lord *Arran* might engage his Brother *Selkirk* to uſe his Intereſt with *Keppel*. I believe if my Lord *Carliſle* would go, it were beſt before my Tryal, or elſe they will cut me ſhort for want of Time; if he can prevail with Him for a Pardon, He will procure it as well before my Tryal, as after; at leaſt He may prevail for a Reprieve, 'till ſome can come over to Him. My Lord alſo will have an opportunity to engage † *Benting*, and get my Lord of *Eſſex* to join with him. I cannot think what elſe to ſay, but the great Care muſt be the Jury; if Two or Three could be got that would Starve the reſt; That or nothing can Save me. Money I know would do it; but alas! that is not to be had, nor ſhall I get enough for Council. I beg of you not to think of being ſhut up with me; I know it will Kill you, and beſides I have no ſuch Friend as you to take care of my Buſineſs: Though it would be the Comfort of my Life, the little Time it laſts, to have you with me: and I have this only Comfort now left, that my Death will make you eaſy. My Deareſt Life, grieve not for me, but Reſign me to God's Will. You will hear as ſoon as they bring me to Town, where they put me, and then I would have a Servant or Some-body with me. I am Interrupted, ſo can ſay no more now. Engage Sir *John Lowther*, the new Lord, who has more Intereſt than any Body. Let my Lord *Scarſdale* engage *Jermaine*, to engage *Overkirk* for me. Speak to my Lady *Arlington*. If my Tryal could be put off till the King comes back, there would be more Opportunity to Sollicite him.

His Letter to his Lady.

* Meaning King *William*.

† The Earl of *Portland*.

This Letter being delivered to Mr. *Webber*, the Companion of Sir *John Fenwick*'s Flight, was Intercepted by the Mayor of *Romney*, and brought to the Lords Juſtices. Sir *John*, who was Ignorant of the Miſcarriage, at his Firſt Examination before their Excellencies denyed

1696. every thing he was Charged with. Whereupon the Lords Juſtices producing the Letter, told him, *he was not of the ſame Mind when he Wrote that Paper*; To which Sir *John* made no Reply; but laying it down, was confounded into Shame and Silence.

Sir *John Fenwick* makes a Sham-Plot.

There was another Expedient of double-Dealing, ſuggeſted to Sir *John Fenwick*, by a Perſon, who though he had been a great Inſtrument in the late Revolution, yet to gratifie a private Reſentment, adviſed Sir *John* to ſet up a Counter-Plot, by Impeaching ſeveral of the King's Beſt and Heartieſt Friends, as Guilty of Conſpiring againſt His Majeſty. Accordingly Sir *John* deliver'd a Paper to the Government, wherein he ſaid in general, there were in *England* a ſettled number of Perſons to manage the Affairs of King *James*. And being afterwards put upon to name thoſe Perſons, and to deſcend to Particulars, he gave in another Writing, wherein among other Things he pretended, that the Duke of *Shrewsbury* came again into the Office of Secretary of State by the Operation and Conſent of King *James*; and that his Grace was in Treaty with that Monarch, before he laid down the Seals. That the Lord *Marlborough* had promiſed King *James* ſome Service, which had inclined His Majeſty to promiſe him his Pardon. That the Earl of *Bath* was to Betray *Plymouth* into the Hands of the *French* King. That Admiral *Ruſſel*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, were likewiſe in King *James*'s Intereſt: And that Commiſſary *Crawford* had ſent over to *France* a Liſt of the Forces in *England*. Theſe Informations at firſt ſtartled not only the Court, but the King Himſelf, and gained Sir *John Fenwick* ſome Time: But being ſenſible that this Sham muſt at laſt be diſcover'd, he at the ſame Time endeavour'd to get off, at leaſt, one of the Two Evidences who ſwore the Treaſons againſt him at the Seſſions; well knowing, that according to the late Act, One was not ſufficient in a Capital Accuſation.

This Succeſs was fully accompliſh'd in the Perſon of *Cardell Goodman*; who, for a large Sum of Money given him, withdrew himſelf into *France*: And tho' by that means there ſeem'd to be no more Danger of Sir *John*'s Life; yet both he and his Friends could have wiſh'd that Captain *Porter*, the other Witneſs, had likewiſe been ſpirited away; and to that end they made large Offers to him by an *Iriſh* Peruke-Maker, call'd *Clancey*. The Captain, who had a good Penſion from the King, and was loth to truſt a Party he had lately betray'd, diſcover'd the whole Intrigue to the Government: Who finding themſelves abus'd by theſe Clandeſtine Practices of the *Jacobites*, and having no room left to bring the Criminal to Puniſhment by the ordinary Courſe of Law; the King gave Admiral *Ruſſel* leave to acquaint the Houſe of Commons with theſe Proceedings, and lay before them the ſeveral Papers which were given in by Sir *John Fenwick*, in the Nature of Information againſt himſelf, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, This the Admiral on *November* the 6*th* did accordingly, and deſir'd that the ſaid Papers might be read, that ſo he might have the Opportunity to juſtify himſelf; or, if he did not, to fall under the Cenſure of the Houſe.

Sir *John* brought to the Bar of the Commons.

Thoſe Papers being delivered by Mr. Secretary *Trumbal*, were read in the Houſe; and Sir *John Fenwick* was brought to the Bar, and acquainted, *That the Houſe underſtood he had ſhew'd ſome Inclinations to make a Diſcovery of the Practices and Deſigns of the Enemies of the Government, and that now he had an Opportunity for the ſame; and they did require him to make a full and ingenuous Diſcovery to them.* But Sir *John* returned ſuch Anſwers, as the Houſe conceived to be only Excuſes. And being called in again, and required peremptorily to make ſuch Diſcovery; he refus'd to do it. Upon which the Houſe Reſolved, *That the Papers read as Sir* John Fenwick's *Information, reflecting on the Fidelity of ſeveral Noble Peers, divers Members of this Houſe, and Others, only by Hear-ſay, are falſe and ſcandalous, and a Contrivance to undermine the Government, and to create Jealouſies between the King and his Subjects, in order to ſtifle the real Conſpiracy.* And therefore Reſolved, *That a Bill be brought in, to Attaint Sir* John Fenwick *of High Treaſon.* 1696.

A Bill of Attainder againſt him.

This Bill was to be read the Second time on *Friday November* the 13*th* when Sir *John Fenwick* and his Council were called to the Bar; where they inſiſted, That no Evidence ſhould be produced againſt Sir *John*, but what related to the Proof of the Allegations in the Bill: And that Sir *John Fenwick* might be allow'd further Time to produce Witneſſes in his Defence. To both which Motions the Houſe complied to ſhew a tender Regard to the Priſoner. But when Sir *John* and his Council were again at the Bar, on *Monday November* the 16*th*. and were demanded, *Whether they had any Witneſſes to produce*; The Council declared, *That they had no Witneſſes, but only in relation to a Record.* The next day, Sir *John Fenwick* being brought in without Council, " Mr. Speaker, by Direction of the Houſe, " required him to give an Account of what " he knew, in relation to the Perſons of Qua- " lity that have been in this Goverment; " againſt whom he had given Information. Whereunto Sir *John* replied, *That he was under a double Proſecution for his Life, and did not know, but what he might ſay might be to his own prejudice: And ſince the Houſe had done him the favour to hear him by his Council, he hoped they would pleaſe to conſider of what they had ſaid.* And being preſſed again by Mr. Speaker, to give the Houſe ſatisfaction in what they required; He *inſiſted on what he had ſaid before; and that he did not do it out of any Obſtinacy, but for his own Preſervation.* After which, the *Bill* was read a Second time, and Committed by 182 Votes, againſt 123.

Speeches for and againſt the Bill.

On *Wedneſday November* the 25*th*. the Bill was read the Third time, and the Debates upon it ran very high. The Arguments for it and againſt it, were beſt ſumm'd up in thoſe Two Speeches, of Mr. *Methwen*, and Sir *Godfrey Copley*.

Mr. *Methwen*. " Mr. Speaker, I have not " troubled you in any of thoſe long Debates you " have had upon this Occaſion, and do it unwil- " lingly now; but I do think it every Man's " Duty, in a Caſe of this great Importance, " freely to own his Opinion, and give his Rea- " ſons for it.

" The greateſt Part of the Debate hath run " upon Two Things: On the one ſide, the In- " conveniency of Bills of Attainder, or at " leaſt the having them too frequent; On the " other ſide, That it is neceſſary to have them " ſometimes, that no Perſons might think they " were out of Reach, if they could evade the " Laws that were made to Puniſh Ordinary Of- " fenders.

" I think both theſe Points too general, and " that this Bill (as every other) ought to have " its Fate upon the particular Circumſtances of " the Caſe before you; and whoever gives his " Affirmative to this Bill, ought to be convinced " that Sir *John Fenwick* is guilty of High Trea- " ſon; and alſo, that there are extraordinary " Reaſons why the Nation does proſecute him " in ſo extraordinary a Manner: And I do think " neither of theſe is ſufficient alone.

" If

1696. "If between the Indictment and Arraigment or Tryal, *Goodman* ſhould have dyed, and there had been no other Reaſon for Attainting Sir *John Fenwick*, but only the want of his Evidence; I ſhould not have thought it a ſufficient Reaſon, though we ſhould have an Opportunity of being inform'd of his particular Evidence, and believed him guilty: And if Sir *John Fenwick* does not appear guilty, I do not think any Reaſon of State can juſtify this Bill, though he hath prevaricated and behaved himſelf to the diſſatisfaction of every body; therefore, I think, there muſt be both theſe.

"You have heard the Evidence; I ſhall not repeat it, but rather come to thoſe Things that diſtinguiſh Sir *John Fenwick*'s Caſe; only thus, you have received the Evidence againſt Sir *John Fenwick*, and given him liberty to make his Defence, and have fully heard him, which, I think, hath alter'd the Reaſon of a great many Precedents, cited from my Lord *Coke*, and other Authors.

"That which diſtinguiſhes this Caſe, is, the great Danger the Nation was in from this Conſpiracy, and the Senſe the Nation hath had of it; and I find, by the general Opinion of all Perſons, this Danger is not thought yet at an end.

"There ſeems likewiſe to be an Opinion as general, That Sir *John Fenwick* could have contributed to your Safety by a Diſcovery.

"The next Circumſtance is, That Sir *John Fenwick* knowing this, and the Expectation the Nation had from him, that he could have contributed to your Safety, hath made uſe of that to put off his Trial; and at laſt, has made ſuch a Paper, as does ſhew an Inclination to do you all the Prejudice he can; pretended to the Creating of New Dangers; and by this means Sir *John Fenwick*, againſt whom there was Two Witneſſes when he was indicted, hath delayed his Tryal, ſo that now there is but One; and there is a violent Preſumption that this Perſon is withdrawn by the Practice of Sir *John Fenwick*'s Friends.

"There remains yet with me as great a Conſideration as any of theſe, The Publick Reſentment of the Nation for ſuch his Behaviour, is the only means his Practice has left you to prevent the Danger that yet remains; and it ſeems neceſſary for your Safety, to come the next beſt way to what he could have done for you by his Diſcovery. Againſt the Evidence that hath been given, there have been great Doubts raiſed, not ſo much whether it be ſuch Evidence as ought to incline us to believe him guilty: But whether it be ſuch, as you ſhould hear in the Capacity you are in: and whether after it is found ſuch as it is, that is to ſay, not ſuch as would convict him upon another Tryal, Whether you ought to Credit it, and that it ſhould influence you to give your Vote for this Bill of Attainder? This is a Doubt that I find weighs generally with them that Differ from me in Opinion about this Bill; and therefore I deſire leave to ſpeak to that Particular.

"'Tis ſaid, That you are trying of Sir *John Fenwick*, that you are Judges, and that you are both Judges and Jury, and that you are obliged to proceed according to the ſame Rules, though not the Methods of *Weſtminſter-Hall Secundum allegata & probata*.

"But the State of the Matter, as it appears to me, is, That you are here in your Legiſlative Power, making a New Law for the attainting of Sir *John Fenwick*, and for exempting his particular Caſe from being tryed in thoſe Courts of Judicature, and by thoſe Rules which you have appointed for the Tryal of other Cauſes, and trying of it your ſelves (if you will uſe that Word, though improperly) in which Caſe the Methods differ from what the Laws made by your ſelves require in other Caſes; for this is never to be a Law for any other. 1696.

"Methinks this being the State of the Caſe, it quite puts us out of the Methods of Tryals, and all the Laws that are for limiting Rules for Evidence at Tryals in *Weſtminſter Hall*, and other Judicatures: For it muſt be agreed, the ſame Rules of Evidence muſt be obſerved in another Place, as well as *Weſtminſter Hall*, I mean in Impeachments, and it has always been ſo taken.

"The Notion of two Witneſſes being neceſſary, has ſo much gained upon ſome Gentlemen, that we have had it ſaid, That this is required by the Law of Nature, the Univerſal Law of Nations; nay, by the Eternal Law of God. And I think, if it was ſo, there would be no doubt but it would oblige us.

"And therefore to go to the bottom of the Matter: That any Man deſerves to be puniſhed is becauſe he is Criminal: That this or that Man deſerves it, is becauſe he is guilty of a Crime, let his Crime be made evident any way whatſoever: For whatſoever makes the Truth evident, is, and is accounted in all Laws to be evident.

"Now the Rules for examining whether any Perſon is guilty, or not, and the Evidence that is allowed as ſufficient, is different in all Nations: No two Nations agree in the ſame Evidence for the Tryal of Criminals, nor in the manner of giving the Evidence againſt them.

"Your Tryals differ from all other Nations, not only that you are tried by a Jury, which is particular to you, but that the Witneſſes are to be produc'd Face to Face before the Offender; and you have made Laws, that there ſhall be two Witneſſes in Caſes of High-Treaſon; and herein you are the Envy of all other Nations.

"Sir, The Evidence that is to be given againſt Criminals differs in the ſame Nation, when the Offence differs; there is a difference between the Evidence that will convict a Man of Felony, and the Evidence that is to convict a Man of Treaſon; and the Evidence to Convict a Man for the ſame Crime, hath been different in the ſame Nation at different times. No doubt, by the Canon Law of *England*, that Evidence was ſufficient to convict a Man of any Crime which was ſufficient to make the Jury believe the Perſon guilty. Thus before the Statute of *Edw.* VI. a Man might be convicted of Treaſon by one Witneſs; though that Statute was made upon great Reaſon, and appears to be for the Publick Good, by the General Approbation it hath received; but I don't think in your Proceedings here you are bound by it.

"But, Sir, it is ſaid, ſhall we that are the Supreme Authority, (as we are Part of it) go upon leſs Evidence to ſatisfie our ſelves of Sir *John Fenwick*'s Guilt than other Courts? And ſhall we reſort to this Extraordinary Way in this Caſe?

"Truly, if it did ſhake the Manner of Trials below I ſhould be very unwilling to do it; but I do take it clearly, that it cannot make the leaſt Alteration in the Proceedings of any Court; but on the contrary, I think there is no ſtronger Arguments for your reſorting to this Extraordinary Way, than that of the Care and

"Caution

1696. " Caution with which your Law hath provided " for Defence of the Innocent. For if we conſider all thoſe Laws that have been made for " that purpoſe, 'tis plain it muſt have been in the " view of our Anceſtors, that many Criminals " might by this means eſcape. Your Laws are " made for your Ordinary Trials, and for thoſe " things that happen uſually; and there is no Government we know in the World, where there " is not Reſort to Extraordinary Power, in Caſes " that require it. Your Government indeed hath " this Advantage, That you can keep to Rules " which others cannot: For in a very Wiſe Government (as was obſerved by a Perſon that " was in this Houſe the laſt time this was debated) " all the ways of puniſhing Crimes of this nature, " are Extraordinary, Perſons are condemned " there, not only unheard, but they are condemned before they are accuſed, and that is " thought neceſſary there, which will not be endured here: And yet that Government hath " continued ſo many Hundred Years, and no Endeavours have been to alter it, though ſo many Noble Families have ſuffered by it, becauſe " they are convinced, as to their Conſtitution, 'tis " neceſſary.

" The next Argument is from the Precedent " you are about to make; and you have been " told, Whatever the other Precedents have been, " what you do now will be a Precedent for you " and your Poſterity: And whilſt that Argument " is uſed only to make you cautious, and to make " you conſider well, whether it is according to " the Duty to your Country, to paſs this Bill " (which no doubt is the only Queſtion before " you) 'tis a good Argument.

" Sir, If this Precedent ſhall appear to Poſterity to be a Predecent of an Innocent Man, or a " Perſon whoſe Guilt was doubted of, or one " whoſe Guilt did plainly not appear, and this " Bill ſhould be carried by a Prevailing Party, I " do agree it was a very Ill Precedent: But if the " Caſe be, that this Precedent will appear to Poſterity upon the Truth of the Thing to be a " Precedent made of a Man notoriouſly guilty, " of a Man that had deſerved this Extraordinary " Way of Proceeding, and this general Reſentment of the Nation, and that nothing could " have hinder'd this Man from the Common Juſtice of the Nation but his having endeavour'd " to elude it in this Matter; and if it appears that " you would not be put off ſo, but that your Indignation made an Example of this Man, I " ſhall not be ſorry it ſhould appear to Poſterity; " but I believe Poſterity will (as I think they " ought) thank you for it.

" Sir, I do ſay for my own Particular, while I " am innocent, I ſhould not think my Life in danger to be judged by 400 *Engliſh* Gentlemen, and " the Peerage of *England*, with the Royal Aſſent: " And when I reflect, I can't be of Opinion, That " the Government could have procured a Parliament to have paſſed a Bill of Attainder againſt " my Lord *Ruſſel*, or Mr. *Corniſh*, or Mr. *Colledge*: " I don't think all the Power of the Government " could have prevailed to have done that, altho' " they could prevail to have them condemned " by the Forms of Law. And here I ſee that a " great many Gentlemen have oppoſed every " ſtep of this Bill, for fear of making an ill Precedent: Yet theſe Gentlemen do believe in " their own private Conſciences that he is guilty: " And I can't think that any Innocent Perſon " can be in danger by ſuch a Bill, when Gentlemen oppoſe this Bill only upon the Prudential " Part, though they ſtill confeſs him to be guilty.

" The Concluſion I make for my ſelf is, That 1696. " I am convinced in my Conſcience (which I " think is ſufficient, when I act in the Capacity " I now do) that Sir *John Fenwick* is guilty of " High-Treaſon, and that there are Reaſons ſo " Extraordinary to ſupport this Bill of Attainder, " that I do not ſee how any Perſon that is ſo convinced, can refuſe to give his Affirmative to " this Bill.

Sir Godfrey Copley's Speech againſt the Bill.

Sir *Godfrey Copley* " Sir, I am very ſenſible " a great deal hath been ſaid upon this Subject, " but I think there is ſomething in Duty incumbent upon every Man, eſpecially upon me, " who can't concur with the general Senſe of the " Houſe, to give my Reaſons for my Diſagreement; and I will make uſe of no Arguments, " but ſuch as I can't anſwer my ſelf. A great " deal hath been ſaid upon this Debate by Gentlemen learned in the Law; and many of theſe, " though they have ſaid they would not ſpeak " againſt the Power of Parliaments, yet the greateſt part of their Arguments have touched upon " your Method of Proceedings; and to ſhew you " how they interfere with the Rules of *Weſtminſter-Hall:* So great is the Force of Cuſtom and " Education; but I acknowledge ſome have " brought us Arguments quite of another " Strain.

" I take the Puniſhment of Offenders to be one " of the Neceſſary Supports of all Governments; " and all Societies of Men have laid down to " themſelves ſome Rules, by which they judge " whether Perſons accuſed are innocent or guilty: Therefore in a Matter of this Extraordinary Importance, it is proper to conſider what " Rules we have to go by.

" It is the Cuſtom and Law of our Nation to " require two poſitive Witneſſes to prove Treaſon; and though I think without the utmoſt " neceſſity it is not prudent to deviate from that " Rule, yet I will not argue from thence that we are " tied up to it: No, it is moſt certian on the other " hand, that the Legiſlative Authority which " hath Power, if they think good, to abrogate all " Laws now in being, cannot be tied up to any " Rules of Human Preſcription. But Sir, theſe " are the Eternal Rules of Equity, and Juſtice, " and Right Reaſon, and Conſcience; and theſe " I think are unalterable, and never to be ſwerved from: And therefore I ſhall take the liberty to ſee how far agreeable our Proceedings " are to theſe Rules.

" Sir, I look upon it as a Fundamental Breach " of theſe Rules, for an Accuſation to be given " in againſt any Man behind his Back, by he " knows not whom, or by any with whom " he is not confronted, and brought Face to " Face.

" I am one of thoſe that look upon Sir *John* " *Fenwick* to be guilty, and there is a Proof of " it by one Witneſs; and to this you have added " an Indictment that is proved. Now I muſt " needs own, that I think that to be ſo far from " giving any Credit or Strength to the Evidence, " that in my Opinion the Injuſtice which attends it, makes the Scales lighter than they were " before. For if any Bill or Writing ſworn behind a Man's Back, may be uſed as part of Evidence, I do by parallel Reaſon argue, that " the like may make up the whole at one time or " other; and then the Information of any Two " Profligate Knaves before a Secretary of State, " or a Juſtice of Peace, ſhall be ſufficient, without any Living Teſtimony, to make a Man run " the Hazard of his Life.

" Then, Sir, I am not at all convinced of the " Neceſſity of this Proceeding: I muſt confeſs,

" that

1696.

"that thoſe that brought this Matter before us "are much wiſer than I, and therefore I will "not examine what Reaſon they had to do it; "but it is ſo little agreeable to me, I wiſh it had "not come here. But is it to be ſuppoſed that "your Government is in hazard by any Man "that is faſt in *Newgate*? Can any Man think "that Sir *John Fenwick* can do any thing in his "Condition to hazard it? Can you expect that "a Man that hath been Six Months in Priſon, "and no body came at him, that he may make "ſuch a Diſcovery as may be worth your while? "But ſuppoſe you had a Man of Invention and "Practice, what a Spur do you put to it? May "not a Man of Parts, when he hath no other "Way to ſave himſelf, may not he form ſuch a "Plot, as (ſhould it gain Belief) might make "the beſt Subjects in *England* tremble?

"'Tis not Sir *John Fenwick*'s Life which I ar- "gue for; I do not think it of ſo great Value to "deſerve ſo long and Solemn a Debate in this "Houſe, nor the Conſideration of ſo great an "Aſſembly after this Manner. But I do ſay, If "this Method of Proceeding be warranted by an "*Engliſh* Parliament, there is an end to the De- "fence of any Man living, be he never ſo inno- "cent.

"Sir, I remember I heard it mention'd on the "other ſide of the Way, by an Honourable Per- "ſon, who never lets any Argument want its "weight, That King *James* Attainted a great "Number of Perſons in a Catalogue, in a Lump. "Sir, I am not afraid of what Arbitrary Princes "do, nor an *Iriſh* Parliament; but I am afraid "of what ſhall be done here: I am concerned "for the Honour of your Proceedings, that it "may be a Precedent to a future Parliament in "an Ill Reign, to do that which I am ſatisfied "you would not do. I had ſome other Thoughts, "which I cannot recollect, though theſe Rea- "ſons are ſufficient to convince me.

Members for and againſt the Bill.

The other Members who ſpake for the Bill, were Mr. *Mountague*, my Lord *Cutts*, Sir *William Strickland*, Sir *Herbert Crofts*, Mr. *Vernon*, Mr. *Smith* Mr. *Boſcawen*, Mr. *Cowper*, Mr. *Sloane*, Col. *Wharton*: Thoſe who ſpoke againſt the Bill, were Sir *Charles Carteret*, Mr. *Manley*, Mr. *Dolben*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Lord *Norreys*, Mr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Bromley*, Mr. *Harcourt*, Sir *Richard Temple*, Mr. *Paget*, Mr. *Jefferies*, Mr. *Edward Harley*. After the Arguments had been offered on both ſides, the Queſtion was put for paſſing the Bill; whereupon the Houſe divided, and it was carried in the Affirmative by 189 Voices againſt 156, and ſent up to the Lords by Mr. *Norris*.

The Lords divided on the ſame Bill.

This Bill found the Lords divided in their Opinions. All who were diſaffected to the Government, fell in to the Negative; and even ſome of the beſt Friends to the Revolution and Eſtabliſhment, were very averſe to any extraordinary way of Proceeding: Yet the Bill was at laſt carried by a Majority of Seven Voices only, there being 68 for it, and 61 againſt it. Thoſe Lords who were for the Negative, entred their Proteſtation in the *Journal* of the Houſe; which they grounded on theſe Reaſons. "1. becauſe "Bills of Attainder againſt Perſons in Priſon, "and who are therefore liable to be tryed by "Common-Law, are of dangerous Conſequence "to the Lives of the Subjects, and may tend to "the Subverſion of the Laws of the Kingdom. "2. Becauſe the Evidence of Grand Jury-Men, "of what was Sworn before them againſt Sir "*John Fenwick*, as alſo the Evidence of the Pet- "ty-Jury-Men was admitted here; both which "are againſt the Rules of Law, beſides that they "diſagreed in their Teſtimony. 3. Becauſe the "Information of *Goodman* in Writing was re- "ciev'd, which by Law was not admitted; and "the Priſoner, for want of his appearing Face to "Face, (as is by Law requir'd) could not have "the Advantage of Croſs-Examining him: And "it did not appear by Evidence, that Sir *John* "*Fenwick*, or any other Perſon employ'd by "him, had any way perſuaded *Goodman* to with- "draw himſelf: And it would be of very dan- "gerous Conſequence, That any Perſon ſo Ac- "cus'd, ſhould be condemn'd; for by this means "a Witneſs who ſhould be found inſufficient to "Convict a Man, ſhould have more Power to hurt "a Man by his Abſence, than if he he were pro- "duced *Viva Voce* againſt him. 4. Becauſe if "*Goodman* had appeared againſt him, he was In- "famous in the whole Courſe of his Life; and "could not be a good Witneſs, eſpecially in Ca- "ſes of Blood. 5. Becauſe in this Caſe there "was but one Evidence, viz. *Porter*, and he a "very doubtful one. 6. Laſtly, Becauſe Sir *John* "*Fenwick* was ſo inconſiderable a Man as not to en- "danger the Peace of the Government, that there "was no Neceſſity of proceeding againſt him in "ſo extraordinary a Manner.

Reaſons of Proteſting againſt it.

On *Monday, January* 11*th*. His Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act to Attaint Sir* John Fenwick, *Baronet, of High Treaſon.* 2. *An Act to Attaint ſuch of the Perſons concerned in the late Horrid Conſpiracy to Aſſaſſinate His Majeſty's Royal Perſon, who are fled from Juſtice, unleſs they render themſelves to Juſtice; and for continuing ſeveral other of the ſaid Conſpirators in Cuſtody.* 3. *An Act for Naturalizing* Frederick Chriſtiaen de Rhede, *commonly called Lord* Aghram, *and others.* 4. *An Act for the Settlement of the Mannor of* Tregagoe *in the County of* Hereford, *and other Lands, late of* Crompton Mynors, *Eſq; Deceaſed; and for Raiſing and Increaſing of the Portion of* Theodoſia Mynors, *the Daughter of the ſaid* Crompton, *ſhe being an Infant of the Age of Seventeen Years.*

Acts paſſed.

On *Thurſday, January* 28. Sir *John Fenwick* was brought by the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, under a Guard from *Newgate* to *Tower-Hill*, where he

Sir *John Fenwick* Executed.

(*a*) In truth, the greateſt Enemies to the true Intereſt of the Government, were the capricious and diſoblig'd Friends of it; they had not found their Accounts agreeable to their Hopes; they had not obtain'd the laſt Favour they ask'd of the King; or they had not found their Opinion and Advice anſwering always to his Judgment; or ſuch a One was a Man they could not act with; or they were denied to have their own Man; or they thought themſelves ſo neceſſary to the Government, that they might preſume to ſtand upon their own Terms; or at beſt, they were weary of Trouble and Hurry, and thought it ſome Honour to leave the Court, when it was only Indolence to enjoy themſelves: And theſe ſort of Abdicating Courtiers, did His Majeſty more diſſervice, than any who oppos'd His Title and Adminiſtration from the Beginning. It was ſo with the Clergy, they who were Originally the Divine Right Men, and the Non-Jurors were but a Sort of impotent Adverſaries: They who moſt alienated the Hearts of People from the King, and threw moſt Stones under the Wheel of the Government; were the diſcontented Divines, who had taken the Oaths, and Pray'd for His Majeſty, as bound by Law, and yet made no Conſcience of inſtilling Principles, and repreſenting Facts, the moſt injurious to the preſent Government. Of theſe Men, a Biſhop of the Church is ſpeaking, in his Reflections, *&c.* Publiſh'd within this Year, 1696. "If there "are any who can Swear againſt their Conſciences, and can "continue in Acts of Worſhip, Prayers and Thankſgivings, "Ordinary and Extraordinary, while their Perſuaſions are "full to the contrary; Is there any who Pray for the King, "while they Talk and Act againſt Him? theſe are the Men "who bring a Scandal on our Holy Religion; they Sell their "Conſciences, and Sacrifice that which they fancy to be Loyal- "ty, for the Conveniencies of this Life, that they may hold "their Livings and Preferments."——They are certainly the worſt Sort of Men in the Nation.

1696. he was Beheaded on a Scaffold erected for that purpoſe. Before his Execution, he deliver'd this Paper to the Sheriffs.

His Paper to the Sheriffs.

"Speaking nor Writing was never my Talent. "I ſhall therefore give a very ſhort, but faithful "Account, Firſt, of my Religion; and next, "what I ſuffer moſt Innocently for; to avoid "the Calumnies I may reaſonably expect my "Enemies will caſt upon me when Dead; ſince "they have moſt falſly and maliciouſly Aſperſed "me, whilſt under my Misfortunes.

"As for my *Religion*, I was brought up in the "Church of *England*, as it is by Law Eſtabliſh-"ed, and have ever profeſſed it; though I con-"feſs, I have been an unworthy Member of it, "in not living up to the ſtrict and excellent Rules "thereof; for which I take Shame to my ſelf, "and humbly ask Forgiveneſs of God. I come "now to Die in that Communion, truſting as "an Humble and Hearty Penitent, to be Receiv'd "by the Mercy of God, through the Merits of "*Jeſus Chriſt* my Saviour.

"My Religion taught me my Loyalty, which "I bleſs God is Untainted; and I have ever en-"deavour'd in the Station wherein I have been "placed, to the utmoſt of my Power, to ſup-"port the Crown of *England*, in the True and "Lineal Courſe of Deſcent, without Interrup-"tion.

"As for what I am now to Die, I call God to "Witneſs, I went not to that Meeting in *Leaden-"Hall-Street*, with any ſuch Intention as to In-"vite King *James* by Force to Invade this Na-"tion; nor was I my ſelf provided with either "Horſe or Arms, or engaged for any Number "of Men, or gave particular Conſent for any "ſuch Invaſion, as is moſt falſly Sworn againſt "me.

"I do alſo Declare in the Preſence of God, "That I knew nothing of King *James* his com-"ing to *Calais*, nor of any Invaſion intended "from thence, till it was publickly known: And "the only Notion I had that ſomething might "be attempted, was from the *Thoulon* Fleet com-"ing to *Breſt*.

"I alſo call God to Witneſs, That I received "the Knowledge of what is contained in thoſe "Papers that I gave to a Great Man, that came "to me in the *Tower*, both from Letter and "Meſſages that came from *France*; and he told "me when I read them to him, that the Prince "of *Orange* had been acquainted with moſt of "thoſe Things before.

"I might have expected Mercy from that "Prince, becauſe I was Inſtrumental in ſaving "his Life: For when about *April* 95. an At-"tempt formed againſt him, came to my know-"ledge, I did partly by Diſſuaſions, and partly "by Delays, Prevent that Deſign; which I ſup-"poſe was the reaſon that the laſt Villanous "Project was concealed from me.

"If there be any Perſons whom I have injur'd "in Word or Deed, I heartily pray their Par-"don; and beg of God to Pardon thoſe who "have injur'd me; particularly thoſe who with "great Zeal have ſought my Life, and brought "the Guilt of my Innocent Blood upon this "Nation, no Treaſon being proved upon "me.

"I return my moſt Hearty Thanks to thoſe "Noble and Worthy Perſons, who gave me "their Aſſiſtance by oppoſing this Bill of At-"tainder; without which it had been impoſſible "I could have fallen under the Sentence of "Death. God Bleſs them and their Poſterity; "though I am fully ſatisfied they Pleaded their "own Cauſe, while they Defended mine.

"I pray God to Bleſs my True and Lawful "Sovereigns King *James* and the Queen, and "Prince of *Wales*, and Reſtore Him and His "Poſterity to this Thone again, for the Peace "and Proſperity of this Nation, which is impoſ-"ſible to Proſper till the Government is ſettled "upon a right Foot. 1696.

"And now, *O God, I do with all Humble De-"votion Commend my Soul into thy Hands, the Great "Maker and Preſerver of Men, and Lover of Souls, "beſeeching Thee, that it may be always dear and "precious in thy Sight, through the Merits of my "Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.* Amen.

J. FENWICK.

Acts paſſed.

On *Friday January* the 29*th* His Majeſty came again to the Houſe of Peers, and Paſs'd theſe Bills. 1. *An Act for Granting an Aid to His Ma-jeſty, as well by a Land Tax, as by ſeveral Subſidies and other Duties payable for one Year.* 2. *An Act for Veſting the Mannors of* Holme, *alias* Eaſt-Holme *and* Swanage *in the County of* Dorſet, *part of the Eſtate of Sir* John Hanham *Baronet, in Truſtees to be Sold for Diſcharging a Mortgage thereupon, and upon the Reſidue of the ſaid Sir* John Hanham's *Eſtate; and for Payment of his other Debts.* 3. *An Act for Enabling* Oliver Neve *of* Great Witchin-ham *in the County of* Norfolk *Eſquire, to Sell Two Houſes in* London, *and for Veſting other Lands in the ſaid County, of greater Value, to the ſame uſe.*

On *February* the 9*th* the Commons Eſtimated and Computed the Aids Granted to His Majeſty for the Service of the Year, 1697. at *Three Mil-lions*, which fell ſhort of what was neceſſary to anſwer thoſe Occaſions, and to make good the Defective Funds, which for the laſt Year fell ſhort Eight Hundred and Forty Thouſand Pounds; for ſupplying whereof they laid a far-ther Duty upon Leather, of 15*l. per Cent.* for Three Years. While they were conſidering of other ways, they were put in Mind of a new Occaſion of Supply, by this Meſſage from the King in Writing, delivered by Mr. Secretary *Trumbal*.

William R.

King's Meſſage to the Commons.

"His Majeſty finding Himſelf under very "great Difficulties for want of Money to ſupply "the Occaſions of the Civil Liſt, has thought "it neceſſary to remind the Houſe of That "part of His Speech, which relates to that "Head; deſiring that Speedy Care may be taken "to make effectual Proviſion for it.

The Civil Liſt ſupported.

This Meſſage and that Part of His Majeſty's Speech to which it referr'd, were taken into due Conſideration, and within a few Days it was Reſolved, that a Supply of 515000 Pounds be Granted to His Majeſty, for the ſupport of the Ci-vil Liſt; and that the ſaid Sum be raiſed by laying a Duty of Six-pence *per* Buſhel upon Malt, for Two Years and a Quarter. And becauſe the Impoſitions before-mentioned did not fully anſ-wer the Sums already Voted, the Commons Re-ſolve on *March* the 3*d* That towards Raiſing the Supply Granted to His Majeſty for carrying on the War againſt *France*, for the Service of the Year 1697. and for the Support of the Civil Liſt, a further Duty be laid upon all Cyder and Perry, Mum, Wines and Sweets; and upon all Goods made or mix'd with Wool, Silk or Hair. And for the laſt occaſion of doing Juſtice, by making good the Deficiency of the Proviſion for the Payment of the Intereſt of the Traſ-port Debt for the Reducing of *Ireland*, they Reſolved to lay a Duty upon all Hawkers and Pedlars.

On

1696.

Acts P. ied.

On *Monday March* the 8*th.* the King came to the Houſe of Peers and gave the Royal Aſſent to theſe ſeveral Bills. 1. *An Act for Granting to His Majeſty ſeveral Duties upon Paper, Vellum, and Parchment, to encourage the bringing of Plate and Hammer'd Money into the Mint to be Coin'd.* 2. *An Act to encourage the bringing in of Wrought Plate to be Coined.* 3. *An Act for continuing certain Additional Impoſitions upon ſeveral Goods and Merchandizes.* 4. *An Act to Enable the Returns of Juries as formerly, until the firſt Day of* November, 1697. 5. *An Act for the better preventing Frivolous and Vexatious Suits.* 6. *An Act to Reſtore the Markets at* Blackwell-Hall *to the* Clothiers, *and for Regulating the Factors there.* 7. *An Act for Enabling* James *Duke of* Ormond, *to raiſe Money by Sale of Woods, and making Leaſes for Lives, renewable for ever, for Payment of Debts, and for Encouraging* Engliſh *Plantations in* Ireland; *and for* Charles *Lord* Weſton *Earl of* Arran, *in the Kingdom of* Ireland, *to make Leaſes of his Eſtate in the ſaid Kingdom.* 8. *An Act for the Exchange of certain Advouſons, between the Biſhop of* London, *and the Earl of* Nottingham. 9. *An Act for the ſpeedy ſatisfying of the Debtors of* Francis *late Lord* Holles *Deceaſed.* 10. *An Act to Enable Sir* Ralph Aſhton *Baronet, to ſupply an Omiſſion of a Limitation, intended in his Marriage Settlement, for the Benefit of his Iſſue Male.* 11. *An Act for the Sale of the Eſtate late of* Francis Griffith, *late of* London, Scrivener, *Deceaſed, for Payment of his Debts.* 12. *An Act for the ſettling the Eſtate of* Mary Savile, *an Infant, upon her Marriage.* 13. *An Act to Enable the Sale of Lands, late of* Jeffery Stockley *in the County of* Cheſter, *Deceaſed, for Payment of his Debts, and for making Proviſion for* Mary *his Daughter.* 14. *An Act for Veſting certain Meſſuages, Lands and Tenements, late of* Charles Milſon, *Deceaſed, in Truſtees to Sell for Payment of Debts and Legacies, and lay out the Surplus Money in a Purchaſe of Lands for the uſe of* Edward Milſon, *and his Heirs, according to the Will of the ſaid* Charles Milſon. 15. *An Act to Enable* Nicholas Goodwin *the Elder, and* Nicholas Goodwin *the Younger, to ſell the Mannor of* Winſlow, *in the County of* Bucks, *and with the Money ariſing thereby, and other Moneys to be advanced by the ſaid* Nicholas Goodwin *the Elder, to Purchaſe Lands of a greater Yearly Value, to be ſettled to the ſame Uſes as the ſaid Mannor is now ſettled.* 16. *An Act for the Veſting of certain Lands of* William Milward *in the County of* Hereford, *Clerk, in Truſtees, for Payment of Debts.* 17. *An Act for Veſting the Eſtate of* Edward Kerry *Eſq; lying in the* Bin-Weſton *in the County of* Salop, *in Truſtees, to diſcharge Incumbrances therein, and to raiſe Portions for Younger Children, and for Confirming the Marriage Settlement of the ſaid* Edward Kerry. 18. *An Act for Veſting part of the Eſtate of* Thomas Panton *Eſq; in Truſtees, to be ſold for Payment of Debts, and ſecuring a Jointure to* Mary *his now Wife.* 19. *An Act for Naturalizing of* John Keyſor, *and others.* 20. *An Act to Enable* Edward Leigh *Eſq; and* Jane *his Wife and their Truſtees, to Sell the Mannors of* Waxham *and* Horſey, *and certain Lands and Tenements in the County of* Norfolk, *and to Purchaſe and ſettle other Lands to the ſame Uſes.* 21. *An Act for Veſting and Settling certain Eſtates of* William James *Gent. in and upon Truſtees, to be Sold for Payment of Debts, and making Proviſion for himſelf, his Wife and their Children.*

Honours and Preferments.

As to Honours and Places beſtow'd during this Seſſion; On *November* the 19*th.* Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* was by His Majeſty's Command Sworn of the Privy Council; and with the Lord Privy Seal Earl of *Pembrook*, and the Lord Viſcount *Villars*, was on *December* the 12*th.* named by His Majeſty as Plenipotentiary for the Treaty of a General Peace. On *February* the 6*th.* His Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute the Lord Viſcount *Galway*, one of the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, and *John Methuen* Eſq; Lord Chancellor of that Kingdom. On *February* the 19*th.* in a Chapter held at *Kenſington*, the Earl of *Portland* was elected a Knight of the Garter; and inveſted with the Enſigns of that Noble Order. On *March* the 3*d.* His Majeſty was pleaſed to make Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* a Colonel of the Marine Regiment, lately Commanded by the Lord *Berkley*, Baron of *Stretham*, who, after Commanding our Fleet in the Channel upon ſeveral Expeditions, died on *February* the 27*th.* after a few Days Sickneſs of a Fever and Pleuriſie. On *March* the 17*th.* the King conferr'd the Dignity of a Baronet upon *Edward Manſel* of *Trimſaram* in the County of *Carmarthen* Eſq; And on the next Day His Majeſty, in His Bedchamber, conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon *Richard Blackmore*, M. D. having before been pleaſed to order him to be Sworn one of his Phyſicians in Ordinary: He being a Perſon of great Reputation for his Practice in Phyſick, for his excellent Performance in Heroic Poems, for his univerſal Wit and Learning, and for his Affection to the King and the preſent Government: and what is moſt Laudable, for his Reforming and Sanctifying Poetry, by caſting out the Images of Heathen Theology, and writing like a Chriſtian.

The Church of *England* had a great Loſs in the Death of Dr. *Robert Grove*, Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; who, by the Misfortune of unruly Horſes, was thrown out of his Coach, and in the Fall broke his Leg, and loſt his Life by it. To fill his Place with a worthy Succeſſor, His Majeſty immediately after His Return from *Holland*, was pleaſed to name Dr. *John Williams*, Rector of St. *Mildred's Poultrey* in *London*, to that Biſhoprick: A ſound Divine, a general Scholar, and a Man of ſingular Probity and Humility. He was Conſecrated on *Sunday, Dec.* 13*th.* His Prebend of *Canterbury* was given to the Learned Dr. *William Beveridge*.

State of Religion.

It was a particular Honour to the Houſe of Commons, that while they were under ſo great Difficulties in raiſing Money for the Exigence of the War, they did receive and paſs a Bill, *for the Compleating, Building, and Adorning of the Cathedral Church of St.* Paul's, London, by a further Impoſition upon Coals. And they ſeem'd ſo well diſpoſ'd to that Work of Piety, that it encourag'd many Pariſhes to make ſolemn Petitions to them, for ſome Aſſiſtance towards Repairing or Rebuilding their decayed and ruin'd Churches. As, from the Miniſter, Church-Wardens, and Pariſhioners of St. *Botolph* without *Alderſgate, London*, on *February* the 5*th.* From the Vicar, Church-Warden, Juſtices of the Peace, Veſtry-Men and other Inhabitants of St. *Martin in the Fields:* As alſo from the Pariſhioners of St. *Helen's, London*; on *February* the 8*th.* From the Inhabitants of *Kenſington*, on *February* the 9*th.* and of *Spittle-Fields*, for ſome ſupply towards Building a Chappel for the ſaid Hamlet. From the Pariſh of St. *George* in *Southwark*, towards Repairing their Church, and Rebuilding their Steeple. From St. *Thomas's* Hoſpital in *Southwark*, for Rebuilding that Church; on the ſame day. From the Rector, Church-Wardens, and other Officers and Inhabitants of St. *John Wapping*; for Raiſing their Church, Erecting a Steeple, and compleating the Building of the Rector's Houſe, *February* the 16*th.* From the Rector, Church-Wardens, and Members of the Veſtry of St. *Botolph Biſhopſgate*, for Rebuilding of that Church; *February* the 19*th.* From the Rector, Church-Wardens, and principal Inhabitants of St.

Act for Rebuilding of St. Paul's Church.

Petitions for other decay'd Churches.

1696.

St. *Andrew's Holborn*; for Rebuilding the Steeple, and Church-yard Walls and Gates; *February* the 23*d*. From the Pariſh of St. *Olave's* in *Southwark*; for Rebuilding their Pariſh-Church; on *March* the 2*d*. Nothing ſo much obſtructed the Anſwering of thoſe Petitions, as the Multitude of them: It might have been thought partial, to oblige any One or Two Pariſhes, and it was impracticable to gratify them All. Tho' poſſibly, had they all agreed in One Joint Petition, for one common Bill of Relief; at leaſt in Reverſion, after the expiring of the Term allow'd for the ſervice of St. *Paul's* Church; they might have gain'd a Proviſional Act for Rebuilding or Repairing thoſe old Churches; which had been then Reaſonable, and muſt be Neceſſary ſome time or other.

Parliament intent on the publick Credit.

The long Seſſions of Parliament were owing to the Multiplicity of Publick Affairs, rather than to the dilatory Proceedings of either Houſe, or to any Obſtruction given by the King or the Court. The great Buſineſs was to retrieve and maintain the Publick Credit; and to ſupply the Want of Money by the Currency of *Exchequer* Bills, and to ſupport the Bank of *England.* The Commons were ſo intent upon theſe wiſe Ends, that when in a Paper entitled the *Flying-Poſt*, publiſh'd on *Thurſday April* the 1*ſt*. there was this Advertiſement: *We hear, that when the Exchequer Notes are given out upon the Capitation Fund, whoſoever ſhall deſire* Specie *on them, will have it at Five Pound and half* per Cent. *of the Society of Gentlemen that have ſubſcribed to advance ſome Hundred Thouſands of Pounds*: They Voted this Paſſage to be a *Malicious Inſinuation, in order to deſtroy the Credit and Currency of the Exchequer Bills.* They ordered the Printer, *John Salisbury*, to be ſent for in Cuſtody; and gave leave to bring in a Bill, *to prevent the Writing, Printing, or Publiſhing any News without Licenſe.* And yet when ſuch a *Bill* was preſented by Mr. *Poultney*, it was thrown out before a Second Reading; becauſe tho' they ſaw the Miſchiefs of the Liberty of the Preſs, they knew not where to fix the Power of Reſtraint. On the ſame day, *April* the 1*ſt*. His Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for making good the Deficiencies of ſeveral Funds therein-mentioned; and for Enlarging the Capital Stock of the Bank of* England: *and for Raiſing the Publick Credit.* 2. *An Act for Repealing of a Clauſe in a former Act, relating to Party-Guiles; and for the better preventing Frauds and Abuſes of Brewers, and others chargeable with the Duties of Exciſe.* 3. *An Act for Enlarging common High-Ways.* 4. *An Act for continuing ſeveral former Acts, for Puniſhing Officers and Soldiers, who ſhall Mutiny or Deſert His Majeſty's Service; and for Puniſhing falſe Muſters; and for Payment of Quarters for One Year Longer.* 5. *An Act for the Compleating, Building, and Adorning the Cathedral-Church of St.* Paul, London; *and for Repairing the Collegiate Church of St.* Peter, Weſtminſter. 6. *An Act for Relief of Creditors, by making Compoſitions with their Debtors, in caſe Two Thirds in Number and Value do agree.* 7. *An Act for Paving and Regulating the* Hay-Market, *in the Pariſhes of St.* Martin in the Fields, *and St.* James *within the Liberty of* Weſtminſter. 8. *An Act for Repairing the High-Way between* Ryegate *in the County of* Surrey, *and* Crawley *in the County of* Suſſex. 9. *An Act for Explaining a former Act of Parliament, entitled, An Act for Enabling Truſtees to Sell Part of the Eſtate of* Edmund Warner, *deceas'd, for Payment of his Debts, and for preſerving the reſt for the Benefit of his Heir.* 10. *An Act to Enable* William Fallows, *an Infant, to Sell an Eſtate in the County of* Cheſter, *to pay Debts ſecured by Mortgages.* 11. *An Act to Veſt certain Lands late of* Samuel Trotman, *Eſq; deceas'd; lying in* Barking, Eaſt-Ham, Weſt-Ham, *and* Woolwich, *in the Counties of* Kent *and* Eſſex, *in Truſtees, to be ſold; and to ſettle other Lands in lieu thereof.* 12. *An Act to ſupply a Defect in an Act, for Enabling* Oliver Neve, *Eſq; to Sell Two Houſes in* London, *and for ſettling Lands in the County of* Norfolk, *of greater Value, to the ſame Uſes.* 13. *An Act for Veſting Part of the Eſtate of* Roger Crowle, *Eſq; deceas'd, in Truſtees; for Raiſing Portions for his younger Children; in regard he being a Lunatick, could not execute a Power in his Marriage-Settlement for that Purpoſe.* 14. *An Act for Importing ſeveral Goods and Merchandizes, laden in* Turkey, *on Board the Ships call'd the* Succeſs *and* Dragon-Galley; *paying Cuſtoms, as if Imported by* Engliſh *Ships.*

A Bill againſt News-Papers.

Grievance of Privileged Places.

There had been a Publick Grievance of long ſtanding, ſeveral Places in and about *London*, which in the Times of Popery were allowed as Sanctuaries to eſcaping Criminals, had ever ſince the Reformation pretended a Privilege to protect abſconding Debtors: One of theſe, call'd *White-Friars*, was become a Notorious Neſt of broken and deſperate Men, in the very Heart of the City, whither they reſorted in great Numbers; and to the Reproach of the Government, as well as to the Defrauding of the People, defended themſelves with Force and Violence againſt the Law and Publick Authority. This intolerable Inſult upon the Juſtice of the Nation the Parliament laboured to redreſs, in a *Bill, for the more effectual Relief of Creditors in Caſes of*

The Reverend Dr. *Payne*, as before intimated, had offended Dr. *South* in Two Sermons, Preach'd in his own Turn, within the *Abby-Church* of *Weſtminſter*, on 1 *Tim*. iii. 9. *Holding the Myſtery of the Faith in a pure Conſcience.* Two of his Brethren, Dr. *Birch* and Dr. *Brevall*, upon the Suggeſtions of Dr. *South*, Complain'd of his Falſe Doctrine to the Dean, who adviſ'd them to put the Matter in Writing; they did ſo in a Paper, of which the Original was lent to me by the Reverend Mr. *Squire Payne*, Son of the ſaid Doctor, and this is the Copy.

"I. That the Divinity is aſcribed only Equivocally to the Son "and Holy Ghoſt.

"II. That always when the Scriptures ſpeak of one only "God, they are to be underſtood of the Father only.

"III. That the Unity of the Three Divine Perſons, is a kind "of Specifical Numerical Unity.

Theſe are the Propoſitions which Dr. *Birch* and Dr. *Brevall* Objected againſt, and affirm'd they heard from Dr. *Payne*, on laſt *Trinity-Sunday*.

Tho. Roffen.

This Matter of Complaint was open'd in the Chapter-Houſe, and nothing made of it; upon which Dr. *Payne* Publiſh'd that and Two other Sermons, under this Title, *The Myſtery of the Chriſtian Faith, and of the Bleſſed Trinity, Vindicated, and the Divinity of Chriſt Proved*, in Three Sermons Preached in *Weſtminſter-Abby*, upon *Trinity-Sunday, June* 7. and *Sept.* 21 1696. by the late Reverend *William Payne*, D. D. in the Preſs before his Death, and by himſelf order'd to be Publiſh'd. *London*, 1697. 8*vo*.

The Papiſts were as buſie as ever in Superſtition and Rebellion. See 1. *The Devil turn'd Caſuiſt: Or, the Cheats of* Rome *laid open in the Exorciſm of a deſpairing Devil, at the Houſe of* Thomas Ponnington, *in* Orran, *in the Pariſh of* Wigan, *and County of* Lancaſter, by *Zachary Taylor* A. M. Chaplain to *Nicholas* Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Rector of *Wigan*, with an Epiſtle Dedicated to the ſaid Biſhop of *Cheſter*, reciting many other late Inſtances of Popiſh Impoſtures, in pretending to Cure Dæmoniacks, *&c.*

See the Biſhop of *London*'s Ninth Conference with his Clergy, upon the Fifth and Tenth Injunctions, given by the King, *Feb.* 15. 1694-5. Held in the Years 1695, and 1696, concerning the giving Certificates to thoſe who are to be ordained, and that the Biſhops look to the Lives and Manners of the Clergy. *London*, by *Benj. Motte*, 4*to*.

See a Repreſentation of the deplorable State and Condition of the Dioceſe of St. *Aſaph*, humbly laid before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with Articles of Complaint againſt the preſent Biſhop, ſubſcribed by Thirty Eight Clergy-Men, ſome Dignitaries, and others Beneficed in the ſaid Church, *July* 1656.

See Three ſeveral Charges delivered by the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to the Clergy of his Dioceſe, in his Third Triennial Viſitation, 1656.

Eſcapes;

1697. *Eſcapes*; *and for preventing Abuſes in Priſons and pretended Privileged Places*: Wherein ſuch effectual Proviſion was made to reduce thoſe Outlaws, that immediately after the Act was publiſh'd, they abandon'd their Poſts of Refuge, and left Room for better Inhabitants. There was another reigning Scandal in the New Art of *Stock-Jobbing*, that was grown up into ſuch a Myſtery of Deceit and Impudence, that it obſtructed all other Trade, and taught Men the Trick of living by their Wits, without any viſible Induſtry, or any known Ability. This Miſchief too was in ſome Meaſure remov'd, by a Bill *to reſtrain the Number and Ill Practices of Brokers and Stock-Jobbers*. There were ſome other Bills depending, to rectify many other Abuſes. As, 1. *A Bill to prevent the Buying and Selling of Offices, and Places of Truſt*. 2. *A Bill to prevent the undue Marriage of Infants*; *and for better ſecuring the Guardianſhip of them*. 3. *A Bill for further Regulating Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament*. 4. *A Bill to ſettle and regulate the Trade to* Africa. 5. *A Bill to encourage the Woollen-Manufacture in* England; *and to prevent the Exportation of it from* Ireland *to Foreign Parts*. 6. *A Bill to reſtrain the Wearing of all Wrought Silks and Bengalls, imported into this Kingdom from* Perſia *and* Eaſt-India, *and all Callicoes Printed and Stained there*. To preſs on this laſt Bill, a Tumultuous Croud of Weavers came in ſo riotous a manner, to the very Lobby of the Houſe of Commons, that the Houſe were oblig'd to Defend themſelves, by ordering the Sheriffs and Juſtices of *London* and *Middleſex*, to ſuppreſs the ſaid Tumult; and by making a Vote, *That the Inciting and Encouraging any Number of Perſons to come in a Riotous, Tumultuous, or Diſorderly Manner to this Houſe, in order to hinder or promote the Paſſing any Bill, being againſt the Conſtitution and Freedom of Parliament, is a High Crime and Miſdemeanor*. But to make ſome Atonement, within few Days after, the Bailiffs Wardens, and Aſſiſtants of the Corporation of Weavers of the City of *London*, preſented an Addreſs to His Majeſty; wherein they declar'd their Deteſtation of the late Riotous and Tumultuous Behaviour of the Poorer Sort of Weavers and other Perſons; and that neither they, nor any Maſter-Weavers, were the Inviters or Encouragers thereof: And aſſur'd His Majeſty, That they would not only uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to prevent the like Diſorders for the future, but on all Occaſions would ſacrifice their Lives and all that was dear to 'em in the Defence of His Majeſty's Sacred Perſon and Government.

Grievance of Stock-Jobbing.

Tumult of Weavers.

On *Friday*, *April* 16. His Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, to put an end to this long continued Seſſion, He gave the Royal Aſſent to theſe ſeveral Bills. 1. *An Act for laying a Duty upon Leather, for the Term of Three Years, and making other Proviſion for anſwering the Deficiencies, as well of the late Duties upon Coals and Culm, as for paying the Annuities upon the Lottery, and for Lives, charged on the Tonnage of Ships, and the Duties upon Salt*. 2. *An Act for granting to His Majeſty certain Duties upon Malt, Mum, Sweets, Cyder and Perry, as well towards carrying on the War againſt* France, *as for the Neceſſary Expence of His Majeſty's Houſhold, and other Occaſions*. 3. *An Act for Licenſing Hawkers and Pedlars for a farther Proviſion for Payment of the Intereſt of the Tranſport Debt for the Reducing of* Ireland. 4. *An Act for granting to His Majeſty a farther Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage upon Merchandizes imported, for the Term of Two Years and Three Quarters, and an Additional Land Tax for One Year, for carrying on the War againſt* France. 5. *An Act for the leſſening the Duty upon Tin and Pewter exported, and granting an Equivalent for the ſame, by a Duty upon Drugs*. 6. *An Act to make Perpetual and more Effectual an Act Entitled, An Act to prevent Delays at the Quarter Seſſions of the Peace*. 7. *An Act to enforce the Act for the Increaſe and Encouragement of Seamen*. 8. *An Act for raiſing the Militia for the Year One Thouſand Six Hundred Ninety Seven, although the Month's Pay formerly advanced be not repaid*. 9 *An Act for Explaining and Inforcing the Act for Paving and Cleanſing the Streets within the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and Borough of* Southwark, *and Weekly Bills of Mortality, and Streets adjoining thereunto*; *and for Widening the Street at the* South *End of* London-Bridge. 10. *An Act for the farther Encouragement of the Manufacture of Luſtrings and Alamodes within this Realm, and for the better preventing the Importation of the ſame*. 11. *An Act for the Repair of the Piers of* Bridlington, *alias*, Burlington, *in the* Eaſt *Riding of the County of* York. 12. *An Act for the better Obſervation of the Courſe anciently uſed in the* Exchequer. 13. *An Act for the eaſier obtaining Partitions of Lands in Coparcenary, Joint-Tenancy, and Tenancy in Common*. 14. *An Act for Supplying ſome Defects in the Laws for the Relief of the Poor of this Kingdom*. 15. *An Act to reſtrain the Number and Ill Practices of Brokers and Stock-Jobbers*. 16. *An Act for the better preventing the Counterfeiting the Current Coin of this Kingdom*. 17. *An Act for the more Effectual Relief of Creditors in Caſes of Eſcapes, and for preventing Abuſes in Priſons and pretended Privileged Places*. 18. *An Act for annulling the Marriage of* Hannah Knight, *an Infant, and directing the Guardianſhip of the ſaid Infant*. 19. *An Act for the Speedy Payment of the Debts of Sir* William Thompſon, *Knight, Serjeant at Law, deceas'd*. 20. *An Act for enabling the Sale of the Mannor of* Rowling *in* Kent, *which by Miſtake was by General Words comprized in the Marriage Settlement of the ſaid* William Hammond, *Gent. contrary to the Meaning of the Parties*. 1697.

Acts paſſed.

After which His Majeſty made this Speech to Both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech.

"HAving given My Aſſent to the ſeveral "Bills you have preſented to Me, I am "now to return you my Hearty Thanks for what "you have done this Seſſion, which has been "carried on with great Prudence, Temper and "Affection.

"At the Opening of the Seſſion, I told you "how ſenſible I was of the Difficulties to be ſtrug-"gled with, which were of ſuch a Nature, that I "will freely own the Hopes I had of our being "able to overcome them, were founded only "upon the Wiſdom and Zeal of ſo good a Par-"liament.

"My Expectation has been fully anſwered; "you entred upon the Buſineſs with ſo much "Cheerfulneſs, proceeded ſo unanimouſly, and "have at laſt brought Things to ſuch a Conclu-"ſion, that We may hope to carry on the War "with Succeſs, in caſe Our Enemies do not think "it their Intereſt to agree to an Honourable "Peace: And ſo Effectual a Proviſion being "made for ſupplying the Deficiencies of former "Funds (which is the beſt Foundation for re-"eſtabliſhing of Credit) I doubt not but in a "ſhort time it will have a very happy Effect, to "the Univerſal Eaſe and Satisfaction of my Peo-"ple."

"The Circumſtances of Affairs making it ne-"ceſſary for Me to be out of the Kingdom for "ſome Time, I ſhall take care to leave the Admi-"niſtration of the Government during My Ab-"ſence in the Hands of ſuch Perſons as I can "depend upon.

My

1697.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I have nothing more to aſk of you, but that " you would carry down the ſame Good Diſpo- " ſition into your ſeveral Countries, which you " have expreſs'd in all the Proceedings of this Seſ- " ſion.

And then the Parliament was, by His Maje- ſty's Command, Prorogued until the Thirteenth Day of *May* next.

Places and Honours.

Upon the Plenipotentiaries going to Negotiate a General Peace, the King was pleaſed to Con- ſtitute Sir *Thomas Mompeſſon*, Sir *Charles Cottrell*, Jun. and *James Tyrrell*, Eſq; Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord Privy-Seal, during the Abſence of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and His Ma- jeſty delivered the Seal into their Cuſtody on *Apr.* 11. at *Kenſington.* Within three Days after His Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint *Charles* Earl of *Mancheſter* to be His Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Republick of *Venice*; Sir *James Rushout*, Bart. His Ambaſſador to the Grand Signior; and *Lambert Blackwell*, Eſq; His Envoy to the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*; upon whom He conferred the Honour of Knighthood, on *Apr.* 23. On *Apr.* 16. His Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Ho- nour of Knighthood upon *Charles Iſaac*, Eſq; one of the Officers of the Board of *Green-Cloth*, for his Faithful Services. On *Apr.* 19. the Earl of *Dorſet* having reſigned the Office of Lord Cham- berlain of His Majeſty's Houſhold, His Majeſty conferred that Place on the Earl of *Sunderland*, who had now great Favour and great Influence at Court; and was ſoon after ſworn of the Pri- vy-Council. On *Apr.* 22. His Majeſty in Coun- cil received the Seal from the Hands of Sir *John Somers*, Lord Keeper, and returned it to him again, with the Title of Lord Chancellor of *Eng- land*, who within few Days after was created a Baron of this Kingdom, by the Stile and Title of Lord *Somers*, Baron of *Eveſham*, in the County of *Worceſter:* His Services to the King and the Nation were truly great and good. On the ſame Evening, *Apr.* 22. His Majeſty declar'd in Coun- cil, that he had appointed *Thomas* Lord Archbi- ſhop of *Canterbury*, Sir *John Somers*, Knt. Lord Chancellor of *England*, *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Lord Privy-Seal, *William* Duke of *Devonſhire*, Lord Steward of His Majeſty's Houſ- hold, *Charles* Duke of *Shrewsbury*, one of His Principal Secretaries of State, *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord Chamberlain, *Charles* Earl of *Dorſet*, *Henry* Earl of *Romney*, and *Edward Ruſſel*, Eſq; to be Lords Juſtices of *England*, for the Ad- miniſtration of the Government during His Ma- jeſty's Abſence. At the ſame time His Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute *Goodwin Wharton*, Eſq; one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiral- ty, in the Place of Colonel *Auſtin*, deceaſed. Be- fore His Majeſty's Departure for *Holland*, He was pleaſed to beſtow ſeveral other Titles and Ho- nours; *Edward Ruſſel*, Eſq; was created Baron of *Shingey*, Viſcount of *Barfleur*, and Earl of *Orford*, in the County of *Suffolk:* The Lord Viſcount *Galloway* was made Earl of *Galloway*, and was ap- pointed to be one of the Lords Juſtices of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, with the Marquis of *Win- cheſter*, and the Lord Viſcount *Villiers.* The Earl of *Stamford* was made Chancellor of the Dutchy and County Palatine of *Lancaſter.* The Lord *Wharton* was made Chief Juſtice in Eyre on this ſide *Trent*, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Oxon:* And *Ralph Grey*, Eſq; was appointed to be Governor of the *Barbadoes.*

1697.

King goes for *Holland.*

Before the Publick declaration of theſe Ho- nours, His Majeſty had left *Kenſington* on *Saturday* Morning *April* the 24*th.* and lay that Night at Captain *Ball's* Houſe near *Margate*; and on *Monday* about Eleven in the Morning went on Board the *William* and *Mary* Yacht, and under a Convoy, Commanded by Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, Landed ſafely the next day in *Holland*; being at firſt much Indiſpoſed, but after loſing ſome Blood, He took the Air, and went from *Hague* to *Zuleſtein*, and thence to *Loo:* and there waited the Opening of the Congreſs and Treaty at *Reſwick.* (*a*)

Treaty of General Peace.

The firſt Difficulty that aroſe upon this Treat- ing for a General Peace, was about the Place of Meeting. The Emperor propoſed either *Mentz* or *Frankfort*; the *Dutch* inſiſted upon a Place in *Holland*; and moſt of the Allies were either for *Maeſtricht*, *Nimeguen* or *Breda:* but towards the middle of *January*, M. *Callier* by his Maſter's Or- der moved, that the Plenipotentiaries of the Al- lies ſhould reſide at the *Hague*, and thoſe of *France* at *Delft*; and that the Conferences ſhould be held at *Reſwick*, a Place belonging to his *Britan- nick* Majeſty, and equally diſtant from both thoſe Towns; which was agreed to by the Con- federates. This Point being thus ſettled, the Preliminaries after ſeveral Debates were alſo con- cluded and ſign'd on the 10*th* of *February*, by which the King of *France* agreed, " I. That the " Treaties of *Weſtphalia* and *Nimeguen* ſhould be " the Baſis of this to be negotiated at *Reſwick.* " II. That *Strasburg* ſhould be reſtored to the " Empire, in the ſame Condition as the *French* " took it. III. And *Luxemburg* to the *Spaniards*, " in its preſent Condition, (but here the *French* " offer'd the Allies an Equivalent for both thoſe " Places.) IV. That *Mons* and *Charleroy* ſhould " be Surrender'd as they were. V. That all " Places taken by the *French* in *Catalonia*, ſince " the Peace of *Nimeguen*, ſhould be Reſtor'd in " the ſame manner. VI. That *Dinant*, both " City and Caſtle, ſhould be given up to the " Biſhop of *Liege*, as they were when taken. " VII. That all Re-unions ſince the Treaty of " *Nimeguen* ſhould be made void. VIII. That " *Lorrain* ſhould be Reſtored according to the " Condition of that Treaty; But further agreed, " that in Caſe the Conditions made in reſpect to " that Country ſhould not pleaſe, that Article " ſhould be referr'd to the General Treaty, and " that it ſhould be the firſt Point Debated in the " Negotiation. Here it was likewiſe farther " agreed more particularly, that upon conclu- " ſion of the Peace, the King of *France* ſhould " acknowledge the Prince of *Orange* as King of " *Great Britain*, without any manner of Diffi- " culty, Reſtriction, Condition, or Reſerve; but " as for other Princes, whether they were in " the Confederacy or not, their Pretenſions " ſhould be reſerved to the General Negotiation, " under the Mediation of the King of *Sweden.* " IX. That the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts* ſhould be " reſtor'd to *Sweden.* X. That *Philipsburg* ſhould " be given up to the Biſhop of *Spire.* XI. That " the Fort of *Keel* and other Fortifications made " on the *Rhine*, ſhould be raz'd. XII. That the " ſame ſhould be done by *Fort-Louis* and *Hun- " ninghen.* XIII. That *Traerbach* and *Montroyal* " ſhould be given up; the firſt Diſmantled, but " upon Condition never to be Fortified again. " XIV. That the *Elector Palatine* ſhould not only " be reſtor'd to all the Electorate, but alſo to the " Dutchies of *Simmeren* and *Lauthern*, with the " Earldom of *Manheim*; as alſo other Places,

At *Ryſwick.*

Articles of it.

(*a*) *See* A Form of Prayer, to be uſed next after the Prayer in the Time of War and Tumults throughout the Kingdom of *England*, at Morning and Evening Prayer, as often as there is Divine Service, during the Time of His Majeſty's Abſence. *By His Majeſty's Special Command.* 1697. 4to.

" whereof

1697. "whereof he had been diſpoſſeſs'd to the preſent "Time. XV. That the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* ſhould "not have Recourſe to open Force to maintain "her Pretenſions, but might bring her Actions "according to Law, in relation to the Elector. "XVI. That the Caſtle and County of *Veldens* "ſhould be reſtor'd to their Lawful Owner. "XVII. That *Biſweiler* ſhould be given to the "Count of *Hanaw*. XVIII. That the Seigniories "of *March*, *Marmoſy*, and *Dagſtein*, and the County of *Dagsburg*, ſhould be deliver'd up to the "Count of *Overſtein*. XIX. That the Seigniories of *Salms* and *Valkenſtein* ſhould be given "up to the Prince of *Salms*, or to their Proprietors, ſeeing the ſame was ſtill in Queſtion. "XX. That the Seigniories of *Latzenſtein* and *Altheim* ſhould be Surrendred to their Owners. "XXI. That *Otweiler* ſhould be given up to the "Houſe of *Naſſau*. XXII. That the City and "County of *Mombelliard*, *Harcourt*, *Bainont*, and "*Chattelette*, ſhould be put into the Poſſeſſion of "the Houſe of *Wirtemberg*. XXIII. That *Germeſheim* ſhould be given up to the Elector *Palatine*, notwithſtanding any former Treaties to "the contrary. And XXIV. That the Principality of *Orange* ſhould be given up to its Sovereign."

Some of the Miniſters of the Allies, after having conſulted their Maſters upon theſe Preliminaries, declar'd, That as to what concern'd the Firſt Article, they fully agreed to it; but as for *Straſburg*, they farther inſiſted it ſhould be Reſtor'd, with its Fortifications and Dependencies, and that no Equivalent ſhould be accepted. They allow'd of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Articles; only they inſiſted, that not only the City, but the County of *Luxemburgh*, and that of *Chinay*, ſhould be given up; as they did, that the City and Caſtle of *Dinant* ſhould be yielded, together with the Dutchy of *Bouillon*, in the ſame State they were. They likewiſe own'd themſelves ſatisfy'd as to the Seventh Article concerning the Re-unions; but not ſo with the Agreement made about *Lorrain*, which they would have reſtor'd to the Duke its Sovereign, without any manner of Reſtriction.

Farther Demands of the Allies.

Beſides theſe Pretenſions, the Death of *Charles* XI. King of *Sweden*, by whoſe Mediation the Treaty was ſet on Foot, was like to put a ſtop to the Progreſs of it. His *Swediſh* Majeſty having been Ill for ſome Time, Died at *Stockholm* on the 5th of *April*, 1697. (*O. S.*) in the 42d Year of His Age, and 37th of His Reign, leaving His Crown to His Son *Charles* XII. then ſcarce Fifteen Years old; and appointing by His Will, both the Queen, and Five of the Senators, to Adminiſter the Government, during His Son's Minority, which would be till he was entring upon the 18*th* Year of his Age. However, this Accident made no manner of Alteration in the Affairs of *Europe*; for the Regents of *Sweden*, among whom the Queen had Two Voices, having full Power to make Treaties, and perform all other Acts of Sovereignty, as ſhould be agreed on by the major-part of them, ſent immediately Expreſſes to ſeveral Foreign Courts, to acquaint them with their Intentions to purſue the Mediation began by the late King, for the Tranquility of *Chriſtendom*; and diſpatch'd a new Commiſſion to Monſieur *Lillienroot* for that purpoſe. Some time before, it was agreed by the Plenipotentiaries at the *Hague*, that for the eaſier carrying on the Treaty, all Ceremonies ſhould be laid aſide, and the Titles any Prince took, be of no Conſequence; That the ſeveral Miniſters ſhould have free and ſecure Correſpondence with the Princes their Maſters. That in order to that, Blank Paſports ſhould be given to each Party, for the Couriers diſpatch'd by them; as alſo for the Pacquet-Boats to and from *England*; and that the Powers of the reſpective Plenipotentiaries ſhould be on the ſame Foot they were at *Nimeguen*. 1697.

In purſuance of theſe Preliminaries, Monſieur *Lilienroot*, the Mediator, appointed the Firſt Conference to be held at *Ryſwick*, on the 9th of *May*; and accordingly, the Allies being met together in the Apartments on one ſide of the Palace, the *French* in the Apartments on the other ſide, and the Mediator in the middle between Both; the Allies and the *French* ſhew'd him their Powers, and gave him Copies of the ſame; which he communicated to the reſpective Miniſters, and left the Copies with them. This and the ſettling Part of the Ceremonial, in order to further Proceedings, took up near Three Hours; and then the Conference was adjourn'd to *Saturday* the 11th of the ſame Month: When being met again in the ſame manner as they did at firſt, the Powers of the Allies were by the Mediator exchanged with the *French* Ambaſſadors. Moreover, they agreed to meet conſtantly on *Wedneſdays* in the Morning, and *Saturdays* in the Afternoon; and that, to prevent the Inconveniencies that might ariſe from Crowds of Attendants, each Ambaſſador ſhould go thither only with One Coach with Six Horſes, Two Pages, and Two Footmen. On the 15th and 18th the Mediator and Plenipotentiaries met again; but all they did at thoſe Two Conferences, was only to regulate ſeveral Points of Ceremony; in which, for the moſt part, they follow'd the Rules that were obſerv'd at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*.

Firſt Conference at *Ryſwick*.

On the 22d of *May*, the Imperial Plenipotentiaries deliver'd to the Mediator their Demands, in the Name of the Emperor and Empire; and ſome of the *German* Miniſters at the ſame Time, gave in the particular Pretenſions of the Princes their Maſters: After which, the Allies drew up a large Deduction, in Juſtification of their Claims; of which however, they reſolv'd to give the *French* Ambaſſadors no Copy, till they had the King's Orders to propoſe theirs. But the *French* Plenipotentiaries having declar'd, that they had nothing to aſk, or pretend to, and that they were ready to anſwer the others, the Allies chang'd their Thoughts; and the *French* in the mean while, had ſeveral ſeparate Conferences with the *Dutch*, about Commerce, and a Ceſſation of Arms. This laſt Point the *French* ſeem'd very eager for, and the ſame was much preſs'd by the Mediator; who, upon the *Spaniſh* Miniſters declaring their Grievances, declar'd, That he was of Opinion, that nothing could more contribute to the Advancement of the Peace, than the agreeing on a Truce by common Conſent; Mens Minds being ſo much the leſs compos'd and fit for a calm Negociation, by how much they were diſtracted and put out of order, elevated or caſt down, by the good or bad Succeſſes of War. Tho' this Motion ſeem'd then to be approved by Silence, yet other Things interven'd, which cauſed it to be laid aſide. About the ſame Time, the *Brandenburgh* Ambaſſadors did very much inſiſt, that all the Names of the Confederate Princes ſhould be Expreſs'd, and particularly Inſerted in the Treaty; and ſome of the Allies took it very ill, that the Pretenſions of the Empire were propoſed by the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, only in his Imperial Majeſty's Name. To ſilence which Complaints, it was replied, That every one of the Allies was free to propoſe ſeparate Articles concerning his own Affairs. Whereupon ſeveral Princes gave in their Grievances to their Mediator.

1697. The King of *France* wiſely foreſeeing that the Houſe of *Auſtria* would inſiſt upon the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, reſolv'd to make his laſt Efforts in *Flanders* and *Catalonia*, to bring down the *Spaniard* to his own Terms; and to advance the Prince of *Conti* to the Crown of *Poland*: Not doubting but that Warlike Prince, who both by Inclination, and out of Gratitude, would ever promote the Intereſt of *France*, would ſoon make the Emperor more tractable. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Army was very numerous and formidable this Year in the *Low-Countries*; and having beſides, the Advantage of being earlier in the Field than the Confederates, both by reaſon of the remoteneſs and ſlow March of the *German* Troops, and of His *Britannick* Majeſty's Indiſpoſition, they boaſted of Attacking a no leſs conſiderable Town than *Namure*; but having reflected on the Difficulties of that Enterprize, they were contented to Beſiege *Aeth*, a Place the *French* had yielded to *Spain* by the Treaty of *Nimeguen*. There were no leſs than Three Marſhals of *France* in that Army; to wit, *Villeroy*, *Boufflers*, and *Catinat*; but the laſt being without Diſpute the greateſt General of the Three, 'twas to him the King of *France* gave the Direction of the Siege, and order'd Monſieur *Vauban* to aſſiſt him in it; whilſt *Villeroy* and *Boufflers* ſhould obſerve the Confederates. Upon Intelligence of the *French* having Inveſted *Aeth*, King *William*, who by this Time was perfectly recover'd of His late Illneſs, immediately repair'd to His Army in *Brabant*, and had an Interview with the Duke of *Bavaria*, who commanded another Army at hand, to join His Majeſty upon Occaſion. But beſides the great Superiority of the *French*, which would have made the Attempt very difficult, His *Britannick* Majeſty openly declar'd, He would not ſacrifice One Man for the Relief of a Place which the *French* muſt be oblig'd to give up by the Peace. 'Tis true, His Majeſty might eaſily have laid Siege to *Dinant*, while Marſhal *de Catinat* was beſieging *Aeth*; but then *Bruſſels* had been left expos'd to *Villeroy* and *Boufflers*, who had a Deſign upon that City, and which His Majeſty utterly diſappointed by His Prudence. As for *Aeth*, it was ſo vigorouſly preſs'd by the Beſiegers, and ſo faintly defended by the Governor, for the ſame Reaſons which induc'd King *William* not to attempt its Relief, that it ſurrender'd after Twelve Days of open Trenches.

King of *France* makes Peace with Sword in Hand.

Crown of *Poland* deſired by Pr. *Conti*.

The Succeſſes in *Flanders* and *Greater Catalonia* would in all probability have made the *French* ſole Maſters of the Peace, and given their Ambaſſadors a fair Occaſion to ſpeak the Language of *Nimeguen*; had not their Expectations from *Poland* been miſerably diſappointed. It was the general Opinion, that Prince *James*, Son to the King, was the only Competitor that could oppoſe the Prince of *Conti*'s Advancement to the Throne; and the former being univerſally diſlik'd, upon account of his Father's Avarice; who, in order to fill his Coffers, made open Sale of his Favours, more like a penurious Trader, than a Generous Sovereign; the Abbot of *Polignac*, who manag'd the *French* King's Affairs there, did confidently aſſure his Maſter, that Prince *Conti* would certainly carry the Election, if he did but come in Perſon, and ſend him a ſufficient Sum of Money to Bribe ſome Palatines that oppos'd the *French* Intereſt. Upon this Encouragement, the Prince of *Conti* ſet out for *Poland*, and great Remittances were made to the Abbot of *Polignac*, which he laviſh'd away with much Oſtentation, and as little Succeſs.

Obtain'd by the Elector of *Saxony*.

In the mean Time the Elector of *Saxony*, whom No-body ſuſpected to have any Thoughts towards the Crown of *Poland*, being ſupported by the King of *England*'s Powerful Recommendation to the Emperor, took a Journey in the End of the Spring to *Vienna*, under the pretence of Settling Matters in relation to the Campaign in *Hungary*, where 'twas given out he would command the Imperial Army again this Summer. But the Event ſhew'd, that his real Intention was to concert Meaſures with that Court, in order to aſcend the Throne he had in view; to which his Religion could be no Obſtacle, ſince he had already privately reconciled himſelf to the Church of *Rome*, or at leaſt did pretend he had done ſo afterwards. This Deſign was carried on with wonderful Secreſy and Addreſs: For all of a ſudden the Elector left *Vienna*; and this was attended with various Reports, induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, of ſome Miſunderſtanding between the Emperor and him; which No-body could aſſign a Cauſe for. But when People ſaw the Elector muſter up a Body of his Troops, they entertain'd ſeveral Suſpicions; and the *Brandenburghers* ſo far took the Alarm, as immediately to gather all the Forces they could, to oppoſe any Attempt that might be made that way. The Elector's ſudden March towards *Sileſia*, and the Frontiers of *Poland*, quickly occaſion'd other Speculations; and 'twas not long before it was publickly declar'd, that he put in for the Crown of *Poland*: Which he at laſt obtain'd, by outbidding the Prince of *Conti*'s Agent, both in ready Caſh and Promiſes; and ſo he was proclaim'd King by the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, and all the Partizans of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which made up the Majority of the *Poliſh* Dyet. 'Tis true, the Prince of *Conti* was alſo proclaim'd by the Cardinal Primate, and ſome Palatines that were in the *French* Intereſt; but his Competitor having an Army at hand to ſupport his Claim; and his Highneſs, who ſoon after arrived in *Poland*, nothing but a great deal of Perſonal Merit to maintain his Title; the latter was, at laſt, neceſſitated to return to *France*.

Slow Advances of the Treaty.

To quicken the ſlow Advances of the Treaty, the Miniſters of *Sweden* and *Denmark* did both declare to the *French*, that their Maſters would be conſtrained to join their Forces to thoſe of the Allies, to cut off by the Sword all the unneceſſary Difficulties, which *France* raiſed to protract the Negociation. Whereupon, the *French*, on *July* the 20th, gave in their Project of Peace, founded on the fore-mentioned Treaties of *Weſtphalia* and *Nimeguen*: The main Articles of which, as to the Empire, were; "An Offer to "make void ſeveral Reunions made on that ſide, "by the Chambers of *Mentz* and *Beſançon*, and "the Sovereign Council of *Briſac*, ſince the "Treaty of *Nimeguen*. To reſtore the City of "*Straſburg*, or to give as an Equivalent for it the "City and Caſtle of *Friburg*, and the Towns of "*Briſac* and *Philipsburg*, with the Fort of *Kiel*, "in the Condition they were at preſent. To "demoliſh the Fortifications of *Hunninghen*, on "the other ſide of the *Rhine*. To reſtore *Lorain* to the Duke of that Name, in the ſame "manner as it was offer'd at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; that is, in the ſame Condition it was "poſſeſſed by Duke *Charles* in 1670. and the City of *Nancy*, upon certain Conſiderations; "with the Demoliſhing of divers Places, ſuch "as *Mont Royal*, *Traerbach*, &c. As for the *Spaniards*, the *French* offered to give them the City and Country of *Luxemburgh*, and the Country of *Chinay*; or in Lieu of them, ſome other "Places hereafter to be named; for which there "was a Blank left in the Project. That all Reunions ſince the Treaty of *Nimeguen* ſhould be "made void. That the City and Caſtle of *Dinant* ſhould be delivered to the Biſhop of *Liege*.

"And

1697. "And that all other Places taken on both Sides "during the War, ſhould likewiſe be reſtored." The *Spaniards* ſeem'd in the main to be pretty well ſatisfied with the *French* Conceſſions: But the *Imperial* Miniſters made a tedious, and as ſome thought, an unreaſonable Anſwer to the Project; which the *French* did not much regard, their chief Aim being to ſatisfy the reſt, upon what Terms they were willing to give them, in order to break off the Grand Confederacy, and by that Means to preſerve Part of their Acquiſitions on the *Rhine*, ſince there was ſo little Proſpect of having any Thing elſewhere. After the Delivery of the Project of Peace, the King of *France*, finding much Time ſpent to little purpoſe, by Carrying on a Treaty in Writing, order'd His Plenipotentiaries to agree to the Propoſals the Imperialiſts had made not long before, of Treating by Word of Mouth: and tho' the 10th of *September* was the utmoſt the *French* would give, to accept their Offers; yet 'tis remarkable, that ſince their Diſappointment in *Poland*, they began to be more tractable than before.

Upon the 17th of *Auguſt* an extraordinary Conference was held at *Ryſwick*, which laſted almoſt a whole Day, and wherein the Method agreed on of Treating by Word of Mouth was firſt put in Practice. Not many Days after came the News of taking *Barcelona* by the *French*, after one of the moſt vigorous Sieges that had been known in any Age. This made the *Spaniards* very uneaſy, and very preſſing to have the Peace Sign'd upon the Conditions offer'd by *France*; and more eſpecially ſince by the Memorial given in to the Mediator on the 1ſt of *September*, there had been an Offer made to reſtore this Place alſo to the Catholick King, upon a ſlight Conſideration of a few Villages belonging to the *Chateleine* of *Aeth*, to be yielded to the *French*, for the Conveniency of the Trade of the Inhabitants of *Tournay*. But by how much the more condeſcending the *French* ſeem'd to be with the *Spaniards*, the ſtiffer they became with the Empire; now poſitively inſiſting upon the keeping of *Straſburg*, and that the Emperor ſhould reſt ſatisfied with the Equivalent; which, they ſaid, would be more conſiderable to him, ſince he would have the entire Sovereignty of thoſe Towns that *France* quitted; whereas *Straſburg*, if reſtor'd, muſt have been ſet at its own Liberty, as a Free Imperial City. If the *Imperialiſts* were ſtartled at this New Project, they were not leſs ſurprized at the ſhort Time prefixed by *France* for their Anſwer; which was the 20th of *Auguſt*, and after which the moſt Chriſtian King would no longer be oblig'd to thoſe Offers. This was ſtill the more mortifying to them, ſince they began now to be ſuperior in Force to the *French*, and to act offenſively on the *Rhine*; not to mention their Jealouſies, leſt ſome of the Allies ſhould Sign a Separate Peace and leave them out; which occaſion'd ſome Heats amongſt the Confederates.

Barcelona taken by the *French*.

On the other hand, the *French* Plenipotentiaries were amaz'd at the profound Silence of the Miniſters of the Allies, concerning their laſt Memorial: But it ſeems the Concluſion of the Peace was to be owing to the ſame Genius, who had been the Soul of the War; I mean, King *William*. His Majeſty wiſely conſidering, that the uſual Forms and incident *Chicaneries* of a ſolemn Negotiation, were no ſmall Hindrance to the Progreſs of the Treaty; thought fit to commit his Perſonal Intereſts and thoſe of his Dominions, to the Arbitration of Two Men of the Sword; to wit, the Earl of *Portland* on His *Britannick*, and the Mareſchal *de Boufflers* on His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Part. Accordingly, the Royal Confederate Army being encamp'd at *Cockleberg*, near *Bruſſels*; and the *French*, under *Villeroy*, *Catinat*, and *Boufflers*, not far from thence, at *Iſcringue Vive St. Eloi*, and *Pepinge*; the Earl of *Portland*, as from himſelf, demanded a private Interview with Monſieur *de Boufflers*: Which being readily granted, the Two Generals, on *June* the 10th *N. S.* met at an equal Diſtance from their reſpective Camps, attended by the ſame Number of Guards, and accompanied by ſeveral Officers of Note. This Preliminary Conference was ſoon followed by Three others; at the laſt of which, on *July* the 26th, the Two Negotiators, after they had been ſome Time in the open Field, retir'd into a Houſe in the Suburb of *Hall*; where they had Pen, Ink, and Paper, and in an Hour adjuſted ſeveral Points, that the Plenipotentiaries at *Ryſwick* would not have agreed upon in a Year. On the 2d of *Auguſt*, *Portland* and *Boufflers* Sign'd the Paper they had drawn up ſome Days before. Whereupon His Majeſty, on *Auguſt* the 3d, left the Army, and went to *Dieren*: From whence He diſpatch'd that Earl to the *Hague*, to acquaint the Congreſs, *That as for what concern'd His Majeſty and His Kingdoms, all Matters were ſo adjuſted with* France, *that this would occaſion no Delay in the General Peace; and therefore He earneſtly preſs'd the other Allies, and particularly the Emperor, to contribute all that in them lay towards the concluding ſo great a Work.*

The Peace owing to King *William*.

Conferences between the E. of *Portland* and Mareſch. *Boufflers*.

The frequent Interviews between King *William*'s Favourite and Mareſchal *de Boufflers*, occaſion'd divers Speculations. On the one hand, the *Jacobites*, who, againſt all Reaſon, flatter'd themſelves, that tho' a Treaty of Peace was carry'd on at His Majeſty's own Palace, yet He ſhould be left out of it; ſaw by theſe Conferences their Hopes entirely baffled: And on the other hand, a great many People, and even ſome of His Majeſty's beſt Friends, began to ſuſpect that His Majeſty had entred into a private Agreement with the King of *France*, in favour either of King *James*, or His Iſſue; upon account of His *Britannick* Majeſty's having the peaceful Enjoyment of His Dominions during Life, and being acknowledg'd as King of *Great Britain* by His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: Which ill-grounded Suſpicion was Three Years after fully remov'd by King *William*'s effectual promoting the Settlement in the Proteſtant Line. Others gave out, that my Lord *Portland* and Monſieur *Boufflers* had only agreed, that King *James*'s Queen ſhould have Her Dowry paid Her by *England*, in ſuch a manner, as if Her Husband was really dead; but that afterwards She refus'd to accept it. And others again have ſince imagin'd, not without ſome Probability, that in theſe Interviews was laid the firſt Foundation of the Famous *Treaty of Partition*, which was afterwards concluded between King *William*, and the King of *France*. But theſe are meer Conjectures, and will remain ſuch, till the Earl of *Portland*, or the Mareſchal *de Boufflers*, are pleas'd to reveal what paſs'd betwixt them; which has been hitherto kept ſecret.

The Critical Day appointed by *France* being come, when either a Happy Peace, or a long and Bloody War, was to determine the Fate of *Chriſtendom*; the *Engliſh*, *Spaniſh*, and *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, after a long Conference with thoſe of *France*, having adjuſted all Matters remaining in difference between any of them, did reſpectively Sign the Treaty a little after Midnight, and then Compliemented each other, upon the Finiſhing that Important Negotiation. The Imperial and Electoral Plenipotentiaries, who moſt of them were all the while preſent in the Hall, were ſo far from conſenting to what was done,

The Treaty Signed.

1697. done, that, on the contrary, they required the Mediator to enter a Proteſtation, "That this "was a Second Time that a ſeparate Peace had "been concluded with *France*, (meaning that of "*Nimeguen* for one) wherein the Emperor and "Empire had been excluded: And that the States "of the Empire, who had been impos'd upon thro' "their own over-credulity, would not for the future "be ſo eaſily perſuaded to enter into Confedera-"cies." The *Spaniſh* Plenipotentiaries, and particularly *Don Bernardo de Quiros*, by way of Excuſe, replied, That he had a long time been made acquainted with His Catholick Majeſty's Pleaſure, not to delay the Signing of the Treaty, which had been agreed on before; And if he had obey'd thoſe Orders, the *French* would not have taken *Barcelona*: But that having deferr'd the Concluſion of that Treaty, at the Perſuaſion of the Imperial Miniſters, he had given the *French* time to make themſelves Maſters of that important Place; which Succeſs embolden'd their Plenipotentiaries to change their Language, and thereby he had himſelf run the hazard of incurring his Maſter's Diſpleaſure.

The Truth is, the *Spaniards* could not but perceive, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* could have ſav'd *Barcelona* this Year, if they had pleas'd; but that they rather declin'd it, with an Intention to bring the *Spaniards* the more readily to accept the Offers of the *French*. And indeed thoſe Two Powers having in a manner borne the whole Burden of the War, both by Sea and Land, whereby their reſpective Subjects were reduc'd to great Streights, eſpecially as to their Trade; it could not ſeem ſtrange that they were forward to Sign a Glorious and Advantageous Peace.

Condition of King *James*. All this while the Abdicated King of *England* made but an indifferent Figure in his Melancholy Retirement at St. *Germains*: The *French* King's Promiſe to that Unfortunate Prince, and open Declaration to all *Europe*, that He would never lay down Arms till he had reſtor'd Him to His Throne, had rais'd His late *Britannick* Majeſty's Hopes to a a great height. But He found by ſad Experience how little the Promiſes of Sovereigns are to be rely'd on, when their own Intereſt comes in Competition. After a tedious War, dubiouſly maintain'd, the King of *France* being exhauſted both of Men and Money, thought it Prudence to clap up a Peace, and reſtore to His Neighbours all the Conqueſts He had made upon them ſince the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; which He was the more inclin'd to do, in hopes, that having diſarm'd and broke the Confederacy, He might get all again at the Death of the King of *Spain*, who for many Years had been in a pining, lingring State of Health; and who at the Concluſion of the Peace of *Ryſwick*, was in ſo deſperate a Condition, that the *French* Court thought He could not live a Month longer. On the other hand, His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty being ſenſible that a Treaty could not be ſet on Foot, not only without owning King *William*, but alſo (as a Conſequence of that Acknowledgment) without Abandoning King *James*; He neither 1697. did inſiſt that a Miniſter from that Unfortunate Monarch ſhould be admitted to the Conferences at *Ryſwick*; which Propoſal was unanimouſly rejected by the Allies, nor would the *French* Plenipotentiaries meddle with that Prince's Manifeſto. King *James*'s Expectation of the *French* King's Protection being thus diſappointed, and His Majeſty finding that His *Pardons*, as well as His *Threats*, had no effect upon His Subjects, He was perſwaded to draw up a Manifeſto or Memorial, containing *both a Summary Account of the Reaſons that ſhould engage the Confederate Catholick Princes to promote His Reſtoration; an Expoſtulation of the Injuſtice done him; and a Proteſtation againſt what was done at* Ryſwick, *as Null, in reſpect to the Violation of His Rights*. There were Two of theſe Memorials offer'd by order of King *James*; the One to all the Plenipotentiaries of *Popiſh* Princes, and the Other to thoſe from *Proteſtants*. In Both He aſſerted His own Right, and claimed the Obſervance of all the Treaties which any of them had made with himſelf, and mixed it with a ſevere Invective againſt King *William*. Upon which, it was thought neceſſary to prepare a Memorial in Anſwer to theſe, which was intended to be given in the Name of King *William* to all the Miniſters. Accordingly ſuch a Memorial was drawn up by King *William*'s own Direction: He explaining Himſelf upon every Particular, examining the Draught, and ſending it to ſome of His wiſeſt Miniſters, by whom it was carefully Reviſed and Corrected. But when it was Reſolv'd to Tranſlate it into *Latin* and *French*, in order to the Communicating it, the King had Advice from the *Hague*, that thoſe Memorials were ſo little conſider'd there, that the offering an Anſwer to them would give them ſome Credit, and that without that, they had none at all. So the Draught was order'd to be Writ over again in another Stile, not in King *William*'s Name, but as the Anſwer of a Private Hand to the Memorials of King *James*, and ſo to be Printed: Yet before this could be done, another Advice came to let the Matter quite alone, and to leave the Memorials of King *James* to ſleep in that Neglect under which they were fallen. And ſo the Anſwer of King *William* reſted in the Dark, till it was Publiſh'd by the Lord Biſhop of *Sarum* at *London*, 1705, *4to.* under this Title; *A Memorial drawn by King* William'*s Special Direction, intended to be given in at the Treaty of* Ryſwick, *juſtifying the Revolution and the Courſe of His Government: In Anſwer to Two Memorials that were offer'd there in King* James'*s Name.*

As to the late King's Friends in *England*, they were ſo enrag'd to ſee Him forſaken by the King of *France*, that they could not forbear venting their bitter Invectives againſt His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; for which ſome of them were committed to Priſon, and Fined; the ſame being a Violation of the late Treaty between the Crowns of *England* and *France*. (*a*)

The

(*a*) Many of the *Engliſh* Jacobites in *France*, were ſo offended with the Deſertion from King *Lewis*, and the cold Reception they had met with from King *James* and his Queen, that they began to turn their Faces toward their own Country, and to make their Peace likewiſe with King *William*. A late Writer, well inform'd, has told us, "The Earl of *Lauder-*"*dale*, a Papiſt, his Lady being of the Reform'd Religion, was "himſelf an Enemy in the Court of *Verſailles*, to the King's "violent Meaſures. For this Reaſon he never was truſted "with any Poſt. As much a Catholick as he was, he heartily "adviſ'd King *James* to let the Proteſtants have the Admini-"ſtration of his ſmall Government, recommending the Earl "of *C*——*n*, and the Non-Juring Biſhops, as the fitteſt to "ſerve him in *England*, and the Lord *Hume*, *Southesk*, and "*Sinclair*, in *Scotland*: But his Advice was ſo ill taken, that "he was enjoin'd to ſend his Lady to *England*, to return thence "no more; was himſelf forbid the Court, and reduc'd to "a Penſion of One Hundred Piſtoles a Year. Not long after "he dy'd of Grief at *Paris*, ſeeing no probability of his "Maſter's changing his Meaſures.

"His Brother Mr. *Alexander Maitland*, had on ſeveral Oc-"caſions behav'd himſelf very bravely in that Prince's Ser-"vice; he had alſo deſerted King *William*, under whom he had "a Command once in the *Scots* Guards; but coming to St. "*Germains*, and being ſuffer'd to Starve, he choſe rather to "make his Peace with an offended Government, than live in "the Contempt of an ungrateful one.

Of

1697. The Proteſtant *French* Refugees in *England*, *Germany*, and *Scotland*, were at this time no leſs diſappointed than the Royal Exile in *France*. King *William* having on all Occaſions declar'd himſelf their Protector, they reaſonably expected that he would alſo prove their Deliverer; and never conclude a Peace with *France*, without obliging their Natural Sovereign to reſtore them both to their Eſtates, and the free Exerciſe of their Religion, in their own Country. Upon this Preſumption, ſeveral Conſultations were held in *London* by the *French* Miniſters, and the moſt conſiderable Perſons among the Refugees there; wherein it was debated, in what Method they ſhould make their Applications to the Plenipotentiaries at *Ryſwick*; and upon what Terms they ſhould agree to their Reſtoration, which ſome amongſt them look'd upon as Infallible. The Reſult of theſe Aſſemblies being tranſmitted to Monſieur *Jurieu*, the Head of all the *French* Refugees in *Holland*, he, with his uſual Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Cauſe, addreſs'd himſelf to King *William*, who directed the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries to open that Matter at a Diſtance to the *French* Ambaſſadors. The *Dutch* Miniſters follow'd his Majeſty's Orders; but the King of *France*, to whom this Overture was communicated, expreſſing an inſuperable Averſeneſs to it, and urging, that as he did not pretend to preſcribe K. *William* any Rules about his Subjects, ſo he expected the ſame Liberty as to his own, which he look'd upon as the great Prerogative of a Sovereign; his *Britannick* Majeſty inſiſted no farther upon it.

To make an end of this Memorable Negotiation, the Conferences continu'd at *Ryſwick* between the Imperial and *French* Plenipotentiaries, till the 30th of *October*, when all Things were agreed on, and the Treaty ſign'd, two Days before the Time limited by *France* was expir'd. And though this Peace with the Empire was not ſo advantageous to it, nor the Reſtitution of *Lorrain*, in ſo ample a manner as was expected, yet it muſt be own'd, that the Power of *France* was now extremely reduc'd, if it be conſider'd, That She gave up many Conſiderable Towns in *Germany*, which She had been long poſſeſs'd of, particularly the Important Place of *Briſac*: That by the taking of *Cazal*, and the Peace of *Savoy*, ſhe had entirely loſt her Footing in *Italy*: That the ſame Barrier was left in *Catalonia* as before; and that there was a ſtronger Frontier in the *Low-Countries*, by her Reſtitution of all ſhe took ſince the beginning of the War, with the Addition of *Luxemburg* and *Dinant*. The *French* themſelves, who did not enter into the Views of their Monarch, were ſo ſenſible of this, and ſo little pleas'd with the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, that they made very ſevere Reflections on *Meſſieurs Harlay*, *Crecy*, and *Cailliere*, their Plenipotentiaries, whom they traduc'd in their Lampoons, which were publickly ſung in *Paris*, and over all the Kingdom of *France*; whilſt the Courage, Reſolution, and Wiſdom of King *William*, to which this great Work was principally owing, were celebrated and admir'd throughout all the World.

Treaty ſign'd between *France* and the Empire.

'Twas the Admiration of thoſe Eminent Virtues, that drew the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, the moſt Potent Prince of the North, out of his own Dominions, and made Him traverſe vaſt Tracts of Land to receive His Majeſty's Inſtructions; wherein He prudently imitated the Queen of *Sheba*, who, many Ages before, had done the ſame, to hear the Wiſdom of *Solomon*: And becauſe He could not appear in other States with that Majeſty and Splendor which he had in His Own Empire, He condeſcended to go *incognito*, among the Ambaſſadors, whom, to cover His Journey, He ſent to *Holland* and *England*. After theſe Ambaſſadors had had their Audience of the States General at the *Hague*, they were admitted to that of His *Britannick* Majeſty at *Utrecht*; which being over, His Majeſty and the *Czar* met in a ſmall Gallery, into which they entered, both at a time, out of the adjoining Rooms, and hearty Embraces and Compliments being paſs'd on both ſides, they had a long Conference together about the Poſture of Affairs; wherein the *Czar* highly applauded His Majeſty's Indefatigable Endeavours, and conſtant Aim to reduce *France* within its Ancient Limits. The *Ruſſian* Emperor's Eſteem for King *William* being highly encreas'd by this Interview, and confirm'd by ſeveral other Conferences He had with His Majeſty, He reſolv'd to viſit that Happy and Powerful Nation who had ſo great a Prince to their Sovereign. Accordingly the *Czar* followed King *William* into *England*, where He was magnificently entertain'd, with all His numerous Retinue, at His Majeſty's own Charge, and had Private Conferences not only with His Majeſty, but with the Princeſs and Prince of *Denmark*, who contributed not a little to His Diverſion, and at the ſame time rais'd His Surprize by a Splendid Ball, at which were preſent the Brighteſt Beauties in *England*. During His Stay in *London*, His *Czariſh* Majeſty endeavour'd to inſtruct Himſelf in the Knowledge of ſeveral Uſeful Arts, unknown to His Barbarous Subjects, and more particularly, in that of Navigation; with deſign to build a Fleet both on the *Baltick*, to advance the Trade of His Empire, and

Czar of *Muſcovy* comes to *England*.

“ Of this Kind was the Treatment Sir *Andrew Forreſter* met
“ with: That Gentleman was always zealouſly attach'd to
“ the Duke of *York*'s Intereſt, when a Subject; and when a
“ King, he was the devoted Creature of his pleaſure; he
“ was impriſoned in the Tower for the Plot that was carrying
“ on to favour his Invaſion, 1692. Yet notwithſtanding this,
“ and the great Experience he had in *Scotiſh* Affairs, he could
“ never obtain any ſhare in that Prince's Confidence. Upon
“ his Arrival at St. *Germain*'s, he found that all his Merits
“ and Sufferings were not a counter-ballance to the Objection
“ of his being a Proteſtant. He was not intruſted; and after
“ a vain Attendance on that Court for ſome trifling Employ-
“ ment, the beſt Reward he could get, was, a Paſs to return to
“ *England*, they having no occaſion for him there.
“ Sir *Theophilus Oglethorp*, who had been very ſerviceable to
“ the Duke of *York*, before his Acceſſion to the Throne; who,
“ by means of his Wife, a Servant to one of King *Charles*'s
“ *Popiſh* Miſtreſſes, had the Honour of being made one of the
“ Tools to advance Arbitrary Power in that King's Time;
“ who had ſhewn himſelf ſo zealous for the Father, that he
“ forgot good Manners, and affronted the Daughter, by Cock-
“ ing as ſhe came by, when Queen, in the Mall: who had
“ been in every Plot, ſince his old Maſter went to *France*, to fa-
“ cilitate his Return; yet his Uſage was ſo little anſwerable to his
“ Deſert and Expectation, that he was glad to get home to
“ Old *England*, and ſubmit to that Government whoſe Lenity
“ to ſuch Offenders increaſed their Number.
“ Mr. *Fergus Grahme*, Brother to Col. *Grahme* as well as to
“ the Lord *Preſton*, for no other reaſon but his being a Church-
“ man, was diſmiſs'd the Court of St. *Germains*.
“ Sir *William Sharp*, though he pretended to leave that Court
“ to ſave his Eſtate, purſuant to an Act of Parliament in
“ *Scotland*, yet, in Truth, it was their Ingratitude to him,
“ which occaſioned it; for falling under Diſtruſt with *Melford*
“ and *Innes*, he grew into Contempt: His Penſion allow'd
“ him, while the *Scots* Rebellion laſted, was taken from him;
“ and becauſe he would not quit his Religion, he was forc'd
“ to quit *France*, and throw himſelf on the Mercy of his
“ Lawful Sovereign. *View of the Court of St.* Germains. 4to. 1696.
After the Inſtances of Dr. *Cockburn* and Mrs. *Ashton*, he proceeds to ſay, “ What need of any more Inſtances to prove
“ King *James*'s incurable Averſion to our Church and all
“ Church-Men; elſe I might name the Lord *Henmore*, Mr. *Louthian*, Capt. *Murray*, Capt. *Dalgel*, Capt. *Maygil*, Capt. *Maclean*, Capt. *Fielding*, Mr. *Rinnaird*, and ſeveral Hundreds
“ more, who left the Court of St. *Germains*, becauſe they could
“ not have Bread, unleſs they would change their Religion;
“ and rather choſe to run the hazard of Impriſonment in *England*, than ſtay and Starve in *France*.

1697. on the *Black-Sea* to annoy the *Turks*: Which Project, however, has not been yet put in execution. There were not wanting thoſe who cenſur'd that Prince for leaving His Dominions after this manner: I will not altogether excuſe Him, but content my ſelf to ſay, That his Example is never to be followed, till there ariſe again ſo Great a Man as King *William*, whoſe Merit may in ſome meaſure juſtifie the Curioſity of ſeeing Him.

Honours and Preferments. During His Majeſty's Abſence, there had little happen'd that deſerves our Notice. At the beginning of the Campaign, the King was pleas'd to make the Earl of *Rivers* Lieutenant General, and Brigadier *Lumley* Major General of the *Engliſh* Forces. On *July* 19, His Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Dignity of a Baronet of this Kingdom upon *William Lowther* of *Mask* in *Yorkſhire*, Eſq; Toward the end of the Campaign, upon Colonel *Coy*'s quitting his Regiment of Horſe, His Majeſty was pleaſed to give it to the Earl of *Arran*; and his Lordſhip's Regiment in *England* to Colonel *Daniel Harvey*. On *July* 27, *John Povey*, Eſq; was ſworn Clerk of the Privy-Council in Ordinary, in the Place of *Richard Cooling*, Eſq, deceas'd: And at the ſame time *James Vernon*, Jun. Eſq; was ſworn Clerk of the Council in Extraordinary. In the beginning of *October*, *Edward* Lord Viſcount *Villiers*, one of His Majeſty's Ambaſſadors Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of Peace, was created Earl of *Jerſey*, and ſoon after received the Character of His Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the States General; and on *Nov.* 25. was ſworn of His Majeſty's Privy-Council. When the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen attended his Majeſty to congratulate His Safe Return, and Happy Concluſion of the Peace, His Majeſty conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon the two Sheriffs, *Bartholomew Gracedieu*, and *James Collet*, Eſquires, and upon *Robert Beddingfield*, Eſq; Alderman, and *Thomas Cudden*, Eſq; Chamberlain of *London*.

Parliament meets. On *Friday*, *Dec.* 3. the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and the King in His Robes made this Speech to the Two Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech. "THE War which I enter'd into by the "Advice of My People, is by the Bleſſing "of God, and their Zealous and Affectionate "Aſſiſtance, brought to the End We all propos'd, "an Honourable Peace; which I was willing to "conclude not ſo much to eaſe My Self from "the Trouble or Hazard, as to free the Kingdom "from the Continuing Burthen of an Expenſive "War.

"I am heartily ſorry My Subjects will not at "firſt find all that Relief from the Peace which "I could wiſh, and they may expect; but the "Funds intended for the laſt Year's Service, have "fallen ſhort of anſwering the Sums for which "they were given; ſo that there remain "Conſiderable Deficiencies to be provided for.

"There's a Debt upon the Account of the "Fleet and the Army. The Revenues of the "Crown have been Anticipated by My Conſent "for Publick Uſes; ſo that I am wholly deſtitute "of Means to Support the Civil Liſt; and I can "never diſtruſt you'll ſuffer this to turn to My "Diſadvantage, but will Provide for Me, during "My Life, in ſuch a manner as may be for My "Honour, and for the Honour of the Government.

"Our Naval Force being increaſed to near double what is was at my Acceſſion to the Crown, "the Charge of Maintaining it will be proportionably augmented; and it is certainly neceſſary "for the Intereſt and Reputation of *England*, to "have always a great Strength at Sea. 1697.

"The Circumſtances of Affairs Abroad are "ſuch, that I think my ſelf oblig'd to tell you "My Opinion, That for the preſent, *England* "cannot be Safe without a Land Force; and I "hope We ſhall not give thoſe who mean Us Ill, "the opportunity of Effecting that, under the "Notion of a Peace, which they could not bring "to paſs by a War.

"I doubt not but you Gentlemen of the Houſe "of Commons, will take theſe Particulars into "your Conſiderations, in ſuch a manner as to provide the neceſſary Supplies, which I do very "earneſtly Recommend to you.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"That which I moſt delight to think of, and "am beſt pleaſed to own, is, That I have all "the Proofs of My People's Affection, that a "Prince can deſire; and I take this Occaſion to "give them the moſt ſolemn Aſſurance, That as "I never had, ſo I never will, nor can, have any "Intereſt ſeparate from theirs.

"I eſteem it one of the greateſt Advantages "of the Peace, that I ſhall now have Leiſure to "rectify ſuch Corruptions or Abuſes as may have "crept into any part of the Adminiſtration during the War; and effectually to diſcourage "Prophaneſs and Immorality! And I ſhall employ My Thoughts in promoting Trade, and advancing the Happineſs and Flouriſhing Eſtate of "the Kingdom.

"I ſhall conclude with telling You, That as "I have, with the Hazard of every Thing, Reſcued your Religion, Laws and Liberties, when "they were in the Extremeſt Danger; ſo I "ſhall place the Glory of My Reign in Preſerving them Entire, and leaving them ſo to Poſterity.

This Speech ſeem'd to be moſt acceptable to the Lords, who made an Addreſs to His Majeſty, Lords Addreſs. "Congratulating His Happy Return, accompanied with the Bleſſings of a Safe and Honourable Peace; which next under God they were "ſenſible was owing to His Courage and Conduct: "That after the Hazards and Labours He had ſo "long ſuſtained for the good of *Europe*, there "wanted nothing but *this* to compleat the Glory "of His Reign. They ſhould never be wanting "in their Endeavours to aſſiſt His Majeſty in "Maintaining that Quiet which He had ſo glorioully reſtored to theſe Kindoms, and in contributing all they could to the Safety of His Perſon, and the ſecuring the Peace and Proſperity "of His Government." His Majeſty in Return aſſured their Lordſhips of His Kindneſs; and told them, *He hoped this Peace would be ſo Bleſt, that they might long enjoy it.*

His Majeſty's Speech did more variouſly affect the Commons: Some thought ſome Expreſſions in it too Magiſterial; Others ſeem'd to be offended at his Majeſty's putting them in mind of what He had done for the Nation; Others again diſtruſted the great Promiſes of what He would do for them; and moſt began to be Jealous of the Expreſſion, *That* England *could not be ſafe without a Land Force.* By which they underſtood that odious thing, *a Standing Army.* However, on *Dec.* 9th, the Commons preſented this humble Addreſs to the King.

"We your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Commons Addreſs. "Subjects, the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, who have ſo frequently waited on Your Majeſty with the tender of our Aſſiſtance for carrying on the War, come now to Congratulate "Your Majeſty upon the happy Concluſion of "it, in a Peace ſo Honourable and Advantage-

ous

1697.

" ous to the Nation, as ſufficiently juſtifies the Wiſdom of the Commons in Adviſing, and Your Majeſty's Conduct in the Proſecution of it.

" The Proſpect of the Benefits Your People will receive from this Peace, is very pleaſing. The Honour Your Majeſty has reſtor'd to *England*, of holding the Balance of *Europe*, gives Your Subjects great Content. But what Your Commons are moſt Affected and Delighted with, is, That Your Majeſty's Sacred Perſon will now be Secure from thoſe many and great Dangers, to which you have ſo often Expos'd it for our Sakes. Nothing being ſo Evident, as that Your Majeſty's Return in Safety, was a Bleſſing more welcome to Your People than Peace, and received with greater Demonſtrations of Joy.

" We therefore with Hearts full of Affection, Duty, and Gratitude, do aſſure Your Majeſty in the Name of all the Commons of *England*, That this Houſe will be ever ready to Aſſiſt and Support Your Majeſty, who by putting a Period to the War, has confirm'd us in the quiet Poſſeſſion of our Rights and Liberties, and ſo fully compleated the Glorious Work of our Deliverance.

King's Anſwer.

The King Anſwer'd thus: *Gentlemen, nothing that relates to the Peace pleaſes Me ſo much, as the Satisfaction you have in it: And as you have aſſiſted Me in the War beyond all expreſſion, I do not doubt, but you will be as Zealous in maintaining the Peace.*

The Grievance of Standing Forces.

Standing Forces, however eſtabliſhed and regulated by Law, or however neceſſary to Maintain the Peace, were thought Intolerable; and therefore upon entring into a Conſideration of His Majeſty's Speech, the firſt Reſolution of the Commons, Was on *Dec.* 11. That *all the Land Forces of this Kingdom that have been raiſed ſince the 29th of* September 1680, *ſhall be Paid and Diſbanded.* The Friends of the King and His Government had well argued, that the Nation was ſtill Unſettled, and not quite delivered from the Fear of King *James*; that the Adherents to that Abdicated Prince were as Bold and Numerous as ever; and he himſelf ſtill Protected by the *French* King, who having as yet diſmiſt none of his Troops, was ſtill as formidable as before. That if our Army was entirely Disbanded, the Peace which was obtained at the expence of ſo much Blood and Treaſure, would be altogether precarious: And not only *England* but all *Europe* lie once more at the Mercy of that Ambitious Monarch, an Inveterate Enemy to King *William*, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of *Chriſtendom*. On the other hand, the Country-Party, who valued themſelves upon oppoſing any Motions of the Court; the Diſaffected Party who never heartily approved the Revolution; the Commonwealth-Party, who were ſecretly driving at a Change of Government into their own Scheme and Intereſt; and even many worthy Patriots, who had no worſe View than the Rights and Liberties of their Country: All upon different thoughts agreed in the ſame Averſion to a Standing Army; and labour'd to repreſent it as abſolutely deſtructive to the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government. And it was no wonder that their Objections prevail'd, when they were more Popular, and had this Weight in them, That Standing Forces would want a continual Tax; and Disbanding would relieve the People from the Burden of the War, which they would never be willing to bear in a Time of Peace. The King hoped that he had prevented the Warmth of theſe Debates at his laſt coming over, when he had cauſed ſeveral Regiments of Horſe, Dragoons, and Foot, to be Disbanded; and even others to be reduced, and ſent away (moſt of them) either to *Scotland* or *Ireland*. And therefore he reſented it as the greater Hardſhip upon him, that he muſt have no Troops remaining, but be left ſo naked and expoſed, as if the Peace were only to encourage his Enemies to ſurprize him with another War.

The Commons however perſiſted in their Reſolutions of Disbanding; but to make it the more plauſible, they paſs'd a Vote, *December* the 13th, *That it be an Inſtruction to the Committee who were to conſider of the Supply, that they ſhould likewiſe conſider of a Gratuity to be given to ſuch Officers and Soldiers of the* Engliſh *Army, who were or ſhould be Disbanded:* And at the ſame time, ordered Mr. *Hammond* and Mr. *Moyle*, to bring in a *Bill, To enable Soldiers who ſhould be Disbanded, to exerciſe their Trades in any Town or Corporation throughout this Kingdom.* And, to ſeem to provide for the Security of the Kingdom, when the Army ſhould be Disbanded, on *December* the 17th, they appointed ſeveral Members to prepare and bring in a Bill, *To regulate the Militia, and make them the more uſeful.* And on *December* the 18th, they reſolved, *That Ten Thouſand Men are neceſſary for a Summer and Winter-Guard at Sea, for the Year One Thouſand Six Hundred Ninety Eight.* Commons for Disbanding the Army.

On *December* the 20th the Commons took the Supply into Conſideration, and reſolved, " That in a juſt Senſe and Acknowledgment of what great Things his Majeſty has done for theſe Kingdoms, a Sum not exceeding Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds be granted to his Majeſty during his Life, for the Support of the Civil Liſt. On *Friday*, *January* the 14th, to encourage the Diſpatch of Buſineſs, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act to prevent the further Currency of any Hammer'd Silver Coin of this Kingdom; and for Recoining ſuch as is now in being; and for the making out New Exchequer-Bills, where the former Bills are, or ſhall be, filled up by Indorſements.* 2. *An Act againſt Correſponding with the late King* James, *and his Adherents.* 3. *An Act for continuing the Impriſonment of —— Counter, and others, for the late horrid Conſpiracy to Aſſaſſinate the Perſon of His Sacred Majeſty.* 4. *An Act to give farther Time for the adminiſtring of Oaths relating to Tallies and Orders; and for the eaſier Diſpatch of Publick Buſineſs, in the Exchequer, and in the Bank of* England. 5. *An Act for Veſting in* Sydenham Barker, *Gent. an abſolute Eſtate of Inheritance in Fee-Simple, in a certain Rent, Meſſuages, Lands and Hereditaments in the County of* Devon; *and ſecuring to* John Baker, *Gent. and* Henry Baker, *an Infant, his Son, Moneys in Lieu of their Claims thereunto.* The ſame Day, the Houſe of Commons agreed to the Reſolutions which had been taken in a Grand Committee about the Supply: *Firſt*, That a Sum not exceeding Three Hundred Fifty Thouſand Pounds, be granted to his Majeſty, for maintaining Guards and Garriſons for the Year 1698. *Secondly*, That a Supply be granted to his Majeſty, which, together with the Funds already ſettled for that purpoſe, ſhould be ſufficient to Anſwer and Cancel all Exchequer-Bills, iſſued, or to be iſſued, not exceeding Two Millions Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds. *Thirdly*, That a Supply be granted to his Majeſty, for the ſpeedy Paying and Disbanding the Army. And then they Ordered, That a Bill be brought in for reducing the Diſcount upon Exchequer-Bills, and giving them a better Currency. On *January* the 18th, they came to other ſoftning Reſolutions. *Firſt*, That upon Disbanding the Army, over and above

Supply.

Acts paſſed.

Uſes of Supply.

1697. above what is due to them, there be allow'd, by way of Bounty, Fourteen Days Subſiſtence to each Foot-Soldier and Non-Commiſſion Officer, and to each Foot-Soldier Three Shillings more, in Lieu of his Sword, which he is to deliver up. *Secondly*, That upon Disbanding the Army, over and above what is due to them, there be allow'd by way of Bounty, Six Days full Pay to each private Trooper and Non-Commiſſion Officer of the Horſe and Dragoons. *Thirdly*, That of the Supply to be granted to his Majeſty, the Sum of Two Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Pound be allow'd upon Account, towards defraying the Charge of Disbanding the private Troopers, and Centinels, and Non-Commiſſion Officers, of the Horſe, Dragoons, and Foot. *Fourthly*, That Proviſion be made for giving Half-Pay to the Commiſſion-Officers, (his Majeſty's Natural-born Subjects of *England*) till the ſaid Officers ſhall be fully paid off and cleared, and be otherwiſe provided for.

For making good Deficiencies.

To proceed in the ſofter ways, the Commons reſolved to make good the Deficiencies of former Funds; and therefore on *January* the 22d, they Voted the Sum of Four Hundred and Seven Thouſand Pounds, for making good the Deficiency of the Aid of Three Shillings in the Pound, granted to his Majeſty the laſt Seſſion of Parliament: And Nine Hundred and Forty Thouſand Pounds, for making good the Deficiency of the Subſidies, and other Duties granted at the ſame time. And One Hundred Twenty Nine Thouſand Pound, for making good the Deficiency of the Aid of One Shilling in the Pound. And they ordered a Committee to conſider of Ways and Means for making good the ſaid Deficiencies. On *February* the 1ſt, having taken the Arrears of the Army into Conſideration, They reſolved, that the Sum of 1254000 *l.* was neceſſary to clear the Arrears of Pay, due to the Land-Forces, according to the Eſtabliſhment from the 1ſt of *April* 1692, to the laſt Day of *September* 1697. beſides 940815 *l.* for Subſiſtence; 28295 *l.* for Contingencies, 5000 *l.* for the General Officers, and 75000 *l.* for the Guards and Garriſons; in all 2348102 *l.* And that there was but 855502 *l.* remaining in the Hands of the Pay-Maſter of the Army, the firſt Day of *January*, 169⅞.

To raiſe the Sums which the Parliament had Voted neceſſary for Disbanding the Army, paying off of Quarters, and paying of Seamen, and towards making good of Loans, and the Deficiencies of former Funds; they reſolved on *February* 9. to lay an Aid of Three Shillings in the Pound upon Land, by way of Aſſeſſment upon every County, in proportion to the Rates of the firſt Four Shillings Aid granted in 1691, by which means they prevented any future Deficiency of this Fund. The next Day they conſider'd the Account of what was due to ſome of his Majeſty's Allies, both for Arrears of Subſidies, and for Payment of Auxiliaries; and reſolv'd, That 180000 Rix-Dollars were due to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*; 250000 Rix-Dollars to the Landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*; 121223 Rix-Dollars to the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*; 149997 Rix-Dollars to the Biſhop of *Munſter*; 50000 Rix-Dollars to the Dukes of *Hannover* and *Zell*; 25000 Rix-Dollars to the Duke of *Holſtein*, and 200000 Rix-Dollars to the King of *Denmark*, both upon the forementioned Account, and in conſideration of an entire Prohibition of Commerce between that Crown and *France*. They alſo reſolv'd, That there was due the Sum of 177000 Pounds to the Contractors for Bread and Forage. Four Days after, they further examin'd into the Debt of the Nation, and reſolv'd, that the Sum of 1392742 *l.* was due upon the ſeveral Heads of the Eſtimate of the General Debt of the Navy; 204157 *l.* to the Office of Ordnance; 340708 *l.* for Tranſports for reducing of *Ireland*; 125785 *l.* for other Tranſport-Service, and 49929 *l.* for Quartering and Cloathing the Army raiſ'd by Act of Parliament in 1677, and Disbanded by another Act in 1679. 1697.

For paying all Arrears of Debt.

It being impoſſible for the Nation to acquit this vaſt Debt at once, the Commons reſolv'd to do it by Degrees; and therefore Voted, Firſt, That the Debt due for clearing the Army, from the 1ſt of *April* 1692, to the laſt Day of *September* 1697, amounting to 1254000 *l.* the Sum of 139066 *l.* be raiſed in the Year 1698, which would clear the Army to the 1ſt Day of *April*, 1693. Secondly, That the Sum of 203450 *l.* be raiſed for the clearing the Arrears of Subſiſtance to the Troops in *England*, between the 1ſt Day of *January* 1696, and the 1ſt Day of *Auguſt* 1697. Thirdly, That 450816 *l.* be raiſed for clearing the Arrears of Subſiſtence to the Troops in *Flanders*, to the 4th Day of *October* 1697. Fourthly, That the Sum of 50000 *l.* be raiſed for the General Officers. Fifthly, That 137990 *l.* be raiſed for clearing the Arrears of Subſiſtence due to the Troops in *Flanders*, from the 4th of *October* 1697, to the laſt Day of *December*. Sixthly, That the Sum of 1100117 *l.* be raiſed for the Navy; to wit, 100000 *l.* for Wear and Tear; 600000 *l.* for Seamens Wages, in part of 1862849 *l.* due on that Score; 16389 *l.* due to the Regiſtred Seamen; 24000 *l.* for the Salaries of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and other Officers, and for Contingencies; 28663 *l.* for the Half-pay Sea-Officers; 90073 *l.* for Penſions to Superannuated Sea-Officers and Widows; 15927 *l.* for the Charge of the Yards; 848 *l.* for the Muſter-Maſters of the Out-Ports; 43399 *l.* for Wages to Ships and Veſſels in Ordinary; 19608 *l.* for Victuals of the Ships in Ordinary; 32558 *l.* for Harbour-Moorings; 35848 *l.* for Ordinary Repairs of the Navy; 55520 *l.* for the Two Marine Regiments; and 37286 *l.* for the Charge of the Office for Regiſtring Seamen. Seventhly, That the Sum of 60000 *l.* be allowed for the Ordnance: And Eighthly, That Proviſion be made towards Payment of the Principal and Intereſt of the Tranſport-Debt. All which Sums they reſolv'd to raiſe in the Year 1698.

Exchequer-Bills.

The falſe Endorſement of Exchequer-Bills was ſuch a ſcandalous Practice, that it took up much of the Commons time to enquire into it, and reform it. Theſe Exchequer-Bills were of mighty uſe in the Nation, by ſupplying the Scarcity of Money during the Recoining of the Silver Species. Now becauſe there was an Intereſt of Seven Pounds Twelve Shillings *per Annum* allowed upon the Second Iſſuing the ſaid Bills out of the Exchequer, after they had been paid in, on any of the King's Taxes; whereas at their firſt iſſuing out of the Exchequer, they bore no Intereſt; this encourag'd ſeveral of the King's Officers, both in the Exchequer, the Cuſtoms, and the Exciſe, to contrive together to get great Sums of Money by falſe Endorſements on theſe Exchequer-Bills, before they had circulated about, and been brought into any Branch of his Majeſty's Revenue. The moſt conſiderable Perſons that had carried on this unwarrantable Practice, were Mr. *Charles Duncomb*, Receiver General of the Exciſe; Mr. *John Knight*, Treaſurer of the Cuſtoms; Mr. *Bartholomew Burton*, who had a Place in the Exciſe-Office; and Mr. *Reginald Marriot*, one of the Deputy-Tellers of the Exchequer; which laſt, to get his Pardon, compounded to accuſe the reſt. Upon a full Proof of the Matter, *Duncomb* and *Knight*, who were Members of the Houſe of Commons, were firſt Expell'd the Houſe,

1697. Houſe, and Committed Priſoners to the *Tower*; *Burton* ſent to *Newgate*, and Bills order'd to be brought in to puniſh them. The Bill againſt Mr. *Duncomb*, whereby a Fine of near half his Eſtate, (which at that Time was judg'd to be worth 400000 *l.*) was ſet upon him, did quickly paſs the Houſe of Commons, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition that was made to it, particularly by the Attorney-General: But being ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, and their Lordſhips being equally divided, the Duke of *Leeds* gave his Caſting Vote for the Rejecting of the Bill. It was then the Common Report, That Mr. *Duncomb* diſpell'd the impending Storm by a Golden Sacrifice; which however Hiſtory cannot relate as a Truth, becauſe it never came to Publick Notice: But we muſt not paſs over in Silence, that Mr. *Duncomb* being ſet at Liberty by the Order of the Houſe of Lords, without the Conſent of the Commons, the latter reſented it to that degree, that they caus'd him to be remanded to the *Tower* of *London*, where he continu'd to the end of the Seſſion. The Bills againſt *Knight* and *Burton* had the ſame Fate; and ſo all thoſe threatning Clouds that ſeem'd ready to cruſh the falſe Indorſers, ſpent themſelves in Vapour and Noiſe.

The Commons did this Year deſign to apply Part of all the Forfeited Eſtates to the Uſe of the Publick; in order to which, they enquir'd into the Grants made by King *Charles* IId. and King *James* IId. and order'd a Bill to be brought in to make them Void. Afterwards they examin'd the Grants made by His preſent Majeſty in *Ireland*; and becauſe a Grant was found made to Mr. *Roylton*, which Mr. *Mountague*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, own'd to be for his Benefit, a warm Debate aroſe thereupon; and the Enemies of the latter, who were not few, (for the Reaſons I hinted before) *mov'd*, *That he ſhould withdraw*; which paſſing in the Negative, it was Reſolv'd by a great Majority, *That it was the Opinion of this Houſe, That the Honourable* Charles Mountague, *Eſq; Chancellor of the* Exchequer, *for his good Services to this Government, did deſerve his Majeſty's Favour.* A Vote that will render his Name famous to all ſucceeding Ages.

Earl of *Macclesfield's* Bill of Divorce.

The Earl of *Macclesfield*, to Vindicate the Honour of his Family, was forc'd to publiſh the Shame of his Marriage-Bed, and to prefer a Bill in the Houſe of Lords, to be Divorc'd from his Wife. It ſeems his Lady, about Ten Years before, being weary of living with the Earl's Father, under whoſe Care her Husband left her, during his Abſence beyond Sea, did retire to her Mother the Lady *Maſon*'s Houſe: The Earl being return'd Home, and reſenting this Step of his Lady, which ſhe had made without his Privity, inſtead of recalling her, ſuffer'd her to live in a State of Separation; during which, it is no Wonder, ſhe was tempted to break her Matrimonial Vows, ſince her Husband did not perform his; and ſince we daily ſee both Sexes prove unfaithful to one another, without any Juſt Provocation. However, we ought to account the Lady *Macclesfield* Virtuous, till the Fruits of her Amours prov'd her otherwiſe; which was towards the latter end of the Year 1696, when ſhe was deliver'd of a Daughter. The Death of this Child, before the Earl had heard any Thing of the Matter, with the Belief that this might be a ſufficient Warning againſt Liberties that carried ſuch Viſible Effects with them, with-held him from attempting publick Satisfaction; and moreover, at the Solicitation of his Wife's Relations, who undertook for her Conduct, for the future, his Lordſhip conſented to allow her 500 *l.* Yearly, for a Separate Maintenance. This Treaty was hardly concluded, when the Earl being inform'd of his Lady's being delivered of another Child, he commenced his Suit in the Spiritual-Court, for ſuch a Divorce as might be given by that Law: But, being diſappointed in his Proſecution, through the Dilatorineſs of Eccleſiaſtical Proceedings, his Lordſhip apply'd himſelf to his Peers for a Remedy, which nothing but a Parliament could give: All the Relief which he could expect from a Sentence in *Doctors-Commons*, being little more than that State of Separation, in which he and his Lady had long-liv'd. He alledg'd, That it is evident, that the Divine Law admits of Second Marriages in ſuch Caſes, and there had been Acts of Parliament for them, as well as for Baſtardizing Spurious Iſſue: That thoſe Canons which have Prohibited Second Marriages in like Caſes, were ſo manifeſtly an Effect of the *Popiſh* Doctrine of Marriage being a Sacrament, and of the Avarice of the Court of *Rome* to get Money for diſpenſing with them, that in the Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, prepar'd and intended in the Time of *Edward* VI. in purſuance of an Act of Parliament of *Hen.* VIII. there was expreſs Liberty given by thoſe Canons, to marry again; which by virtue of that Act of Parliament, would have become a General Law, or at leaſt, have occaſion'd one: That whatever Objection might be againſt a General Law, from the Temptation it might give Ill People to ſeek groundleſs Diſſolutions of Marriages, yet upon Extraordinary Caſes, ſuch as this was, ſuch Relief had been granted; and where it had been denied, either the Fault was not fully prov'd, or the Parties had cohabited; or, after the Grounds of Diſſatisfaction, had been reconciled: That if in ſuch a Concurrence of Circumſtances as were in his Caſe, he muſt ſtill be thought to have a Wife, and the Children ſhe had had, muſt be look'd upon as his, from the Common Preſumption, till Contrary Proof, in that they were born while he was within the Four Seas; beſides, that it could not but be too great an Encouragement to Women, to make an ill Uſe of a Separate Maintenance, which is provided for in moſt Marriage-Settlements, it would be a moſt unreaſonable Hardſhip upon him, that the Standing Law, which is deſign'd to do every Man Right, ſhould by the Rigour of the Letter, be to him the cauſe of the greateſt Wrong; and that for his Wife's Fault, he ſhould be deprived of the Common Privileges of every Freeman in the World, to have an Heir of his own Body, to inherit what he poſſeſs'd either of Honour or Eſtate: Or that his own Brother ſhou'd loſe his Claim to both, and have his Birth-right ſacrific'd to the Lady *Macclesfield*'s Irregular Life.

While this Affair was depending in the Spiritual-Court, the Lady *Macclesfield* inſiſted upon her Innocence, and her Agents induſtriouſly ſpread a Report, That the Earl her Husband had been ſurpriz'd into a Private Meeting with her, (by a Woman of Intrigue) at which Time he got her with Child: But this Story being confuted by the Earl's Poſitive Evidence to the contrary, her Ladyſhip gave up that Point now, and only endeavoured to make her Husband the Author of her Miſcarriages. She alledg'd, That the late Earl of *Macclesfield* had turn'd her out of Doors: That the preſent Earl, notwithſtanding the Obligation ſhe had laid upon him, by Petitioning King *James* for his Life, had maliciouſly ſecluded her from Bed and Board: And therefore if the Lords thought fit to paſs this Bill of Divorce, ſhe demanded *her Fortune to be refunded*; *both becauſe a Divorce diſſolves the whole Frame of the Marriage Contract*; and becauſe it were the higheſt pitch of Injuſtice, that a Man who was guilty of making his Wife commit Adultery, ſhould be rewarded

1697. rewarded out of the ſame Wife's Fortune. This Affair occaſion'd great Debates in the Upper Houſe; ſome Peers repreſenting the Danger of granting Divorces; and others, amongſt whom Dr. *Burnet*, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, ſpoke the longeſt, ſhewing the Neceſſity and Lawfulneſs of ſuch Extraordinary Proceedings in ſome particular Caſes. Upon the whole Matter, the Lords paſs'd a Bill *for Diſſolving the Marriage between* Charles *Earl of* Macclesfield, *and* Anne *his Wife, and to Illegitimate her Children*; but with a Proviſo, that the Earl ſhould refund her Fortune. This Bill being ſent down to the Commons, the Parties concern'd were both heard by their Council, but notwithſtanding the Lady *Macclefield*'s Oppoſition, the Bill was read the Third Time, and paſs'd without any Amendment.

On *Monday, March* 7. the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd theſe Publick and Private Bills:

Acts paſſed. 1. *An Act for Explaining an Act made the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, for granting to His Majeſty certain Duties upon Malt, Mum, Sweets, Cyder, and Perry.* 2. *An Act for Satisfying and Diſcharging the Arrears of ſeveral Annuities which incurred between the Seventeenth Day of* May, *One thouſand ſix hundred and ninety ſix, and the Seventeenth Day of* May, *One thouſand ſix hundred and ninety ſeven.* 3. *An Act, That all Retailers of Salt ſhall Sell by Weight.* 4. *An Act for rendring the Laws more effectual, for preventing the Importation of Foreign Bone-Lace, Loom-Lace, Needle Work, Point and Cut-Work.* 5. *An Act to prevent the Throwing and Firing of Squibs, Serpents and other Fire-Works.* 6. *An Act for Enabling* Simon *Lord Biſhop of* Ely, *and his Succeſſors, to Leaſe the Manor-houſe, and Demeſne-Lands of* Downham *in the Iſle of* Ely, *and for confirming a Leaſe lately thereof made by the ſaid Biſhop, and for clearing the ſaid Biſhop and others from Dilapidations there.* 7. *An Act to enable Sir* Francis Guybon, *and Dame* Iſabella *his Wife, and their Truſtees, to ſell the Manor of* Avenals, *and other Lands, in or near* Gunthorp, *in the County of* Norfolk, *and for ſettling other Lands in lieu thereof.* 8. *An Act for the Naturalization of* Gerrard Maeſacker, *and others.* 9. *An Act to enble* Rebecka Laſſels, *Widow, to ſell Copyhold-Lands and Houſes in* Ealing, *in the County of* Middleſex. 10. *An Act for Veſting in Truſtees certain Lands of* George Farrington, *Eſq; lying in the Counties of* Middleſex *and* Surry, *(ſettled upon the Marriage of* William Farington *his Nephew) and with the Money ariſing thereby, for Purchaſing of other Lands in* Lancaſhire, *where the Ancient Eſtate of the Family lies, to be ſettled to the ſame Uſes.* 11. *An Act to enable the Truſtees of* William Knott, *Gent. and his Wife, to ſell a Leaſe of Houſes in* Breadſtreet, London, *for Payment of Debts, and to ſettle another Eſtate of better Value in lieu thereof.* 12. *An Act to enable* Thomas Kynnerſley, *Eſq; an Infant, to make a Jointure and Settlement of his Eſtate.* 13. *An Act for Naturalizing* Dudley Veſey, *an Infant.* 14. *An Act to enable* John Lewin *to ſell certain Meſſuages in* Southwark, *for Payment of Debts.*

Honours and Preferments. Since the beginning of this Seſſion, theſe Places and Honours were well beſtowed by the Favour of His Majeſty. On *Dec.* 5. upon the reſignation of Mr. Secretary *Trumbull*, the King made choice of *James Vernon*, Eſq; to ſucceed him in the Office of Principal Secretary of State, and that Evening he took the uſual Oaths of Secretary and Privy-Counſellor. On *Dec.* 12. His Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *John Blencow*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common Pleas*; *Henry Hatſel*, Eſq; one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*; *Joſeph Jekel*, Eſq; Chief-Juſtice of *Cheſter*; and *William Sympſon*, Eſq; Curſitor Baron of the Court of *Exchequer*. In the *Chriſtmas* Holy-days, the Earl of *Sunderland* reſigned his Office of Lord Chamberlain, in a Prudent Fear that the Commons would Addreſs the King for the removal of him. About the end of *December*, the Duke of St. *Albans* was ſent into *France*, to Compliment the King and the *Dauphine*, upon the Marriage of the Duke of *Burgundy*: And ſoon after the Earl of *Portland* went over Ambaſſador Extraordinary to that Court; And Mr. *Prior* was Secretary of that Embaſſy. On *Feb.* 16. His Majeſty conferr'd the Dignity of a Baronet upon *Thomas Tipping* of *Wheatfield*, in the County of *Oxon*, Eſq; in Conſideration of his conſtant Loyalty and good Services. The Count *de Tallard* came Ambaſſador from His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, landing at *Greenwich* on *March* 18. 1697.

It was a great Honour to the Houſe of Commons, that on *Feb.* 9. a Committee was appointed to draw up an Humble Addreſs to His Majeſty, upon the Debate of the Houſe, to ſuppreſs Prophaneneſs and Immorality, and all Books which endeavour to undermine the Fundamentals of the Chriſtian Religion, and to puniſh the Authors. So that on *Feb.* 17. this Addreſs was preſented to the King by the whole Houſe. State of Religion.

May it Pleaſe Your Majeſty,

Addreſs of the Commons againſt Prophaneſs and Immorality. "We Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal "Subjects, the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, do with great Joy and Comfort remember the many Teſtimonies which Your Majeſty has given us of Your Sincerity and Zeal for the True Reformed Religion, as eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom: And in particular, we beg Leave to preſent to Your Majeſty our moſt Humble and Thankful Acknowledgments for the late Gracious Declaration Your Majeſty has made to us from the Throne, That You would effectually diſcourage Prophaneneſs and Immorality, which chiefly by the Neglect and Ill Example of too many Magiſtrates, are, like a General Contagion, diffuſed and ſpread throughout the Kingdom, to the great Scandal and Reproach of our Religion, and to the Diſhonour and Prejudice of Your Majeſty's Government.

"Therefore in Concurrence with Your Majeſty's Pious Intentions, we do moſt humbly deſire, That Your Majeſty would iſſue out Your Royal Proclamation, commanding all Your Majeſty's Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, and other Magiſtrates, to put in ſpeedy Execution thoſe good Laws that are now in force againſt Prophaneneſs and Immorality, giving due Encouragement to all ſuch as do their Duty therein: And that Your Majeſty would be pleaſed to require from Your Judges and Juſtices of Aſſize, from Time to Time, an Account of ſuch their Proceedings.

"And ſince the Examples of Men in High and Publick Stations have a Powerful Influence upon the Lives of others, we do moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, that all Vice, Prophaneneſs and Irreligion may in a particular manner be diſcouraged in all thoſe who have the Honour to be employ'd near Your Royal Perſon; and in all others who are in Your Majeſty's Service, by Sea and Land; appointing Strict

The Non-Jurors and Jacobite Proteſtants, had not yet wholly withdrawn themſelves from Praying and Communicating with the Legal Clergy and Common People. A late Writer ſaith truly, "Even ſo late as the Year 1697. one of "Dr. *Hicke*'s Conſecrators, &c.

"Orders

1697.

" Orders to be given to all Your Commanders, " that they not only ſhew a good Example them- " ſelves, but alſo inſpect the Manners of thoſe " under them; and that Your Majeſty would up- " on all Occaſions diſtinguiſh Men of Piety " and Vertue, by Marks of Your Royal Fa- " vour.

" We do further, in all Humility beſeech Your " Majeſty, that Your Majeſty would give ſuch " effectual Orders, as to Your Royal Wiſdom " ſhall ſeem fit, for the ſuppreſſing all Pernicious " Books and Pamphlets, which contain in them " Impious Doctrines againſt the Holy Trinity, " and other Fundamental Articles of our Faith, " tending to the Subverſion of the Chriſtian Re- " ligion, and that the Authors and Publiſh- " ers thereof may be diſcountenanc'd and pu- " niſh'd.

" And we do alſo moſt humbly beſeech Your " Majeſty, that Your ſaid Proclamation may be " Ordered to be Read at leaſt Four Times in the " Year, in all Churches and Chapels, immediate- " ly after Divine Service; and at the Aſſizes and " Quarter-Seſſions of the Peace, juſt before the " Charge is given.

" We preſent to Your Majeſty this our moſt " Humble Addreſs, proceeding from our Duty " and Zeal for the Glory of God, and to the end " that all our Counſels may be bleſſed by his Di- " vine Aſſiſtance, and may produce Honour, Safe- " ty and Happineſs, with all the Bleſſings of a " Laſting Peace to Your Majeſty and Your Peo- " ple.

His Majeſty receiv'd this Addreſs with a Singu- lar Satisfaction, and gave this Agreeable An- ſwer.

Gentlemen,

'*I cannot but be very well pleaſed with an Addreſs of this Nature; and I will give immediate Directions in the ſeveral Particulars you deſire: But I could wiſh ſome more Effectual Proviſion were made for the Suppreſſing thoſe Pernicious Books and Pamphlets which your Addreſs takes notice of.*

Upon this Seaſonable Intimation of His Maje- ſty, Leave was given *Feb.* 26. to bring in a Bill or Bills, for the more Effectual ſuppreſſing Prophane- neſs, Immorality and Debauchery; and Sir *John Philips*, and Mr. *Edward Harley* were order'd to prepare and bring in the ſaid Bill or Bills. In the mean Time an Ingroſs'd Bill from the Lords came down to the Commons, Entituled, *An Act for the more Effectual Suppreſſing of Atheiſm, Blaſphemy and Prophaneneſs*: which being committed at ſe- cond Reading to a Committee of the whole Houſe, was, after ſome Amendments and Confe- rences, happily agreed to. And in the mean Time His Majeſty with immediate Compliance to the Requeſt of the Commons, publiſh'd this Pro- clamation *for Preventing and Puniſhing Immorality and Prophaneneſs.*

Act for ſuppreſſing Atheiſm, &c.

1697.

William R.

Proclamation againſt Immorality and Prophaneneſs.

" Whereas we cannot but be deeply ſenſible of " the great Goodneſs and Mercy of Almighty God, " in putting an end to a Long, Bloody and Ex- " penſive War, by the Concluſion of an Honour- " able Peace, ſo we are not leſs touch'd with a " Reſentment, that notwithſtanding this and ma- " ny other great Bleſſings and Deliverances, Im- " piety, Prophaneneſs and Immorality do ſtill " abound in this our Kingdom: And whereas " nothing can prove a greater Diſhonour to a " well-ordered Government, where the Chriſti- " an Faith is profeſſed, nor is likelier to provoke " God to withdraw his Mercy and Bleſſings from " us, and inſtead thereof to inflict heavy and ſe- " vere Judgments upon this Kingdom, than the " Open and Avowed Practice of Vice, Immora- " lity and Prophaneneſs, which amongſt many " Men has too much prevail'd in this Our King- " dom of late Years, to the high Diſpleaſure of " Almighty God, the great Scandal of Chriſtiani- " ty, and the Ill and Fatal Example of the reſt " of our Loving Subjects, who have been ſoberly " educated, and whoſe Inclinations would lead " them to the Exerciſe of Piety and Vertue, did " they not daily find ſuch frequent and repeated " Inſtances of Diſſolute Living, Prophaneneſs and " Impiety; which has in a great meaſure been " occaſion'd by the Neglect of the Magiſtrates " not putting in execution thoſe good Laws " which have been made for ſuppreſſing and pu- " niſhing thereof, and by the Ill example of ma- " ny in Authority, to the great Diſhonour of " God, and Reproach of Our Religion: Where- " fore, and for that we cannot expect Increaſe " or Continuance of the Bleſſings We and Our " Subjects enjoy, without providing Remedies to " prevent the like Evils for the future, We think " Our ſelves bound by the Duty We owe to God, " and the Care We have of the People commit- " ted to our Charge, to proceed in taking effectu- " al Courſe, that Religion, Piety and Good Man- " ners may, according to Our hearty Deſire, flou- " riſh and increaſe under Our Adminiſtration " and Government. And being thereunto moved " by the Pious Addreſs of the Commons in Parlia- " ment Aſſembled, We have thought fit, by the " Advice of our Privy Council, to iſſue this Our " Royal Proclamation, and to declare Our Roy- " al Purpoſe and Reſolution to diſcountenance " and puniſh all manner of Vice, Immorality and " Prophaneneſs in all Perſons from the higheſt to " the loweſt Degree, within this Our Realm; and " particularly in ſuch who are employ'd near Our " Royal Perſon; and that for the greater Encou- " ragement of Religion and Morality, We will, " upon all Occaſions, diſtinguiſh Men of Piety " and Vertue by Marks of Our Royal Favour. " And we do expect that all Perſons of Honour, " or in Place of Authority, will to their utmoſt " contribute to the diſcountenancing Men of " Diſſolute and Debauched Lives, that they being " reduced to Shame and Contempt, may be en-

The Form of Retraction and Submiſſion, made before *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*, by a Peſtilent Writer, on the 21ſt of *December*, 1697.

" Whereas I *Zachary Houſell*, have lately ſet forth a Book, " Intituled, *Aſſertions by Holy Scriptures, in a Form of a Trial*; " whereby I have given Offence and Scandal to the Church, " and Diſturb'd its Quiet and Peace; I do hereby Acknowledge " myſelf to be heartily Sorry for the ſame; and do Promiſe to " cauſe the ſame Book to be called in, and that I will for the " future abſtain from Printing or Publiſhing any Thing of the " like Nature, that may give Offence to the Doctrine and Diſ- " cipline of the Church. *Zachary Houſell.*

See An Order by the Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord Chamberlain of His Majeſty's Houſhold, to prevent the Prophaneneſs and Immorality of the Stage, 4 *June* 1697.

See A Sermon Preach'd at St. *Mary le Bow*, to the Societies for Reformation of Manners, on the 28th of *June*, 169[illegible], by *John Ruſſel*. 8vo.

See An Account of the Publick Penance performed by ſome notorious Offenders, in the Pariſh of *Old Swinford*, in the Dioceſe and County of *Worceſter*, with Two Sermons Preach'd on that Occaſion, by the Reverend Dr. *Ford*, Rector of that Church; and an Excellent Preface, Written by the Biſhop himſelf, re- commending the Uſage of ſuch Proceedings againſt notorious Offenders, as what would bring more Honour to our Church, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed amongſt us, than the warmeſt Diſputes for our Conſtitution, without regard to the Practice of it. *Life of Biſhop* Stillingfleet. 8vo. p. 104.

1697. " forced the ſooner to reform their Ill Habits and " Practices, that the Diſpleaſure of Good Men towards them, may ſupply what the Laws (it may " be) cannot wholly prevent. And for the more " effectual reforming theſe Men, who are a Diſcredit to Our Kingdom, Our further Pleaſure " is, and We do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all Our Judges, Mayors, Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, and all other Our Officers " and Miniſters, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, " and other Our Subjects whom it may concern, " to be very vigilant and ſtrict in the Diſcovery, " and the effectual proſecution and puniſhment " of all Perſons who ſhall be guilty of Exceſſive " Drinking, Blaſphemy, Prophane Swearing " and Curſing, Lewdneſs, Prophanation of the " Lord's Day, or other Diſſolute, Immoral or " Diſorderly Practices; as they will anſwer it to " Almighty God, and upon pain of Our higheſt " Diſpleaſure. And for the more effectual Proceeding herein, We do hereby direct and command Our Judges of Aſſizes, and Juſtices of " Peace, to give ſtrict Charges at the reſpective " Aſſizes and Seſſions, for the due Proſecution and " Puniſhment of all Perſons that ſhall preſume to " offend in any kinds aforeſaid; and alſo of all " Perſons, that contrary to their Duty, ſhall be " remiſs or negligent in putting the ſaid Laws in " execution; and that they do at their reſpective " Aſſizes and Quarter-Seſſions of the Peace, cauſe " this Our Proclamation to be publickly read in " Open Court, immediately before the Charge " is given. And We do hereby further charge " and command every Miniſter in his reſpective " Pariſh or Chapel, to read or cauſe to be read " this Our Proclamation, at leaſt Four Times in " every Year, immediately after Divine Service, " and to incite and ſtir up their reſpective Auditories to the Practice of Piety and Vertue, and " the avoiding of all Immorality and Prophaneneſs. And to the end that all Vice and Debauchery may be prevented, and Religion and " Vertue practiſed by all Officers, private Soldiers, " Mariners or others, who are employed in Our " Service, either by Sea or Land, We do hereby " ſtrictly charge and command all Our Commanders and Officers whatſoever, That they do " take care to avoid all Prophaneneſs, Debauchery and other Immoralties, and that by the Piety and Vertue of their own Lives and Converſations, they do ſet good Examples to all ſuch " as are under their Authority; and likewiſe to " take care and inſpect the Behaviour and Manners " of all ſuch as are under them, and to puniſh all " thoſe who ſhall be guilty of any the Offences " aforeſaid. And whereas ſeveral Wicked and " Prophane Perſons have preſumed to Print and " Publiſh ſeveral pernicious Books and Pamphlets, " which contain in them Impious Doctrines againſt " the Holy Trinity, and other Fundamental Articles of Our Faith, tending to the Subverſion of " the Chriſtian Religion; therefore for the puniſhing the Authors and Publiſhers thereof, and " for the preventing ſuch Impious Books and " Pamphlets being Publiſh'd or Printed for the " future, We do hereby ſtrictly charge and prohibit all Perſons, that they do not preſume to " Write, Print or Publiſh any ſuch pernicious " Books or Pamphlets, under the Pain of incurring Our High Diſpleaſure, and of being puniſh'd according to the utmoſt Severity of the " Law. And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and " require all Our Loving Subjects to diſcover and " apprehend ſuch Perſon and Perſons whom they " ſhall know to be the Authors or Publiſhers of " any ſuch Books and Pamphlets, and to bring " them before ſome Juſtice of the Peace, or Chief " Magiſtrate, in order that they may be proceeded againſt according to Law. 1697.

Given at our Court at Kenſington *the Four and Twentieth Day of* February, 1697, *in the Tenth Year of Our Reign.*

Societies for Reformation of Manners.

This Good Example of the King and Parliament gave a new Zeal to the Worthy Perſons who had engag'd themſelves in Voluntary Societies for the *Reformation of Manners*, who had ſoon after their Publick Sermons and Aſſemblies at *Bow*-Church, to animate the good Work: And to make the World the more ſenſible of their Intentions, Methods and Progreſs, they publiſh'd a Diſcourſe Intituled, *An Account of the Societies for Reformaon of Manners, in* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and other Parts of the Kingdom; with a Perſuaſive to Perſons of all Ranks to be zealous and diligent in promoting the Execution of the Laws againſt Prophaneneſs and Debauchery, for the effecting a National Reformation.* To which Book was prefix'd this Laudable Teſtimony of many of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal.

To the Author.

" *S I R, We have peruſed the Book you ſent* " us, Intituled, *An Account of the Societies for* " *Reformation of Manners*; the Deſign of which " is ſo truly Great and Noble, ſo much for the " Honour of God, the Advancement of Piety " and Virtue, and the publick Good both of " Church and State, that it cannot fail of being " approved by all good Men. The Method " likewiſe propoſed, in order to the promoting " and accompliſhing the ſaid Deſign, is, We " conceive moſt proper, and (by the Bleſſing " of God attending it) moſt likely to prove effectual. And that pious Men of all Ranks and " Qualities may be excited by this good Book, " to contribute in their reſpective Places and Stations, their beſt Endeavours towards a *National Reformation of Manners*, is the moſt humble " and hearty Prayer of, Sir, your very Loving " Friends,

Pembroke. P.	*Kent.*
Lanſdale.	*Bridgwater.*
Leeds.	*Thanet.*
Bedford.	*Radnor.*
Lindſey.	*Abingdon.*

For Works of Beneficence and Charity. *See* 1. A Sermon of Good Works, Preached at *Feckenham*, in the County of *Worceſter*, on Thurſday in *Whitſun*-Week, *May* 17. 1697. at the Yearly Meeting of the Feoffees, appointed by Sir *Thomas Cocke*, Bart. to Manage the Charity given by him, &c. by *John Jephcott*, D. D. Prebendary of *Worceſter*, and Rector of *All-Saints* in the Borough of *Eveſham*: *London*, 1698, 4to. 2. A Sermon Preach'd at the Firſt Meeting of the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of *Cheſter*, at *Warrington*, *June* 2. 1697. for the Relief of Poor Clergy-men, their Widows and Children, within the Archdeaconry of *Cheſter*, By *Edmund Entwiſtle*, D. D. Archdeacon and Prebendary of *Cheſter*. *London*, for *H. Mortlock*, 4to. III. An Account of the School Founded at *Appleby*, in *Leiceſterſhire*, by Sir *John Moore*, within the Year 1697. for One Hundred Scholars to be taught *Engliſh* and *Latin*, with an Endowment of Sixty Pounds *per Ann.* to the Head Maſter; Forty Pounds to the Uſher, and Twenty Pounds to the Writing Maſter, with convenient Dwellings aſſigned for them, within a Noble Structure. 4. A true Accompt of the Sums of Money diſtributed by the Governors of the Charity for the Relief of poor Widows, and Children of Clergy-men for Fourteen Years laſt paſt; at the End of Dr. *Stanhope*'s Sermon to the Sons of the Clergy, dated *November* 11. 1697. V. A ſhort and impartial Account of that Eminent and Publick Spirited Citizen Mr. *Thomas Firmin*, who Departed this Life, on *Monday December* 20. 1697. with his Epitaph, &c. and a Sermon on occaſion of his Death. *London*, 1698. 8vo.

Portland.

1697.

Portland.	*T. Carliol.*
Falconberg.	*H. Bangor.*
Warington.	*N. Ceſtrienſ.*
Rochford.	*E. Glouceſter.*
Say and *Seal.*	*S. Elienſ.*
Longvile.	*J. Briſtol.*
Bergavenny.	*R. Bath & Wells.*
Eures.	*J. Ciceſtrienſ.*
Willoughby of *Parham.*	*J. Oxon.*
Brook.	
Maynard.	Judges.
Berkley of *Stretton.*	*Ed. Ward.*
Dartmouth.	*Ed. Nevill.*
Guilford.	*Ri. Lechmere.*
Haverſham.	*Tho. Rokeby.*
Barnard.	*John Turton.*
Digby.	*John Blencowe.*
Allington.	*Hen. Hatſell.*
Cutts.	

Society for propagating the Goſpel in Foreign Parts.

There was about the ſame Time another excellent Deſign laid, and chiefly manag'd by one active Divine, Dr. *Thomas Bray*, for propagating the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, by ſending over Miſſionaries, Catechiſms, Liturgies, and other uſeful Books for the Inſtruction of the People, too Ignorant and Prophane in our *Weſt-India* Colonies and Plantations. The worthy Doctor had taken incredible Pains to promote this Evangelical Undertaking, and had procured the Contributions of many excellent Perſons to enable him to proceed in the Burden and growing Expences of it. And to take all Opportunities of eſtabliſhing a Fund for ſo glorious a Project, on *March* 3. upon the Second reading of a *Bill* in the Houſe of Commons, *For the better Diſcovery of Eſtates given to Superſtitious Uſes*, the ſaid Doctor preſented a Petition to the Houſe, Praying that ſome part of the ſaid Eſtates may be ſet apart for thoſe Pious Uſes, in order to the Propagation of the Reformed Religion in *Maryland*, *Virginia*, and the *Leeward* Iſlands; or elſe that ſome other Proviſion may be made for that purpoſe.

1698.

Proceedings of the Commons.

The Parliament continued Sitting; and the Commons having addreſs'd to His Majeſty, that he would pleaſe to cauſe to be Printed a Liſt of the Perſons Names to whom Licenſe have been granted, purſuant to the Act lately paſſed; Entituled, *An Act againſt Correſponding with the late King* James *and his Adherents*: His Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay, *That he would cauſe a Liſt to be made, and to be ſent to the Houſe.*

Acts paſſed.

On *Saturday*, *April* 2. the King coming to the Houſe of Peers, and commanding the Commons to Attend him, gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for granting to His Majeſty the Sum of One million four hundred eighty four thouſand and fifteen Pounds one Shilling and Eleven pence three farthings, for diſbanding Forces, paying Seamen, and other the Uſes therein-mentioned.* 2. *An Act for explaining an Act made the laſt Seſſions of Parliament; Entituled, An Act for ſupplying ſome defects in the Laws, for the Relief of the Poor of this Kingdom.* 3. *An Act for the Enlarging, Repairing, and Preſerving the Bridge and Key of the Borough of* Bridgwater *in the County of* Somerſet. 4. *An Act for diſſolving the Marriage between* Charles *Earl of* Macclesfield, *and* Anne *his Wife; and to Illegitimate the Children of the ſaid* Anne. 5. *An Act to Enable* John *Lord Biſhop of* Chicheſter *to make Leaſes of certain Houſes and Grounds belonging to the Biſhoprick of* Chicheſter, *ſituate in* Chancery-Lane, *for a competent number of Years.* 6. *An Act for Confirming and Eſtabliſhing the Adminiſtration of the Goods and Chattels of Sir* William Godolphin, *Knight, deceaſed.* 7. *An Act to Naturalize* Charles May, *Eſq*; 8. *An Act to rectify a miſtake in the Marriage Settlement of* William Gardiner, *Eſq*; 9. *An Act to enable certain Truſtees therein-named to make, renew, and fill up Leaſes of the Eſtate of Sir* Coppleſton Warwick Bamfield, *during the Minority of him and his Brother.* 10. *An Act for ſettling the Eſtate of* John Hall, *a Lunatick, ſubject to a Debt charged thereon.* 11. *An Act for erecting Hoſpitals and Workhouſes in the Town and Pariſh of* Tiverton, *in the County of* Devon, *for the better Employing and Maintaining the Poor there.* 12. *An Act for the Naturalization of* John Fauquier, Joſeph Ducaſſe, *and others.* 13. *An Act for the better enabling Sir* Ralph Hare *to make a Jointure, and ſettle his Eſtate, and raiſe Portions and Maintenances for his younger Children.* 14. *An Act for veſting in Truſtees to be ſold certain Lands of* George Hewett, *Eſq*; *lying in the County of* Middleſex, *ſettled upon his Marriage, and with the Money ariſing thereby, for purchaſing other Lands in* Leiceſterſhire, *where his Eſtate and Seat lies, to be ſettled to the ſame Uſes.*

1698.

Ways and Means.

The Commons proceeded to other Ways and Means of raiſing the Supply. On *April* 7. they reſolved, That over and above the Duties already payable, a further Duty be laid upon all Coal and Culm. On *April* 9. they laid an Impoſition upon all Forfeited Eſtates, which have been reſtored by the Crown, in *England* or in *Ireland*, by reverſal of Outlawry, or otherwiſe; and upon all Beneficial Grants from the Crown ſince *May* 29, 1660. that the Fourth part of them be applied to the Uſe of the Publick. On *April* 14. They continued the Poll or Capitation Tax for one Year longer. On *April* 16, they laid a Duty upon all Coals imported from *Scotland*, or other Parts beyond Sea. On *April* 28. they doubled the Duties upon Stampt Vellum, Parchment and Paper, until the 1ſt Day of *Auguſt*, 1706. They continued the Duties upon Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate and Spices: As alſo the Duty payable by Hawkers and Pedlars, for the Term of Three Years, to commence from the Expiration of the preſent Duties upon them. On *May* 7, they laid a further Duty upon Salt, one Shilling and eight Pence *per* Buſhel. On *May* 14. they doubled the Duties upon all Luſtrings and Alamodes imported: And enlarged the Time for purchaſing Annuities upon the ſeveral Acts of Parliament for Granting the ſame. On *May* 20, the laid a further Duty upon Sugar. And on *May* 21, towards raiſing a Fund for Two Millions, they made the Duties upon Salt and Stampt Paper to continue to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, redeemable by Parliament.

(*a*) The Diſcipline of the Church was kept up, by the Biſhops refuſing to Ordain unworthy Perſons.

There was a Letter from *John* Lord Biſhop of *Oxford*, Preſident of *Magdalen College*, to *William* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, who had refuſed to admit a young Man, Fellow of that Houſe, into the Order of Prieſt, becauſe of his Ignorance and Rude Behaviour; Dated *Magd. Coll. Oxon.* June 26, 1697.

My Lord,

" I receive your Lordſhip's Condeſcenſion to Mr. *Sacheverel*, as a particular Inſtance of your Favour to me. For I " am very ſenſible he has not deſerv'd it; and truly had I " but ſeen that Account which he himſelf gives of his Behavi- " our to your Lordſhip, before I wrote, as I have ſince, I " ſhould ſcarce have been induced to trouble your Lordſhip " about him: He is really Proud, and thinks too well of " himſelf; which I have often told him in plain Terms, and " with as much Severity as I could, tho' to little purpoſe. " I am ſorry to ſee the Follies of the Boy grow up with the " Man. I cannot think he will now preſume to offer himſelf " to me, or any other Biſhop than your Lordſhip, for Prieſt's " Orders; but if he do, I am ſure I will not lay my Hands " upon him, &c.

 By

1698.

Eaſt India Companies.

By this time the Commons were entred on the Buſineſs of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, which had been depending many Years, and was look'd on as ſo nice and difficult, that it had been referr'd to the King and his Council, and back again by Them to the Parliament. The Old Company having offer'd to advance 700000 *l.* at Four *per Cent.* for the Service of the Government, in caſe the Trade to *India* might be ſettled on them, excluſive of all others, the Houſe ſeem'd inclin'd to embrace their Propoſal; when another Number of Merchants, of whom one *Shepherd* was the Chief, and who were protected by Mr. *Mountague*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, propos'd to the Houſe to raiſe Two Millions at 8 *per Cent.* on condition the Trade to *India* might be ſettled on the Subſcribers, excluſive of all others: They alſo propos'd that theſe Subſcribers ſhould not be obliged to Trade in a Joint-ſtock; but if any Members of them ſhould afterwards deſire to be Incorporated, a Charter ſhould be Granted to them for that Purpoſe. The Houſe judg'd this new Overture not only to be more Advantagious to the Government, but likewiſe very likely to ſettle this controverted Trade on a better Foundation than it was on before. A Bill was therefore, on *May* 26, order'd to be brought into the Houſe for ſettling the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* on thoſe who ſhould ſubſcribe the Two Millions, according to the Limitations before-mentioned, and the following Reſolutions: *Firſt*, "That every Subſcriber might have the Liberty of Trading Yearly, to the Account of his reſpective Subſcription; or might aſſign over ſuch his Liberty of Trading to any other Perſon. *Secondly*, That his Majeſty be empowered to Incorporate ſuch of the ſaid Subſcribers, as ſhould deſire the ſame. *Thirdly*, That the Powers and Privileges for carrying on the *Eaſt-India* Trade, ſhould be ſettled by Parliament. *Fourthly*, That the ſaid Subſcribers ſhould enjoy the ſaid Eight Pounds *per Cent*, and Liberty of Trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, excluſive of all others, for the Terms of Ten Years, and until the ſame ſhould be redeem'd by Parliament. *Fifthly*, That every Perſon ſubſcribing Five Hundred Pounds, have a Vote; and no Perſon to have more Votes than one. *Sixthly*, That all Ships laden in the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſhould be oblig'd to deliver in *England*. *Seventhly*, That no Perſon that ſhould be a Member of any Corporation Trading to the *Eaſt Indies*, ſhould Trade otherwiſe than in the Joint-Stock of ſuch Corporation of which he was a Member. *Eighthly*, That Five Pounds *per Cent. ad Valorem*, upon all Returns from the *Eaſt-Indies*, be paid by the Importer; to be placed to the Account of the Subſcribers, towards the Charge of ſending Ambaſſadors, and other extraordinary Expences. And *Ninthly*, That over and above the Duties now payable, a further Duty of One Shilling and Ten Pence *per* Pound-weight, be laid upon all Wrought Silks imported from *India* and *Perſia*; to be paid by the Importer." This Bill being accordingly brought into the Houſe, the Old *Eaſt-India* Company preſented a Petition againſt it: To which the Commons had ſo much regard, as to offer them to ſettle this Trade upon them, if they would accept it on the ſame Terms and Limitations, on which the others were contented to take it; and which the Parliament judged moſt Advantagious for the Kingdom. But the Members of the Old Company having rejected this Propoſal, the Commons, on *June* the 25th, paſs'd the Bill in favour of the New Adventurers.

The Old *Eaſt-India* Company follow'd the Bill to the Upper Houſe; where they were heard by their Council, Sir *Thomas Powis*, and Sir *Bartholomew Shower*; who repreſented, "That this Bill invaded their Property, and ruin'd many Families, That in the Charters granted them by Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* I. King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. it was ſuggeſted, That their Corporation was for the Honour of *England*, for the Increaſe of Navigation, and the Advance of Trade. That the ſaid Charters contain'd a Grant of the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, to the Company, excluſive of all others. That by ſome of them they were conſtituted the Lords Proprietors of *Bombay*, and of the Iſland of St. *Helena*, That by theſe Grants, they were induced to think they had a Right in Law to the Trade; at leaſt, that they ſhould have an uncontroverted Title to the Lands: And that on this Preſumption, and relying on the Publick Faith and Credit of the Great Seal of *England*, they had expended above a Million in Fortifications, and acquir'd Revenues of 44000 *l. per Annum*, and many Settlements and Privileges. That in the Year 1691, the Houſe of Commons had made a Reſolution, *That the* Eaſt-India *Trade ſhould be carried on in a Joint-Stock, excluſive to all others.* That their Company was confirm'd and ſettled by Three Charters, granted by his preſent Majeſty, on the 7th of *October*, and 17th of *November*, 1693. and 28th of *September*, 1694. That upon the Security of theſe Charters, the Company conſented to a New Subſcription: That there was a-new ſubſcrib'd 744000 *l.* and the Money brought in during the Sitting of the Parliament; and that nothing was done, ſaid, or offer'd againſt his Majeſty's Charter of Regulations: So that upon the Publick Faith, (at leaſt tacitly given) 781 New Adventurers, of which many were Widows and Orphans, did ſubſcribe a large Part of their Subſtance to ſupport this Trade, during a hazardous War, for the Profit and Honour of *England*: And that the New Adventurers thought they might, without any hazard, ſubſcribe on the Security of a Charter, which was ſo plainly deſign'd by his Majeſty to preſerve the *Eaſt-India* Traffick, then in danger of being loſt. That on the 10th of *June*, after the Bill now depending before their Lordſhips was brought in, the Company did agree to ſubmit their preſent Stock to a Valuation of 50 l. *per Cent. viz.* 20 l. *per Cent.* for their Dead Stock, and 30 l. *per Cent.* for their Quick Stock, which they were contented to warrant at the ſaid Sums: And upon theſe Terms they offer'd to open their Books for New Subſcriptions, in order to raiſe the Two Millions. That afterwards, to aſcertain the Payments of the ſaid Two Millions, they had a General Court on the 20th of *June*; in which they agreed to an immediate Subſcription by private Adventurers of 200000 *l.* to be paid at the firſt Payment, ſubject to make good the ſubſequent Payments: Which Subſcription was accordingly made. That it has been the conſtant Practice, in Farms, Bargains, and Offers of the like nature, not to cloſe with a new Propoſal, till the firſt Bidder be ask'd, Whether he is able to Advance further? And that notwithſtanding their Charters, and the Right they had to the Trade, they were early told, Their Propoſal ſhould be oppoſed, tho' they offer'd the Two Millions in Queſtion. And laſtly, That the Bill allow'd Foreigners as well as the King's Subjects to ſubſcribe to the Two Millions; whereby they would be let into the

"Secrets

1698. "Secrets and Myſteries of this Trade, which "might produce Effects very pernicious to the "General Intereſt of the Nation.

To this the Council for the New Subſcribers replied, "That in the Recital of their Charters, "the Old Company had omitted to give an Account of the Proviſo's inſerted therein; *viz.* "*That the reſpective Kings that granted them, reſerved a Power to make them void upon Three Years Warning.* That the King by his Charter "could not grant the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, excluſive of all others; and that ſeveral Recoveries had been made againſt them at Law, for "proſecuting ſuch pretended Right. That as the "Crown has not a Power to grant ſuch a Right, "ſo his preſent Majeſty had not in Fact granted "any ſuch Right excluſive. That when they mention'd the Reſolution of the Commons in 1691, "they omitted their other Reſolution, *That it was lawful for all Perſons to Trade to the* Eaſt-Indies, "*unleſs reſtrained by Act of Parliament.* Neither "did they take notice of the Two Addreſſes made "by the Houſe of Commons to the King in 1691, "and 1692. to diſſolve the Company. That on "the 14th of *November*, 1692. Sir *Edward Seymour* "declar'd to the Commons a Meſſage from his "Majeſty, importing, That his Majeſty had required the *Eaſt-India* Company to anſwer directly, Whether they would ſubmit to ſuch Regulations as his Majeſty ſhould judge proper "and moſt likely to advance the Trade? And "the Company having fully agreed to it, and "declar'd their Reſolution in writing, his Majeſty had commanded a Committee of his Privy "Council to prepare Regulations; which they did, "and offer'd them to the Company; but that notwithſtanding their Declaration of Submiſſion, "they rejected almoſt all the material Particulars. "So that his Majeſty finding that what poſſibly "the Houſe of Commons might have expected, "and indeed was neceſſary to preſerve this Trade, "could not be perfected by his own Authority "alone; and that the Company could not be induced to conſent to any ſuch Regulations as "might have anſwer'd the Intentions of the "Houſe of Commons, and that the Concurrence of the Parliament was requiſite to make "a compleat and uſeful Settlement of this Trade, "he had directed all the Proceedings in this "Matter to be laid before them; and recommended to them the preparing ſuch a Bill, in "order to paſs into an Act of Parliament, as "might eſtabliſh this Trade on ſuch Foundations "as were moſt likely to Preſerve and Advance it." 'Twas alſo urg'd againſt the Old Company, that their Charter being become void by their Non-payment of the Tax impos'd upon them by Parliament, they obtain'd a New Charter the 7th of *October*, 1693. by indirect Means, having that Year paid Eighty odd Thouſand Pounds out of the Company's Stock, for ſpecial Service. That this Charter was conteſted before the Queen and Council, by thoſe they called *Interlopers*; upon the hearing whereof it was unanſwerably proved, That the King had not by Law a Power to grant the Trade to ſome Perſons, excluſive of others; and that the Company's Affairs were then in ſuch a Condition, that it would be a plain Cheat to others, that ſhould come in upon their Stock. They however, Law and Reaſon failing, had recourſe to other Methods, and great Sums of Money were diſtributed, (as it was acknowledg'd before a Committee of Both Houſes of Parliament) to get another Charter; but that thoſe who were concern'd to Adviſe his Majeſty in Point of Law, were ſo juſt to their Truſt, as to take care that no Right of Trade, excluſive of others, was granted: And alſo that the Company ſhould ſubmit to ſuch Alterations, Reſtrictions, and Qualifications, as the King ſhould make on the 29th of *September*, 1693. following. And ſo on the 17th of *Nov.* 1693. a new Charter of Regulations was made, and another the 28th of *September*, 1694. wherein, amongſt other things, was this Proviſo; *That if it ſhould appear to the King, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, that the ſaid Two Charters, or any other Charters heretofore granted, ſhould not be profitable to the King, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, or to this Realm; that then and from thenceforth, upon and after Three Years warning to be given to the ſaid Company by the King, &c. the ſame ſhould ceaſe, be void, and determin'd.* That it appear'd by the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons in 1694. how this Charter was obtain'd, which had more in it of private Promiſes than publick Faith: That it was not to be wonder'd, that the Parliament took no notice of the matter, whilſt the new Subſcribers paid in their Money, when it was conſidered, that, according to Sir *Baſil Firebraſs*'s Depoſitions, *there were ſeveral Contracts, ſome to the value of* 60000 l. *on Account of procuring a new Charter; and others to the value of* 40000 l. *on Account of procuring an Act of Parliament.* That by ſuch Means the Matter might be overlook'd for a while, but it was not long before the Parliament took publick Notice of it; and if the greater Affairs of the Nation had not been ſo urgent, and the Seſſion been ſo near an end, perhaps the Company might have had Juſtice done them then, and had been paſt complaining of any imaginary Injuſtice done them now. That therefore it was plain, that it was not for the Profit and Honour of the Nation, and to ſupport the Trade, that the New Subſcribers came in, but that they were deluded into it by a Charter obtain'd by indirect ways, and by the Hopes of an Act of Parliament to confirm it, to be obtain'd in the ſame manner. That the Trade would have been much better preſerv'd, and more to the Honour of the Nation, if no ſuch underhand Practices had been carried on. That if ſome Perſons thinking themſelves to have a greater Reach than others, or being deceived by the Old Company's making His Majeſty believe their Stock to be worth 750000 *l.* and by afterwards ſharing 325000 *l.* of the New Subſcribers Money among themſelves, or by the Perſons failing them who had promiſed to get an Act of Parliament, or by Loſſes at Sea, or by what other Means ſoever it were, happen'd to fail in their Expectation, no Body was anſwerable for it but themſelves; eſpecially ſince they had warning enough by the Tranſactions before the Council. 'Twas alledg'd further, That in *Edward* III. and Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, upon Complaint in Parliament of Patents granted for Monopolies, moſt of them were immediately revoked, and the reſt left to the Law. That in King *James* the Iſt's Time an Act of Parliament paſt, to make void a Charter for the ſole Trade to *Spain*, and another againſt all Monopolies. That though the Patents for ſome Trades with Joint-Stocks (whilſt the Trades for which they were granted were in their Infancy) had been permitted for the ſettling of a Trade, and till the firſt Adventurers have reap'd ſome reaſonable Compenſation for their firſt Undertakings and Adventures; yet afterwards, when thoſe Trades have increaſed and become Great, the Wiſdom of the Nation has always thought fit to open a way for the Kingdom to receive a general Benefit thereby. That it never was eſteemed a Breach of the publick Faith, or a Derogation either from the Credit of the Great Seal, or from the Honour of our Kings, to have their Patents annulled by Parliament, when the Grants were thought by that Grand Council of the Nation, not

1698. not to be profitable, or to be againſt the Common Right of the Subject; and that no King or Queen thought themſelves bound in Honour or Conſcience not to paſs an Act of Parliament to make void ſuch Patent. That the King being buſied in the many arduous Affairs of the Kingdom, cannot be ſuppoſed to know always what he might legally grant, and is oftentimes deceived in his Grants, and for that reaſon they are often annulled by the ordinary Courſe of Law; and ſo might this Company's Patent have been: For all Perſons having a Right by Law to Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, unleſs excluded by Parliament, the King by His Charter could not grant to the Company any new Right to the Trade, beſides the Privileges of an Incorporated Body; but that the Commons juſtly bearing a high Veneration to His preſent Majeſty, who had run ſo great Hazards, and perform'd ſo glorious Atchievements for the Honour and Good of the Nation, had notwithſtanding taken Care in this Bill, that nothing ſhould interfere with His Majeſty's Patent. That by this Patent the Old Company had indeed Power to Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and other Privileges, but without any expreſs Clauſe to exclude others, or any Covenant, (as was in the former Charters from the Crown) that His Majeſty would not grant likewiſe to others, to Trade thither during the continuance of the ſaid Charters: So that even according to the Charters themſelves, all other Subjects of *England* had a Right to Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and many actually Traded thither without any hindrance. That tho' the Old Company talk'd ſo much of their Dependance on the Security of their Charters, yet they themſelves were convinc'd, that their Right was not well founded, ſince they had formerly laid out ſo much Money to get an Act of Parliament to Confirm their Charters, and had lately offer'd to Lend 700000 *l.* to the Government, to have the Trade to themſelves, excluſive of all others. As to their offering afterwards to raiſe Two Millions, it was anſwer'd, That they made no ſuch Offer with an Intention that it ſhould take Effect, but only as an Amuſement to gain Time, and ſo to baffle the Bill; for when they agreed to ſubmit their Stock to a Valuation of 50 *l. per Cent.* they knew very well that others did not value it at any thing near ſo much: And as to their Subſcribing 200000 *l.* ſubject to make good the ſubſequent Payments of the Two Millions, that it was only to obtain what they had been ſo long aiming at, *viz.* An Act of Parliament *excluſive* for the Sum of 200000*l.* whereby the King would be defeated of a much more conſiderable Loan; others delivering us Subſcriptions for about 1200000 *l.* And finally, that the Old Company heretofore thought it an Advantage to admit Foreigners into their Trade, and that many were actually now in the preſent Company, tho' they were pleas'd to argue againſt it. The Lords weighed the Reaſons on both ſides, and chiefly conſider'd that the Old Company's Propoſal to Lend the Two Millions, was like to prove ineffectual, by reaſon that ſome of their Principal Members were known to have no great Affection to the preſent Government; ſo that upon mature Deliberation, their Lordſhips gave their Concurrence to the Bill, which on *July* 5. receiv'd the Royal Aſſent.

The Bill being paſs'd, the Commiſſioners Appointed by His Majeſty for taking Subſcriptions toward the raiſing of Two Millions, and for ſettling a *New Eaſt-India* Company, laid open their Books at *Mercers-Hall*, on *Thurſday* the 14th of *July*, 1698. And ſuch was the Zeal which People of all Ranks, and even Foreigners, ſhew'd on this Occaſion to aſſiſt the Government, 1698. and promote the Trade of the Nation, that on the *Saturday* following the whole Sum, and ſomething above it was ſubſcrib'd: Nay, it's very probable that Two Millions more had been ſubſcrib'd, had not the Books been ſhut up before the diſtant Corporations, private Men in remote Countries, and Merchants beyond Sea, could remit their Commiſſions for the great Sums they intended to ſubſcribe. The diſpatch of ſo great a Work in leſs than three Days time, after the Nation had borne ſo chargeable a War for ſo many Years, ſurpriz'd and amaz'd all the World: And as it greatly mortified all thoſe who were joyfully aſſur'd that His Majeſty would be diſappointed of this Supply, ſo it gave our Neighbouring Nations an aſtoniſhing Image, both of the Opulence of *England*, and the Strength of the Government. This Tranſaction viewed in all its Circumſtances, is indeed ſo very ſtrange and wonderful, that the like is not to be found in Story, and 'twill be a hard Matter for Poſterity to believe it. This was owing to the Wiſdom of this Parliament, who had ſo much Skill in touching the Springs of the People's Affections, that notwithſtanding all the Loſſes they had ſuſtain'd, and all the Expence they had been at, they were prevail'd with to advance this great Supply with ſuch incredible Expedition. And by this means, the Parliament only by Doubling the Duty on Paper and Parchment uſed in Proceedings at Law, and that on Salt, raiſed a Supply of Two Millions; which to have done by any other ways, was at that time a Matter of the higheſt Difficulty. Now for the making up of the King's Revenue, the Commons Reſolv'd, on *May* 28. *That of the Hereditary and Temporary Exciſe, Poſt-Office, ſmall Branches of the new Subſidies of Tunnage and Poundage, continued to the Firſt Day of* February, 1699. *Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds be granted to His Majeſty during his Life; and that whatſoever the ſaid Revenues ſhould exceed Seven Hundred Thouſand Pound yearly, ſhould be appropriated to ſuch Uſes as ſhould be directed by Parliament.* And becauſe the Glaſs-Makers and Tobacco-Pipe-Makers did juſtly complain of the grievous Taxes that had been laid on their Manufactures, the Commons Reſolv'd, on *January* 25. to take off half the Duties now upon Glaſs-Wares, and the whole Duties upon Stone and Earthen-Wares, and Tobacco-Pipes; and to Grant to His Majeſty an Equivalent, by laying a further Duty upon Whalebone and *Scotch* Linnen imported. As for the Act for applying the Fourth Part of the Forfeited Eſtates to the uſe of the Publick, ſo many People Petition'd againſt it, that no Progreſs was made in it.

On *Monday*, *May* 16. The King was pleaſed to give the Royal Aſſent to theſe Publick and Private Bills. 1. *An Act for Granting to His Majeſty ſeveral Duties upon Coals and Culm.* 2. *An Act for Continuing the Duties upon Coffee, Tea, Chocolate and Spices, towards Satisfaction of the Debt due for Tranſport-Service, for the Reduction of* Ireland. 3. *An Act for the better Preventing the Counterfeiting, Clipping, and other Diminiſhing the Coin of this Kingdom.* 4. *An Act to Execute Judgments and Decrees, ſaved in a Clauſe in an Act of Parliament the Firſt Year of the Reign of King* William *and Queen* Mary, *entituled, An Act for taking away the Courts holden before the Preſident and Council of the Marches of* Wales. 5. *An Act for Determining Differences by Arbitration.* 6. *An Act for the better Payment of Inland Bills of Exchange.* 7. *An Act to Naturalize the Children of ſuch Officers and Soldiers, and others the Natural-Born Subjects of this Realm, who have been Born Abroad during the War, the Parents of ſuch Children having been in the Service*

1698. Service of this Government. 8. An Act to Repeal an Act made in the Nine, and Thirtieth Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Entituled, An Act to Reſtrain the Exceſſive Making of Malt, and to Diſcharge and Vacate Orders made by Juſtices of Peace by Virtue thereof, for Reſtraining Malſters from making of Malt. 9. An Act for Cleaning and making Navigable the Channel from the Hithe at Colcheſter to Wivenhoo. 10. An Act for Repairing the High-Ways, from the Town of Bridlipp and the Top of Crickley-Hill, in the County of Glouceſter, to the City of Glouceſter. 11. An Act for Veſting Land in Truſtees, to be Sold for Payment of the Debts of Wriotheſly Baptiſt, late Earl of Gainsborough, Deceaſed. 12. An Act to annex the Rectory of Whitborne in Herefordſhire, to the Biſhoprick of Hereford. 13. An Act for the better Settling the ſeveral Eſtates of the Honourable John Lord Viſcount Liſburn, in the Kingdom of Ireland, and the Lady Viſcounteſs Lisburn, his Wife. 14. An Act for Supplying a Defect in a Conveyance lately made by Sir Edward Turner, and Charles Turner, Eſq; his Son, for the more Effectual Securing the Sum of Twelve Thouſand Pounds, and Intereſt, upon their Eſtate. 15. An Act for Veſting ſeveral Lands late belonging to Robert Smith, Eſq; Deceaſed, in Truſtees, to be Sold for Payment of his Debts. 16. An Act for Veſting the Manor of Baſtwick and Laviles, in the County of Norfolk, Part of the Eſtate of John Houghton, Eſq; in Truſtees, to be Sold for Diſcharging of Debts charged thereon, and for ſettling another Eſtate in lieu thereof. 17. An Act to enable Streynſham Maſter, Eſq; to ſell Lands in Kent, which were agreed to be ſettled by his Marriage Articles, and to convey Lands in Derbyſhire, of a greater Value, to the ſame Uſes. 18. An Act to enable Paris Slaughter, William Dince, Merchant, and Dame Elizabeth Chapman, to import ſeveral Bales of Fine Italian Thrown Silk into this Kingdom. 19. An Act for ſettling certain Lands in Eſſex on Thomas Burgh, Eſq; and his Heirs, in lieu of other Lands of greater Value, conveyed by him according to a Decree, and the Will of Sir Samuel Jones, deceaſed. 20. An Act for veſting certain cuſtomary Meſſuages and Lands within the Manor of Gillingham, in the County of Dorſet, (late the Eſtate of Thomas Davis, Gent. deceaſed) in Truſtees to be ſold for payment of Debts. 21. An An for Erecting Hoſpitals and Work Houſes within the City and County of the City of Exon, for the better employing and maintaining the Poor there. 22. An Act for Erecting Hoſpitals and Work-Houſes within the City of Hereford, for the better employing and maintaining the Poor there. 23. An Act to rectifie ſome Miſtakes in an Act, Entituled, An Act to enable John Lewin to ſell certain Meſſuages in Southwark, for payment of Debts. 24. An Act for veſting a Moiety of certain Meſſuages and Lands in Hackney, in the County of Middleſex, in Truſt, for the Benefit of Suſannah Cary, Widow and Relict of Nicholas Cary, Eſq; deceaſed, and others. 25. An Act for Erecting Hoſpitals and Work-Houſes within the Town of Colcheſter, in the County of Eſſex, for the better employing and maintaining the Poor thereof. 26. An Act to Naturalize William Lloyd, Eſq; and others. 27. An Act to confirm the Sale of part of the Eſtate of Sir John Churchill, Knt. deceaſed, for payment of his Debts, purſuant to his laſt Will, and two Decrees in Chancery for performance thereof. 28. An Act for veſting the Manor of Alveſton, and other Lands therein mentioned, in the County of Glouceſter, in Truſtees, to be ſold for Payment of Debts, and for other Purpoſes therein mentioned.

On May 21. a Complaint was made to the Commons of a Printed Book, Entituled, The Caſe of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England, (written by William Molyneux of Dublin, Eſq;) which denied the Dependance of Ireland, upon the Authority of the Parliament of England. 1698.

The Commons offended with a Book of the Caſe of Ireland.

A Committee was thereupon appointed, to examine further into the ſaid Pamphlet, to enquire into the Author of it; and alſo to ſearch what Proceedings had been in Ireland, that might occaſion the ſaid Book; and an Addreſs to the King Voted, That His Majeſty would give Directions for the Diſcovery and Puniſhment of the Author. A Month after, upon the Report of the Committee, it was unanimouſly reſolv'd, “That the ſaid Book was of Dangerous Conſequence to the Crown and People of England, by denying the Authority of the King and Parliament of England, to bind the Kingdom and People of Ireland, and the Subordination and Dependance that Ireland has, and ought to have upon England, as being united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and that a Bill, Entituled, An Act for the better Security of His Majeſty's Perſon and Government, tranſmitted under the Great Seal of Ireland; whereby an Act of Parliament made in England, was pretended to be re-enacted, Alterations therein made, and divers Things enacted alſo, pretending to oblige the Courts of Juſtice, and the Great Seal of England, by the Authority of an Iriſh Parliament; had given Occaſion and Encouragement to the forming and publiſhing the Dangerous Poſitions contained in the ſaid Book. Four Days after, the Commons in a Body preſented an Addreſs to the King: Wherein they laid before His Majeſty the Dangerous Attempts that had been of late made by ſome of His Subjects of Ireland, to ſhake off their Subjection to, and Dependance on this Kingdom; which had manifeſtly appear'd to the Commons, not only by the Bold and Pernicious Aſſertions in a Book publiſh'd and dedicated to His Majeſty, Entituled, The Caſe of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England, Stated: But more fully and authentically by the Votes and Proceeding of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, in their late Seſſions; and whereby the fore-mentioned Bill ſent hither under the Great Seal of Ireland, whereby they would have an Act paſſed in the Parliament of England, expreſly binding Ireland, to be re-enacted there, and Alterations therein made; ſome of which amounted to a Repeal of what is required by the ſaid Act made in England; and in other of the ſaid Alterations, pretending to give Authority to, and oblige the Courts of Juſtice and Great Seal here in England. That this they could not but look on as an Occaſion and Encouragement in the forming and publiſhing the dangerous Poſitions contain'd in the ſaid Book. That the Conſequence of ſuch Poſitions and Procedings would be ſo fatal to this Kingdom, and even to Ireland itſelf, that they needed not to be enlarged on, or aggravated. Therefore they reſted ſatisfied that His Majeſty, by His Royal Prudence, would prevent their being drawn into Example: So they aſſur'd His Majeſty of their ready Concurrence and Aſſiſtance, in a Parliamentary way, to preſerve and maintain the Dependance and Subordination of Ireland to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. And they humbly beſought His Majeſty, That He would give effectual Orders to prevent any Thing of the like nature for the future, and the Pernicious Conſequences of what was paſs'd, by puniſhing and diſcountenancing thoſe that had been guilty thereof: That He would take all neceſſary Care, that the Laws which direct and reſtrain the Parliament of Ireland in their Actings be not Evaded, but ſtrictly Obſerv'd; and that He would diſcourage all Things which might in any degree leſſen the Dependance of

Ireland

1698. " *Ireland* upon *England*." To this His Majeſty's Anſwer, was, *That He would take Care that what was Complain'd of, might be prevented and redreſſed, as the Commons deſir'd.* 1698.

On *Tueſday* 5th *July*, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for raiſing a Sum not exceeding Two Millions, upon a Fund for Payment of Annuities, after the rate of Eight Pound* per Cent. per Annum, *and for ſettling the Trade to the* Eaſt-Indies. 2. *An Act for paying to His Majeſty, His Heirs, and Succeſſors, further Duties upon Stampt Vellum, Parchment, and Paper,* 3. *An Act for Granting to His Majeſty an Aid by a Quarterly Poll, for One Year.* 4. *An Act for Granting to His Majeſty a further Subſidy upon Tonnage and Poundage, towards raiſing the Yearly Sum of Seven hundred thouſand Pounds, for the Service of His Majeſty's Houſhold, and other Uſes therein-mentioned.* 5. *An Act for Increaſing His Majeſty's Duties upon Luſtrings and Alamodes.* 6. *An Act for ſupplying to the Uſe of His Majeſty's Navy and Ordnance, the Overplus of the Money and Stores, which were provided for the Building Seven and Twenty Ships of War.* 7. *An Act for enlarging the Time for Purchaſing certain Eſtates or Intereſt in ſeveral Annuities therein mentioned.* 8. *An Act for the better and more orderly Payment of the Lottery Tickets, now payable out of certain Additional Duties of Exciſe, and of other Annuities lately payable out of the Tonnage Duties.* 9. *An Act for Licenſing Hawkers and Pedlars, for a further Proviſion of Intereſt for the Tranſport Debt for the reducing of* Ireland. 10. *An Act for taking away half the Duties lately impoſed on Glaſs Wares, and the whole Duties lately laid on Stone and Earthen Wares, and Tobacco-Pipes; and for Granting (in lieu thereof) new Duties upon Whale Finns, and* Scotch *Linnen.* 11. *An Act for preventing Frauds and Abuſes in the Charging, Collecting, and Paying the Duties upon Marriages, Births, Burials, Batchelors and Widowers.* 12. *An Act for the better preventing the Embezlement of His Majeſty's Stores of War; and preventing Cheats, Frauds, and Abuſes, in Paying Seamens Wages.* 13. *An Act for the more effectual ſuppreſſing Blaſphemy and Prophaneneſs.* 14. *An Act to ſettle the Trade to* Africa. 15. *An Act for the better encouragement of the Royal Luſtring Company, and the more effectual preventing the Fraudulent Importation of Luſtrings and Alamodes.* 16. *An Act for the Increaſe and Preſervation of Timber, in the* New Foreſt, *in the County of* Southampton. 17. *An Act to ſtop the Coining of Half-pence and Farthings for One Year.* 18. *An Act for the Exporting Watches, and Sword Hilts, and other Manufactures of Silver.* 19. *An Act for ſettling and adjuſting the Proportions of Fine Silver and Silk, for the better making of Silver and Gold Thread, and to prevent the Abuſes of the Wyer-drawers.* 20. *An Act for raiſing the Militia for the Year One thouſand ſix hundred and ninety eight, although the Months Pay formerly advanced be not Repaid.* 21. *An Act for enlarging the Time for Regiſtring Ships, purſuant to the Act for preventing Frauds, and Regulating Abuſes in the Plantation Trade.* 22. *An Act for the Explanation and better Execution of former Acts, made againſt Tranſportation of Wooll, Fullers Earth and Scowring Clay.* 23. *An Act to Repeal the Act made the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, Entituled, An Act for Relief of Creditors, by making Compoſition with their Debtors, in caſe Two Thirds in Number and Value do agree.* 24. *An Act to confirm a Leaſe, Granted by the Lord Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *of a parcel of waſte Ground in* Alverſtock, *in the County of* Southampton, *for the erecting of a Water-work there, and for Improving the ſame.* 25. *An Act to enable Truſtees to make Leaſes and grant Copies, and receive the Rents and Profits of the Eſtates, late of Sir* Edward Wyndham, *Baronet, deceas'd, and* Hopton Wyndham, *Eſq; deceas'd; during the Minority of Sir* William Wyndham, *Baronet; for the Intent and Purpoſes therein mentioned.* 26. *An Act for ſecuring the Portions intended by Sir* William Walter, *Baronet, deceas'd, for his Children by the Lady* Mary Walter, *his Second Wife; and for preventing all Doubts which might ariſe upon the Conſtruction of the Articles and Will therein-mentioned.* 27. *An Act to enable* John Hawkes, *Gent. to ſell Lands in the County of* Salop, *for Payment of his Debts.* 28. *An Act for the better Supplying the Town of* Newcaſtle *upon* Tyne *with Freſh Water.* 29. *An Act for Veſting in* Thomas Rogers, *Gent. an abſolute Eſtate of Inheritance in Fee-Simple, in the Mannor of* Weſt-Court *Manſion-Houſe, Meſſuages, Lands and Hereditaments, in the County of* Kent; *and ſecuring to* John Higgons, *Gent. and* Alice *his Wife, and for Portions for* Irene, Margaret, Mary, *and* Alice Cæſar, *Monies in Lieu of their Claims thereunto.* 30. *An Act for Erecting Work Houſes, and Houſes of Correction, in the Town* Kingſton *upon* Hull, *for the Employment and Maintenance of the Poor there.* 31. *An Act for Sale of Three Houſes in* Swan-Alley *in* Colemanſtreet, London, *late of* Joſeph Smith *deceas'd, for Payment of his Debts, with which the ſaid Houſes are chargeable.* 32. *An Act for Relief of the Creditors of* Edward Blackwell, *Eſq; deceas'd.* 33. *An Act for Erecting Work-Houſes, and Houſes of Correction, in the Town of* Shaftsbury; *and for the better Employment and Maintenance of the Poor there.* 34. *An Act to enable* John Jenkyn, *Merchant, to ſell Part of his Eſtate for the Payment of his Debts.* 35. *An Act for Naturalizing* Henry Reneu, *and others.* 36. *An Act for giving leave to the Ship* Maryland-Merchant *of* Briſtol, *to Arrive and Import her Lading into this Kingdom.* 37. *An Act to enable* Humphry Walrond, *Gent. to Sell Part of his Eſtate, for the making Proviſion for his Eldeſt Son, and* Elizabeth *his Daughter, (who are Lunaticks); and Payment of his Debts, and Raiſing Portions for his other Children.* 38. *An Act for Veſting a Copperas-Work, late Part of the Eſtate of* Robert Maſcal, *Eſq; deceas'd, in Truſtees, to be ſold for Payment of Debts, and other Charges thereon.* 39. *An Act to confirm a Conveyance made by* George Pitt, *Eſq; and others, of the Mannor of* Tarant, Preſton, *and other Lands in the County of* Dorſet, *to* John Pitt, *Gent. and the Heirs Male of his Body.* 40. *An Act, that the Ships* Panther, Glouceſter-*Frigat*, Scarborough *and* Antilope, *(formerly taken as Prizes, and condemn'd) may have freedom of Trading as* Engliſh-*built Ships.* 41. *An Act for enabling* Humphry Trafford, *Eſq; to raiſe Four Thouſand Pounds upon his Eſtate, for Payment of Debts.*

Among other Private Acts paſſed by the King, were, 1. *An Act for enabling* Symon *Lord Biſhop of* Ely, *to Leaſe the Manor Houſe and Demeſne Lands of* Downham, *in the Iſle of* Ely, *and for Confirming a Leaſe lately made thereof.* 2. *An Act to Enable* John *Lord Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *to make Leaſes of certain Houſes and Grounds belonging to the Biſhoprick of* Chicheſter, *ſituate in* Chancery-Lane, *for a competent Number of Years.* 3. *An Act to annex the Rectory of* Whitborne, *in the County of* Hereford, *to the Biſhoprick of* Hereford, *for ever.*

In the Appeals brought to the Houſe of Peers, *See* 1. The Caſe of the Dean and Chapter of *Durham*, and their Leſſee Appellants, againſt the Mayor and Burgeſſes of *Newcaſtle*; to be Heard at the Houſe of Lords, 7 *May* 1698. The Lords Confirm'd the Decree in Favour of the Town of *Newcaſtle*. 2. The Caſe of the *London Society*, for their Plantation in *Ireland*, againſt *William* Lord Biſhop of *Derry*; to be Heard in the Houſe of Lords, — *May* 1698. 3. *To the Members of Both Houſes*, The Humble Repreſentation of the Clergy, Petitioners for the *Bill*, for preventing of Vexatious Suits, and for Settling and Aſcertaining a certain ancient and accuſtomary Tythe in the County of *Derby*, of Lead Oar, in the Mines within that County.

42. *An*

1698. 42. *An Act, that the Ships call'd the* Ruby-*Prize and* Plimouth *may have freedom of Trading as* Engliſh-*built Ships.* 43. *An Act to give leave to the Ship* Sally-Roſe, *(formerly taken as Prize) to arrive and import her Lading, and to Trade as an* Engliſh-*built Ship.*

And afterwards His Majeſty made this Speech to Both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech. "I Cannot take leave of ſo good a Parliament, "without publickly acknowledging the Senſe "I have of the Great Things you have done for "My Safety and Honour, and for the Support "and Welfare of My People.

"Every one of your Seſſions hath made good "this Character. The Happy Uniting of Us in "an Aſſociation for our mutual Defence; The "Remedying the Corruption of the Coin, which "had been ſo long growing upon the Nati"on; The Reſtoring of Credit; The Giving "Supplies in ſuch a manner for carrying on the "War, as did by God's Bleſſing produce an Ho"nourable Peace; And after that, the making "ſuch Proviſions for Our Common Security, and "towards Satisfying the Debts Contracted in ſo "long a War, with as little Burden to the Kingdom "as is poſſible, are ſuch Things as will give a "laſting Reputation to this Parliament, and will "be a ſubject of Emulation to thoſe which ſhall "come after.

"Beſides all this, I think My Self Perſonally "oblig'd to return My Thanks to you, Gentle"men of the Houſe of Commons, for the Regard "you have had to My Honour, by the Eſtabliſhing "of My Revenue.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"There is nothing I value ſo much as the E"ſteem and Love of My People; And as for their "Sakes I avoided no Hazards during the War; ſo "My whole Study and Care ſhall be to Improve "and Continue to them the Advantages and Bleſ"ſings of Peace.

"And I earneſtly deſire you all, in your ſeve"ral Stations, to be Vigilant in preſerving Peace "and good Order, and in a due and regular Exe"cution of the Laws, eſpecially thoſe againſt "Prophaneneſs and Irreligion.

And then the Lord Chancellor, by His Majeſty's Command, Prorogued the Parliament until *Tueſday* the Second Day of *Auguſt* next.

Earl of *Portland* Ambaſſador to *France.* The Earl of *Portland* had made his Publick Entry into *Paris*, on *Feb.* 27. with ſuch extraordinary Splendour, as had never been ſeen at the Court of *France*, ſince the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Embaſſy, when he came to demand in Marriage for King *Charles* the firſt, *Mary Henrietta* of *France*. His Excellency (I mean the Earl of *Portland*) accompanied by the Lords *Cavendiſh*, *Haſtings*, *Paſton*, *Raby*, and *Woodſtock* his Excellency's Son, Mr. *Fielding*, Col. *Stanhope*, Mr. *Charles Boyle*, Mr. *Prior*, Secretary to the Embaſſy, and ſeveral other *Engliſh* Gentlemen; and attended by a Gentleman of the Horſe, Twelve Pages, Fifty Six Footmen, Twelve Led Horſes, Four Coaches with Eight Horſes, and Two Chariots with Six, was received by the Duke of *Boufflers*, and conducted to the *Hotel*, reſerv'd in *Paris*, for the Entertainment of Foreign Ambaſſadors, through Multitudes of Spectators, who were aſtoniſhed at the Grandeur and Opulence of the *Engliſh* Nation. Two Days after, he was admitted to his firſt Publick Audience, which for a diſtinguiſhing Mark of Honour, he had in His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Bed-Chamber, and even within the Rails round the Bed, where the King ſtood, with the Three young Princes his Grandſons, and the Count *de Thoulouſe*, the Duke *d'Aumont*, and the Mareſchal *de Noailles*. His Excellency having made his Speech in *French*, and deliver'd his Credentials, the King Anſwer'd him in very obliging Terms, both in Relation to His Maſter, and Himſelf; and then his Excellency preſented to the King the *Engliſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen of his Retinue; which being over, he had Audience of the *Dauphin*, and the reſt of the Royal Family.

Not only in imitation, but by expreſs Directions of the King of *France*, all that Court ſhew'd the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador moſt ſingular Marks of Honour and Reſpect. On the 3d of *March (O. S.)* he receiv'd a Viſit from the Prince of *Conti*; and the ſame Day paid one himſelf to the Duke of *Maine*, and the Count of *Thoulouſe*, who return'd it not many Days after. 'Tis obſervable, that in all the Viſits his Excellency made, he was attended by the ſame ſplendid and numerous Equipage which he had at his Publick Entry. And as the Magnificence of his Table was anſwerable to the Grandeur of his Attendance, his Excellency entertain'd daily at Dinner ſome Perſon or other of the firſt Rank.

On the 12th. of *April (O. S.)* his Excellency and ſeveral of the Noble Perſons who always accompanied him, were entertain'd at Dinner by the Duke of *Orleans*, at his Houſe at St. *Cloud*, and in the Afternoon, his Royal Highneſs carried them in his own Coaches to ſee the Gardens. A Week after he went to *Verſailles*, and ſtaid there Four Days, being lodg'd at the *Hoſtel de Bouillon*; The firſt Day he was Treated by the Mareſchal *de Boufflers*, who in the Afternoon went with his Excellency into the Gardens, and ſhew'd him the Water-works; The next Day he was invited to Dine with Monſieur *de Livry*, Maſter of the King's Houſhold, and after Dinner had a long Converſation with the King in the Gardens; the Fountains playing all that while. On the 21ſt of *April* he was entertained by the Duke *de Beauvilliers*, and in the Afternoon view'd the Houſe of *Trianon*, and the Park; and on the 22d return'd to *Paris*. During his Excellency's ſtay at *Verſailles*, there happen'd a Paſſage between Mr. *Prior*, the Secretary of the Embaſſy, and one of the *French* King's Officers, that deſerves to be related: As the latter with abundance of Civility, was leading Mr. *Prior* about the Apartments, among other Curioſities, he ſhew'd him thoſe fine Peices of *Le Brun*, which repreſent the King of *France*'s Victories; and ask'd him, Whether King *William*'s Actions were alſo to be ſeen in his Palace? No, Sir, replied Mr. *Prior*, *The Monuments of my Maſter's Actions are to be ſeen every where, but in His own Houſe.*

King *James* paſt His Time very indifferently all the while; for beſides the Honours which were done to the Ambaſſador of the Prince, who poſſeſſed his Abdicated Throne, and which could not but be a ſenſible Mortification to that unfortunate Monarch, he was inform'd that his Excellence inſiſted upon the Removing of him at a farther diſtance from the King of *France*'s Preſence, promiſing in his Maſter's Name to give him and the Queen an Honourable Penſion, which would eaſe His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty from the great Charge He was at in Maintaining him and his Family, ever ſince They had taken Sanctuary in His Dominions. After the Concluſion of the late Treaty of Peace, where his Concerns were wholly overlook'd, King *James* ſeem'd to be abſolutely abandoned to the ſiniſter Influence of his Stars; and therefore concluding that *Portland*'s Demand would be comply'd with, His Majeſty Retirement of *K. James.*

1698. jeſty was reſolv'd to retire to *Avignon*, and began already to inform Himſelf, if He could Live conveniently there. But he was agreeably ſurpriz'd, when He heard that the King of *France* would never give Ear to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Propoſal. However, to ſhew in what entire Confidence and Amity He deſigned to Live with King *William*, His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty open'd to the Earl of *Portland* the ſubtle Project of the Diviſion of the *Spaniſh Monarchy*; which to make His *Britannick* Majeſty go into, without ſuſpecting any latent Subterfuge, the King of *France*, like a good Politician, endeavour'd to dazzle His Eyes by the extraordinary Reception He made to His Ambaſſador; and by the Marks of His Eſteem and Affection, which He gave Him by ſeveral Letters; which Count *de Tallard* confirm'd by Word of Mouth.

Earl of *Mancheſter* returns from his Embaſſy to *Venice*.

In this Interval, the Earl of *Mancheſter* being arrived at *Paris*, in his Return to *England* from his Embaſſy to *Venice*, he and the Earl of *Portland* went to St. *Cloud* on the 5th of *May*, to viſit the Duke of *Orleans*, and in the Evening to *Verſailles*, to wait on the Moſt Chriſtian King, and were received at both Places with great Civility and Reſpect. Four Days after, both their Excellencies had the Honour to Dine with the *Dauphin* at *Meudon*, and the next Day the Earl of *Portland* had his Publick Audience of Leave of the Royal Family; King *William* having nam'd the Earl of *Jerſey* to ſucced him, in the Quality of Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *France*. On the 15th of *May* his Excellency dined at *Verſailles* with the Mareſchal *de Villeroy*, who in the Afternoon conducted him to *Marli*, to ſee the Gardens and Water-Works: The next Day he went to *Meudon*, where he hunted and ſupp'd with the *Dauphin*, and on the 17th returned to *Verſailles*, where he had a Private Audience of the King. The following Days he continued to take his Leave of the Court, and on the 27th there being a Review of the Troops of the Houſhold in the Plain of *Archers*, where the King and the *Dauphin*, the Young Princes of *France*, and divers Perſons of Quality were preſent; his Excellency went thither alſo, but would perhaps have forborn coming, if he had known that King *James* and the Titular Prince of *Wales* had likewiſe been there. The Prince of *Wales*, by his Father's Directions, endeavoured to join Converſation with the Lord *Woodſtock*; but the Lord *Portland*, his Father, knowing the Young Prince's Deſign, order'd his Son to avoid him; as he did himſelf all thoſe that belong'd to the Court of St. *Germains*; though it was reported King *James* had cauſed it it to be inſinuated to his Excellency, that he never pretended to make his Lordſhip anſwerable for the Ill Uſage he receiv'd from Him he repreſented. At this Review King *James* himſelf did all he could to engage the Lord *Cavendiſh*, and the other *Engliſh* Noblemen to accoſt him, but all imitated the Earl of *Portland*, who a Week after went to *Verſailles*, and had a Private Audience of the King in His Cloſet, where his Excellency took his laſt Leave; as he did afterwards of the *Dauphin*, and of the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Orleans* at St. *Cloud*. The King ſent the Earl the uſual Preſent of His Picture ſet with Diamonds, but with this Difference, that the Stones were worth three Times as much as thoſe of other like-Gifts. Beſides this, His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty preſented him with all the Stamps and Prints engraved at the *Louvre*, conſiſting in Twelve Large Folio's; in return of which the Ambaſſador made the King a Preſent of Nine very fine *Engliſh* Horſes. On the 8th of *June* his Excellency left *Paris*, and went to *Chantilli*, a Houſe belonging to the Prince of *Conde*, where he was entertain'd in a ſplendid manner till the 11th, when he took leave of his Highneſs, and proceeding on his Journey, in his Return to *England*, arrived at *Kenſington* on the 19th. Thus ended this Famous Embaſſy, which coſt King *William* Fourſcore Thouſand Pounds to little purpoſe: It having been wiſely obſerv'd, That no Ambaſſador was ever more honour'd, or leſs ſucceſsful, than the Earl of *Portland*; who could obtain nothing, either as to the Removal of King *James*, or in Favour of the *Proteſtants* of *France*, againſt whom the Perſecution, which in many Places had been interrupted during the War, began now to rage afreſh with redoubled Violence. As for the Earl himſelf, he was ſo far from getting any Thing by his Embaſſy, that on the contrary he found at his Return, that Mr. *Keppel*, who ſome Time before was created Earl of *Albermarle*, had ſo advantageouſly improved his Abſence, as to become entire Maſter of His Majeſty's Confidence. This New Earl, at the King's firſt coming over, was but Page to His Majeſty, till by his Artful Inſinuations, he was made Maſter of the Robes, in which Place he grew ſo far into His Majeſty's Favour, that the Earl of *Portland* did every Day loſe Ground in it. This Change did at firſt pleaſe the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, the Earl of *Albermarle* having cunningly made ſeveral Powerful Friends in both Nations, who out of Envy to my Lord *Portland*, were glad to ſee another in his Place: However, though the firſt became now the Reigning Favourite, yet the latter did ever preſerve the Eſteem and Affection of King *William*, who ſtill employ'd him in the management of moſt Foreign Affairs, and in what related to *Scotland*. 1698.

Earl of *Albemarle* the New Favourite.

Count *Tallard* Embaſſador from *France*.

On the 19th of *March*, Count *Tallard*, the *French* Ambaſſador arriv'd in *London*, and on the 28th had a Private Audience of the King at *Kenſington*. The next Day the Baron of *Simeoni*, Captain of the Guards of his Electoral Highneſs of *Bavaria*, had his firſt Publick Audience; and the Count *de Platten*, Chamberlain to his Electoral Highneſs of *Brunſwick*, had the ſame Day his Audience of Leave of His Majeſty. On the 4th of *April* the King went to *Newmarket*, to take the Diverſions of Hunting and Horſe-racing; and the next Day the Univerſity of *Cambridge* paid their Duty to His Majeſty, upon Occaſion of His Arrival in their Neighbourhood; being introduc'd by the Duke of *Somerſet*, their Chancellor. The *French* Ambaſſador follow'd His Majeſty to this Place, and was not a little ſurprized to ſee the vaſt Concourſe of Nobility and Gentry, and the great Sums of Money that were either won or loſt there. On the 16th His Majeſty returned to *Kenſington*, and ten Days after, the Count *de Bonde*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary from *Sweden*, made his Publick Entry in Mourning, on the Occaſion of the Death of the late King of *Sweden*, and on the 29th had his firſt Publick Audience of the King at *Windſor*.

On the 16th of *May* the *French* Ambaſſador made his Publick Entry, with a fine, but ſmall Retinue, like one who came rather for Buſineſs than for Shew; and on the 19th he had his Publick Audience of His Majeſty at *Windſor*, where he was ſplendidly entertain'd at Dinner. Two Days after, the Earl of *Mancheſter* being returned from his Embaſſy at *Venice*, waited on His Majeſty at *Kenſington*, and was received with great Marks of Favour and Eſteem; and not long after admitted into His Majeſty's Privy-Council. On the 30th of *May* the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador return'd to the Sovereign the *Garter* and *George* of His Majeſty *Charles* XI. the King of *Sweden*, with the whole Habit, and other Enſigns of the Order, (wherewith he had been inveſted in 1669,) which was done in great Ceremony at *Kenſington*.

France

1698. *France* reap'd but ſmall Benefit from the Peace, as to her Commerce, which continued almoſt as dead as in time of War. 'Tis true, ſome *Engliſh* and *Dutch* came to *Bourdeaux* and *Rouen*, in order to take in Wine and Paper, and brought other Commodities to be ſold there, but the *Tariff* not being regulated between all the Parties, and the Treaty of *Ryſwick* mentioning only, That in relation to *Holland* it ſhould be put upon the ſame Foot, as it was agreed in 1664, which was not yet done; and in reſpect to *England*, that Commiſſioners appointed by both Kings ſhould meet in *London*, three Months after the Ratification, to determine all Differences, This, together with the Loſs of at leaſt 20 *per Cent.* by the Money, which the King of *France* to ſupply preſent Neceſſities, had raiſed to an extravagant Rate, oblig'd moſt of thoſe Ships to return home without ſelling or buying any thing. Thereupon the *States-General* ſent Deputies to the King of *France*, to demand the Regulation of the *Tariff*, purſuant to the late Treaty: But the Trade of *Holland* being far leſs advantageous to *France* than that of *England*, by reaſon the *Dutch* uſe to import more of their own Commodities into that Kingdom, than they export of the Growth of it from thence; and that, on the contrary, the *Engliſh* were us'd, before the War, to ſend vaſt Sums of Money yearly into *France*, not only for Wines, Paper, Stuffs, Linnen, Hats, and Silks, but alſo for abundance of unprofitable Bawbles, the Purchaſe of which could not be made with what they imported thither of the Growth and Manufacture of *England*: So the Court of *France* did at firſt reſolve to keep up the *Tariff* as high as poſſible with the *Hollanders*, while they deſign'd to lower it with the *Engliſh*. But Monſieur *Philippeaux d'Herbeaut* being ſent over hither as Commiſſary General from the moſt Chriſtian King, for regulating the Commerce between the Two Nations, he found inſuperable Difficulties in his Commiſſion, not only becauſe of the high Duties laid by the Parliament on all *French* Goods, and which were already appropriated to ſeveral uſes, but alſo becauſe the *Engliſh* had, by this time, learnt to make ſhift without the Commodities of the Product of *France*, ſupplying themſelves, for the moſt part, with Wine from *Italy*, *Spain* and *Portugal*; with Linnen from *Holland* and *Sileſia*; and with Paper, Stuffs, Hats and Silks, by the Manufactures of thoſe Goods ſet up in *England* by the *Proteſtant French* Refugees there.

Trade of France.

Honours and Preferments.

On *May* 4. His Majeſty had appointed the Earl of *Jerſey* to go as His Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*.

On *May* 7. His Majeſty, as a Mark of His Royal Favour, was pleaſed to confer upon *John Rogers*, Sen. of *Wiſdom*, in the County of *Devon*, Eſq; the Dignity of a Baronet of this Kingdom.

The King fond of the Duke of Glouceſter.

Ever ſince the Death of the Queen, His Majeſty was more particularly fond of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who was now entring on the Tenth Year of His Age, and had given ſuch Proofs of a forward Genius, that it was high time to take him out of the Hands of the Women; the King therefore apply'd himſelf to the forming of a Family and a Court for this Hopeful Young Prince; and to oblige his Affectionate Mother the Princeſs, was pleas'd on *June* 19, to appoint the Right Honourable *John* Earl of *Marlborough* to be Governour to his Highneſs, as a Mark of the good Opinion His Majeſty had for his Lordſhip's Zeal for his Service, and his Qualifications for an Employment of ſo great a Truſt; and the ſame Evening his Lordſhip was ſworn of the Privy-Council: The Biſhop of *Saliſbury* was appointed to be Preceptor to his Highneſs, having under him Mr. *Willis*, Chaplain to the King, and Mr. *Prat*, Chaplain to the Princeſs; which latter had taught him the firſt Rudiments of Learning, with Right Application, and great Succeſs. *June* 22. His Majeſty appointed *Charles* Lord *Cornwallis* to be Lord-Lieutenant and *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of the County of *Suffolk*. On *July* 7. the Inſtallation of the Duke of *Newcaſtle* Knight of the *Garter*, was performed at *Windſor* with great Solemnity: And on the 16th, His Majeſty declar'd in Council, That intending to go over to *Holland* for a ſhort time, he had appointed *Thomas* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *John* Lord *Somers*, Baron of *Eveſham*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Privy Seal; *William* Duke of *Devonſhire*, Lord Steward of His Majeſty's Houſhold; *Charles* Earl of *Dorſet* and *Middleſex*, *John* Earl of *Marlborough*, Governour to his Highneſs the Duke of *Glouceſter*; *Henry* Earl of *Romney*, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports; *Edward* Earl of *Orford*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty; and *Charles Mountague*, Eſq; firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, to be Lords Juſtices of *England*, for the Adminiſtration of the Government during His Majeſty's Abſence. About the ſame time His Majeſty granted the Honour and Dignity of a Baron of this Kingdom to *Chriſtopher Vane* of *Rabie Caſtle*, Eſq; by the Title of Lord *Barnard*, of *Barnard Caſtle*, in the County Palatine of *Durham*; and the Dignity of a Baronet upon *Thomas Powell* of *Broadway*, in the County of *Carmarthen*, Eſq; and upon *Samuel Clark* of *Snailwell*, in the County of *Cambridge*, Eſq;

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Lords Juſtices.

The King goes to Holland.

On *July* 19. the King dined at *Sittingborn*, and lay that Night at Captain *Ball*'s, near *Margate*, and the next Morning embark'd in the *William* and *Mary* Yatcht, under a Convoy commanded by Sir *Cloudſly Shovel*, and next Day late in the Evening landed at *Orange Polder*, lay that Night at *Hounſlaer-dike*, and went next Day to the *Hague*, where He aſſiſted at the Aſſembly of the States of *Holland*, and that of the States General, and gave Audience to ſeveral Publick Miniſters, particularly to the Envoy of *Lorrain*, who notified to His Majeſty the Marriage of the Duke his Maſter with *Madamoiſelle*, Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*.

On *Aug.* 6. *N. S.* the King went to *Loo*, attended by the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Portland* and *Selkirk*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality; He had not been long there, before He was waited upon by the Count *de Tallard*, a cunning and vigilant Miniſter, who had Orders to ſolicite His Majeſty upon the Propoſal made by the King of *France* to the Earl of *Portland*, of coming to an Agreement with His *Britannick* Majeſty, concerning the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Spain*; which Overture King *William* had communicated to His Chancellor before He left *England*. The *French* Ambaſſador having preſs'd His Majeſty for an Anſwer, the Earl of *Portland* by His Majeſty's Order writ a Letter to Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, wherein it was mentioned, That Count *Tallard* having declar'd an Accommodation might be found out in relation to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, His Majeſty had ſounded *France* upon the Conditions; which were in ſubſtance, That the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* ſhould have the Kingdom of *Spain*, the *Indies*, and the *Low-Countries*, and all that depended upon the *Spaniſh* Dominions, except *Naples* and *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the Province of *Guipuſcoa* on this ſide of the *Pyrenees*, *Fontarabia*, and St. *Sebaſtian*, *Final*, and the Places in *Tuſcany*, of which *Spain* ſtood poſſeſſed; in conſideration of which, *France* was abſolutely to renounce the Right it pretended to the Succeſſion of *Spain*; and as for *Milan*, it

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it was to be given to the Arch-Duke *Charles*, the Emperor's Second Son.

King's Letter to the Lord Chancellor.

At the ſame time the King did Himſelf acquaint my Lord *Somers*, by Letter, That He had order'd *Vernon* not to communicate the Propoſitions made by Count *Tallard*, *to any other beſides his Lordſhip, and to leave to his Lordſhip's Judgment to whom elſe he would think proper to impart them; to the end that His Majeſty might know his Lordſhip's Opinion upon ſo Important Affair, which required the greateſt Secrecy, and wherein no time was to be loſt, if it was fit this Negotiation ſhould be carried on.* For that purpoſe, His Majeſty commanded my Lord *Somers to ſend Him the full Powers under the Great Seal, with the Names in Blank to treat with Count* Tallard; which His Majeſty *believed might be done ſecretly, that none but his Lordſhip and* Vernon, *and thoſe to whom his Lordſhip ſhould have communicated it, might have knowledge of it; and ſo that the Clerks themſelves, who were to write the Warrant, and the Full Powers, might not know what it was.* And moreover, to preſs the Neceſſity of this Treaty, His Majeſty acquainted His Chancellor, That, *according to all Intelligence, the King of* Spain *could not outlive the Month of* October, *and that the leaſt Accident might carry him off before that time.*

Mr. *Vernon* having ſent the Earl of *Portland*'s Letter to my Lord *Somers*, who was then at *Tunbridge*, for the benefit of the Medicinal Waters of that Place, his Lordſhip immediately return'd the ſame Letter to Mr. *Vernon*, and deſir'd him to communicate the Contents of it to my Lord *Orford*, Mr. *(Charles) Mountague*, and the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, which his Lordſhip thought the *beſt way of executing the King's Commands. At the ſame time letting them know, how ſtrictly His Majeſty required, that it ſhould remain an abſolute Secret.* Which Caution made Mr. *Vernon* impart it to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* only, as he afterwards acquainted my Lord *Somers*.

Some time after, Mr. *Mountague*, and Mr. Secretary *Vernon* going down to *Tunbridge*, they and my Lord *Somers* debated this important Affair; and thereupon his Lordſhip writ a Letter to His Majeſty. However, the Negotiation was eagerly carried on, inſomuch that on the 29th of *Auguſt* (*N. S.*) ſeveral Days before His Majeſty had received the Lord *Somers*'s Anſwer, a Treaty was concluded; whereby it was Agreed, "I.

Articles of the Treaty of Partition.

"That the Peace of *Ryſwick* ſhould be Confirm'd. " II. That in conſideration of the ill State of the " King of *Spain*'s Health, and for preſerving the " Publick Peace, in caſe the ſaid Prince ſhould " die without Iſſue, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and " *Sicily*, with the Places then depending upon " the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, ſituated on the Coaſts " of *Tuſcany*, or the adjacent Iſlands, compre- " hended under the name of *Santo Stephano, Por-* " *to Hercole, Orbitello, Telamore, Portolongo, Piom-* " *bino*, the Marquiſate of *Final*, the Province of " *Guipuſcoa*, particularly the Towns of *Fontara-* " *bia*, and St. *Sebaſtian*, and eſpecially the *Port* " *Paſſage*, and likewiſe all Places on the *French* " ſide of the *Pyrenees*, or the other Mountains of " *Navarra*, *Alava*, or *Biſcay*, on the ſide of the " Province of *Guipuſcoa*, with all the Ships and " Gallies, and other Appurtenances belonging to " the ſaid Gallies, ſhould be given to the *Dau-* " *phin* in conſideration of his Right. III. That " the Crown of *Spain*, and the other Kingdoms " and Places both within and without *Europe*, " ſhould deſcend to the Electoral Prince of *Ba-* " *varia*, of whom his Father, the Elector, was " to be a Guardian and Adminiſtrator till he came " of Age. And IV. That the Dutchy of *Milan* " ſhould be reſerved and allotted to Arch-Duke " *Charles*, the Emperor's Second Son." This Treaty was to be communicated to the Emperor and the Elector of *Bavaria*, by the King of *Great Britain*, and the *States General*; and if they did not agree to it, then the proportion of the Party not agreeing, ſhould remain in Sequeſtration till things could be brought to an Accommodation: And in caſe the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* ſhould come to inherit his Share, and yet die before his Father without Iſſue, the Elector was to ſucceed him in thoſe Dominions, and his Heir after him. Likewiſe the Dutchy of *Milan*, upon the Arch-Duke's Refuſal to accept it, was to be Sequeſtred to, and govern'd by the Prince of *Vaudemont*; and after him by his Son, Prince *Charles* of *Vaudemont*. Soon after the Concluſion of this Treaty, King *William* took a Review of the *Dutch* Troops near *Arnheim*, and then on *Sept.* 20. went to *Zell*, to give a Viſit to the Duke of that Name. Here His Majeſty was received with extraordinary Reſpects (as he had been at all the Places through which He paſt in His way thither) and waited upon by ſeveral Neighbouring Princes and Princeſſes, particularly the Electoreſs of *Hanover*, with the Electoral Prince, and the Princeſs his Siſter. Mr. *Stepney*, His Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, did likewiſe attend the King with Letters from that Prince; and at his return to *Loo*, the Duke of *Bavaria* came to pay his Acknowledgments to His Majeſty, for the Care He had taken of his Electoral Highneſs's Intereſt in the late Treaty of Partition. 1698.

Intrigues of France in the Court of Spain.

Whilſt the King of *France* was Courting King *William* into the Treaty of Partition; the Marquis *de Harcourt*, the *French* Ambaſſador in *Spain*, was playing another Game at *Madrid*. The Queen of *Spain*, who was nearly related to the King of the *Romans*, and conſequently entirely in the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, foreſeeing the Deſigns of the King of *France*, had early concerted Meaſures with Count *de Harrach*, the Imperial Miniſter, *to diſapoint them.* She had not only got Her Creatures into his Catholick Majeſty's Council, but likewiſe procured the Vice-Royalty of *Catalonia* to be beſtow'd on the Prince of *Heſſe d' Armſtadt*, and the Government of *Milan* on Prince *Vaudemont*; both which Princes had upon many Occaſions ſignaliz'd their Affection and Zeal for the *German* Intereſt. Some ſay His Majeſty deſign'd *to have made* Prince *Eugene* Vice-Roy of *Navarre*, but was oppos'd in it: And that as to the Duke of *Medina Celi*, Vice-Roy of *Naples*, it was thought adviſable to continue him there, by Reaſon of his being one of the moſt conſiderable Grandees of *Spain*, and moſt belov'd of the People; and who conſequently might obſtruct the Deſigns of the *German* Party, if he came home diſguſted. This was the Poſture of the *Spaniſh* Affairs when the *French* Ambaſſador arriv'd at *Madrid*. His Inſtructions were, that if he ſaw no poſſibility, as in effect there ſeem'd at firſt to be none, to derive the Succeſſion of that Kingdom upon one of the *Dauphin*'s Sons, he ſhould endeavour at leaſt, to hinder it from devolving on any of the Emperor's Children, on whom it was ſettled by the Will and Teſtament of *Philip* the IV. the preſent King of *Spain*'s Father: And to add a powerful weight to the Ambaſſador's Inſtances, and at the ſame time, to awaken the Ambition of ſome Grandees, and fright the reſt into Compliance, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty caus'd Sixty thouſand of his beſt Men to file off towards the Frontiers of *Catalonia* and *Navarre*; and ſent a conſiderable Number of His Ships of War and Gallies into ſeveral Ports of *Spain*. The Marquis followed His Inſtructions with great Addreſs and Application. He told thoſe whom he found inclined to act in concert with him in ſo Important an Affair, That *Philip* IV. had exerted

1698. erted His Power too far, in diſpoſing of His Crown againſt the Laws of Nature, and the Conſtitution of the Realm; That the Succeſſion did lawfully belong to his Daughter's Children, and not to his Relations Four Degrees remov'd: That the *Dauphin*, Son to *Maria Thereſa*, the preſent King of *Spain*'s Siſter, had Three Sons; And if the *Spaniards* would fix their Eyes upon the Second of them, the Duke of *Anjou*, to be their King, he being ſtill as pliable as Wax, they might eaſily mould him to the Cuſtoms and Manners of their Country: That if they were averſe to this Overture, the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, being Grandſon to a Daughter of *Spain*, the King of *France* would rather approve of him to Succeed in the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, than any of the Emperor's Children; unleſs as the *Poles* had often done, to cut off the Pretenſions of Foreign Princes, they would chuſe a Sovereign among themſelves, in which the King of *France* would protect them; ſince He never intended to unite *Spain* to His own Kingdom, but only to keep it from falling into the hands of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who was already grown too Powerful by her late Conqueſts in *Hungary*. The Queen of *Spain* having a watchful Eye upon the *French* Ambaſſador, who made it his Buſineſs to thwart Her Deſigns in favour of the Emperor, did ſoon diſcover his Practices. And therefore under pretence that the Air of *Madrid* was prejudicial to Her Husband's Health, She carried Him to *Toledo*, without allowing any Foreign Ambaſſador to follow Him thither. The Marquis *d' Harcourt* did quickly penetrate into the Deſign of the Queen's Journey, and judg'd very rightly, that being ſole Miſtreſs of the King, She might eaſily prevail with Him to Ratify King *Philip* IV's Will. He was confirm'd in this Apprehenſion by Count *d' Harrach*'s being no more to be ſeen at *Madrid*; and ſuppoſing he was gone to *Toledo*, he went immediately thither himſelf, under pretence of a feign'd Memorial, which, he gave out, he had receiv'd from his Maſter, with poſitive Orders not to communicate it to any beſides His Catholick Majeſty. The Queen was extreamly ſurpriz'd at the unexpected Arrival of the *French* Ambaſſador; and caus'd Her Husband to acquaint him, That he had left the Cardinal of *Corduba* (he was one of the Queen's Creatures) at *Madrid*, to take Care of Foreign Affairs during His Abſence, to whom he might have communicated his Memorial; and that He only came there to recover His Health, and not to trouble himſelf with Buſineſs. This pretended Memorial was, it ſeems, to offer to the King of *Spain* his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Aſſiſtance to raiſe the Siege of *Ceuta*, which the Queen was too wiſe to let Her Husband Accept; ſince by that means the *French* would have got what ſhe was endeavouring to prevent; I mean, a Footing and Intereſt in *Spain*. The Marquis *d' Harcourt*, after this unſucceſsful Journey, bethought himſelf of another Stratagem, and being return'd to *Madrid*, did ſo powerfully work on the Ambition of Cardinal *Portocarero*, that he engag'd him in the Intereſt of *France*.

While theſe Things paſt in the South Parts of *Europe*, the *French* were not leſs buſy to ſtrengthen themſelves towards the *North*, by an Alliance with the Crown of *Sweden*, which at length was concluded at *Stockholm*, on the 9th of *July*; the main Articles of which were,

Treaty between France and Sweden. I. *That the ancient Alliance was renew'd between the Kings of* France *and* Sweden; *their Heirs and Succeſſors.*

II. *That the Aim and Intention of this Treaty, was to preſerve and ſecure the common Peace, by ſuch means as ſhould be judg'd moſt proper and convenient.* 1698.

III. *That if it ſhould be diſturb'd by any Breach and Hoſtilities, the Two Kings would make it Their Buſineſs to Repair the Wrongs in an Amicable way.*

IV. *That if Their Endeavours prov'd Ineffectual, They would jointly conſider of ways to defend the Rights of the Country injur'd.*

V. *That in caſe any Prince or State would enter into this Treaty within a Year, They ſhould be admitted by the Conſent of Both Kings.*

VI. *That neither the One nor the Other, ſhould make Peace or Truce without comprehending the Other therein.*

VII. *That the Articles of the Treaties formerly concluded by either of the Two, with other Kings, Princes, or States, ſhould remain in full Force and Vigor, ſo far as they ſhould not be contrary to this.*

VIII. *That the Freedom of Commerce between the Subjects of the Two Kings, ſhould be preſerved as formerly.*

IX. *In purſuance of which, all Ports, Cities, and Provinces, ſhould be open to the Subjects of both Crowns, according as the Laws and Cuſtoms ſhould permit, both to Sell their Commodities in theſe Places, and Buy others.*

X. *And that this particular Treaty ſhould continue Ten Years, with liberty to prolong this Term, if it were judg'd convenient by the Two Kings; who by Conſent ſhould have a watchful Eye upon the Means to preſerve the Peace againſt the Danger that threaten'd it.*

It was Comical to hear the *French* Miniſters in Foreign Courts talk of their Maſter's Endeavours to preſerve the Tranquility of *Europe*, when he ſeem'd the moſt forward to diſturb it, upon the firſt News of the King of *Spain*'s Death, which was hourly expected at the Court of *France*. For to ſay nothing of the Motions of his Land and Naval Forces, which I have already hinted, His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty caus'd a great Camp to be made at *Compeigne*, the pretence of which, was to inſtruct the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Art of War; but which gave no ſmall Umbrage to the Neighbouring Princes and States, who look'd upon it as deſigned to make a ſudden Irruption into the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. However, the unexpected Recovery of the King of *Spain*'s Health, as it diſappointed the Hopes of the one, ſo it diſpell'd the Fears of the reſt, at leaſt for this Year.

King *William*'s Journey to *Zell*, gave the Court of *France* as much Uneaſineſs, as *France* gave the Allies, by the Camp at *Compeigne*; tho' 'tis moſt certain that his *Britannick* Majeſty had nothing in View, but to cement the Union of the Princes of *Germany*, by a Match between the King of the *Romans*, and the Princeſs of *Hannover*, which was now agreed on, and ſoon after Compleated; and by removing the Apprehenſions ſome Members of the Empire were under, of the growing Power of the Emperor; which His *Britannick* Majeſty did effectually in concert with the States, by putting a ſtop to the *Hungarian* War, which had continu'd for above Fifteen Years. The Armies on both ſides were indeed conſiderable in Number and Strength this Summer; but yet there ſeem'd no great Diſpoſition in either for Action, but rather an Inclination in the contending Parties, to ſet up a Treaty under the Mediation of the Lord *Paget* the *Engliſh*, and Mr. *Collier*'s the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, who towards the middle of *Auguſt* arriv'd in the *Turkiſh* Camp near *Belgrade*; and by their good Offices got the Place to hold the Conferences to be between *Peter Waradin* and *Salankemen*; the Emperor's and Confederate Miniſters being to reſide at *Carlowitz*; Treaty between the Ottoman Port and the Empire.

the

1698. the Sultan's at *Salankemen*; and the Mediators between the two Places. It was the 7th of *November* when the latter delivered to the *Turkiſh* Plenipotentiaries the Preliminary Articles, which were in ſubſtance, That each Party reſpectively ſhould reſtore what he poſſeſs'd: And the Five following Days were ſpent in preparing Matter upon which they were to enter in Conference. On the 13th, the *Imperial* and *Turkiſh* Plenipotentiaries cauſ'd ſeveral fair Tents to be ſet up on the ſides of the Houſe appointed for the Conferences. And by Nine in the Morning, the firſt arriv'd at the Mediator's Lodgings, whither the *Turkiſh* alſo repair'd about the ſame time; and from thence went together to the Houſe of the Conference. Here after mutual Civilities, they took their Places in the midſt of the Tent, which had Four Doors, Two whereof being oppoſite, to one another, ſerv'd for the Entrance of the Mediators; and the other Two for the *Imperial* and *Turkiſh* Plenipotentiaries. The Count of *Ottinghen*, one of the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, had the Right of the former, and the *Effendi*, or Chancellor of the *Ottoman* Port, of the latter; the Mediators Secretaries, and thoſe of the Imperial Embaſſy, were placed behind; and the *Turkiſh* Secretary ſat down before upon the Floor. The Conference was open'd with the Pronunciation of theſe Words, *God Grant an Happy Peace:* And laſted from half an Hour after Ten, till Three in the Afternoon, when the Mediators and Plenipotentiaries went out in the ſame Order as they Enter'd. The Conferences were renew'd in the ſame manner the three ſucceeding Days, with good ſucceſs; but ſome Debates ariſing about the giving up of *Teckly*, and the Holy Sepulchre, the diſmantling of *Caminiec*, and the ſurrendring of another Place upon the *Black-Sea*; beſides the quitting of *Azoph* to the *Muſcovites*; and chiefly about the regulation of Limits between the two Empires, and the *Venetian* and *Turkiſh* Territories; the Plenipotentiaries ſent Expreſſes to their reſpective Maſters, which waſted a great deal of time: However, at length the *Imperialiſts* and *Poles* concluded their Part of the Treaty on the 26th of *January*, 1699. and perhaps would have done it ſooner, but in a ſort of Compliance to the *Venetians*, who did not ſign theirs till the middle of the next Month. As for the Articles between the *Czar* of *Muſcovy* and the *Sultan*, they contained only a Truce for two Years, and ſo were ſoon agreed upon and ſign'd on the 25th of *December*, 1698. By this Peace the Emperor preſerv'd his late Acquiſitions, and vaſtly enlarg'd his Territories; the *Poles* had the Important Place of *Caminieck* reſtored to them, in its preſent State, with other Advantages: The *Muſcovites* were Gainers by the keeping of *Azoph*; and though the *Venetians* ſeem'd to have far'd hardeſt in this Negotiation, as is uſual with thoſe who make their Terms laſt, yet they had all the *Morea*, and ſeveral Fortreſſes in *Dalmatia* yielded up to them: So that upon a right Computation it will appear, that the *Turks* loſt the beſt half of their Dominions in *Europe*. By this time the New King of *Poland* having brought the Cardinal Primate, who had all along ſtickled for the Prince of *Conti*, to acknowledge His Majeſty's Title, and compos'd the Troubles of *Lithuania*, an Univerſal Peace ſeem'd now to be ſettled throughout *Chriſtendom*.

King returns from *Holland*. On *Thurſday*, *Dec.* 1. the King ſet ſail from the Coaſt of *Holland*, in the *William* and *Mary* Yatcht, under a Convoy commanded by Sir *Cloudſly Shovel*, and landed at *Margate*, *Dec.* 3. He lay that Night at *Canterbury*, and came the next Evening to *Kenſington*. After ſeveral ſhort Prorogations to wait His Majeſty's Return, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* on *Tueſday*, *Dec.* 6. and His Majeſty coming to the Houſe of Peers with uſual Solemnity, ſent for the Commons, to whom the Lord Chancellor ſignified His Majeſty's Pleaſure, that they ſhould proceed to the Choice of a Speaker, and preſent him on *Friday* next; the Commons made choice of a very Worthy Perſon, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Bart. who being preſented on *Dec.* 9. was graciouſly approv'd by His Majeſty, who then made this Speech to Both Houſes. 1698. New Parliament meets.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Have no doubt but you are met together with Hearts fully diſpoſed to do what is neceſſary for the Safety, Honour and Happineſs of the Kingdom; and that is all I have to ask of you. King's Speech.

"In order to this, two Things ſeem principally to require your Conſideration.

"The One is, What Strength ought to be maintained at Sea, and what Force kept up at Land for this Year. All I ſhall obſerve to you upon this Head is, That the Flouriſhing of Trade, the Supporting of Credit, and the Quiet of Peoples Minds at home, will depend upon the Opinion they have of their Security; and to preſerve to *England* the Weight and Influence it has at preſent on the Councils and Affairs abroad, it will be requiſite *Europe* ſhould ſee you will not be wanting to your ſelves.

"The Second Thing I ſhall mention to you, as of great Conſequence, is the making ſome further Progreſs towards diſcharging the Debts which the Nation has contracted by reaſon of the long and expenſive War. In this the Publick Intereſt as well as Juſtice is concerned: And I think an *Engliſh* Parliament can never make ſuch a Miſtake, as not to hold ſacred all Parliamentary Engagements.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I do earneſtly recommend theſe Things to you, that you may provide ſuch Supplies as you ſhall judge neceſſary for theſe ſeveral Occaſions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I think it would be happy if ſome effectual Expedient could be found for employing the Poor, which might tend to the great Increaſe of our Manufactures, as well as remove a Heavy Burthen from the People. I hope alſo you will employ your Thoughts about ſome good Bills for the Advancement of Trade, and for the further diſcouraging of Vice and Prophaneneſs. The Things I have mentioned to you being of Common Concern.

It appear'd by this Speech, that His Majeſty was very deſirous to have a good Body of Land-Forces kept on foot, as well as a good Navy maintain'd at Sea; being apprehenſive that if *England* was entirely diſarmed, it would be too great a Temptation to the Ambition of *France*, to break through all Treaties and Engagements, in order to invade the Monarchy of *Spain*. Had the late Partition Treaty been communicated to the Commons, they would perhaps at that time have approv'd of it, or at leaſt have been ſo far under the ſame Apprehenſions with His Majeſty, as to ſee the neceſſity of keeping and awing *France* within the Bounds ſet Her by the Peace of *Ryſwick*. But the *French* King having now evacuated moſt of the Towns He was to ſurrender, the Accounts from *Madrid* giving great Hopes of the King of *Spain*'s Recovery, and all Things having a Fair Aſpect Abroad, the Commons fell in with the Popular Notion, That a Standing Army in Time of Peace was uſeleſs and burthenſome, would The King deſirous of Forces by Land and Sea.

1698. would be an Ill Example to Poſterity, and might encourage a bad Prince to encroach upon the Liberties of the Subject. This Cry was artfully improved by thoſe Members who were diſaffected to King *William*, and was carried on by ſome of the greateſt Inſtruments of the Revolution, who having, contrary to their Expectations, got nothing from the Court, were now in Anger to turn againſt it; that they might hereafter be bought off, when they could not be before rewarded. Under this Diſpoſition of the Houſe of Commons when they came to a Conſideration of His Majeſty's Speech, they Re- The Commons for Disbanding. ſolved, *That all the Land Forces of* England, *in* Engliſh *Pay, exceeding Seven Thouſand Men (and thoſe conſiſting of His Majeſty's Natural Born Subjects) be forthwith Paid and Diſbanded. And that all the Forces in* Ireland, *exceeding Twelve Thouſand Men (and thoſe His Majeſty's Natural Born Subjects, to be kept and maintain'd by the Kingdom of* Ireland) *be likewiſe forthwith diſbanded.* And they ordered a Bill to be brought in upon the ſaid Reſolutions, which was eagerly puſh'd on, and ſoon brought to perfection, becauſe the Good and the Ill Deſigns concentred in it.

Theſe Proceedings made the King very uneaſy; and the more ſo, becauſe His *Dutch* Regiment of Guards, who had ſo long ſerv'd Him, was by this Bill to be torn away from Him, and to be ſent out of the Kingdom. However, His Majeſty like a Wiſe and Good Prince, never oppoſing His own Will to what ſeem'd to be the Voice and Judgment of His People, choſe rather to compliment the Commons, than to contend with them. So on *Wedneſday, Feb.* 1. the King came to the Parliament, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the ſeveral Bills ready for Him.

Bills paſſed. 1. *An Act for granting an Aid to His Majeſty for Diſbanding the Army, and other Neceſſary Occaſions.* 2. *An Act to prevent the Making or Selling of Buttons made of Cloth, Serge, Drugget, or other Stuff.* 3. *An Act to prohibit the Exportation of any Corn, Malt, Meal, Flower, Bread, Biſcuit, or Starch, for one Year, from the* 10th *of* February, 1698. 4. *An Act for the more eaſy and certain Payment of the Debts of* Edward *Earl of* Darentwater, *by Sale of Woods and Timber, and for enabling him to raiſe Money for Diſcharge of Incumbrances upon Part of his Eſtate. And three other Private Acts for Naturalizing* Elizabeth Farewell, Nicholas Lepall, *and* Bartholomew Ogilvy.

After which His Majeſty made a Kind and Wiſe Speech, to ſhew His Reaſons to paſs the Diſbanding Bill, and yet to expoſtulate a little upon the Hardſhip of it.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech. "I Came to Paſs the Bill for Diſbanding the "Army, as ſoon as I underſtood it was ready for Me: Though in Our preſent Circumſtances there appears great hazard in breaking "ſuch a Number of the Troops: And though "I might think Myſelf unkindly uſed, that thoſe "Guards who came over with Me to your Aſſiſtance, and have conſtantly attended Me in all "the Actions wherein I have been engaged, "ſhould be removed from Me; yet it is My fixt "Opinion, That nothing can be ſo fatal to Us, "as that any Diſtruſt or Jealouſie ſhould ariſe between Me and My People, which I muſt own "would have been very unexpected, after what "I have Undertaken, Ventured, and Acted for "the Reſtoring and Securing of their Liberties.

"I have thus plainly told you the only Reaſon 1698. "which has induced Me to Paſs this Bill: And "now I think My ſelf oblig'd, in diſcharge of the "Truſt repoſed in Me, and for My Own Juſtification, that no Ill Conſequences may lye at "My Door, to tell you as plainly My Judgment, that the Nation is left too much expoſed.

"It is therefore incumbent on you to take this "Matter into your ſerious Conſideration, and "effectually to provide ſuch a Strength as is neceſſary for the Safety of the Kingdom, and "the Preſervation of the Peace which God hath "given Us.

The Commons were ſo well pleas'd with this Gracious Complaiſance of the King, that they immediately reſolved, That an Humble Addreſs be preſented to the King, to give His Majeſty Thanks for His Moſt Gracious Speech to Both Houſes of Parliament; with the Aſſurances of this Houſe, That they will ſtand by, and aſſiſt His Majeſty in the Support of Him and His Government, againſt all Enemies whatſoever. And they accordingly put their Reſolution into this Form of Addreſs.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

"We Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Commons Addreſs of Thanks. "Subjects, the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, being highly ſenſible of the Difficulties "Your Majeſty has undertaken, the Labours "You have ſuſtained, and the Hazards You have "run, in Reſcuing us from Popery and Arbitrary Power, Reſtoring our Liberties, and Giving "Peace and Quiet to all *Chriſtendom*; beg "leave to return our moſt hearty Thanks for "Your moſt Gracious Speech: In which You "expreſs ſo great a Regard for the Good Will "and Affections of Your People, and have given "ſo undeniable a Proof of Your Readineſs to "Comply with the Deſires of Your Parliament: And as Your Majeſty has ſhewn a "moſt Tender and Fatherly Concern for the "Security and Safety of Your People; ſo "give us leave to aſſure Your Majeſty, That "You ſhall never have Reaſon to think the "Commons are Undutiful or Unkind to Your "Majeſty; but that We will upon all Occaſions "Stand by, and Aſſiſt Your Majeſty in the Preſervation of Your Sacred Perſon, and Support "of Your Government againſt all Your Enemies "whatſoever.

This Addreſs being Preſented by the whole Houſe, had the Honour to be thus Anſwered by the King.

Gentlemen,

I take this Addreſs very kindly: I am fully Satisfied of your Duty and Affection to Me, and have no doubt but you will always Act in the manner you have expreſs'd on this Occaſion.

The Lords had made an Addreſs on *Jan.* 3. Lords Addreſs. wherein they repreſent *their being highly ſenſible of His Majeſty's great Care and Goodneſs towards His People, expreſs'd upon ſo many Occaſions, and particularly in His Speech to Both Houſes, at the opening of this Parliament; begg'd leave, by way of Addreſs, humbly to aſſure his Majeſty, that as they ſhould always retain a lively Impreſſion of thoſe great and continued Obligations, which His Majeſty had laid upon this Nation to all Poſterity; ſo it ſhould be, upon every Occaſion, the perpetual Care and Study of that Houſe, with the moſt Zealous Duty, and the moſt Grateful Affections imaginable, to make His Majeſty all ſuitable Returns within their Power. And at this Time*

1698. *Time particularly, they further aſſur'd His Majeſty, That they ſhould not fail to uſe their moſt diligent Endeavours, for the attaining of thoſe great and good Ends which His Majeſty had been pleaſed to recommend to His Parliament.* The King told the Lords, " That He took their Addreſs very kindly, and " gave them His hearty Thanks; and that they " might always depend upon His Kindneſs, as " He did on this Aſſurance of theirs to Him, and " their Zeal for the Publick Good. And now " upon His Majeſty's Signing the Act for the " Disbanding the Army, the Lords preſented " their moſt hearty Thanks to His Majeſty for it, " and for the Gracious Expreſſions in His Speech; " *That it was His Majeſty's fix'd Opinion, that nothing could be ſo fatal to them, as that any Diſtruſt or Jealouſie ſhould ariſe between His Majeſty and His People.* As likewiſe for His great Care and " Concern for the Safety of the Kingdom upon " all Occaſions; aſſuring His Majeſty, that at " all Times, for the Safety of the Kingdom, and " the Preſervation of the Peace which God had " given them, they would Aſſiſt and Defend His " Majeſty againſt all His Enemies, both at Home " and Abroad.

King Diſbands the Army.

The King Thank'd the Lords for their Addreſs; and finding that Both Houſes concurr'd in the ſame Opinion, as to the Disbanding of the Army, His Majeſty gave effectual Orders for reducing it according to the late Act, to the Number of Seven Thouſand Men, to be Maintain'd in *England*, under the Name of Guards and Garriſons: But by reaſon that Calvary is more ſerviceble upon any ſudden Exigency, than Infantry, His Majeſty took Care to preſerve more Regiments of the firſt than of the laſt: I mean, in reſpect to the uſual Proportion which is obſerved between the Number of the Horſe and Foot of an Army.

And ſends away His Dutch Guards.

This great Reform coſt the King many a heavy and melancholy Thought: But what touch'd His Majeſty to the very Quick, was the Neceſſity He was under, of ſending away His *Dutch* Guards: A Regiment, who had faithfully attended His Perſon from His Cradle; follow'd His Fortune every where; and to whom, beſides innumerable other Signal Services, He ow'd His Victory at the Famous Battle of the *Boyne*. With theſe His Majeſty had the utmoſt, and indeed, the juſteſt Regret to part: And therefore upon the 18th of *March*, He ſent a Meſſage by the Lord *Ranelaugh* to the Commons, not only Sign'd by His Majeſty, but all of His own Hand-Writing.

William R.

But firſt Expoſtulates with the Commons.

" His Majeſty is pleaſed to let the Houſe know, " that the Neceſſary Preparations are made for " Tranſporting the Guards who came with Him " into *England*; and that He intends to ſend them " away immediately, unleſs out of Conſideration " to Him, the Houſe be diſpoſed to find a " way for continuing them longer in His Ser" vice, which His Majeſty would take very " kindly.

Upon Reading this Meſſage, the Queſtion was put, That a Day be appointed to conſider of His Majeſty's ſaid Meſſage. But it was carried in the Negative, and Reſolved, That a Committee be appointed to draw up an Humble Addreſs to be Preſented to His Majeſty, repreſenting the Reaſons why the Houſe cannot comply with the Purport of His Majeſty's Meſſage this Day communicated to the Houſe. And this Addreſs was accordingly prepared, and delivered on *March* 24.

1698. Commons Anſwer.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

" We Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal " Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament " Aſſembled, do, with unfeigned Zeal to Your " Majeſty's Perſon and Government, (which God " long preſerve) moſt humbly Repreſent to Your " Majeſty,

" That the paſſing the late Act for Disbanding " the Army, gave great Satisfaction to Your Subjects; and the Readineſs Your Majeſty has expreſſed by Your Meſſage to comply with the " punctual Execution thereof, will prevent all Occaſions of Diſtruſt or Jealouſie between Your " Majeſty and Your People.

" It is, Sir, to Your Loyal Commons an unſpeakable Grief, that Your Majeſty ſhould be " adviſed to propoſe any Thing in Your Meſſage, " to which they cannot conſent, with due Regard " to that Conſtitution Your Majeſty came over to " reſtore, and have ſo often expos'd Your Royal " Perſon to preſerve, and did in Your Gracious " Declaration promiſe, that all thoſe Foreign " Forces which came over with You, ſhould be " ſent back.

" In Duty therefore to Your Majeſty, and to " diſcharge the Truſt repoſed in Us, we crave " leave to lay before You; That nothing conduceth more to the Happineſs and Welfare of this " Kingdom, than an entire Confidence between " Your Majeſty and Your People; which can no " way be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, as by intruſting " Your Sacred Perſon with your own Subjects, who " have ſo eminently ſignalized themſelves on all " Occaſions, during the late long and expenſive " War.

The King could not be pleaſed with this Addreſs, which was a Denial of what He Himſelf, and moſt Part of the World, did believe to be a Reaſonable and Modeſt Requeſt of a King to His People. However, to diſappoint ſome Enemies, and if poſſible, to reconcile others, His Majeſty gave this Gracious Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

The King wiſely yields.

" I Came hither to reſtore the Ancient Conſtitution of this Government. I have had " all poſſible Regard to it ſince my Coming, and " I am reſolved through the Courſe of My Reign, " to endeavour to preſerve it entire in all the Parts " of it.

" I have a full Confidence in the Affections of " My People, and I am well aſſured, they have " the ſame in Me; and I will never give them " juſt Cauſe to alter this Opinion.

" As to my Subjects who ſerved during the " War, I am an Eye-witneſs of their Bravery, " and of their Zeal for My Perſon and Govern" ment; and I have not been wanting to expreſs " My Senſe of this to My Parliament, as well as " upon other Occaſions.

" I have all the Reaſon to truſt and to rely " upon them, that a Prince can have; and I am " ſatisfied, there is not one Perſon among them " capable of entertaining a Thought, that what " was propoſed in My Meſſage, proceeded from " any Diſtruſt of them.

" It ſhall be My Study to the utmoſt of My " Power, to perform the Part of a Juſt and a " Good King: And as I will ever be ſtrictly and " nicely careful of Obſerving My Promiſes to My " Subjects, ſo I will not doubt of their Tender " Regards to Me.

The People pleaſed.

This Anſwer, though it could not but pleaſe, yet it would not move the Commons from their Reſolutions; ſo that the *Dutch* Guards were ſoon after Shipp'd off for *Holland*: Which, though it ſeem'd

1698. ſeem'd to weaken His Majeſty in His Military Defence and Safety, yet it ſtrengthened His Intereſt in the Hearts of all good Subjects, who ſaw now in an extraordinary Inſtance, that the King could deny Himſelf any Thing to oblige His People. On the ſame Day, *March* the 24th the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd theſe ſeveral Bills. 1. *An Act to prohibit the exceſſive Diſtilling of Spirits and Low Wines from Corn; and againſt the Exporting of Beer and Ale; and to prevent Frauds in Diſtillers.* 2. *An Act to enlarge the Trade to* Ruſſia. 3. *An Act for preventing irregular Proceedings of Sheriffs and other Officers, in making the Returns of Members choſen to ſerve in Parliament.* 4. *An Act for the clearing, repairing, preſerving, and maintaining the Haven and Piers of Great* Yarmouth *in the County of* Norfolk. 5. *An Act for making and keeping the River* Tone *Navigable, from* Bridgwater *to* Taunton, *in the County of* Somerſet. 6. *An Act for making the Ships* Margaret *and* Friendſhip *of* Briſtol, *to Trade as Free Ships.* 7. *An Act for the Relief of the Creditors of Sir* Robert Vyner, *Knight and Baronet, deceas'd.* 8. *An Act for enabling* George Penn, *Eſq; to ſell Lands for the Payment of his Debts, and other Purpoſes therein-mentioned.* 9. *An Act for the Ship* Charles, *Fly-Boat of* Exeter, *to Trade as a Free Ship.* And ſeveral other private diſtinct Acts, for the Naturalizing of *James St. Pierre*, *John Denny*, *Remond Hensberg*, *Charles de Sibourg*, *Francis St. George*, *William Lloyd*, *Cornelius de Wit*, *Godfrey Lloyd*, *John Meoles*, *Theophilus Rabemiers*, and many others.

Acts paſſed.

One of the Conſequences of Disbanding the Army, was a more viſible Concourſe of the *Jacobites* and Papiſts about the Town and the Court, in ſo bold and inſolent a manner, that the Commons took notice of it, and upon that Occaſion preſented this Addreſs to the King, on *February* the 21ſt.

Addreſs againſt Papiſts and Jacobites.

"We your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal "Subjects, the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, having obſerv'd the great Concourſe to "this City, of Papiſts and other diſaffected Perſons, who have not own'd Your Majeſty to be "Lawful and Rightful King of theſe Realms; "and the Boldneſs they aſſume from your Majeſty's unexampled Clemency, not only to keep "Horſes and Arms contrary to Law, but alſo to "frequent all publick Places of Reſort near Your "Two Houſes of Parliament, and even to approach Your Royal Palaces, whereby they may "have Opportunities to perpetrate any Wicked "Attempt againſt Your Royal Perſon; on the "Safety and Preſervation whereof, our Religion "and Liberties, and the Peace and Welfare not "only of theſe Kingdoms, but of all *Europe*, do "in very great meaſure depend.

"And having alſo conſidered the many Plots "and Conſpiracies againſt Your Majeſty's Perſon and Government, but eſpecially the late "Horrid intended Aſſaſſination, contrived and "carried on not only by Papiſts, (whoſe Religion "and Intereſt might lead them to it) but even "by ſuch who at their Death (to the great Scandal of our Religion) profeſſed and owned "themſelves to be Members of the Church of "*England*; which chiefly, under God, owes its "Preſervation and Defence to Your Majeſty; "and whoſe Doctrines are directly oppoſite to "all ſuch Inhuman and Treaſonable Practices.

"And having alſo certain Information, That "great Numbers of Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, "within this City and Parts adjacent, intrude "themſelves into the Preſence of Sick and Dying Perſons, with deſign to prevail upon them "in their Weakneſs, to be reconciled to the "Church of *Rome*; and daily endeavour to pervert and ſeduce from their Allegiance, Your "Majeſty's good Subjects, impoiſoning them "with their Wicked and Damnable Doctrines "and Principles: And that they have imported "great Quantities of Popiſh Books, and keep "Schools to Breed up, and Inſtruct Children in "the *Romiſh* Superſtition and Idolatry. 1698.

"We therefore hold our ſelves obliged, for "quieting the Minds of Your Good Subjects, "and in Duty to Your Majeſty, humbly to beſeech Your Majeſty, That You will be Graciouſly pleaſed (in order to ſuppreſs ſuch Practices of the reſtleſs and notorious Enemies of "Your Government) to iſſue out Your Royal "Proclamation, for Removing all Papiſts, and "others who diſown Your Majeſty's Government, from the City of *London*, and Parts adjacent, according to the Laws; and that the "Laws may be put in Execution againſt them in "ſuch manner, that their wicked Deſigns may "be effectually diſappointed.

To this Addreſs His Majeſty made Anſwer; *That he would take care that the Laws ſhould be put in Execution, according to their Deſire.* In order to which, His Majeſty cauſed His Royal Proclamation to be publiſhed on the 2d of *March*. A little before, the Old *Eaſt-India* Company had preſented a Petition to the Commons, praying "That their Caſe might be taken into Conſideration; and that the Houſe would make ſome "Proviſion, that their Corporation might ſubſiſt "for the Reſidue of the Term of Twenty One "Years, granted by His Majeſty's Charter: "That the Payment of the Five Pounds *per Cent.* "by the late Act for Settling the Trade to the "*Eaſt-Indies*, might be ſettled and adjuſted in "ſuch a manner, as it might not remain a Burden upon the Petitioners. And that ſuch further Conſiderations might be had for the Petitioners Relief, and for the Preſervation of the "*Eaſt-India* Trade to *England*, as ſhould be thought "meet." The Commons conſider'd of this Petition, and on *February* the 27th, order'd a Bill to be brought in thereupon; which Bill was rejected before it came to a Second Reading.

Eaſt-India Companies.

At the beginning of *December*, *William Norris*, Eſq, His Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the Great *Mogul*, had the Honour and Dignity of a Baronet conferr'd upon him. When the Court of Directors of the *Engliſh* Company Trading to the *Eaſt-Indies* attended on His Majeſty, to Congratulate His ſafe Return, and to make their humble Acknowledgments for His Royal Favours to that Company, *December* the 14th, the King conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Streynſham Maſters*, *James Bateman*, and *Edmund Harriſon*, Eſqs; Three of the Directors. On *January* the 15th, the King conferr'd the ſame Honour of Knighthood upon *Edward Littleton*, Eſq; whom the Company had made choice of, to be their Preſident in the Bay of *Bengall*.

As to the Affairs of *Scotland*, the Parliament met at *Edinburgh* on *July* the 19th, and His Majeſty's Commiſſion conſtituting *Patrick* Earl of *Marchmont* (Lord Chancellor of that Kingdom) His Majeſty's High Commiſſioner for holding the ſame, was read; as likewiſe His Majeſty's Letter to the Lord Commiſſioner, appointing the Viſcount *Seafield* Principal Secretary of State, to be Preſident during this Seſſion; and the Lord *Polworth*, to Sit and Vote as Lord High Treaſurer: Who being both Sworn, and having Sign'd the Aſſurance and Aſſociation, took their Places in the uſual manner. This done, His Majeſty's Letter to the Parliament was read: "Wherein "His Majeſty thank'd them for the Proofs of "their

Affairs of Scotland.

1698. " their Loyalty and good Affection to his Perſon " and Government, in the former Seſſions of " Parliament; and aſſur'd them, that he deſign'd " to give them ſuch Encouragement upon all Oc- " caſions, as might make them find the Advan- " tages of their Faithfulneſs and Duty to Him. " That he was ſenſible of their cheerful Aſſi- " ſtance, during the Continuance of the War; " which by the Bleſſing of God was now ended " in an honourable Peace. Moreover, His Ma- " jeſty acquainted them, That the preſent Cir- " cumſtances of Affairs hindred Him from proſe- " cuting His Deſign of holding this Seſſion in " Perſon; but that he had appointed the Earl of " *Marchmont* to repreſent His Royal Authority " among them; being well ſatisfied of His Abi- " lities for diſcharging this Truſt, and having " fully inſtructed him to do whatever might be " neceſſary for the Support of the Government, " and Safety of the Kingdom. That their Ene- " mies abroad, and thoſe who were diſaffected " to the Government at home, were ſtill ready " to lay hold on all Opportunities for carrying " on their bold Deſigns: And therefore His Ma- " jeſty judged it abſolutely neceſſary for their " Preſervation, that the Forces upon the preſent " Eſtabliſhment ſhould be continued; and He did " not doubt but they would provide ſuitable Sup- " plies for maintaining them. His Majeſty alſo " recommended to them the Raiſing Supplies to " make good the Deficiencies of the Funds gi- " ven in former Seſſions, for the paying the Ar- " rears that were due, and repairing the Forts " and Garriſon'd Places: The taking effectual " Methods to diſcourage Vice, Immorality, and " Irreligion; and Unanimity and Cordial Con- " currence in the Diſpatch of the Publick Af- " fairs; that it might appear to all they were not " unmindful of the happy Deliverance they had " had, from the Dangers to which their Religi- " on and Liberties were formerly expos'd: Aſ- " ſuring them, in the Concluſion, of His Care " to maintain their Religion, Laws, and Liber- " ties; and of His Royal Favour and Protecti- " on, in all their Concerns." After this, the Lord High Commiſſioner, and the Lord Preſi- dent, enlarg'd the Reaſonableneſs of His Maje- ſty's Demands, in their reſpective Speeches to the Parliament; and then Adjourn'd the ſame to the 21ſt. When the Parliament met again, and appointed Four Committees; one to conſider of the Security of the Kingdom; one for Trade, another for Elections, and a fourth for returning an Anſwer to His Majeſty's Letter. Two Days after, the firſt of theſe Committees having made their Report, it was reſolved, *That the preſent ſtanding Forces of this Kingdom were neceſſary to be continued.* And thereupon another Committee was Named, to find Ways and Means to raiſe the ne- ceſſary Sums for their Subſiſtence.

In the mean Time, the *Scotch India-Company* be- ing very uneaſie upon account of the ſtop put to their Subſcriptions by *England*, laid open their Grievances before the Parliament, in a Petition; wherein they Repreſented, " That whereas the " Wiſdom of the King and Parliament had thought " fit, by Two ſeveral ſolemn Acts and Letters " Patent, under the Great Seal of that Kingdom, " to eſtabliſh their Company with ſuch Power, " Priviledges, and Immunities, as were needful " to encourage any ſuch new Undertaking in " that Nation; and particularly to raiſe a Joint- " Stock in ſuch manner as they ſhould think fit; " and for that end, to enfranchiſe ſuch Foreign- " ers as would become Partners with them, and " to enter into Treaties of Commerce with any " in Amity with His Majeſty for that Effect: " That thoſe of their Number, who were then en- " truſted with the Management of that Affair, did " think it moſt natural to make the Offer of " ſharing their ſaid Privilege with their Country- " men, and other Neighbours in *England*, as living " under the ſame Monarchy; and that they not " only readily embraced the Offer, but in Nine " Days ſubſcrib'd 300000 *l. Sterling*, as the one " half of the Capital Stock then propoſed, and " actually paid in the firſt fourth Part thereof; " part in Specie, part in Bank Notes, payable " upon Demand. That Both Houſes of Parlia- " ment of *England*, taking Umbrage at thoſe " Proceedings, had not only jointly Addreſſed " His Majeſty, for fruſtrating the Ends of the " ſaid Acts, but the Houſe of Commons had al- " ſo appointed a Committee, to Examine what " Methods were taken for obtaining the ſaid Acts " of Parliament for Eſtabliſhing their Company; " who were the Subſcribers thereunto, and who " were the Promoters and Adviſers thereof; " with Power to ſend for Perſons, Papers, and " Records: And that purſuant thereto, the ſaid " Committee had given Orders to Summon not " only the *Engliſh* Subſcribers, but even ſome " Perſons reſiding then in *Scotland*; as by the " ſaid Addreſs, Votes of the Houſe of Commons, " and Copy of the ſaid Summons, did appear: " By all which, together with ſome other Mea- " ſures then taken, their Friends in *England* were, " to their great Loſs, Diſappointment, and Re- " tardment, forced to relinquiſh *their Enterprize.* " That, notwithſtanding that Diſcouragement, " not only moſt of the Nobility, Gentry, Mer- " chants, and the whole Body of the Royal Bur- " roughs, had upon the Inducement, and publick " Faith of the ſaid Acts of Parliament, and Let- " ters-Patent, contributed as Adventurers in rai- " ſing a far more conſiderable Joint-Stock than " any was ever before rais'd in the Kingdom for " any publick Undertaking or Project of Trade " whatſoever, which made it of ſo much the " more univerſal a Concern to the Nation, but " they had alſo all the promiſing Hopes of Fo- " reign Aid that their Hearts could wiſh, eſpe- " cially at *Hamburgh*, where the Merchants of " that City enter'd into Contract with their De- " puties, to join at leaſt 200000 *l. Sterling* with " them; till to their great Surprize and Loſs the " *Engliſh* Miniſters there, had, under the pre- " tence of ſpecial Warrant from His Majeſty, " put a ſtop thereto, by giving in a Memorial to " the Senate of that City, not only diſowning " the Authority of the ſaid Acts of Parliament " and Letters-Patent, but alſo threatning both " Senate and Inhabitants, with the King's utmoſt " Diſpleaſure, if they ſhou'd countenance or " join with them in any Treaty of Trade or " Commerce; as by the annexed Copies thereof " might appear: Which Memorial they pray'd " might, for the better Information of his Grace " and the Eſtates, be read in Parliament. That " after the ſaid Memorial was by the Senate tranſ- " mitted to the *Commercii*, or *Body* of Merchants of " that City, they to aſſert their own Freedom, " had adviſed and prevailed upon their (the *Scots*) " Deputies and Agents, who were there for the " Time, to open Books in the ſaid Merchants " Hall, where for ſome Days they Sign'd conſide- " rable Sums purſuant to their ſaid Contract, tho' " under Condition to be void, if they ſhould not " procure ſome Declaration from the King that " might render them ſecure from the *Threatnings* " and other Inſinuations contain'd in the ſaid Me- " morial. That as the reaſonable (nay, and unque- " ſtionable) Proſpects which they had of a power- " ful Aſſiſtance from *Hamburgh*, and ſeveral other " Places (if not obſtructed as aforeſaid) had " induced them to prepare a far greater Equi-

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page at firſt, than otherwiſe they would have done; ſo the rendring theſe Meaſures abortive, had not only weaken'd their Stock, leſſen'd their Credit, retarded their firſt Expedition, and diſheartned many of their Partners at home, but even ſlacken'd their Reſolution and Power from Proſecuting at that time, ſeveral other Branches of Foreign and Domeſtick Trades and Improvements, which they had in view, if they had not met with ſuch Obſtructions and Diſcouragements from time to time. That though their Company was more immediately and ſenſibly touch'd in many reſpects by ſuch Proceedings than any other, yet they humbly conceived alſo, that the *Honour and Independency of the Nation*, as well as the Credit and Authority of the Parliament, was ſtruck at through their Sides. That they could not as Country-men, and in Duty to that Collective Power which gave their Company firſt a Being, but inform his Grace his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner, and the Right Honourable the Eſtates of Parliament, of the Premiſes, to the end that the Great Council of the Nation (then Aſſembled) might do therein, as they in their profound Wiſdom and Diſcretion ſhould think fit. That as to what concerned their Company in particular, they ſhould humbly crave leave to ſuggeſt farther, That the Ships being then at Sea, on their intended Voyage, the former Treatment which their Company met with in *England*, and elſewhere, might give them juſt Grounds to ſuſpect, that if either through multiplicity of publick Affairs, or otherwiſe howſoever, his Grace, and the Right Honourable the Eſtates of Parliament, ſhould neglect the taking preſent Notice of ſuch Umbrage, the Enemies of their Company would be thereby encourag'd either directly or indirectly to purſue their former Deſigns of ruining (if poſſible) all their Meaſures. Therefore they deſir'd his Grace and the Eſtates of Parliament to take the Premiſes into their ſerious Conſideration, to vindicate their Company's Reputation Abroad, by ſupporting the Credit of the Acts of Parliament, and Letters-Patent, by which the ſame was Eſtabliſh'd, and wherein the Honour of the Nation was ſo much concern'd; to take effectual Meaſures for repairing the great Loſs and Damages which they had already ſuſtain'd through the unwarrantable Treatment above-mentioned, as well as for preventing the like for the time to come; And withal to continue to them the Privileges and Exemptions mentioned in the ſaid Acts of Parliament, and Letters-Patent for ſome longer Time, in conſideration of the Time already elapſed without Execution, and their Stock lying dead without Improvement, by reaſon of the aforeſaid Obſtructions.

The Parliament having maturely weighed this Petition, thought fit, by way of Addreſs, humbly to repreſent to his Majeſty, "That having conſider'd a Repreſentation made to them by the Council General of the Company trading to *Africa* and the *Indies*, which mentioned ſeveral Obſtructions that they met with in the proſecution of their Trade; particularly by a Memorial preſented to the Senate of *Hamburgh*, by his Majeſty's Reſident in that City, tending to leſſen the Credit of the Rights and Privileges granted to the ſaid Company, by an Act of the then preſent Parliament: They therefore in an humbly Duty laid before his Majeſty the whole Nation's Concern in that Matter, and they did moſt earneſtly intreat, and moſt aſſuredly expect, that his Majeſty in his Royal Wiſdom would take ſuch Meaſures as might effectually vindicate the Undoubted Rights and Privileges of the ſaid Company, and ſupport the Credit and Intereſt thereof. And as they were in Duty bound to return his Majeſty moſt hearty Thanks for the Gracious Aſſurance his Majeſty had been pleaſed to give them of all due Encouragement, for promoting the Trade of that Kingdom; that ſo they were thereby encouraged humbly to recommend to the more eſpecial Marks of his Royal Favour, the concern of the ſaid Company, as that Branch of their Trade, in which they and the Nation which they repreſented, had a more peculiar Intereſt.

The Company having thus engaged the Parliament to eſpouſe their Intereſt, they ſeconded their Addreſs by a Petition to the King, importing, "That whereas the Parliament had by their Addreſs been pleaſed to recommend the Concerns of the Company to his Majeſty, for ſupporting the Credit and Intereſt thereof, which had already ſuffer'd in a great meaſure, by reaſon of the ſeveral Obſtructions which they had met with in the Proſecution of their Trade; particularly by a Memorial given in to the Senate of *Hamburgh*, by his Majeſty's Miniſter there; Theſe encourag'd them with all Humility to lay before his Majeſty, That as the ſaid Memorial was given in to the Senate of *Hamburgh* in a moſt Solemn and Publick Manner, ſo they humbly conceiv'd, that the Effects thereof could not be taken away, but by ſome Intimation made to the ſaid Senate, that they might enter into Commerce with them as freely and ſecurely in all reſpects as they might have done before giving in of the ſaid Memorial. That in conſideration of the Damages ſuſtain'd by the Company, his Majeſty would be pleas'd for their Encouragement, as a Gracious Mark of his Royal Favour, to beſtow upon them the two ſmalleſt of the Frigats then lying uſeleſs in *Bruntiſland* Harbour: And that in regard of the Time loſt by reaſon of the ſaid Obſtructions, his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleas'd to continue the Privileges granted by Act of Parliament to the ſaid Company, of being Cuſtom-free for ſuch longer Time as his Majeſty ſhould think fit.

This Affair occaſioning great Heats and Diſcontents in the Parliament, the Lord High Commiſſioner put a ſtop to their Proceedings towards the beginning of *September*, and adjourn'd them to the 25th of *November*.

During this Interval, there being a Letter ſent from Mr. *Stevenſon*, the Company's Agent at *Hamburgh*, to the Court of Directors of the Company, on the 4th of *November*, concerning the *Hamburgh* Memorial, and another of the 18th of the ſame Month; this occaſion'd another Letter from the Directors of the Company to the Lord *Seafield*, Secretary of State, wherein they declar'd, "That they had by Order of the Council-General of their Company, tranſmitted the Copies of Two Letters receiv'd from their Company's Agent at *Hamburgh* to his Lordſhip; upon the reading whereof the Day before, at a Meeting of the ſaid Council-General, they were not a little ſurpriz'd at the Contents, conſidering the many repeated Aſſurances they had formerly by Letters and Word of Mouth, and even in Parliament, That the King had given Orders to his Miniſter at *Hamburgh*, with Relation to the Memorial given in to the Senate of that City againſt their Company; but after ſome Reaſoning thereupon, and conſidering how far his Lordſhip's frank Undertaking, when in *Scotland*, as well as the Station he was in, did engage his beſt Endeavours to procure the

1698. "Company Juſtice, and vindicate the Company's Rights in that Matter, they had order'd "them, (the Court of Directors) to tranſmit the "ſaid Copies to his Lordſhip, and expected his "Lordſhip's Anſwer to that and their late Petition to his Majeſty, before they remonſtrated "any further with relation thereunto." Hereupon the Secretary, on *December* 13. enſuing, acquainted the ſaid Court of Directors, by a Letter ſent to Sir *John Sabaw*, Preſident to the ſaid Court, *That he would take the firſt convenient Opportunity he could have to repreſent the Matter to the King, but cou'd not yet expect to have it, His Majeſty being very much employ'd in the Affairs of the* Engliſh *Parliament.*

To look over into *Ireland*, the Parliament met at *Dublin* on *Septemb.* 27. and the Lords Juſtices Addreſs'd themſelves to Both Houſes in this manner.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Affairs of Ireland. "We have called you together by His Majeſty's Command, as ſoon as the Seaſon of the "Year would permit us to do it with your Conveniencies, being very deſirous to ſend you "thoſe Bills which we tranſmitted the laſt Year: "and which are ſo great Proofs of the Continuance of His Majeſty's Affection to you, that "whoſoever conſiders them, and thoſe Acts already paſſed this Parliament, will be convinc'd, "that as you owe to His Majeſty your Deliverance and preſent Safety, ſo He deſigns you ſhall "likewiſe owe to Him your firm Eſtabliſhment "and future Proſperity.

"Amongſt thoſe Bills there is one for the Encouragement of Linnen and Hempen Manufactures. At our firſt meeting we recommended to you that Matter, and we have now endeavour'd to render this Bill practicable and "uſeful for that Effect, and as ſuch we recommend it to you. The Settlement of this Manufacture will contribute much to People in "the Country, and will be found much more "advantageous to this Kingdom than the *Woollen Manufacture*; which being the ſettled Staple "Trade of *England*, from whence all Foreign "Markets are ſupplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpoſe; whereas the Linnen "and Hempen Manufactures will not only be "encouraged, as conſiſtent with the Trade of "*England*, but will render the Trade of this "Kingdom both uſeful and neceſſary to *England*.

"We hope the great Debt due at *Midſummer*, "1697. will be paid by what you have formerly "given and deſign'd for that purpoſe. The King "has ſince the Peace thought fit to ſend hither "a part of thoſe Forces who ſerved abroad during all the War, having disbanded the greateſt "part of thoſe who ſerved here, with a Reſolution notwithſtanding to continue the Subſiſtence "to the Officers, until they can be otherwiſe provided for. His Majeſty expects that you will "enable Him to ſupport the Charge of the preſent "Eſtabliſhment, which ſhall be laid before you, "*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, with an Account of what the Revenue produced for One "Year from the ſaid *Midſummer*, 1697.

"We muſt inform you, that there hath been "ſo great Remiſneſs in the Management of the "preſent Poll, that very little of that Money is "yet receiv'd. We are ſo ſenſible of the neceſſity and uſefulneſs of the *Barraques*, that we "have advanc'd the Money neceſſary to go on "with them, ſo faſt as it could be employ'd, and "hope you will enable us to finiſh all thoſe you "ſhall think neceſſary for eaſing the Country in "Quarters. *My Lords and Gentlemen*, We have "taken all Occaſions to aſſure His Majeſty of "your Loyalty and Zeal for His Service: You "will judge beſt of the Effects of thoſe Aſſurances, when you conſider His Majeſty's whole "Conduct in every thing which concerns you. "We can never doubt of ſuitable Returns on "your Part, but join with you in hearty Acknowledgments of the Bleſſings we enjoy under "ſo Great and Juſt a Prince; and in earneſt "Prayers to God for the long continuance of "ſo Glorious a Reign, ſo neceſſary for the Eſtabliſhment of the Church, and for a laſting "Settlement of your Happineſs and Proſperity.

Both Houſes Voted Thanks to their Excellencies for the Speech; and the Commons expreſs'd theirs in the following Addreſs. "We "the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, in Parliament Aſſembled, being the Repreſentatives of "a People reſtor'd to the free Exerciſe of their "Religion, and free Enjoyment of their Civil "Rights, Liberties and Properties, by His Majeſty's Courage and Conduct, are deſirous to "lay hold of every Opportunity to expreſs the "Senſe and Gratitude of our Hearts for thoſe ineſtimable Benefits. And it is a great Addition "to our Happineſs, to be aſſur'd by your Excellencies, that as His Majeſty has been pleaſed "already to paſs ſeveral Excellent Acts in this "Parliament, ſo there will Bills be laid before "us this Seſſion, which may ſecure us a firm Eſtabliſhment and Proſperity for the future: "Such Laws we have long wanted and wiſh'd for; "but it is reſerv'd to His Majeſty's Goodneſs alone, "to be the Author of them to us.

"We pray leave to aſſure your Excellencies, "That we ſhall heartily endeavour to Eſtabliſh "the Linnen Manufacture, and to render the "ſame uſeful to *England*, as well as advantageous "to this Kingdom; and that we hope to find "ſuch a Temperament in reſpect to the Woollen "Trade here, that the ſame may not be injurious to *England*. And as we have to our utmoſt "Abilities, granted Supplies, which have hitherto with Honour ſupported and defrayed the "Expences of the Eſtabliſhment, we ſhall again "take the ſame into our Conſideration, when "laid before us; and come to ſuch Reſolutions "thereon, as become Dutiful and Loyal Subjects.

"We are ſenſible how neceſſary the Erecting "Barraques is, for eaſing the Country of Quarters, and pray your Excellencies the ſame may "be proceeded on.

"And that His Majeſty may effectually receive thoſe Aids already granted Him by this "Parliament, we ſhall take into our Enquiry, through whoſe Defaults or Remiſneſs "the preſent Poll, hath been ſo ſlowly paid, "and anſwer'd into the Treaſury: And by all "Dutiful Deportment, will continue to deſerve "the Character your Excellencies have, with "great Truth, repreſented us under to His Majeſty, of being a People Zealous for His Majeſty's Service, and firm in our Loyalty to the "Crown of *England*: For which Juſtice done "us, we owe, and with all Acknowledgments, "return your Excellencies our moſt Humble and "Hearty Thanks." To this Addreſs their Excellencies made the following Anſwer. Gentlemen, *There are ſo many Expreſſions of Loyalty and Zeal for His Majeſty's Service in your Addreſs, that We receive it with great Satisfaction; and are very glad, that by Repreſenting it to His Majeſty, We ſhall confirm in Him the good Opinion He hath of your Intentions for His Service, and the Proſperity of this Kingdom.*

On

1698. On the 1ſt of *October*, the ſame Day the afore-mention'd Addreſs was preſented, the Commons read for the firſt time a Bill for Confirming the Eſtates and Poſſeſſions held and enjoy'd under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation; and order'd Heads to be brought in for a Bill *for Encouraging of Plantations, and Improvements in that Kingdom.* Nine Days after, the Committee appointed to take into Conſideration the Lords Juſtices Speech, reported, *That it was their Opinion that a Supply be granted to His Majeſty, and that it was neceſſary that the Woollen Trade of* Ireland *be Regulated:* To which Reſolutions the Houſe unanimouſly agreed. On the 17th of the ſame Month, a Motion was made, that an Addreſs be preſented to the Lords Juſtices of that Kingdom, to intercede with his Majeſty, that the Five Regiments of *French Proteſtants*, then in *Ireland*, ſhould be Disbanded; but the ſame paſs'd in the Negative. Five Days after, the Commons read the Bill *for the better Security of His Majeſty's Perſon and Government*; and took particularly into their Conſideration, that Clauſe which had been Voted out by the Majority of Ten Voices, relating to the *Roman Catholicks* taking the new Oaths; and after a long Debate, threw out the Bill: But at the ſame time, they appointed a Committee to bring in the Heads of a Bill *to prevent the Eſtates of* Proteſtants *to come to* Papiſts, *and to encourage Perſons to turn* Proteſtants. On the 14th, the Committee appointed to conſider of Ways and Means for raiſing the Supply, reported their Opinion; which was, Firſt, That an Additional Duty be impos'd on the Old and New Drapery of that Kingdom, that ſhould be exported, Freezes excepted; to which the Houſe agreed: And, Secondly, That a Tax be laid on all Beneficial Grants of Lands and Tenements, made by his Majeſty and her late Majeſty; to which the Houſe diſagreed: And inſtead of it, they afterwards on *October* 22. reſolv'd to lay a further Tax of 30000 *l.* upon Lands, over and above the 90000 *l.* already impoſed upon them. The Bill for Levying theſe Sums being compleated, the Lords Juſtices Adjourned the Parliament, and then took a Progreſs into the Country, in order to view the State of ſeveral Places in that Kingdom, and give ſuch Inſtructions as they thought convenient for the Security of the Government, and the Good of the Subject.

State of Religion. As to any diſtinguiſhing Matters of Religion, we ought to obſerve that of all ſorts of Diſſenters, the *Quakers*, who leaſt deſerved the Toleration, made the boldeſt uſe of it: They appear'd now in Parliamentary Elections, and gave their Votes without Swearing to their Freeholds; and being in their Faction united, they could bring the weight and the turn in many Elections. Boldneſs of the Quakers. Nay, and they ſeem'd to hope to be Repreſentatives as well as Electors. One of the Members, Mr. *Waller*, became at laſt profeſſedly their Friend and Brother: And in his Neighbourhood at *Wickam* another Quaker, one *Archdale*, was choſen a Burgeſs for this Parliament, though he was himſelf conſcious that he could not qualify himſelf to be a legal Sitting Member; and therefore at the beginning of the Seſſion, he went to the Speaker, and delivered him a Letter Sealed up, wherein he ſaid he had repreſented his Caſe to the Houſe, ſubmitting the ſame to their Pleaſure and Determination. This Letter was read *Jan.* 6. and the Writer, *John Archdale*, was called in, and Mr. Speaker, by Direction of the Houſe, asked him, Whether he had taken the Oaths, or would take the Oaths appointed to qualify himſelf to be a Member of that Houſe? To which he anſwered, *That in regard to a Principle of his Religion, he had not taken the Oaths, nor could take them.* Upon which, without asking what that *Religion* was, or why he would ſuffer himſelf to be returned, when he knew his own Incapacity; it was only ordered, *That a Warrant ſhould be iſſued for a new Writ, for Electing a Burgeſs to ſerve in this preſent Parliament, for the Borough of* Chipping-Wicomb, *in the County of* Bucks, *in the room of the ſaid Mr.* Archdale, *who hath refuſed to qualify himſelf to be a Member of this Houſe, by taking the Oaths by Law appointed for that purpoſe.* And it was indeed ſomewhat Scandalous to ſee, when any Bill or Petition was depending, wherein the *Quakers* had their Account or Deſign, what Crowding, what Solliciting, what Treating and Trading there was by that ſly and artificial Set of Men (*a*).

On *Friday*, *December* 23. leave was given to bring in a Bill or Bills for the more effectual diſcouraging and ſuppreſſing Prophaneneſs, and all manner of Vice and Immorality. And Sir *John Philips*, Sir *Richard Cocks*, Mr. *Perry*, and Mr. *Boſcawen*, were to prepare and bring in the Bill. This pious Care had been recommended by the King, in his Speech at the opening of the Seſſion; but the Omiſſion of it was left for him to Complain of in his Speech at concluding the ſame Seſſion. Indeed Immorality and Prophaneneſs could not be effectually reſtrain'd, while they were acted over with ſo much indecent Liberty upon the Stage. The ordinary Plays, inſtead of anſwering the good old Deſign of expoſing Vice and recommending the Charms of Vertue, were Liberty of the Stage very Scandalous. debauch'd with the wrong Images of things, and with a Language bordering upon Impious and Obſcene. This Licentious Vein had grown into a Faſhion under the Rejoicings of King *Ch. II.* and was now continued to pleaſe the vitiated Palate of the Gay and Looſe People, that frequented the Play-Houſes for want of Religion and Buſineſs. The King who rarely or never went to thoſe Places of Diverſion, was honeſtly inform'd of the Scandal given in them; and therefore to put ſome Check upon their Liberty and Lewdneſs, he commanded the following Order to be ſent to Both Play-Houſes.

His Majeſty being inform'd, that notwithſtanding an Order made the 4th of June, 1697. *by the Earl of* Sunderland, *then Lord Chamberlain of His Majeſty's Houſhold, to prevent the Prophaneneſs and Immorality of the Stage, ſeveral Plays have lately*

(*a*) *See*, 1. A Third Narrative of the Proceedings at *Turners Hall* the 21ſt of *April*, 1698. giving an exact Account of the Proofs brought by *George Keith* out of the *Quakers* printed Books: Read by *George Keith* out of his Manuſcript, and examined by ſome Miniſters of the Church of *England*. *London*. 1698. 4*to* 2. The Yearly Epiſtle of the *Quakers* met at *London* to their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, to remind them of their Ancient Teſtimony againſt the payment of Tithes, and that it be faithfully maintained and kept up, and that it may not be avoided and ſhunned by any indirect Ways or Courſes with Landlords, or otherwiſe. 3. The *Quakers* Challenge made to the *Norfolk* Clergy: Or, a Reſolution of a Conference between ſome Clergymen of the Church of *England* and ſome *Quakers*, held on the 8th of *December*, 1698. in *Weſt-Dereham* Church in the County of *Norfolk*; together with thoſe Letters which paſſed between them in order thereunto. *London.* 1699. 4*to*. 4. A Letter ſent to Mr. *Richard Hardcaſtle*, wherein is a ſhort Review of ſome Things aſſerted by the *Quakers* in their *Norfolk* Diſputation with the Clergy, 1698, refuting the Account given by the *Quakers* themſelves. By *Robert Prudom*, formerly a Quaker. *Lond.* 1699. 12*mo*. 5. *George Keith*'s Fourth Narrative of his Proceedings at *Turners-Hall*, detecting the *Quakers* groſs Errors: Faithfully taken out of their Books and read at three ſeveral Meetings on the 11th, 18th, and 23d of *January*, 1698-9. For *Brab. Aylmer.* 4*to*. 6. To the Honourable Houſe of Commons, the humble Petition of the Grand Jury and Juſtices of Peace for the County of *Suffolk*, on behalf of themſelves, and the Body of the ſaid County, againſt the Blaſphemous Doctrine and Seditious Principles of the People called *Quakers*. Printed by *Francis Bugg*.

been

1698.

been Acted, containing Expreſſions contrary to Religion and Good Manners. And whereas the Maſter of the Revels has repreſented, that in Contempt of the ſaid Order, the Actors do often neglect to leave out ſuch Prophane and Indecent Expreſſions, as he has thought proper to be Omitted. Theſe are therefore to ſignify His Majeſty's Pleaſure, that you do not hereafter preſume to Act any thing in any Play contrary to Religion or Good Manners; as you ſhall anſwer it at your utmoſt Peril. Given under My Hand this 13th of *February*, 1698. in the Eleventh Year of His Majeſty's Reign.

Pere. Bertie.

An Order was likewiſe ſent by his Majeſty's Command to the Maſter of the Revels, not to Licenſe any Plays, containing Expreſſions contrary to Religion and Good Manners; and to give Notice to the Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, or, in his Abſence, to the Vice-Chamberlain, if the Players preſume to Act any thing which he has ſtruck out.

Sufferings of the Proteſtants in France.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that the greateſt Stain to the late General Peace, was the too little Security provided for the Proteſtant Intereſt Abroad: And eſpecially in *France*, where the King was ſo far from being brought to any Temper and Indulgence toward his Proteſtant Subjects, that he ſeem'd rather to have the Strength and Leiſure to Perſecute them with greater Fury. This was a ſenſible Grief to King *William*; and the more, that he was unable to give them any Redreſs. However, to ſhew his Royal Pity and Concern, he ordered a Day of Faſt and Solemn Humiliation, *for averting of thoſe Judgments which our manifold Sins and Provocations have moſt juſtly deſerved; and that God would in his Great Mercy and Goodneſs Relieve and Comfort ſuch as Suffer Abroad for the Proteſtant Religion.* And beſides this publick Commiſeration of their Sufferings, the King gave Inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors in the Court of *France* to ſollicit the Releaſe of many Proteſtant Miniſters and People from the Slavery of the Gallies. But all the Anſwer that could be obtained from the *French* Miniſtry, was this, That they were their Maſter's own Subjects, and no Prince ought to interpoſe in his Majeſty's way of governing his own People. We ought to remember, that there was another good Intention in the Houſe of Commons, which came to no effect.

A good Bill dropt.

On *Monday*, *Jan.* 2. they Ordered, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill, for the Conveying of Lands, Tenements, Rents, Tithes, and Hereditaments, to any College or School, for the Education of poor Scholars, or Advancement of Learning, or Improvement of any Parſonage, or Vicaridge, or any other Charitable Uſe; and that Mr. *Thirsby* and Mr. *Foley* do prepare and bring in the Bill. This Bill was accordingly preſented to the Houſe on *Saturday*, 7 *Jan.* and Received and Read the firſt Time, and was ordered to be Read a ſecond Time; but it was unhappily dropt.

1699.

On *March* 27. Mr. *Boyle* Reported the Reſolutions of the Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the State of the Navy; and the Houſe agreed to the Reſolutions, and Ordered them to be laid before his Majeſty in this Humble Addreſs.

1699.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

Addreſs of the Commons.

" We your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal
" Subjects, the Commons in Parliament Aſſem-
" bled, having taken into our Serious Conſidera-
" tion the State of the Navy, do moſt humbly
" Repreſent to your Majeſty,
" That the *Streights* Squadron not Sailing till
" *September* laſt, was prejudicial to *England*, and
" a great Miſmanagement.
" That the Order made by the Commiſſioners
" of the Admiralty the 12th of *September*, One
" Thouſand Six Hundred Ninety Five, giving
" *Henry Prieſtman*, Eſq; an Allowance of Ten
" Shillings *per diem*, from the Date of his Com-
" miſſion, as Commander in chief before *Sally*,
" in the Year One Thouſand Six Hundred Eighty
" Four, till the Ship *Bonadventure* was paid off,
" over and above his Pay as Captain of the ſaid
" Ship; was very unreaſonable, and a Miſappli-
" cation of the Publick Money.
" That the Victualling any of your Majeſty's
" Ships by others than by the Victuallers appoint-
" ed for that Service, or their Agents, is contrary
" to the Courſe of the Navy, and may be of ill
" Conſequence.
" That many New and Unneceſſary Charges
" have, in an extraordinary manner, been intro-
" duced into the Navy, contrary to the Rules of
" the Navy; which is a great Miſmanage-
" ment.
" That the Deductions of Poundage taken by
" the Pay-maſters of the Navy for Slop-Cloaths,
" Dead Mens Cloaths, Tobacco, Cheſt at *Chat-*
" *ham*, Chaplain and Surgeon, is without War-
" rant, and ought to be accounted for.
" That it is inconſiſtent with the Service of the
" Navy, for the ſame Perſon to be one of the
" Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord
" High Admiral, and Treaſurer of the Navy at
" the ſame time.
" And that the Paſſing any Account of Monies
" impreſſed for the contingent Uſes of the Navy,
" without regular Vouchers, or ſuch other Proof
" as the Nature of the Service will admit, either
" with or without a Sign Manual, is contrary to
" the Rules and Methods of the Navy, and of dan-
" gerous Conſequence.
" All which we beg leave to lay before your
" Majeſty, deſiring that You will be graciouſly
" pleaſed to take effectual Care, that the Miſma-
" nagements herein complained of, may be pre-
" vented for the future.

This Addreſs having been preſented by the whole Houſe on *Monday*, *April* the 3d, the King gave this Gracious Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I will conſider Your Addreſs. It is My Deſire, that all Sorts of Miſmanagements and Irregularities ſhould be prevented or redreſs'd. You may be aſſured, I will take the beſt Care I can in relation to the Navy; the right Management whereof is of ſo great Concern to this Kingdom.

Concluſion of the Seſſion.

There was nothing elſe remarkable in this Seſſion, but the Concluſion of it on *Thurſday*,

(*a*) *See*, 1. A Letter from *James* Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln* to the Reverend the Clergy of his Dioceſs, ſent to them with His Majeſty's Brief for the Relief of many Thouſands of diſtreſſed Proteſtants. Dat. *March* 14, 1698. 2. A like Letter from *Simon* Lord Biſhop of *Ely*. 3. A Letter to the ſame Purport from *Peter* Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, &c. Printed for the King's Printers.

As to the active Intrigues of the Papiſts; *See*, 1. A Letter to an Honourable Member of Parliament, concerning the great Growth of Popery, and the treaſonable Practices of the *Romiſh* Biſhops and Prieſts at this Time in *England*. Dat. *London*, *January* 15th, 1698-9. 2. A ſecond Letter to a Member of Parliament on the Growth and Increaſe of Popery in *England*. Both Printed for *Brab. Aylmer*. Fol. [and both ſuppoſed to be Written by *Edward* Lord Biſhop of *Glouceſter*.]

May

1699. May the 4th, when His Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to theſe many Bills 1. An Act for granting to His Majeſty the Sum of One Million Four Hundred Eighty Four Thouſand and Fifteen Pounds One Shilling Eleven Pence Three Farthings, for Diſbanding the Army, Providing for the Navy, and for other neceſſary Occaſions. 2. An Act for laying further Duties upon Sweets, and for leſſening the Duties as well upon Vinegar, as upon certain Low Wines, and Whale Fins, and the Duties upon Brandy imported; and for the more eaſy raiſing the Duties upon Leather, and for Charging Cynders; and for permitting the Importation of Pearl Aſhes; and for preventing Abuſes in the Brewing of Beer and Ale, and Frauds in the Importation of Tobacco. 3. An Act for the more full and effectual Charging the Duties upon Rock Salt. 4. An Act to Encourage the Trade to Newfoundland. 5. An Act to prevent the Exportation of Wooll out of the Kingdoms of Ireland and England into Foreign Parts; and for the Encouragement of the Woollen Manufactures of the Kingdom of England. 6. An Act for Limiting certain Times, within which Writs of Error ſhall be brought for the Reverſing Fines, Common Recoveries, and Ancient Judgment. 7. An Act for Raiſing the Militia for the Year One Thouſand Six Hundred Ninety Nine, although the Months Pay formerly advanc'd be not repaid. 8. An Act for the better Apprehending, Proſecuting, and Puniſhing of Felons that commit Burglary, Houſe-breaking, or Robbery in Shops, Ware-houſes, Coach-houſes, or Stables; or that ſteal Horſes. 9. An Act for making Billingſgate a free Market for Sale of Fiſh. 10. An Act for continuing the Act for the more eaſy Recovery of ſmall Tythes. 11. An Act for ſuppreſſing of Lotteries. 12. An Act for taking off the remaining Duties upon Glaſs Wares. 13. An Act for making and keeping Navigable the Rivers of Air and Calder, in the County of York. 14. An Act to enable Poſthumous Children to take Eſtates, as if born in their Father's Life-time. 15. An Act to enable ſuch Officers and Soldiers, as have been in His Majeſty's Service during the late War, to exerciſe Trades; and for Officers to Account with their Soldiers. 16. An Act for the continuing the Impriſonment of ——— Counter, and others, for the late horrid Conſpiracy to Aſſaſſinate the Perſon of His Sacred Majeſty. 17. An Act for making and keeping the River Trent, in the Counties of Leiceſter, Derby, and Stafford, Navigable. 18. An Act for ſettling Augmentations on certain Vicaridges for ever. 19. An Act for the confirming of a Grant and Settlement, made by William Forſter, Eſq; of divers Mannors and Lands in the County Palatine of Durham, and County of Northumberland, to Thomas Lord Fairfax, and others, upon certain Truſts therein-mentioned. 20. An Act for Sale of ſome Part of the Eſtate of Sir Thomas Darcy, deceas'd, for Payment of Debts. 21. An Act to enable Edward Price, Eſq; to transfer a Charge of One Thouſand Pounds, for the Uſe of his younger Children, from an Eſtate in the County of Montgomery, to an Eſtate in the Counties of Hereford and Radnor, of better Value. 22. An Act to enable Truſtees to Sell Part of the Eſtate of George Scott, Eſq; to pay Debts, and raiſe Portions for his Brothers and Siſter, and to Settle other Part of his Eſtate. 23. An Act for Sale of the Eſtate of Dudley Veſey, in Hintleſham in the County of Suffolk, for the Payment of his Debts. 24. An Act to enable Robert Aldworth, and his Wife, to Sell their Eſtate in or near Wantage in the County of Berks, for raiſing Three Hundred Pounds for Payment of his Debts, and for applying the Reſidue of the Money for purchaſing ſome other Eſtate, for the ſole Uſe of his Wife and Children. 25. An Act to Naturalize Scipio Guy, and others. 26. An Act for the Sale of the Mannor of Halwill and Beckett in the County of Devon, the Eſtate of John Moor, for Payment of Debts. 27. An Act for Veſting the Real Eſtate late of Thomas Laſcells, Eſq; deceas'd, in Truſtees, to be ſold, for the Payment of his Debts 28. An Act to enable John Young, Gent. to ſell Lands for Payment of Debts and Legacies. 29. An Act to enable the Town of Leverpool in the County Palatine of Lancaſter, to Build a Church, and endow the ſame; and for making the ſaid Town and Liberties thereof a Pariſh of it ſelf diſtinct from Walton. 30. An Act to enable Thomas Okeover, Gent. Son and Heir apparent of Rowland Okeover, in the County of Stafford, Eſq; together with the ſaid Rowland Okeover, to make a Jointure and Settlement upon the Marriage of the ſaid Thomas Okeover. 31. An Act to enable Katherine Leeke, an Infant under the Age of One and Twenty Years, to ſettle and diſpoſe of her Eſtate upon her Marriage. 32. An Act for Veſting certain Lands of Sir Thomas Syliard, Baronet, in the County of Kent, in Truſtees, to be ſold, for the Payment of his Siſters Portions charged thereon. 33. An Act to enable Thomas Byde, Eſq; an Infant, with the Conſent of his Guardians and next Relations) to make a Contract for the Buying his Mother's Jointure, and to ſettle a ſmall Eſtate in Great Amwell in the County of Hertford; and likewiſe for the ſecuring and raiſing Portions for Barbara Byde, Siſter to the ſaid Thomas Byde, and for other Purpoſes in the Act mentioned. 34. An Act for the Sale of the Mannor of Lordington, alias Lurtington, and Whitney, and divers other Lands in the County of Suſſex; and for laying out 5000 l. in purchaſing other Lands to be ſettled in lieu thereof. 35. An Act to enable Samuel Wake, alias Jones, Eſq; to ſell Lands to pay Debts, and to purchaſe other Lands adjoining to the formerly Parcel of his Mannor. 36. An Act for the Veſting and Settling the Eſtate of Anne Bridges, an Infant in Bermudas, alias the Summer-Iſlands in America, in and upon Truſtees, to be ſold; and laying out the Money ariſing by ſuch Sale in England, for the Uſe of the ſaid Anne Bridges. 37. An Act for the Encouragement of a New Invention by Thomas Savery, for Raiſing Water, and Occaſioning Motion to all ſorts of Mill-Work, by the impellent Force of Fire. 38. An Act for Enabling Cyriac Weſlyd, Eſq; to Sell ſome part of his Eſtate, which by Articles upon his Marriage was agreed to be ſettled upon his Wife and Children, and for ſettling of other Parts of his Eſtate of better value, to the ſame Uſes. 39. An Act for the Ships, Hawke and Rainbow, to Trade as Engliſh-built Ships. 40. An Act to Enable John Bull, an Infant, to Sell his Lands in Kent, for the Payment of his Debts, and Annuities charged thereon, and for Proviſion for Younger Children. 41. An Act for Enabling the Surviving Truſtees of Sir William Pulteny, Knight, deceaſed, to make Leaſes for the Raiſing of Monies for Payment of his Son William Pulteny's Debts, and other Purpoſes therein-mentioned. 42. An Act to Enable Popham Conway, Francis Seymour, and Charles Seymour, Eſqs; and their Iſſue Male, ſeverally and ſucceſſively to make Leaſes of their Eſtates. 43. An Act for the Sale of the Eſtate of Zenobia Hough, for the Payment of the Debts of her Husband, and other Uſes. 44. An Act to Enable the Ship Hope, (of great Length, and very ſerviceable for bringing Maſts into this Kingdom) to Trade as an Engliſh-built Ship. 45. An Act to Enable William Wrayford, Gent. and Dame Anne Rich, Widow, to make Leaſes of Houſes and Grounds in Covent-Garden, late the Eſtate of John Athey, Citizen and Haberdaſher of London. 46. An Act for Sale of the Mannor of Downham in the County of Eſſex, (the Eſtate of Sir Francis Andrews) and for Buying and Settling other Lands to the ſame Uſes. 47. An Act to Diſcharge the Ships King William, and Charles the Second, from the Penalties of the Act of Navigation. 48. An Act for Settling divers Freehold and Leaſhold Houſes, the Eſtate of Thomas Cowſlade, an Infant, and others, to Diſcharge a Mortgage,

Acts paſs'd.

1699.

1699. *Mortgage, and to Purchaſe other Lands to be ſettled to the like Uſes.* 49. *An Act to Enable* Thomas Methwold, *Eſq;* *to Raiſe the Sum of* 1200 l. *upon his Eſtate, by him laid out in Improving the ſame.* 50. *An Act for Naturalizing* Auguſtine Cloribus, *and others.* 51. *An Act for Naturalizing* Samuel Bernardeau, Peter Chantreau des Gandrees, *and others, Private Gentlemen belonging to His Majeſty's Three Troops of Guards and Granadiers.* 52. *An Act for Opening the Ancient, and making any New Roynes and Water-Courſes in and near* Sedgmore, *in the County of* Somerſet, *for rendring the ſaid Moor more Healthful and Profitable to the Inhabitants.* 53. *An Act to Naturalize* Richard Legg, *and others.* 54. *An Act for Naturalizing Sir* David Collier, Iſaac la Melioniere, Peter de Belcaſtel, *and* William Rieutort.

After the Paſſing ſuch a Multitude of Acts, the King made this Gracious Speech to both Houſes, which ſhew'd He was not fully ſatisfied in their Proceedings.

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" AT the Opening this Parliament I told you " my Opinion was, That you were come " together with Hearts fully diſpoſed to do what " was Neceſſary for the Safety, Honour, and " Happineſs of the Kingdom; and having nothing " elſe to Recommend to you, I had Reaſon to hope " for Unanimity and Diſpatch.

" You have now Sat ſo many Months, that the " Seaſon of the Year, as well as your particular " Affairs, make it reaſonable you ſhould have a " Receſs: I take it for granted, you have Fi- " niſh'd all the Bills which for the preſent you " think requiſite to be Paſs'd into Laws, and I " have given my Aſſent to all you have Preſented " to Me.

" If any Thing ſhall be found wanting for Our " Safety, the Support of Publick Credit, by ma- " king good the Faith of the Kingdom, as it " ſtands Engaged by Parliamentary Securities, and " for Diſcharge of the Debts occaſioned by the " War, or towards the Advancing of Trade, the " Suppreſſing of Vice, and the Employing of " the Poor, which were all the Things I propoſed " to your Conſideration when We met firſt; I " cannot doubt but effectual Care will be taken of " them next Winter: And I wiſh no Inconvenience " may happen in the mean Time.

And then the Lord-Keeper, by His Majeſty's Command, Prorogued the Parliament until *Thurſday* the Firſt Day of *June* next.

Tryal of the Earl of *Warwick*, and Lord *Mohun*.

At the latter end of *March*, *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Charles* Lord *Mohun*, being ſeverally Indicted for the Murder of *Richard Coot*, Eſq; were Tryed by their Peers, in a Court prepared 1699. for that purpoſe in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. The Lord Chancellor of *England* being conſtituted Lord High Steward upon this Occaſion, the Court being open'd with the uſual Ceremonies, the Tryal of the Earl of *Warwick* came on, *March* 28. and laſted till late in the Evening, when the Peers adjourn'd to their own Houſe; and after ſome Debate, the Lords Temporal only return'd to the Court in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where they deliver'd their Judgments *ſeriatim* upon their Honours, and unanimouſly acquitted the Earl of *Warwick* of the Murder, but found him Guilty of Manſlaughter; who craving the Benefit of his Peerage, according to the Statute in that Caſe provided, was thereupon Diſcharged. The next Day came on in like manner the Tryal of the Lord *Mohun*, who with great Compoſedneſs and Elocution, made his Innocency ſo well appear, that he was Acquitted by the unanimous Suffrage of the Peers, and lived to be a great Example of Sobriety and Publick Spirit. (*a*)

Honours and Preferments.

On *April* 17. the King was pleaſed to confer the Dignity of a Baronet upon *John Stanley* of *Grange-Gormon*, in the County of *Dublin* in *Ireland*; and within few Days after, the like Honour on *Edmund Denton* of *Hilliſdon*, in the County of *Bucks*, Eſq; On *May* 14. the Earl of *Jerſey* lately return'd from his Embaſſy at the Court of *France*, was Conſtituted one of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, in the room of the Duke of *Shrewsbury*; who thought himſelf under a neceſſity of travelling abroad to reſtore his Conſtitution, impair'd in the Service of the Publick. At the ſame Time the Earl of *Mancheſter* was appointed to ſucceed the Lord *Jerſey*, in the *French* Court. On *May* the 15th, His Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on *Edward Haſell* of *Dalemaine*, in the County of *Cumberland*, Eſq; On *May* 18. the King in Council declared *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Preſident of the Council; and receiving the Privy-Seal from his Lordſhip, delivered it to *John* Viſcount *Lonſdale*, who took the Oaths and Place as Keeper of the Privy-Seal. The ſame Evening, *Edward Southwell*, Eſq; was Sworn Clerk of the Council, in the room of *William Bridgman*, Eſq; Deceaſed: And *Abraham Stanyon*, Eſq; was Sworn Clerk of the Council in Extraordinary. On *May* 20. His Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute *Chriſtopher Codrington*, Eſq; a Fellow of *All-Souls* in *Oxford*, Captain-General and Governor in Chief of His Majeſty's Leeward *Caribbee*-Iſlands in *America*, in the room of his Father Colonel *Codrington*, Deceaſed; who, during the late War, had perform'd many Signal Services to the Govern-

(*a*) *See* The Form of Prayer to be uſed in all Churches and Chapels, on *Wedneſday* the 5th of *April*, 1699. being Appointed for a Faſt to be obſerved in a moſt Solemn and Devout Manner, for imploring a Bleſſing from Almighty God upon his Majeſty and all his Dominions, and for averting thoſe Judgments, which our manifold Sins and Provocations have moſt juſtly deſerved, and that God would in his great Mercy Relieve and Comfort ſuch as ſuffer abroad for the Proteſtant Religion. *London*, 4to.

The latter Subject of our Prayers; the poor Proteſtants Sufferers abroad, appear'd the more deplorable by a Faithful Narrative, now Written and Intitled, *An Account of the Sufferings of the* French *Proteſtants Slaves, on Board the* French *King's Gallies. By Elias Neau, one of their Fellow-Sufferers. With a Liſt of thoſe who are ſtill on Board the ſaid Gallies.* London 1699. 4to.

2. A Faithful Relation of the Proceedings of the Inquiſition at *Granada*, the Chancery of *Spain*, concerning a Man called *Iſaac*, a Native of *Mompelier*, who was burnt alive in the Year 1699. for the Proteſtant Religion. By *John Catell*, a Fellow-Sufferer by the ſaid Inquiſition, as appears by his true Relation of it, he being now in *England*, 4to.

3. A Faithful Account of the Cruelties done to the Proteſtants, on Board the *French* King's Gallies on Account of the Reformed Religion, done out of *French*; with a Poſtſcript, ſignifying that this Account was lately Printed in *Holland*, and is Confirmed by unqueſtionable Advice ſent us in many Letters from other Parts. To which is annexed, an Exhortation to Perſeverance in the Reformed Religion, under the ſevereſt Tryals. Done out of *French*, and Addreſſed to all *Engliſh* Proteſtants. And another earneſt Addreſs to all *Engliſh* Proteſtants, by the Tranſlator [Dr. *Joſiah Woodward*, Miniſter of *Poplar*.] *London*. 1700. 8vo.

4. His Majeſty's Letters Patents, in behalf of the Poor *Vandois*, who being Subjects of *France* before the late War, have ſince the Concluſion of the Peace, through Popiſh Cruelty been excluded and baniſh'd from their Native Country, without any preſent Hope of Return, but by Renouncing their Holy Religion, which through the ſingular *Goodneſs* of God, both they and their Brethren the *Vandois* of *Piedmont*, have hitherto kept undefiled.

Witneſs Ourſelf at Weſtminſter, *the* 12*th Day of* March, *in the Eleventh Year of our Reign.*

ment,

1699. ment, and ruin'd ſeveral *French* Plantations in thoſe Parts.

On *May* 31. His Majeſty declared in Council, that intending to go over to *Holland* for a ſhort Time, He had appointed the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor *Somers*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Lonſdale*, the Duke of *Devonſhire*, the Earl of *Bridgwater*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, the Earl of *Jerſey*, and Mr. *Mountague*, to be Lords Juſtices of *England*, during His Abſence. The next Day the King went from *Kenſington*, between Ten and Eleven at Night, and arrived at *Margate* the next Day about Noon, and about Three Embark'd for *Holland*, and within the next Day ſafely Landed at *Oranie-Poulder*, from whence he went to the *Hague*. After He had received the Compliments of the Foreign Miniſters, and other Perſons of Quality, He aſſiſted at the Aſſembly of the States-General, and at that of the States in *Holland*. He then gave his Inſtructions to Mr. *Hill*, whom He had appointed to go His Envoy Extraordinary to *Savoy*, to make His Compliment of Congratulation to that Court, upon the Birth of the Prince of *Piedmont*, which had been Notified to His Majeſty in *England*, by Count *de Maffey*, Envoy Extraordinary from the Duke for that purpoſe. On *June* 22. *N. S.* His Majeſty left the *Hague* about Six in the Morning, and having Dined at *Cruitzberg*, paſſed in the Afternoon through the Cities of *Harlem*, and *Amſterdam*; from thence to *Narden*, where viewing all the Fortifications, which he found in great perfection, He lay that Night at *Soertdyke*, and the next Morning ſet out for *Loo*; at which Royal Palace, and that of *Dieren*, His Majeſty ſpent moſt part of the Summer, in His uſual Diverſions of Hunting and Shooting.

Lords Juſtices.

The King goes to Holland.

Towards the beginning of *July*, Count *Tallard* the *French* Ambaſſador, and the Baron *Schultz*, Envoy from the Princes of the Houſe of *Lunenburgh*, who were lately arriv'd at the *Hague* from *Holland*, waited upon His Majeſty at *Loo*, and a few Days after the Sieur *Galesky*, Ambaſſador from the King of *Poland* to the States-General, and the Count *de Guiſcard*, Ambaſſador from *France* to the Court of *Sweden*, paid likewiſe their Reſpects to His Majeſty.

On the 25th of *Aug.* the Steward of my Lord *Paget*, His Majeſty's Ambaſſador at the Port, brought Letters from the *Grand Signior* to His Majeſty, in acknowledgment of His Good Offices, in mediating the late Peace at *Carlowitz*; and not long after the *Czar* of *Muſcovy* ſent a Letter of Thanks to His Majeſty upon the ſame Account. About this Time the States of *Holland*, out of their tender Care for His Majeſty's Preſervation, put forth a Placart, requiring that all ſuch Perſons that had been declar'd Rebels in *England*, ſhould forthwith depart their Dominions; and on the 2d and 3d of *September* (*N. S.*) the King reviewed the *Dutch* Forces encamp'd near *Arnheim*, and then return'd to *Loo*, to entertain His Boſom Friend the Old Duke of *Zell*, who was come there to make His Majeſty a Viſit, with a Numerous and Magnificent Retinue.

But nothing deſerves more our Attention this Summer than the Conteſt between the Prince of *Conti* and the Dutcheſs of *Nemours*, about the Succeſſion of *Neufchaſtel*, a *Proteſtant* Independent City and Principality, bordering upon, and allied to the *Switzers*, whoſe Sovereign was the late Duke of *Longueville*. Now the Parliament of *Paris* having made a Decree in Favour of that Prince, whoſe Intereſt was ſupported by the King of *France* himſelf, to whom the Dutcheſs refuſ'd to refer the Deciſion of her Cauſe: His Highneſs, to maintain his Pretenſions, and to obviate the Deſigns of his Competitor, went in Perſon to *Neufchaſtel*, where he did all that lay in his Power by Letters, Memorials, Careſſes and large Promiſes, to draw the States of that Principality, and their Confederates the *Swiſs Cantons* to own him for the next and immediate Succeſſor to the Duke. Thereupon King *William*, who ſet up for the Univerſal Heir of the Houſe of *Longueville*, order'd Mr. *Hervart*, His Envoy in *Switzerland*, immediately to repair to *Neufchaſtel*, and to preſent the following Memorial to the Prince of *Conti*. 1699.

"The Orders of the King of *Great Britain*, my "Maſter, having brought me hither, my firſt Bu"ſineſs is to pay my Reſpects to your Highneſs, "and to aſſure you of my moſt humble Services. "You are not ignorant, I aſſure myſelf, that His "Majeſty lays Claim to the County of *Neufchaſtel*, and its Dependencies; His Miniſters at "the Treaty of *Ryſwick* having acquainted His "moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries with "it. Nevertheleſs, His Majeſty, whoſe Pleaſure "it was, that thoſe Countries ſhould be expreſly "comprehended in the Treaty of Peace, has been "further pleas'd, for the better ſecuring the Tran"quility of that Principality, to defer the ma"king out His Right, tho' very Lawful, till the "Death of Madam the Dutcheſs of *Nemours*, who "has been inveſted with that Sovereignty for theſe "five Years laſt paſt.

King William's Memorial to the Prince of Conti.

"But underſtanding the preſent Movements "there, occaſion'd by your Highneſs's Pretenſions, "His Majeſty has thought it to be His Intereſt, "to declare more expreſly by His Miniſters at the "Court of *France*, His Right to that Sovereignty, "hoping that the moſt Chriſtian King would "obſerve an exact Impartiality in that Affair; "and that He would Leave it to the States, who "are Real Judges of it, ſo ſoon as a Convocation "ſhould be ſummon'd together, after the Death "of the Dutcheſs of *Nemours*: And that His Ma"jeſty thought it reaſonable that your Highneſs "ſhould then propoſe your Pretenſions as well "as the reſt of the Competitors concern'd. The "Aſſurance which His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's "Miniſters thereupon gave of His Impartiality, "are ſo poſitive, that the King my Maſter, "thought He might remain in ſilence till a more "convenient Time to ſettle the Juſtice of His "Claims.

"But the Deſign form'd by your Highneſs, pre"ſently to ſummon a Tribunal, during the Life "of Madam *de Nemours*, obliges me, according to "His Majeſty's Orders, to repreſent to your High"neſs, That His Majeſty cannot but look upon "ſuch a Convocation as prejudicial to His Right, "contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Coun"try, and a Means to baniſh Peace and Tranqui"lity from thence.

"I hope your Highneſs will be pleaſed ſeriouſ"ly to conſider, That I have the Honour to lay be"fore you in His Majeſty's Name, and to vouch"ſafe that I may add to what I have ſaid, the Aſ"ſurance of the high Value, and profound Reſpect "I have for your Highneſs.

Mr. *Hervart* did at the ſame Time preſent another Memorial to the Dutcheſs of *Nemours*, wherein, in his Maſter's Name, he communicated to her what he had repreſented to the Prince of *Conti*; aſſuring her Grace of His Majeſty's Favour and Protection. The Dutcheſs and the States of *Neufchaſtel*, expreſs'd great Acknowledgments of His Majeſty's interpoſing in this Affair: And as for the Prince, he made a very reſpectful Anſwer to the forementioned Memorial, and by Direction from the *French* Court, immediately return'd to *Paris*. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, like a Subtile Politician, not thinking it proper to enter into any Diſpute with the King of *England*, but ra-

1699. ther to ſhew Him all manner of Deference, the better to engage Him in a New Treaty of Partition, which was become neceſſary ſince the Death of the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, which happen'd in this Year, on the 6th of *February*, *N. S.*

The Duke of *Zell* having ſtaid about a Month with King *William*, went from *Loo* on the 3d of *October*, (*N. S.*) on his Return home; and a few Days after, His Majeſty came to the *Hague*, where He aſſiſted at the Aſſembly of the States General, when the State of the Forces for the enſuing Year was preſented to them, and order'd to be ſent to the ſeveral Provinces.

The King returns to *England*.

On the 26th of the ſame Month His Majeſty embark'd in the *Maeſe* on board the *William* and *Mary* Yatcht, and the next Day landed at *Margate*, lay that Night at *Canterbury*, and on the 18th (*O. S.*) arriv'd at *Kenſington*.

On *May* 20. the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Citizens of *London* went to *Kenſington*, to Congratulate His Majeſty's Safe Return. His Majeſty expreſs'd His Favourable Acceptance of their Affections, and did earneſtly recommend to them the Careful and Vigorous Execution of the Laws againſt all Prophaneneſs, Debauchery and Ill Livers: And alſo, that effectual Care be taken to provide for the Poor, ſo that they may not be neceſſitated to wander about the Streets for Relief. And then His Majeſty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *Charles Duncomb* and *Jeffry Jeffreys*, Eſquires, the preſent Sheriffs, and *William Withers*, Eſq; Alderman. On the ſame Day *Don Lewis d'Achuna*, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of *Portugal*, had Audience of His Majeſty to notifie the Death of the Queen of *Portugal*.

Joy and Congratulation.

On the 24th the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and was further Prorogued to the 16th of *November*, on which Day the Members of Both Houſes were required by His Majeſty's Proclamation to give their Attendance.

On *October* 25. the King conferred the Office of Lord Chamberlain of His Houſhold (which had been ſome Time vacant) upon *Charles* Duke of *Shrewsbury*, to whom His Majeſty delivered the Key and White-Staff. The 4th of *November* being His Majeſty's Birth-Day, was obſerved with great Solemnity; His Highneſs the Duke of *Glouceſter* went in the Morning to *Kenſington*, to make his Compliment to His Majeſty on this Occaſion. Their Royal Highneſſes the Princeſs and Prince of *Denmark* dined with His Majeſty at *Kenſington*, and in the Evening the King and the whole Court came to St. *James's*, and were entertain'd with a Ball by the Princeſs; the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* ſhewing their Univerſal Joy with Fire-Works, Illuminations, and Ringing of Bells.

Parliament meet.

On *Thurſday*, 16 *November*, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and His Majeſty with uſual Solemnity made this Speech to Both Houſes.

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Hope you will not think I have called you "out of your Countries too ſoon, if you conſider, that Our Common Security requires a "farther Proviſion ſhould be made for the Safety "of the Kingdom by Sea and Land, before We "are at the end of what was granted for that "purpoſe the laſt Seſſion. And when you enter "upon this Buſineſs, I believe you will think it "neceſſary to take care of the Repairs of the "Ships, and of the Fortifications; without which "Our Fleet cannot be ſafe when it is in Harbour.

"I cannot omit to put you in mind of another "Matter, in which ſo great a number of my Subjects is concern'd, and wherein the Honour of "the Kingdom, and the Faith of Parliaments is "ſo far engag'd, that Our future Security ſeems "to depend upon it; I mean, the making good "the Deficiencies of the Funds, and the diſcharging the Debts contracted by reaſon of the "War. 1699.

"And till we may be ſo happy to ſee the Publick Debts paid, I ſhall hope that no Seſſion "will end, without ſomething done towards leſſening them. While I am ſpeaking to you on "this Head, I think Myſelf obliged to mention, "with a very particular Concern, a Debt which "is owing to the Prince of *Denmark*, the State "whereof I have order'd to be laid before "you.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"Theſe Things are of ſuch importance, that I "muſt earneſtly recommend them to your Conſideration, and deſire you to provide the Neceſſary Supplies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"There is nothing I could more rejoice in, "than that I were not under the Neceſſity of ſo "often asking Aids of My People; but as the "Reaſon of it is evident, becauſe the Funds formerly apply'd to defray the Publick Expence, "are now anticipated for Payment of the Debts "of the Kingdom; ſo it is My Satisfaction, that "you all ſee that nothing of what is demanded, "is for any Perſonal Uſe of Mine: And I do faithfully aſſure You, That no Part of what is given "ſhall be diverted from any Purpoſe for which it "is deſigned.

"I believe the Nation is already ſenſible of the "Good Effects of Peace, by the manifeſt Increaſe "of Trade, which I ſhall make it My Buſineſs to "encourage by all Means in My Power. Probably it might receive an Advantage, if ſome "Good Bill were prepared for the more effectual preventing and puniſhing Unlawful and Clandeſtine Trading, which does not only tend to "Defraud the Publick, but prejudice the Fair "Merchant, and diſcourage Our Own Manufactures.

"The Increaſe of the Poor is become a Burthen to the Kingdom, and their Looſe and Idle "Life does in ſome meaſure contribute to that "Depravation of Manners which is complain'd "of. (I fear with too much Reaſon.) Whether "the Ground of this evil be from Defects in the "Laws already made, or in the Execution of "them, deſerves your Conſideration. As it is "an Indiſpenſible Duty, that the Poor, who are "not able to help themſelves, ſhould be maintain'd, ſo I cannot but think it extremely deſirable, that ſuch as are able and willing, ſhould "not want Employment; and ſuch as are obſtinate and unwilling, ſhould be compell'd to Labour.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have a full Aſſurance of the Good Affections of my People, which I ſhall endeavour "to preſerve by a conſtant Care of their Juſt "Rights and Liberties; by Maintaining the Eſtabliſhed Religion, by ſeeing the Courſe of "Juſtice kept Steady and Equal, by Countenancing Vertue, and Diſcouraging Vice, and by "declining no Difficulties or Dangers where "their Welfare and Proſperity may be concerned. Theſe are my Reſolutions; and I am "perſuaded that you are come together with "Purpoſes on your Part ſuitable to thoſe on Mine.

1699. "Mine. Since then Our Aims are only for the "General Good, let Us act with Confidence in "One Another; which will not fail, by God's "Bleſſing, to make Me a Happy King, and you a "Great and Flouriſhing People.

This Excellent Speech ſeem'd to reliſh of the Diſſatisfaction which the King had expreſs'd upon the Proceedings of the Commons, when He laſt parted with them. But theſe gentle Intimations of Diſpleaſure ſerv'd to irritate, rather than to mitigate a great Number of Perſons, who did not love to ſeem to be Accus'd, nor ſo much as Suſpected, whatever Occaſions might be given for it: And therefore the Commons, upon a Conſideration of His Majeſty's Speech, agreed to offer this Humble Addreſs to the King.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

Addreſs of the Commons.

"We Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal "Subjects, the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, being highly ſenſible, that nothing is more "Neceſſary for the Peace and Welfare of this "Kingdom, the Quieting the Minds of Your "People, and Diſappointing the Deſigns of Your "Enemies, than a mutual and entire Confidence "between Your Majeſty and Your Parliament, "do eſteem it our greateſt Misfortune, that after having ſo amply provided for the Security "of Your Majeſty and Your Government, both "by Sea and Land, any Jealouſie or Diſtruſt "hath been raiſed of our Duty and Affections "to Your Sacred Majeſty and Your People; "and beg Leave humbly to Repreſent to Your "Majeſty, That it will greatly conduce to the "Continuing and Eſtabliſhing an Entire Confidence between Your Majeſty and Your Parliament, that You would be pleaſed to ſhew "Marks of Your high Diſpleaſure towards all "ſuch Perſons who have, or ſhall preſume to "Miſrepreſent their Proceedings to Your Majeſty.

"And Your Commons (having likewiſe a due "ſenſe of the great Care and Concern Your "Majeſty has always expreſs'd for Preſerving "and Maintaining the Religion, Rights, and "Liberties of Your People, in Defence of which "Your Majeſty hath ſo often expoſed Your "Royal Perſon) will uſe their utmoſt Care and "Endeavours to Prevent and Diſcourage all Falſe "Rumours and Reports reflecting upon Your "Majeſty and Your Government, whereby to "create any Miſunderſtandings between You and "Your Subjects.

The King was ſo far from Expoſtulating upon the Senſe of this Addreſs, that He wiſely ſeem'd to take it on the ſofter Side, and expreſs'd His Thanks for it in a ſingular Air of Lenity and Good Nature.

Gentlemen,

King's wiſe Anſwer.

"My Parliaments have done ſo great Things "for Me, and I have upon all proper Occaſions "expreſs'd ſo great a Senſe of their Kindneſs, "and my Opinion has been ſo often declar'd, "that the Happineſs of an *Engliſh* King depends "upon an entire good Correſpondence between "Him and His Parliament, that it can't ſeem "ſtrange for Me to aſſure you, that no Perſons "have ever yet dared to go about to Miſrepreſent to Me the Proceedings of either Houſe. "Had I found any ſuch, they would have immediately felt the higheſt Marks of my Diſpleaſure. It is a Juſtice I owe not only to "my Parliaments, but to every one of My Subjects, to judge of them by their Actions: And "this Rule I will ſteadily purſue. If any ſhall "hereafter attempt to put Me on other Methods, "by Calumnies or Miſrepreſentations, they will "not only fail of Succeſs, but ſhall be looked "upon, and treated by Me as My worſt Enemies.

Gentlemen,

"I am pleaſed to ſee by your Addreſs, that "you have the ſame Thoughts of the great Advantages which will enſue to the Kingdom "from our mutual Confidence, as I expreſſed to "Both Houſes at the Opening of the Seſſion. "I take very kindly the Aſſurance you give Me, "of uſing your utmoſt Care and Endeavour to "prevent and diſcourage all falſe Rumours and "Reports reflecting upon Me and My Government: And I faithfully Promiſe you, that no "Actions of Mine ſhall give a juſt Ground for "any Miſunderſtanding between Me and My "People.

Commiſſioners for Forfeited Eſtates in Ireland.

The Commons in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, had appointed Seven Commiſſioners for taking an Account of the Forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland*; the Earl of *Drogheda*, *Francis Anneſley*, Eſq; *John Trenchard*, Eſq; *James Hamilton*, Eſq; *Henry Langford*, Eſq; Sir *Richard Leving*, and Sir *Francis Brewſter*: Who having Executed their Commiſſion with great Application and Fidelity, they fram'd a *Report* which was Preſented to the Commons by Mr. *Anneſley*, and wherein they ſet forth:

"That they met with great Difficulties in "their Enquiry, which were occaſioned chiefly "by the backwardneſs of the People of *Ireland* "to give any Information, out of fear of the "Grantees, whoſe Diſpleaſure in that Kingdom "was not eaſily borne; and by Reports induſtriouſly ſpread and believ'd, that their Enquiry "would come to nothing. Neverthelesſ, it appear'd to them, that the Perſons Outlaw'd in "*England*, ſince the 13th of *February*, 1688. on "account of the late Rebellion there, amounted "in Number to Fifty Seven, and in *Ireland* to "Three Thouſand Nine Hundred Twenty one. "That all the Lands in the ſeveral Counties in "*Ireland* belonging to the forfeiting Perſons, as "far as they could reckon, made 1060792 Acres, "worth *per Annum* 211623 *l.* which by Computation of Six Years Purchaſe for a Life, and "Thirteen Years for the Inheritance, came to "the full Value of 2685130 *l.* That ſome of "thoſe Lands had been Reſtor'd to the old Proprietors, by Virtue of the Articles of *Limerick* and *Galloway*, and by His Majeſty's Favour, and by Reverſal of Outlawries, and Royal Pardons, obtain'd chiefly by Gratifications to "ſuch Perſons as had abus'd His Majeſty's Royal Bounty and Compaſſion." Beſide theſe Reſtitutions, which they thought to be corruptly procur'd, they gave an Account of Seventy Six Grants and Cuſtodiams, under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, as to the Lord *Romney*, three Grants now in Being, containing 49517 Acres; to the Earl of *Albemarle* in two Grants, 108633 Acres, in Poſſeſſion and Reverſion; to *William Bentinck*, Eſq; Lord *Woodſtock*, 135820 Acres of Land; to the Earl of *Athlone* Two Grants containing 26480 Acres; to the Earl of *Galloway*, One Grant of 36148 Acres, *&c.* wherein they obſerved, that the Eſtates ſo mention'd did not yield ſo much to the Grantees as they were here valued at; becauſe as moſt of them had abuſed His Majeſty in the real Value of their Eſtates, ſo their Agents had Impoſed on them, and had either Sold or Let the greateſt part of thoſe Lands at an under-Value. But after all Deductions and Allowances there yet remain'd 1699343 *l.* 14 *s.*

1699. 14 *s.* which they lay before the Commons as the groſs Value of the Eſtates ſince the 13th day of *February* and not Reſtored. Beſides a Grant under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, Dated Thirtieth Day of *May*, 1695. paſſed to Mrs. *Elizabeth Villiers*, now Counteſs of *Orkney*, of all the private Eſtates of the late King *James*, (except ſome ſmall Part in Grant to the Lord *Athlone*) containing 95649 Acres, worth *per Annum* 25995 *l.* 18 *s.* value, Total 331943 *l.* 9 *s.* Concluding, that there was payable out of this Eſtate, Two Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* to the Lady *Suſanna Bellaſis*, and alſo One Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* to Mrs. *Godfrey*, for their Lives; and that almoſt all the Old Leaſes determin'd in *May*, 1701. and then this Eſtate would anſwer the Value abovemention'd, —— Sign'd *Francis Anneſly*, *John Trenchard*, *James Hamilton*, and *Henry Langford*.

Bill for Forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland.* The Commons having preſented and examined this Report, came to an unanimous Reſolution, 15th of *December*, That *a Bill be brought in to apply all the Forfeited Eſtates and Intereſts in* Ireland, *and all Grants thereof, and of the Rents and Revenues belonging to the Crown within that Kingdom, ſince the* 13th. *of* February 1688. *to the Uſe of the Publick*; and order'd a Clauſe to be inſerted in that Bill, for *erecting a Judicature for determining Claims touching the ſaid Forfeited Eſtates.* They likewiſe reſolved, That *they would not receive any Petition from any Perſon whatſoever, touching the ſaid Grants or Forfeited Eſtates*; *and that they would take into Conſideration the great Services performed by the Commiſſioners appointed to enquire into the forfeited Eſtates of* Ireland.

Uneaſie to the King. 'Tis eaſy to imagine how ill theſe Proceedings were reliſhed at Court; but 'tis hardly to be conceived, how uneaſie the King was about the following Paſſage: While the Commiſſioners appointed by Parliament, were diſcharging their Truſt in *Ireland*, Mr. *M*---- a Member of the Houſe of Commons, ſent them a Letter (of his own private Motion) wherein he directed them, *to make a ſeparate Article of the Lady* Orkney'*s Grants, becauſe that might reflect upon Somebody*: Meaning the King. Another Member having learned the Contents of that Letter from Mr. *M*---- and being zealous to vindicate His Majeſty's Honour, which he thought was ſtruck at in that Letter, Complain'd of it to the Houſe. Being preſs'd to tell his Author, he at firſt excuſed himſelf, alledging he was under an Obligation, not to reveal what had paſt in a Private Converſation; But the Houſe threatning to ſend him to the *Tower*, he named the Perſon from whom he had this Report; which Perſon, who was alſo a Member of the Houſe, deny'd flatly, that he had ever mention'd any ſuch thing. Thus the affectionate Stickler for His Majeſty being left in the Lurch, the Houſe on *January* the 15th, Reſolved, *That the ſaid Report was Falſe and Scandalous*: And a Motion being made, *That the Four Commiſſioners for* Iriſh *Forfeitures, who ſign'd the Report preſented to the Houſe, had acquitted themſelves in the Execution of that Commiſſion with Underſtanding and Integrity*; a warm Debate aroſe thereupon, which was adjourn'd to the next Day, when the Commons Reſolved, *That the ſaid Commiſſioners had acquitted themſelves in the Execution of their Commiſſion, with Underſtanding, Courage and Integrity*; *That Sir* Richard Leving, *one other of the Commiſſioners, had been the Author of the groundleſs and Scandalous Aſperſion caſt upon the Four Commiſſioners before-mentioned*; *and that the ſaid Sir* Richard Leving *be committed Priſoner to the* Tower *of* London *for the ſaid Offence.* Two Days after, the Bill for Applying the *Iriſh* Forfeitures to the Uſe of the Publick was Read a Second Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe: Upon this Occaſion, the Courtiers made a Motion, and cauſ'd the Queſtion to be put, *That the ſaid Committee be impower'd to receive a Clauſe for Reſerving a Proportion of the Forfeited Eſtates in* Ireland, *to the Diſpoſal of His Majeſty*; which paſſing in the Negative, it was Reſolved on *January* the 18th, *That the Adviſing, Procuring and Paſſing the ſaid Grants of the Forfeited and other Eſtates in* Ireland, *had been the occaſion of Contracting great Debts upon the Nation, and levying heavy Taxes on the People*; *That the adviſing and paſſing the ſaid Grants, was highly reflecting on the King's Honour*; *And that the Officers and Inſtruments concern'd in the Procuring and Paſſing theſe Grants, had highly fail'd in the Performance of their Truſt and Duty.*

By this Time, the Commons were enter'd upon the Buſineſs of the Supply, and had at ſeveral Times made the following Reſolutions: That the Sum of 76382 *l.* now remaining in the Exchequer, upon the Account of the Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage, with what ſhould ariſe from the ſame Fund, to the 25th of *December*, ſhould be applied towards the Payment of Seamen's Wages; that whoſoever ſhall advance or lend a Sum, not exceeding 220000 *l.* for the further Paying of Seamen's Wages ſhould be repaid the ſame, with Intereſt, at Five Pound *per Cent. per Annum* out of the Firſt Aid to be granted this Seſſion. That Seven Thouſand Men be a Complement for the Sea Service for the Year 1700. for Thirteen Months; And that the uſual Pay of Four Pounds *per* Month, be allowed for maintaining the ſaid Seven Thouſand Men, including the Ordnance for Sea Service. That 18000 *l.* be allow'd for Bounty Money to the Officers of the Fleet: And 90000 *l.* for the Extraordinary of the Navy: That 300000 *l.* be granted to His Majeſty for *Maintaining Guards and* Garriſons, and 25000 *l.* for the Office of Ordnance, for the Year 1700. and that Half-Pay be allow'd to the Disbanded Officers, not otherwiſe provided for: which laſt Vote was principally owing to Mr. *How.*

In order to raiſe the Supply already granted, the Commons reſolved, to lay a Tax of Two Shillings in the Pound for One Year, upon all Lands, Penſions, Offices, and Perſonal Eſtates; and at the ſame Time, *January* 26. they appointed a Day to conſider of the Grants made ſince the ſettling the Civil Liſt upon His Majeſty. Ways and Means. Upon the 1ſt of *February*, the Bill for Levying the Two Shillings Aid was Read a Second Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom the Bill for reſuming the Forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland* was alſo committed; and who were order'd to join both the ſaid Bills together, and to receive a Clauſe of Credit, and another of Appropriation. Not many Days after, the Houſe being inform'd that ſeveral Grantees of Forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland*, were felling Timber, and committing other Waſtes, they reſolved, that ſuch Perſons ſhould be anſwerable for the ſame, and directed the Committee of the whole Houſe to inſert a Clauſe in the foremention'd Bill of Reſumption for that purpoſe. On *February* the 6th, the Commons reſolved to grant a Supply to His Majeſty for the diſcharging the Debt due to the Army.

Towards the middle of *February*, the Commons in a Grand Committee conſider'd the State of the Nation, and a Motion being made, and the Queſtion put, *That the Procuring or Obtaining of Grants of Eſtates belonging to the Crown, by any publick Miniſter concern'd in the Directing or Paſſing ſuch Grants, to or for their own Uſe or Benefit, whilſt the Nation lay under the heavy Taxes of the*

late

1699. *late War, was highly injurious to His Majeſty, and prejudicial to the State, and a Violation of the Truſt repoſed in them*; the Court Party carried it in the Negative; but at the ſame Time, they gave their Conſent to an Order for bringing in a Bill, *To Reſume the Grants of all Lands and Revenues of the Crown, and all Penſions granted by the Crown ſince the* 6th *of* February, 1684. *and for applying the ſame to the uſe of the Publick*: Which Order was however of no Effect, by Reaſon it touch'd many of King *James*'s Friends. On *February* the 15th the Commons proceeded to conſider further of the State of the Nation; and upon a very hot and long Debate, it was reſolved, *That an Addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, repreſenting to Him the Reſolutions of this Houſe of the* 18th *of* January *laſt, relating to Grants of the Forfeited Eſtates in* Ireland. The ſame Day the Commons reſolv'd "That a Supply be granted to His Majeſty, towards the Payment of his Proportion of the Debt owing to the Prince of *Denmark*, and the Monies to be raiſed, to be laid out in this Kingdom, and ſettled upon the Prince and Princeſs, and their Iſſue, according to their Marriage-Agreement; That an Addreſs be preſented to His Majeſty, That He would pleaſe to uſe His Endeavours to procure other Princes and States to pay their Proportions of the Debt due to his Royal Highneſs. And that a Supply be alſo granted to His Majeſty, for the carrying on the Coinage of the Gold and Silver of this Kingdom; for continuing the Contracts and Circulating *Exchequer* Bills for One Year longer; for making good both the Deficiences of the Aid of Three Shillings in the Pound, granted in the Eighth Year of His Majeſty's Reign; of the Duty on Paper and Parchment, granted the ſame Seſſion of Parliament; of Malt Tickets, and of the Quarterly Poll granted in the Ninth Year of His Majeſty's Reign; for paying off the Debt due for Tranſport Service; and laſtly, for the Payment of the Debt due to the Navy, and the Sick and Wounded Seamen." Towards raiſing of which Supplies, the Commons reſolv'd on *February* 17. That *only one Moiety of the ſeveral Duties paid upon the Importation of Tallow-Candles from* Ireland, *be drawn back upon the Exportation thereof. That the Forfeited Eſtates and other Intereſts in* Ireland, *to be veſted in Truſtees, for the benefit of the Publick, be applied towards Satisfaction of the ſaid Debt to the Army, the Tranſport Debts, and Tallies or Tickets upon Deficient Funds: And that a farther Duty be laid upon Wrought Silks, Bengals, and Stuffs mix'd with Silks, or Herba, of the Manufacture of* Perſia, China, *or* Eaſt-India; *and all Callicoes Painted, Died, Printed, or Stain'd there, until the* 30th *of* September, 1701.

On the 21ſt of *February* the Commons in a Body having waited upon the King, with their Addreſs of the 15th of that Month, in relation to the *Iriſh* Forfeitures, His Majeſty told them;

King's Anſwer to the Commons.

Gentlemen,

"I was not only led by Inclination, but thought my Self obliged in Juſtice, to Reward thoſe who had ſerv'd well, and particularly in the Reduction of *Ireland*, out of the Eſtates Forfeited to me, by the Rebellion there. —— The long War in which we were engag'd, did occaſion great Taxes, and has left the Nation much in Debt; and the taking juſt and effectual Ways for leſſening that Debt, and ſupporting publick Credit, is what, in my Opinion, will beſt contribute to the Honour, Intereſt, and Safety of the Kingdom."

1700. The Speaker having Five Days after reported this Anſwer, the Commons were ſo provok'd by it, that they Reſolved, *That whoſoever Adviſ'd it, had uſed his utmoſt Endeavour to create a Miſunderſtanding and Jealouſy between the King and His People*. The ſame Day the Commons Reſolv'd, That towards raiſing the Supply, a Duty be laid upon all Hops imported into *Ireland*, except ſuch as are of the growth of this Kingdom. And on the Firſt of *March*, Colonel *Glanville* reported from the Committe of the whole Houſe, who had conſider'd the State of His Majeſty's Revenue, *That it was their Opinion, That there had been a great Loſs in His Majeſty's Revenue of Exciſe, to the prejudice of the Publick*. To which Reſolution the Houſe Agreed; and moreover Reſolv'd, *That it be an Inſtruction to the Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom the Land Tax and* Iriſh *Forfeiture Bills were committed, that they receive a Clauſe to enable His Majeſty, for the Improvement of the Revenue, to let to Farm the Duties of Exciſe, if He thought fit. And that it be an Inſtruction alſo, that no Member of this Houſe be concern'd in the Farming or Managing the Revenue of Exciſe.*

On the 7th. of *March*, the Commons having taken into Conſideration the Services perform'd by the Commiſſioners appointed to enquire into the *Iriſh* Forfeitures, Reſolv'd, That the Sum of One Thouſand Pounds be paid to the Earl of *Drogheda*, *Francis Anneſley*, *John Trenchard*, *James Hamilton*, *Henry Langford*, Eſq; and to *James Hooper*, Eſq; Secretary to the Commiſſioners; and the Sum of 500 *l.* only to Sir *Richard Leving*, and Sir *Francis Brewſter*, Two of the ſaid Commiſſioners, in Conſideration of their Expences; which Sums were order'd to be paid out of the *Iriſh* Forfeitures. On *March* 12. The Commons made an end of the buſineſs of the Supply; having agreed to theſe Reſolutions. *That the Surpluſage over and above* 700000 l. *of this Year's produce of the Subſidies, Duties, and ſmall Branches of the Revenue, appropriated to the Service of His Majeſty's Houſhold, be applied for the Service of the Year* 1700. *That towards the further raiſing the Supply already granted, the Sum of* 60000 *Pounds be raiſed, by enlarging the Time to purchaſe Annuities; That the Additional Duties of* 25 l. per Cent. *on all* French *Goods, and* 25 l. per Cent. *on all* French *Wines and Brandies, the Duty of Five Shillings* per *Tun upon all* French *Shipping, the Plantation Duties, and Duty of one Shilling and Ten-pence* per *pound weight upon all wrought Silks, be applied for the Service of this preſent Year; That a further Duty to be laid upon all Wrought Silks, Bengalls, and Stuffs mix'd with Silk or Herba, of the Manufacture of* Perſia, China, *or* Eaſt-India, *and all Callicoes painted or ſtained there, imported before* 30th *of* September, 1701. *be* 15 l. per Cent. *upon the groſs Sales at the Candle, over and above the Duties now payable for the ſame. And that a further Duty of* 15 l. per Cent. *be laid upon all Muſlins imported.* Which they order'd to be form'd into a Bill, directing the Committee appointed for that purpoſe, to bring Two Clauſes into the Bill; one for a Draw-back of the Duties upon *Eaſt-India* Goods, upon the Exportation thereof; And another for the Importing Cuſtom-free a certain quantity of Paper for the Printing Dr. *Allix*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; which was to conſiſt of ſeveral Volumes in *Folio*.

On *February* 9th the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, He gave the Royal Aſſent to a Bill, Entituled, *An Act for taking away the Bounty Money for exporting Corn from the Ninth Day of* February, *One thouſand ſix hundred ninety-nine, to the Twenty-ninth* Acts paſſed.

Day

1699. Day of September, *One thouſand ſeven hundred*. And to a private Act, for enabling *Thomas Noble*, Gentleman, to Sell the undivided Third Part of the Mannor of *Foxton*, in the County of *Leiceſter*, when he ſhall have ſettled other Lands (an entire Eſtate) of a greater Value to the ſame Uſes.

The Grand Committee for Trade, upon the Repreſentations made by the Merchants, of ſeveral Piracies committed in the *Eaſt-Indies*, by Captain *Kidd* and his Crew, examin'd the Copies of ſeveral Commiſſions given to the ſaid *Kidd*; of His Majeſty's Warrant for a Grant of Pyrates Goods to the Earl of *Bellamont* and others; of an Indenture between His Majeſty and the ſaid Earl; of a Letter from the Lords of the Treaſury to that Earl, about ſending over the Treaſure ſeiz'd in *Kidd*'s Ship; of another Letter to the ſaid Earl, about ſeizing of *Kidd*; of ſeveral Papers receiv'd from the Earl of *Bellamont*; and of a Petition of the Old *Eaſt India* Company, preſented to the King on the 21ſt of *September*, 1699. And then they brought in a *Bill for the more effectual Suppreſſion of Piracy*. And on *March* 16th, upon Information that Captain *Kidd* was ſent for home, from the *Weſt-Indies*, the Commons Addreſs'd the King, *That the ſaid Captain* Kidd *might not be Tryed, Diſcharg'd, or Pardon'd until the next Seſſion of Parliament. And that the Earl of* Bellamont, *Governour of* New-England, *might tranſmit over all Inſtructions and Papers taken with or relating to the ſaid* Kidd. With which His Majeſty complied.

Other Proceedings in Parliament not grateful to the King. Some other Things were done in this Seſſion that could not be grateful to the Court. A *Bill* was ſet on foot in the Houſe of Commons *for qualifying Juſtices of the Peace*; and a Committee appointed to *inſpect the Commiſſions of the Peace, and Commiſſions for Deputy-Lieutenants as they now ſtood, and as they were for ſeven Years laſt paſt*. This Committee having made Report to the Houſe, that not only many Perſons diſſenting from the Church of *England*, but Men of Small Fortunes, and who conſequently had an entire Dependence on the Court, were put into thoſe Places; the Commons Reſolv'd, *That an Addreſs be made to His Majeſty, that it would much conduce to the Service of His Majeſty, and the Good of this Kingdom, that Gentlemen of Quality and good Eſtates be reſtor'd and put into the Commiſſions of the Peace and Lieutenancy; and that Men of Small Eſtates be neither continued, nor put in the ſaid Commiſſions*. When this Addreſs was preſented by the whole Houſe, the King gave this Favourable Anſwer.

Addreſs of the Commons about Juſtices of Peace.

Gentlemen,

King's Anſwer. *I am of the Opinion, That Men of the beſt Quality and Eſtates are moſt proper to be intruſted in the Commiſſions of the Peace and Lieutenancy, and Directions ſhall be given accordingly.*

With which Anſwer the Commons were ſo well pleaſed, that they preſented their Humble Thanks in a Body to His Majeſty; who thereupon took occaſion to ſay farther:

Gentlemen,

I ſhall always endeavour to do what is for the Good of the Publick.

Addreſs about the Allies. Another Umbrage of Diſcontent was taken at the Allies not bearing a Proportion to *England* in ſome of the Common Burthens and Engagements. They preſented an Addreſs to His Majeſty about the beginning of *March*, *That His Majeſty would uſe His Endeavours to procure other Princes and States to pay the Proportions of the Debt due to the Prince of* Denmark. To which the King anſwer'd in an obliging manner; *That He would uſe His utmoſt Endeavours for it.*

1699.

Growth of Popery. The moſt reaſonable of all Jealouſies and Fears, was the Growth of *Popery*. On *Feb.* 21. the Clergy of the County Palatine of *Lancaſter* had preſented a Petition to the Commons of *England*, Praying, "That ſuch Effectual Methods as ſhould "be thought fit, might be uſed to ſtop the Growth "of *Popery*, and prevent the miſchievous Effects "that were otherwiſe likely to be produced by "the Inſolent Behaviour and Attempts of *Popiſh* "Prieſts." Whereupon Mr. *How* reported from the Committee appointed to enquire how far the Laws againſt *Popiſh* Recuſants had been put in execution, and to propoſe what further Remedies were neceſſary to ſuppreſs the Growth of *Popery* in theſe Kingdoms, and to ſtrengthen the *Proteſtant* Religion; "That it did not appear to them "that the Laws againſt *Popiſh* Recuſants had generally been put in execution: That it was "their Opinion, That a further Reward be given to ſuch Perſons as ſhould Diſcover and "Convict *Popiſh* Prieſts or Jeſuits: That it would "be a further Remedy againſt the Growth of *Popery*, that perpetual Impriſonment be inflicted "upon *Popiſh* Prieſts, and *Popiſh* School-Maſters, "convict upon the Oath of one or more Witneſſes: That no Perſon born after the 25th Day "of *March*, 1700, being a *Papiſt*, be capable of "inheriting any Title of Honour or Eſtate within the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, "or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*: And that no "*Papiſt* be capable of purchaſing any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments in the ſaid Kingdom, either in his own Name, or in the Name "of any Perſon in Truſt for him." The Commons having agreed to theſe Reſolutions, order'd a Bill to be brought in thereupon; which Bill ſoon after received the Royal Aſſent.

Scotch Eaſt-India Company. Beſides the Affairs of *England*, the Remonſtrances of the *Scotch Eaſt-India* Company did much perplex His Majeſty's Thoughts. On *Dec.* 4. 1699, the Council General of that Company writ a Letter to the *Scotch* Secretary of State in *England*, acquainting his Lordſhip, "That they had prevail'd upon the Lord *Baſil Hamilton* to go up "with an Addreſs to His Majeſty, in behalf of "Captain *Robert Pinkarton*, and thirty more, who "were wrongfully detain'd Priſoners at *Carthagena* ſince the beginning of *February* (then) laſt "paſt; and, as they were inform'd, moſt inhumanly treated. That they were daily importuned by their Relations (who were very conſiderable) for their Relief; and it was of great "Concern to the Company, that ſomething material ſhould be done ſpeedily therein, not only "for the ſake of the ſaid Priſoners, but that "others might thereby ſee they did not abandon "the Intereſt of ſuch as engag'd themſelves in "their Company's Service. Wherefore they intreated his Lordſhip, That he would be pleaſed "to introduce the Lord *Baſil Hamilton* to the "King, in preſenting the ſaid Addreſs, and to "aſſiſt him in procuring a gracious Return from "His Majeſty." Thereupon the Lord Chancellor writ a Letter to the *Scotch* Directors, importing, *That His Majeſty's Secretaries of State acquainted Him, That the King would not allow Lord* Baſil Hamilton *Acceſs to Him, becauſe he did not wait upon His Majeſty when he was formerly in* London; *and that he had never ſince given any Publick Evidence of his Loyalty, nor had*

1699. *hitherto own'd His Majeſty's Government. But that His Majeſty would not refuſe to hear what my Lord* Baſil's *Inſtructions were, being willing to be informed of what the Company deſir'd: And that if the Lord* Baſil *would give in Writing to His Majeſty's Secretaries what he had to preſent, His Majeſty would receive Information from their Hands of what was demanded, and would give his Anſwer to the Company.* In ſhort, *That His Majeſty did not refuſe the Petition, but would not allow my Lord* Baſil *to be the Preſenter of it.* At the ſame Time His Majeſty, to give the Company all the preſent Satiſfaction he could, Wrote to his Council of *Scotland*; " That whereas the Council General of the *African* Company of that Nation, had by their Letter to the Secretaries of State, deſired that they might give their Concurrence to procure a gracious Return to their Petition, which they had ſent with Lord *Baſil Hamilton*, and which together with his Inſtructions, he had communicated to the Secretaries of State; and that they had repreſented to him what was deſired in behalf of the ſaid Company; and that he having refuſed the ſaid Lord *Baſil Hamilton* Acceſs, for the Reaſons communicated to the Lord Chancellor by the Secretaries of State; yet being willing to give an Anſwer to what the Company deſired, his Majeſty was reſolved in the Terms of Treaties, to demand from the King of *Spain*, that Captain *Pinkarton* and thoſe of his Crew, who were detained Priſoners at *Carthagena*, ſhould be ſet at Liberty; That it was His Majeſty's Intention to advance the Trade of *Scotland*; and that the Subjects of that Kingdom ſhould be allowed the ſame Liberty of Commerce that others enjoy'd with *Engliſh* Plantations; but that the Three Frigats they demanded, having been given by Parliament for Guarding the Coaſts, he was reſolved not to diſpoſe of them, till He had the Advice of his Parliament.

In anſwer to the ſaid Chancellor's Letter, the Directors ſent another to the Secretaries of State for *Scotland*, containing in Subſtance, " That the Council General of their Company having thought fit to ſend up one of their Number with an Addreſs to His Majeſty, and with Inſtructions concerning the Contents of their Company's former Petitions, they thought that none could be more capable to diſcharge that Truſt than the Lord *Baſil Hamilton*, as being throughly vers'd in the Courſe of the Company's Affairs; Nor more acceptable to His Majeſty, as having no Objections made againſt him when he was appointed, ſeveral Lords of His Majeſty's Privy Council, being then preſent. That they were ſurpriz'd to find by a Letter from the Lord Chancellor, that the King would not allow the Lord *Baſil* Acceſs, becauſe he had not waited on His Majeſty when laſt in *London*; but his Lordſhip being ſent by, and having Inſtructions from the Council General, they could ſay nothing to it, other than intreat their Lordſhips, That they would uſe their Intereſts with His Majeſty to allow the Lord *Baſil* to have Acceſs to His Royal Perſon, leſt the Refuſal of it might not be only a Diſcouragement to the Company, and all its Well-wiſhers, but give ground to the World to believe, That his not being allow'd Acceſs to His Majeſty, was upon Account of carrying an Addreſs from the Company, which every Body knew ſtood in need of, and had a juſt Right to His Majeſty's Royal Favour and Protection. They alſo Writ to the Lord *Baſil Hamilton*, That as they were ſenſible of his generous Condeſcenſion to their Requeſt, in undertaking ſo troubleſome a Journey to *London* at that Time of the Year, purely to ſerve the Intereſt of his Country; ſo they could not but heartily Regret, That the carrying the Company's Commiſſion, ſhould be the occaſion of puting a diſtinguiſhing Mark upon a Perſon of his Lordſhip's Quality and Merit, as to be denied Acceſs to His Majeſty's Perſon, becauſe he had not Waited on His Majeſty when laſt in *London*. That No-body was ſo Blind but might ſee through that. And that whereas they never heard that his Lordſhip had ever done any Thing unworthy of his Quality, or inconſiſtent with the Duty of a Loyal and Peaceable Subject; ſo they ſtill hop'd that by his Prudent Management His Majeſty might be undeceived of any Miſrepreſentation he might have of him, and that he would yet condeſcend to grant his Lordſhip Acceſs to His Royal Perſon, with their Addreſs, and give a Gracious Anſwer to the Contents of it, and the other Particulars mentioned in his Inſtructions. 1699.

On the other Hand, the Houſe of Lords in *England* repreſented in an Addreſs to His Majeſty; " That according to their Duty, being ſollicitous for the Preſervation and Increaſe of the Trade of the Kingdom, on which the ſupport of His Majeſty's Greatneſs and Honour ſo much depended, as well as the Security and Defence of his People, had been very apprehenſive, that the Step made towards the Settlement of the *Scots* at *Darien* might tend to the great Prejudice of *England*, and poſſibly to the Diſturbance of that Peace and good Correſpondence with the Crown of *Spain*, which they conceived to be very advantageous. That therefore they had taken the ſame into ſerious Conſideration, and thought it proper to be laid before His Majeſty as the common Father of both Countries. And that as they were truly ſenſible of the great Loſſes their Neighbour Kingdoms had ſuſtain'd, both by Men and Treaſure, in their Expeditions to that Place, which they very heartily lamented; ſo they ſhould not endeavour by any Interpoſition of theirs, to defeat the Hopes the *Scots* might ſtill entertain of the Recovering theſe Loſſes by their further engaging in that Deſign, but that they judged ſuch a Proſecution on their Parts, muſt tend not only in far greater Diſappointments to themſelves, but at the ſame Time, prove inconvenient to the Trade and Quiet of the Kingdom of *England*. That they preſumed to put His Majeſty in mind of the Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament, preſented to His Majeſty on the 17th of *December*, 1695. in the cloſe of which Addreſs His Majeſty would ſee the unanimous Senſe of the Kingdom, in relation to any Settlement the *Scots* might make in the *Weſt-Indies*, by virtue of an Act of Parliament paſt about that Time in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was the occaſion of the Addreſs. That they alſo humbly repreſented to His Majeſty, That having received Information of ſome Orders His Majeſty had ſent to the Governors of the Plantations, on that Subject, and the Houſe had on *Jan.* 18. then laſt paſt, come to this Reſolution, that His Majeſty's Pleaſure ſignified to the Governors of the Plantations, in Relation to the *Scots* Settlement at *Darien*, was agreeable to the forementíon'd Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament; and that " on

Addreſs of the Lords againſt the *Scots* Settlement at *Darien*.

1699. " on the 8th of that Inſtant *February*, that Houſe " came to a farther Reſolution, That the Settle- " ment of the *Scots* Colony at *Darien*, was in- " conſiſtent with the Good of the Plantation " Trade of the Kingdom. All which they hop'd " His Majeſty would take into His Royal Con- " ſideration.

This Addreſs was carried only by Four or Five Votes, and about Sixteen Peers enter'd their Proteſts againſt it. As for the Commons, they abſolutely refus'd to concur with it; but however, His Majeſty made Anſwer; *That having receiv'd a very Dutiful Addreſs from the Houſe of Peers, He was pleas'd to let them know, That He would always have a very great regard to their Opinion, and that He aſſur'd them, that He would never be wanting by all Means, to promote the Advantage and Good of the Trade of* England. *At the ſame Time His Majeſty was pleaſed to declare, That He could not but have a great Concern and Tenderneſs for His Kingdom of* Scotland, *and a deſire to Advance their Welfare and Proſperity; and was very ſenſibly touch'd with the Loſs His Subjects of that Kingdom had ſuſtain'd by their unhappy Expedition, in order to a Settlement at* Darien: *That His Majeſty did apprehend, that Difficulties might too often ariſe, with reſpect to the different Intereſt of Trade between His Two Kingdoms, unleſs ſome Means were found out to unite them more nearly and compleatly; wherefore He took this Opportunity of putting the Houſe of Peers in mind of what He recommended to His Parliament ſoon after His Acceſſion to the Throne, That they would conſider of an Union between the Two Kingdoms. That His Majeſty was of Opinion, That nothing would contribute more to the Security and Happineſs of both Kingdoms; and was inclin'd to hope, that after they had liv'd near a hundred Years under the ſame Head, ſome happy Expedient might be found for making them one People, in caſe a Treaty were ſet on foot for that purpoſe: And therefore He very earneſtly recommended that Matter to the Conſideration of the Houſe.* Hereupon the Lords fram'd and paſs'd an Act *for Authorizing certain Commiſſioners of the Realm of* England, *to Treat with Commiſſioners of* Scotland, *for the Weal of both Kingdoms:* To which the Commons refus'd to give their Concurrence. About two Months before, a Complaint was made to the Houſe of Commons of a Printed Book, Entituled, *An Enquiry into the Cauſes of the Miſcarriages of the* Scots *Colony at* Darien; and the Houſe having examined the ſaid Book, reſolv'd, *That it highly reflecting on the Honour of His Majeſty, and both Houſes of Parliament, and tending to create Jealouſies and Animoſities between the two Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland, *was a Falſe, Scandalous, and Traiterous Libel:* Order'd it to be Burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman, and Addreſs'd His Majeſty to iſſue out His Royal Proclamation for the Diſcovering and Apprehending the Author, Printer, and Publiſher of the ſaid Libel; which Proclamation was publiſh'd accordingly.

King for an Union of Scotland to England.

In the mean Time, notwithſtanding His Majeſty's Proclamation iſſued out in *Scotland* on the 18th of *December* laſt, againſt Diſorderly Petitioning, the *Scotch* went on with a National Addreſs to His Majeſty, which was Preſented by the Marquiſs of *Tweedale* on the 25th of *March*; and imported, " That they being deeply affected " with the hard Circumſtances of the *Indian* and " *African* Company of His Majeſty's Kingdom " of *Scotland*, both Abroad and at Home, as be- " ing of Univerſal Concern to the whole Na- " tion: And that His Majeſty having been " pleas'd by His Royal Anſwer to the Council " General of the ſaid Company's Petition, to " ſignifie, That He very much regretted the Loſs " which that Kingdom and the Company had " then lately ſuſtain'd: That upon all Occaſions " His Majeſty would Protect and Encourage the " Trade of the Nation, and that He would or- " der the Parliament to meet when He judg'd " the Good of the Nation requir'd it: That they " were thereby encourag'd in moſt dutiful and " humble Manner, to repreſent to His Ma- " jeſty, That as the Eſtates of Parliament, and " that Nation which they repreſented, had a " peculiar Intereſt in the Concerns of the ſaid " Company, as was particularly manifeſted in " their Unanimous Addreſs to His Majeſty, " *Auguſt* 5. 1698. ſo they humbly conceiv'd no- " thing could be ſo conducible to ſupport the " Credit and Intereſt of the ſaid Company, un- " der its preſent Misfortunes, as a Meeting of " the ſaid Eſtates in Parliament; and that the " Good of the Nation could at no Time require " their Meeting, more than at preſent. That " they doubted not but that under the Influences " of His Majeſty's Favour and Protection, toge- " ther with the Aſſiſtance which might be rea- " ſonably expected from His ſaid Parliament, " the ſaid Company might be enabled to pro- " ſecute their Undertaking with greater Aſſu- " rance, and better Succeſs than hitherto they " could have done, under the many Stops and " Difficulties which they met with from Time to " Time. Wherefore they in all humble Duty, " moſt earneſtly intreated, and moſt aſſuredly " expected, That His Majeſty would Order His " ſaid Parliament to meet as ſoon as poſſible; " which they doubted not, would tend to the " Honour of His Majeſty, and the general Good " and Satisfaction of the Nation. 1699.

Upon the Preſenting of this Addreſs, one of the Commiſſioners ſignified to the King, That it was hop'd His Majeſty would be pleas'd to look upon it, not only as a Petition for Allowing the Parliament to Sit, but likewiſe as a Teſtimony of the Nation's Concern for the Intereſt of the *Indian* and *African* Company. To which His Majeſty was pleas'd to Anſwer, *That that would be beſt known in Parliament, and that the Parliament could not Sit before the* 14th *of* May *then next enſuing, but that it would Sit then.*

On *December* 14. His Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Dignity of a Baronet of this Kingdom, on *William Brown* of *London*, Eſq; and on *Richard Allen* of *Summerly*, in the County of *Suffolk*, Eſq; On *December* 17. His Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Charles Eyre*, Eſq, who was Elected by the *Eaſt-India* Company to be Governor of *Fort-William*, and Preſident for the Management of all their Affairs in the Kingdoms of *Bengall* and *Bahar* in the *Eaſt-Indies*. On *December* 19. His Majeſty granted the Dignity of a Baronet to *Richard Newman* of *Fiſehead Magdalene*, in the County of *Dorſet*, Eſq; On *December* 30. He conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Andrew Fountain*, Junior, of *Narford*, in *Norfolk*, Eſq; a Gentleman of great Parts and Learning. On *January* 9. the ſame Honour was done to *Roger Jenyns* of *Ely*, in the County of *Cambridge*, Eſq; On *March* 23. His Majeſty conferr'd the Dignity of a Baronet upon *Martin Weſtcomb*, Eſq; His Majeſty's Conſul at *Cadiz*.

Honours and Preferments.

As to the State of Religion, the King in His Speech at the opening of the Seſſion, *November*

State of Religion.

1699. *ber* 16. had juſtly imputed the growing Burden of the Poor to the Depravation of Manners, occaſion'd by their Looſe and Idle Life; and had deſir'd them to conſider, whether the Ground of this Evil was from Defects in the Laws already made, or in the Execution of them: Promiſing Himſelf *to Countenance Vertue, and Diſcourage Vice.* Upon which, the Commons Reſolved on *November* 28. that an Humble Addreſs be made to His Majeſty, *That He will be pleaſed to Iſſue His Royal Proclamation, for the Suppreſſing of all Vice and Immorality, and for putting the Laws in Execution relating thereunto.* And they Ordered a Committee to be appointed to prepare *Heads for a Bill againſt Gaming and Duelling.* When the Addreſs was Preſented by thoſe Members who were of the Privy Council, His Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay, *That He would ſpeedily comply with the Deſires of the Houſe therein.* And accordingly on *December* 9th. was Publiſhed His Majeſty's Proclamation for preventing and puniſhing Immorality and Prophaneneſs.

Suppreſſing Vice and Immorality.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury's Circular Letter.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was a ſteady Promoter of Peace and Piety: And to that excellent Purpoſe, his Grace ſent out this Circular Letter to the Right Reverend the Lords Biſhops of his Province. Dated *April* 4. 1699.

Reverend Brother,

" My Writing to you and the reſt of our Brethren at this Time, is occaſioned by a ſenſible growth of Vice and Prophaneneſs in the Nation; which, to the great Affliction of all good Men, appears not only in the corrupt Practices of particular Perſons, but alſo in the endeavours that are uſed to ſubvert the general Principles of our holy Religion. And this with a boldneſs and openneſs, far beyond the Examples of paſt Times. So that if a ſpeedy ſtop be not put to ſuch *National* Provocations, we have juſt cauſe to fear they may bring down the heavieſt Judgments of God upon us. The preventing whereof belongs more immediately to us, who are the *Miniſters of Chriſt*; and as ſuch, are obliged to the utmoſt care and watchfulneſs in oppoſing theſe *Inſtruments of Satan.*

" I doubt not but many of the *Parochial Clergy* are ſufficiently ſenſible, both of their own Duty and the Danger we are in. In the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and other places, I am ſure the good Effects of their Diligence have been very evident of late Years; but in ſome Parts that are more remote, all of them may not ſo well underſtand either the *Arts* or the *Induſtry* of theſe Enemies of Religion. And therefore I thought it a Duty incumbent on the Station wherein Providence has placed me, to deſire of you and the reſt of our Brethren, to warn the Clergy under your Care, of theſe Attempts againſt Religion and Vertue; and to excite them to a Diligence proportionable to the Danger; and to ſuggeſt to them ſuch " Methods as are moſt likely to work a *General Reformation.* 1699.

" With this Requeſt, I ſend you ſuch Particulars, as, in my Opinion, are very neceſſary to be preſſ'd upon your Clergy, for the attaining ſo deſirable an End. As,

" I. That in their own Lives, and the Government of their own Families, they would make themſelves *Examples* of a ſober and regular Converſation. It is the Apoſtle's Reaſoning; *If a Man know not how to rule his own Houſe* (and much more his *own Life and Actions*) *how ſhall he take care of the Church of God?* The true Method of working a Reformation *Abroad*, is to lay the Foundation at *Home*; which alone can give our *Reproofs* a juſt Weight and Authority: But till that is done, no *Exhortations*, whether in publick or private, can either be offer'd with Decency, or receiv'd with Reverence.

" II. To Piety they ſhould add *Prudence* in all their Actions and Behaviour; which even in *Private Chriſtians* is a great Ornament to Religion; but in *Publick Teachers*, is a moſt neceſſary Qualification for the due Diſcharge of their Miniſtry. A *Mildneſs* of Temper, with a Gravity and Calmneſs in their Converſation, will not fail to gain them a general Love and Eſteem among their Neighbours: And a diſcreet Caution in their *Words* and *Actions*, will preſerve them from thoſe little Imprudencies that are ſometimes ſo ſenſible an Obſtruction to the good Endeavours of well-meaning Men. Perſons in *Holy Orders* are not only bound, in the Conduct of their Lives, to conſider what is Lawful or Unlawful *in itſelf*, but alſo what is Decent or Indecent *in Them*, with reſpect to their *Character* and *Function*: *Abſtaining from all appearance of evil; and giving no Offence in any thing, that the Miniſtry be not blamed.*

" III. While our *Enemies* are ſo very Induſtrious in ſeeking out Objections againſt the Chriſtian Religion, it becomes the *Clergy* (who are ſet a-part for the Vindication of it) to be no leſs Diligent in their Preparations for its Defence: By acquainting themſelves thoroughly with the rational grounds of Chriſtianity, and the true State of ſuch Points as are the Subjects of our preſent Controverſies; together with the Objections which are uſually made by our Adverſaries of all ſorts, and the effectual Anſwers that have been returned to them by ſo many Eminent Writers of our own Church. That ſo they may be ready on all Occaſions, to do Juſtice and Honour to our Religion; and be able to expoſe the Folly and Ignorance of theſe Gainſaying Men. The Cauſe which God has put into our hands, is undoubtedly good; but the beſt Cauſe may ſuffer by the weakneſs of its Advocate: And when this happens in the matter of Religion, it gives the

• That Eminent and Learned Prelate Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, died at his Houſe in *Park-Street, Weſtminſter*, the 27th Day of *March*, 1699. and from thence his Corps was carried to *Worceſter*, and decently Interr'd among his Predeceſſors, behind the Choir in that Cathedral, in the ſame Grave where his late dear Conſort was laid about Two Years before; near which his Son the Reverend Mr. *Stillingfleet*, Canon of that Church, and Executor of his Laſt Will, has Erected an elegant Monument, with an Inſcription Written by the Learned Dr. *Bentley*, his former Chaplain. See *the Life and Character of that Eminent and Learned Prelate the late Dr.* Edward Stillingfleet; *Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter, *with Account of his Works*, Folio *and* Octavo.

∴ The worthy Dr. *William Lloyd*, Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, was Tranſlated to the See of *Worceſter*; the very deſerving Dr. *John Hough*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, was Tranſlated to *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; and the truly Loyal Dr. *William Talbot*, Dean of *Worceſter*, was Conſecrated Biſhop of *Oxford*; at *Lambeth*, on Sunday the 24th of *Septem.* 1699. by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *London, Rocheſter* and *Norwich.*

See A Sermon Preach'd at the Church of St. *Mary le Bow*, to the Societies for Reformation of Manners, 26 *June*, 1699. by *Edward* Lord Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, *London*, 1699. 8*vo.*

See A Letter from a Miniſter in the Country, to a Miniſter in *London*, giving an Account of the Original, Nature, and Deſign of the Societies of the Clergy in *Bedford* and *Buckingham Shires.* Dat. *Sept.* 8. 1699. 4*to.*

1699. "Adverſary an occaſion of Triumph, and is apt to ſtagger the Faith even of ſincere and unprejudic'd Chriſtians.

"IV. It were to be wiſh'd, that the Clergy of every Neighbourhood would agree upon frequent *Meetings*, to conſult for the good of Religion in general; and to adviſe with one another about any Difficulties that may happen in their particular Cures. By what Methods any evil Cuſtom may moſt eaſily be broken; how a Sinner may be moſt effectually Reclaim'd; and (in general) how each of them in their ſeveral Circumſtances may contribute moſt to the advancement of Religion. Such *Conſultations* as theſe, beſides the mutual Benefit of Advice and Inſtruction, will be a natural means to excite the Zeal of ſome, to reduce the over-eagerneſs of others to a due Temper, and to provoke all to a Religious Emulation in the Improvement of *Piety* and *Order* within their reſpective Pariſhes. And theſe *Meetings* might ſtill be made a greater Advantage to the Clergy, in carrying on the *Reformation* of Mens *Lives* and *Manners*, by inviting the *Church-Wardens* of their ſeveral Pariſhes and other Pious Perſons among the *Laity*, to join with them in the Execution of the moſt probable Methods that can be ſuggeſted for thoſe good Ends. And we may very reaſonably expect the happy Effects of ſuch a Concurrence, from the viſible Succeſs of that Noble Zeal wherewith ſo many about the great *Cities* in my Neighbourhood, do promote true Piety, and a *Reformation of Manners*. And therefore I deſire you, that you will particularly excite your Clergy to the procuring ſuch Aſſiſtances as theſe, for the more effectual diſcharge of their own Duty.

"V. *It would very much further and facilitate* all their Endeavours of this kind, to gain over the Perſons who have the greateſt *Eſteem* and *Authority* in their Pariſhes, to a hearty Concern for the Honour of God and Religion: Frequently ſuggeſting to them the Obligation that God has laid upon them to be *Examples* to others; and the great good that it is in their Power to do, by ſetting a Pattern of *regular* Living, and the unſpeakable Miſchief of their *irregular* Behaviour. For if once the better ſort can be brought to ſuch a Seriouſneſs and Sobriety, the reſt will more eaſily follow: *Example* being the moſt powerful Inſtruction; and Experience teaching us that *Shame* and *Fear*, which ariſe from the *Authority* of ſuch good Patterns, are commonly the moſt effectual Reſtraints upon the meaner ſort.

"VI. When any Perſon is Obſtinate in his Vices, and not to be Reclaimed either by *Teaching* or *Example*, by *Exhortation* or *Reproof*; the Ordinary ought to be informed of it, that he may proceed to Reclaim ſuch by *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures*; and where thoſe are like to prove ineffectual, the *Civil Magiſtrate* muſt be applied to, and deſired to proceed againſt them according to the Laws in thoſe Caſes provided. Which *Information* and *Requeſt*, eſpecially in the Caſe of ſuch incorrigible Offenders, can be made by none ſo properly as by the *Clergy*; who may beſt be ſuppoſed to underſtand the neceſſity there is of having recourſe to the Civil Magiſtrate. And ſince our *Law-givers* have Enacted theſe Temporal Puniſhments, on purpoſe to aſſiſt us in the diſcharge of our Miniſtry; it would be a great failing in us, not to make uſe of them, when all other Methods have been tried to little or no Effect. 1699.

"VII. Every Pious Perſon of the Laity, ſhould, if need be, be put in mind by the Clergy, that he ought to think himſelf oblig'd to uſe his beſt Endeavours to have ſuch Offenders puniſhed by the *Civil Magiſtrate*, as can no otherwiſe be amended. And that when he hears his Neighbour *Swear* or *Blaſpheme* the Name of God, or ſees him offend in *Drunkenneſs* or *Prophanation of the Lord's Day*, he ought not to neglect to give the Magiſtrate notice of it. In ſuch a Caſe to be called an *Informer*, will be ſo far from making any Man Odious in the judgment of Sober Perſons, that it will tend to his Honour, when he makes it appear by his unblameable Behaviour, and the Care he takes of *Himſelf* and his own *Family*, that he doth it purely for the Glory of God, and the good of his Brethren. Such well-diſpoſed Perſons as are reſolved upon this, ſhould be encouraged to meet as oft as they can, and to conſult how they may moſt diſcreetly and effectually manage it in the Places where they live.

"VIII. As in reforming the *Laity*, they ought to uſe the Aſſiſtance of the *Civil Magiſtrate*; ſo if any of their own *Brethren* be an irregular Liver, and cannot be reclaim'd by Brotherly Admonition, the *Neighbouring Clergy* ſhould be ſtrictly enjoined to make it known to their *Dioceſan*, either by themſelves or the *Archdeacon*, or by ſome other convenient way. That ſo the Offender may be Admoniſh'd to live ſuitable to his Character; and if a bare Admonition will not do, he may be proceeded againſt by *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures*; for the preventing ſuch *Scandals* and *Miſchiefs* as will always accompany the irregular Life of a *Miniſter of the Goſpel*.

"IX. And whereas the Foundations of *Piety* and *Morality* are beſt laid at the beginning, in the Religious Education of *Children*; I cannot but wiſh that every one of the *Parochial Clergy* would be very diligent in *Catechiſing* the Children under their Care; and not only ſo, but in calling upon them afterwards as they grow up, to give ſuch further Account of their Religion, as may be expected from a riper Age. That being thus carefully inſtructed in the *Faith* and *Duty* of a Chriſtian, they alſo may teach their Children the ſame; and ſo *Piety*, *Vertue* and *Goodneſs*, may for ever Flouriſh in our Church and Nation.

"Theſe Directions, with ſuch others of the ſame nature as will occur to you, I deſire may be Tranſmitted by you to the Clergy of your Dioceſe; for the Religious Government of themſelves, and their People, in theſe dangerous Times. So recommending You and Them to the Bleſſing of God, I reſt

Your Affectionate Brother,

Tho. Cantuar.

See, A Letter of *John* Lord Biſhop of *Oxon*, to the Clergy of his Dioceſe, ſending his *Grace's* Letter, and heartily recommending a due Obſervance of it. Dated *April* 6. 1699. 4to.

The

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The Majority of the Commons were well affected to the Church of *England*, and ſeem'd to " ſuſpect that the Court had ſhewn too much Fa" vour to the Diſſenters: It was upon this Jealouſie, that a Committee complain'd, that *Many Perſons diſſenting from the Church of* England, *were made Juſtices of Peace:* tho' upon Enquiry it did not appear that any two Men were Commiſſioned in the Peace, or Lieutenancy, who deſerved the Name of Diſſenters; though ſome of them indeed were but Occaſional Conformiſts; which, if it proceeded from the Intention of getting or keeping Places, was a Shameful Practice. And the Indignation which many ſincere Chriſtians had on this account, gave the better colour to ſome People, for appearing with extraordinary warmth againſt Diſſenters; and to love to be diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *High Church Men*; and to treat all Perſons of Charity and Moderation with the Character of *Low Church*, and *Whigs*, and even *Fanaticks*; though Men of the greateſt Affection to the Church, and of the ſtricteſt Conformity to the eſtabliſh'd Rules of it. Under this new Spirit of Diviſion, the very Prelates of the Church were to fall into Suſpicion and Reproach: Hence on *December* the 13th, a Motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, and the Queſtion was put, *That an Humble Addreſs be made to His Majeſty, for Removing* Gilbert *Lord Biſhop of* Sarum, *from being Preceptor to his Highneſs the Duke of* Glouceſter. But the Majority of that Honourable Body were ſenſible of the unreaſonable Prejudice, and ſo it *Paſſed in the Negative.* However, there was a Jealouſie fomented, of the Church being betrayed by Moderate Men, and it was unhappily increaſed by a Paſſage that made a great deal of Noiſe. Mr. *William Stephens*, B. D. Rector of *Sutton* in *Surry*, a Man of looſe Principles, and of no ſtrict Converſation, was appointed to Preach before the Houſe of Commons, on *January* the 30th. He had been always a Bold Talker for Rights and Liberties, and therefore he choſe the ſame Subject on this Day, and ſeem'd to aſſert the Original Power of the People in ſuch a manner, as look'd towards excuſing the Murder of King *Charles* I. and directly ſuggeſted, that after an Act of Oblivion and length of Time, the Obſervation of the Anniverſary Faſt need not to be longer continued; but rather for Charity and Peace to be now utterly Aboliſh'd. This Doctrine was ſo diſreliſh'd, and the Man ſo unacceptable; that when a Motion was the next day made, and the Queſtion put, *That the Thanks of this Houſe be given to Mr.* Stephens *for the Sermon Preached by him Yeſterday at St.* Margaret's Weſtminſter: It paſſed in the Negative. And it was Reſolved, *That for the future, no Perſon be Recommended to Preach before this Houſe, who is under the Dignity of a Dean in the Church, or hath not taken his Degree of Doctor in Divinity.*

Unhappy diſtinction of High Church and Low Church.

Offence given by Mr. *William Stephens.*

Bill for the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Divorce.

In this Seſſion, the Duke of *Norfolk*, upon the Precedent made the laſt Year in the Caſe of the Earl of *Macclesfield*, lodg'd a *Bill* in the Houſe of Peers, *to Diſſolve his Marriage with the Lady* Mary Mordant, *and to Enable him to Marry again*; which in few Days Paſſed Both Houſes, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the Dutcheſs. The Duke did not Marry again, and after his Death, the Dutcheſs took Sir. *John Germain* to be her Lawful Husband. The Duke's *Caſe* was thus deliver'd, with *Reaſons for Paſſing the Bill.*

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The Duke's Arguments for it.

If want either of Precedent or *Parliamentary Divorce*, before going through the tedious and ineffectual Methods of *Doctors Commons*, or of Demonſtration of Fact, have hitherto deprived the Duke of *Norfolk* of that Relief againſt his Wife's Adultery, which the *Divine Law* allows; The late Statute made in the like Caſe, and the coming in of Two Witneſſes, who while the *Duke*'s former Bill was depending, had been ſent away to prevent that Diſcovery which they now make, cannot but be thought to remove all Objections againſt an Act of Parliament, not only for the Benefit of the *Duke*, but of the *Publick*; as a means to preſerve the Inheritance of ſo great an Office and Honours, to Perſons of the True Religion.

And ſince Biſhop *Cozens* his Argument in the Lord *Roſs*'s Caſe has made it Evident, that thoſe Canons which govern the *Spiritual Court* in this Matter, are but the Remains of Popery; Nothing can be now requiſite to ſatisfie the moſt Scrupulous of the *Reformed Religion*, but to ſet the *Duke*'s Proofs of his Lady's Adultery in a true Light.

The Reputation which the Dutcheſs had maintain'd of Wit and Diſcretion, made it difficult for many to believe that ſhe could be ſurpriz'd in the very Act of Adultery, as had been formerly prov'd. And though then it appear'd that one *Henry Keemer* liv'd with the Dutcheſs, while ſhe went by a Feigned Name, at a Houſe hired for her at *Fox-hall*, by Sir *John Jermain*'s Brother; and that *Nicola*, who then liv'd with Sir *John*, uſed to receive Wood ſent from the Dutcheſs to Sir *John*'s Houſe by the *Cock-Pit*; the withdrawing of *Nicola*, and carrying with him the *Dutch* Maid, equally intruſted with the Secret on Sir *John*'s ſide, left no Evidence of their conſtant Converſation, but *Keemer* ſince dead, and *Suſannah Barrington*, who had the like Truſt from the Dutcheſs.

Keemer, though very unwillingly, ſome Years ſince confeſſed his living with the Dutcheſs at *Fox-Hall*, where ſhe pretended ſhe was obliged to conceal herſelf for Debt; and what Share *Suſannah* had kept ſecret, was unknown, till *Nicola* appear'd: *Nicola* coming into *England*, and being deſtitute of a Service, expreſs'd his readineſs to diſcover what he knew, and to bring with him the *Dutch* Maid.

She proves, That for Two Months, the firſt Summer after the King came for *England*, Sir *John Jermain* and the Dutcheſs liv'd together as Man and Wife, and were ſeen in Bed by her, Mr.

• The Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, conſidering the Difficulties put upon the Country Clergy, by want of an eaſy Recourſe to the Articles, Canons, and Statutes; by which they were to Regulate their Offices, and Lives, did with ſome Pains and Expence, provide for that Defect, by cauſing to be Publiſh'd a Manual, Intitled, *A Collection of Articles, Canons, Injunctions*, &c. Together with ſeveral Acts of Parliament concerning Eccleſiaſtical Matters; ſome whereof are to be Read in Churches. *London*, for the King's Printers. 1699. 8*vo.* With a ſhort Preface ſhewing the conſiderable uſe of it; eſpecially to thoſe who are in Holy Orders.

By the Advice and Influence of his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, there was laid this Year, the Foundation of the Society for Propagating the Goſpel in our *Engliſh* Plantations, and other Parts in *America*, by Propoſals for the Encouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations, and to induce ſuch of the Clergy of this Kingdom, as are Perſons of Sobriety and Abilities to accept of a Miſſion into thoſe Parts; with Means of obtaining Parochial Libraries, and an Approbation of the Deſign, Subſcribed by the Lords the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, Biſhops of *London*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Worceſter*, *Ely* and *Norwich*. Apoſtolical Charity, 4*to*. 1699.

(*a*) *See*, The Proceedings upon the Bill of Divorce, between his Grace the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Lady *Mary Mordant*. Appointed to be Printed, 29 *March* 1700. *Folio.*

1700. *Bryan* and his Wife, Sir *John*'s Siſter: And that *Nicholas Hanſeur*, Sir *John*'s *Valet de Chambre*, uſed to be aſſiſting to him, as the Dutcheſs's Woman, *Suſannah Barrington*, was to her at going to Bed and riſing.

She proves the like Converſation at *Fox-hall*, and the Dutcheſs's Houſe at the *Mill-Bank*, till the Duke's firſt Bill of Divorce was depending; within which Time *Nicholas Hanſeur*, by Sir *John*'s Order, carried her away, and *Suſannah Barrington*, with intention of going for *Holland*, to prevent their being examined to what they knew; but the Wind proving contrary, they could not go till the Bill was rejected; and then Sir *John* fetch'd back *Suſannah*, who was moſt uſeful to the Dutcheſs; but *Hanſeur* went for *Holland* with *Ellen*.

He confirms *Ellen*'s Evidence in every Particular; and beſides the Perſons mention'd by *Ellen*, as privy to Sir *John*'s Intriegue, names Sir *John*'s Brother *Daniel*. *Nicholas* having been found very truſty, his Maſter ſent for him to return to his Service, and gave him the Opportunity of proving the Continuance of the ſame Converſation at ſeveral Times and Places, from the Summer 1692, to the 26th of *April* 1696. He ſwears he had after his Return to Sir *John*'s Service, ſeen them in Bed together in Sir *John*'s Houſe at the *Cock-Pit*, and at the Dutcheſs's Houſe at *Mill-Bank*, where ſhe now lives; and uſed to be let into the Dutcheſs's Apartment by *Suſannah Barrington*, or *Keemer*. Nor can any Man who ſhall read the Ample Teſtimonials given Mr. *Hanſeur* by Sir *John*; by the laſt of which it appears, that he ſerv'd him faithfully as his Steward, reaſonably queſtion *Hanſeur*'s Credit.

Another who had been advanc'd by Sir *John* from his Footman to Mr. *Hanſeur*'s Place, and from thence to a good Office in the Exciſe, very unwillingly confirm'd the Teſtimony of *Hanſeur*, and the *Dutch* Maid, not only as to the time of their going from the Service of Sir *John* and the Dutcheſs, but (though being no Foreigner, he could not ſo eaſily be ſent away to prevent Diſcovery, and therefore was not let ſo far into the Secret as *Hanſeur* and the *Dutch* Maid;) yet he ſwears the Dutcheſs uſed to come masked to his Maſter's Houſe; that he has gone with him as far as the *Horſe-Ferry*, towards her Houſe at the *Mill-Bank*; that then his Maſter ſometimes *lay out all Night*, and the next Morning he has *carried Linnen and Cloaths* for his Maſter to *Keemer*'s Houſe, or *Keemer* has fetch'd them from him: And this he proves to have been ſince the rejecting the former Bill; and about five Years ſince, when he was ſucceeded by *Hanſeur*, as before he had ſucceeded *Hanſeur*.

Two other Foreigners, *La Fountaine*, who had lived with Sir *John*, and was ſerv'd with Summons at the Dutcheſs's Houſe at *Drayton*; and *Huganoe*, who ran away from the Lord *Haverſham*'s ſince Summons was taken out againſt him, ſeem to have had the ſame Truſt that *Hanſeur* had; for both declar'd, That nothing ſhould oblige them to *betray their Maſter's Secrets*: One ſaid, *No Court could diſpenſe with his Oath of Secrecy*; and both declar'd, they would immediately go beyond Sea. Summons have been taken out for Mr. *Bryan* and his Wife, and Sir *John Jermain*'s Brother (who are, or lately were in Town), to confeſs or deny what *Nicola* and *Ellen* appeal to them for: And it cannot be imagin'd that Sir *John* ſhould chuſe the Honour of being thought to have to do with a Dutcheſs, before the clearing her and himſelf from the Imputation, by bringing his Relations to diſprove the Charge, if what is ſworn to be within their Knowledge is falſe.

And if Sir *John*'s Vanity ſhould prevail with him, at leaſt it is to be preſum'd, that his Relations would be more juſt to him and the Lady, than to ſuffer any thing to paſs againſt them, which they could with Truth and Juſtice prevent. 1700.

But ſince none of them appear, the World will believe their abſenting more than a Thouſand Witneſſes, in Confirmation of what Mr. *Hanſeur*, *Ellen* and *Baily* have ſworn. Whoſe Evidence ſtands untouch'd by any thing offer'd by the Dutcheſs's Witneſſes, but it is plainly confirm'd by them in the Principal Parts.

This being the Nature of the Proofs, 'tis obſervable.

1. There never yet was any Caſe of this kind, where the Evidence was not liable to greater Objections than can be made to this.

Though in the lateſt Caſe of that kind, there was full Conviction of the Lady's having Children while ſhe liv'd ſeparate from her Husband; and the Preſumption was very violent, whoſe the Children were; yet this was but Preſumption, and that was weaken'd by the Preſumption in Law, that they were the Husband's; eſpecially, ſince there *was no direct Proof of the Lover's* ever lying with her.

2. Though in that Caſe, by reaſon of the Interval of Parliament, and fear of the Deaths of Witneſſes, a Suit was begun in *Doctors-Commons*, 'twas taken from thence while the Suit was depending; therefore that was rather an Objection againſt proceeding in Parliament, than an Argument for it.

3. In that Caſe ſeveral Witneſſes were examined at the Bars of both Houſes, who had not been examined at *Doctors-Commons*, nor any notice given of their Names before their Examination.

4. It appears by that Caſe, and the preſent, that the Examinations in Parliament are more ſolemn and certain than thoſe of the Spiritual Court; which depend too much upon the Honeſty of the Regiſter, or his Deputy.

5. Before that Caſe, Parliaments have either 1 *Eliz.* n.
broken through the Rules which bind the Spiritual Court, as in the Caſe of the Duke of *Norfolk*, 1 *Eliz.* where the Parliament ratified a Marriage, *as Lawful according to God's Law, though protracted and letted, by reaſon of certain Decrees and Canons of the Pope's Law*; or elſe have diſſolved a Marriage where there had been no Application to *Doctors-Commons*; as in the Caſe of Mrs. *Wharton*, who had been Married to Mr. *Cambel*; and yet there had been no Examination of Witneſſes, but what had been before the Two Houſes. 31. 2 and 3 *W.* and *M.*

So long before, in the Caſe of Sir *Ralph Sadler*, upon Proof before the Two Houſes, that the Lady *Sadler*'s former Husband had deſerted her, and diſappeared for Four Years before ſhe Married Sir *Ralph*, the Parliament legitimated her Children by Sir *Ralph*. 37 *H.VIII.*

Whereas ſome object againſt the paſſing the Bill, as if it would countenance a Juriſdiction in the Houſe of Lords to examine ſuch Matters in the firſt Inſtance, or originally; the Objection would be ſame, if it had begun, as it might, in the Houſe of Commons, but in truth would be of

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equal force againſt moſt Private, and ſeveral Publick Acts, occaſioned by the Examination of Witneſſes, or notoriety of Fact.

Since therefore the Duke has ſo long, and ſo often in vain endeavoured to be freed from a Lady, publickly fam'd and prov'd to have liv'd with Sir *John Jermain*, as his Wife, the Duke's former Diſappointments cannot but be powerful Arguments for his ſpeedy obtaining that Juſtice which the Spiritual Court cannot give him, their Power reaching no farther than to that Liberty of living as *ſhe liſt*; ſome Years ſince ſettled by Articles: but as none of leſs Art and Oratory than her Council, could have turn'd this into Licenſe to commit Adultery, *if ſhe liſt*, or a Pardon afterwads, had not there been Evidence of her Acting according to ſuch Conſtruction, the Duke would have hoped ſhe had repented of the former Injuries he had received from her; but now hopes ſhe ſhall not longer continue to bear the Name of his Wife, and put him in Danger of being ſucceeded by Sir *John Jermain*'s Iſſue; or deprive him of the Expectation of leaving his *Honours*, *Offices* and *Eſtate* to a *Proteſtant Heir*.

Reſumption of Forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland*.

The Reſumption of the Forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland*, was an Affair of great Perplexity to the Commons, and of greater Uneaſineſs to the King and His Miniſters. And though there was ſome juſt Occaſion given for it, by the Promiſes of the King, and the Expectance of the Nation tending that way; and the profuſe diſpoſal of them to Perſons not ſo well deſerving; and the great want of Money to diſcharge the Publick Debts; and the King's declining to accept of ſome Terms of Accommodation that were ſaid to be offered: Yet after all the Arguments for doing of it, the Thing when done would appear to be ſome Indignity put upon the King and His Councils; and a very great Hardſhip upon the Grantees, and the Purchaſers and Tenants under them; and indeed a Confuſion and Diſtraction to the whole Government in *Ireland*. However, the Commons proceeded in this Matter, and having Conſidered of the Number, Qualifications, and Manner of chuſing the Truſtees for the *Bill of* Iriſh *Forfeitures*, they reſolved on *March* 26, *That the Number of the ſaid Truſtees be Thirteen: That no Perſon be a Truſtee, who had any Office or Profit; or was accountable to His Majeſty; or was a Member of this Houſe. And that the ſaid Truſtees be choſen by ballotting.* Two Days after, the ſeveral Members of the Houſe having given in Liſts of Thirteen Perſons Names, which were put into Glaſſes, the Majority fell upon *Francis Anneſley*, *James Hamilton*, *John Biggs*, *John Trenchard*, *James Iſham*, *Henry Langford*, *James Hooper*, Eſquires, Sir *Cyril Wyche*, *John Cary*, Gentleman, Sir *Henry Sheeres*, *Thomas Harriſon*, Eſquire, Sir *John Worden*, *William Fellows*, and *Thomas Rawlins*, Eſquires. The Two laſt Perſons having equal Voices, either of them muſt have been left out; but the Houſe being informed, that Sir *John Worden* was a Baron of the *Exchequer*, in the County Palatine of *Cheſter*, during his Life, at a Yearly Salary from the Crown, it was reſolved, *That the ſaid Sir* John Worden *was not capable of being a Truſtee in the ſaid Bill*; and ſo the other Two ſtood.

On the 2d of *April*, the Commons paſs'd the Bill, *for granting an Aid to His Majeſty, by Sale of the Forfeited and other Eſtates and Intereſts in* Ireland; *and by a Land-Tax in* England, *for the ſeveral Purpoſes therein mentioned*; and ſent it to the Lords for their Concurrence.

To juſtifie their Proceedings, if not to expoſe the Conduct of the Court, the Commons on *April* 8. ordered the Report of the Commiſſioners for *Iriſh* Forfeitures to be publiſhed; "And that the Reſolutions of the 18th of *January* laſt, the Reſolution of the 4th of *April*, 1690, relating to the Forfeited Eſtates; His Majeſty's Speech to Both Houſes, the 5th of *January*, 169⅞. the Addreſs of the Houſe to the King the 5th of *February* laſt; His Majeſty's Anſwer thereunto the 26th of the ſame *February*, and the Reſolution of the Houſe thereupon: And laſtly, the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, of the 4th of *March*, 169⅞, and His Majeſty's Anſwer thereunto, be alſo Reprinted with the ſaid Report. And Reſolved, *That the procuring or paſſing Exorbitant Grants by any Member now of the Privy-Council, or by any other that had been a Privy-Counſellor in this or any former Reign, to his Uſe or Benefit, was a high Crime and Miſdemeanour.*"

On the other hand, the Court finding their Party extreamly weak in the Houſe of Commons, endeavour'd to oppoſe the paſſing of the complicated Bill in the Houſe of Lords; to which the Majority of that Illuſtrious Aſſembly were inclin'd; ſome out of Complaiſance to the King, and moſt of them becauſe they looked upon the *Tacking of one Bill to another*, as an Innovation in Parliamentary Proceedings, and ſuch as evidently tended to retrench, if not wholly to take away the ſhare the Peers of *England* ought to have in the Legiſlative Authority. But becauſe they could not reject the Bill, without leaving the urgent Neceſſities of the State unprovided, their Lordſhips contented themſelves to make great Amendments to that part of it that related to Forfeitures. The Commons having conſidered and unanimouſly diſapproved the ſaid Amendments, ſent to deſire a Conference with the Lords thereupon; Appointed a Committee to draw up Reaſons to be offered to their Lordſhips; Reſolved, *That Two Days after they would proceed in the further Conſideration of the Report given in by the Commiſſioners for* Iriſh *Forfeitures*; and ordered a Liſt of His Majeſty's Privy-Council to be laid before the Houſe.

On the 9th of *April* a Conference was manag'd between both Houſes, in which the Lords did warmly inſiſt on their Amendments; and the Commons as vehemently maintain their Diſagreement with their Lordſhips. The next Day Two Conferences were had on the ſame Subject, and with as little Succeſs; at which the Commons were ſo exaſperated, that they ordered the Lobby of their Houſe to be cleared of all Strangers; the Back-doors of the Speaker's Chamber to be lock'd up; and that the Serjeant ſhould ſtand at the Door of the Houſe, and ſuffer no Members to go forth, and then proceeded to take into Conſideration the Report of the *Iriſh* Forfeitures; and the Liſt of the Lords of the Privy-Council. The King being inform'd of the high Ferment the Commons were in, and apprehending the Conſequences, ſent a Private Meſſage (by the Earl of *Albemarle*) to the Lords, to paſs the Bill without any Amendments; which their Lordſhips did accordingly, and acquainted the Commons with it. This Condeſcenſion did not wholly appeaſe the Commons, who purſuing their Reſentment againſt the preſent Miniſtry, put the Queſtion, *That an Addreſs be made to His Majeſty*,

The King deſires the Lords to comply with the Commons.

Though againſt his own Judgment and Intereſt.

to

1700. *to remove* John *Lord* Somers, *Lord Chancellor of* England, *from his Preſence and Councils for ever.* Which though it was carried in the Negative, by reaſon of the acknowledg'd Merit, and great Services of that Peer, yet it was Reſolv'd, *That an Addreſs be made to His Majeſty, That no Perſon who was not a Native of his Dominions, except his Royal Highneſs Prince* George *of* Denmark, *be admitted to His Majeſty's Councils in* England *or* Ireland.

Parliament Prorogued. The King did not think it proper to receive any ſuch Addreſs, and therefore to prevent the Offer of it, His Majeſty came the Day following, *viz. Thurſday, April* 11. to the Houſe of Peers, and commanded the Earl of *Bridgwater* to Prorogue the Parliament to the 23d of *May*, after His Majeſty had given the Royal Aſſent to theſe many Bills.

Bills paſſed. 1. *An Act for granting an Aid to His Majeſty by Sale of the Forfeited and other Eſtates and Intereſts in* Ireland; *and by a Land-Tax in* England, *for the ſeveral Purpoſes therein-mentioned.* 2. *An Act for laying further Duties upon Wrought Silks, Muſlins, and ſome other Commodities of the* Eaſt-Indies, *and for enlarging the Time for purchaſing certain Reverſionary Annuities therein-mentioned.* 3. *An Act for the more effectual employing the Poor, by encouraging the Manufactures of this Kingdom.* 4. *An Act for Aſcertaining the Meaſures for retailing Ale and Beer.* 5. *An Act to Enable His Majeſty's Natural Born Subjects to inherit the Eſtate of their Anceſtors, either Lineal or Collateral, notwithſtanding their Father or Mother were Aliens.* 6. *An Act for preventing of Frivolous and Vexatious Suits in the Principality of* Wales, *and the Counties Palatine.* 7. *An Act for the better preſerving the Navigation of the Rivers* Avon *and* Froom, *and for Cleanſing, Paving and Enlightning the Streets of the City of* Briſtol. 8. *An Act to enable the Mayor and Citizens of the City of* Cheſter, *to Recover and Preſerve the Navigation upon the River* Dee. 9. *An Act for the further preventing the Growth of* Popery. 10. *An Act for making the River* Lork, *alias*, Burne, *Navigable.* 11. *An Act for the more effectual Puniſhment of Vagrants, and ſending them whither by Law they ought to be ſent.* 12. *An Act to prevent Diſputes that may ariſe by Officers and Members of Corporations having neglected to ſign the Aſſociation, and taking the Oaths in due Time.* 13. *An Act for the Repair of* Dover *Harbour.* 14. *An Act to Puniſh Governours of Plantations in this Kingdom, for Crimes committed by them in the Plantations.* 15. *An Act for the more Effectual Suppreſſion of Piracy.* 16. *An Act to repeal an Act made in the Ninth Year of His Majeſty's Reign, Entituled, An Act for rendring the Laws more effectual for the preventing the Importation of Foreign Bone-Lace, Loom-Lace, Needle-Work, Point and Cut-Work, Three Months after the Prohibition of the Woollen-Manufacture in* Flanders *ſhall be taken off.* 17. *An Act for the better aſcertaining the Tythes of Hemp and Flax.* 18. *An Act to Enable Juſtices of the Peace to Build and Repair Goals in their reſpective Counties.* 19. *An Act for continuing ſeveral Laws therein-mentioned, and for Explaining the Act, Entituled, An Act to prevent the Exportation of Wool out of the Kingdoms of* Ireland *and* England *into Foreign Parts, and for the Encouragement of the Woollen-Manufactures of the Kingdom of* England. 20. *An Act for the better Explanation, and better Execution of Former Acts made touching Water-men and Wherry-men Rowing on the River of* Thames, *and for the better Ordering and Governing the ſaid Water-men, Wherry-men and Lighter-men upon the ſaid River, between* Graveſend *and* Windſor. 21. *An Act for taking away the Duties upon the Woollen-Manufactures, Corn, Grain, Bread, Biskets and Meal Exported.* 22. *An Act for raiſing the Militia for the Year* 1700, *although the Months Pay formerly advanced be not repaid.* 23. *An Act for the appointing Commiſſioners to Take, Examine and Determine the Debts due to the Army, Navy, and for Tranſport Service; and alſo an Account of the Prizes taken during the late War.* 24. *An Act to Diſſolve the Duke of* Norfolk's *Marriage with the Lady* Mary Mordant, *and to enable him to Marry again.* 25. *An Act for the better Enabling* Anne Baldwin, *Widow, to Sell a Capital Meſſuage and Lands called* Wilton's, *and other Lands in the County of* Bucks, *deviſed by her Husband's Will.* 26. *An Act for continuing the Governor and Company of Merchants Trading to the* Eaſt-Indies *a Corporation.* 27. *An Act for Naturalizing* Francis Vandertide, *and* Agneta Vandermerſh, Henry Lowman, *and* James Gabriel le Treſor. 28. *An Act for the Ship* Martha *of* Margam *to Trade as a Free Ship.* 29. *An Act for rectifying a Miſtake in the Marriage Settlement of* Thomas Hopwood, *Gentleman, on* Elizabeth *his Wife, in order to raiſe Portions for Younger Children, and to pay Debts.* 30. *An Act for the more ſpeedy Payment of the Debts of* John Globery, *Eſquire, Deceas'd, and for the raiſing Portions and Maintenance for his Children.* 31. *An Act to enable* Thomas May, *Gentleman, to Sell Lands in the County of* Suffolk, *which were ſettled upon his Marriage, and to Convey other Lands in the ſame County, of a greater Value to the ſame Uſes.* 32. *An Act for Veſting the Real Eſtate of* Joſeph Gardner, *and* Sarah *his Wife, late the Eſtate of* William Bridges, *Eſquire, Deceas'd, in Truſtees to be Sold for Payment of his Debts and Legacies therein-mentioned, and for applying the reſidue of the Money upon the Truſt therein ſpecified.* 33. *An Act for Sale of ſeveral Weſtern Mannors and Lands, the Eſtate of* Arthur Lacey, *Eſquire, for Diſcharging a Mortgage thereupon, and for laying out the ſurplus Money in the Purchaſe of Demeſn Lands, to be ſettled to the ſame Uſes.* 34. *An Act for Naturalizing* Theodore Jacobſon *and others.* 35. *An Act for Veſting the Mannor of* Exton, *and other Lands in the County of* Somerſet, *late the Eſtate of* Thomas Siderfin, *Eſquire, Deceaſed, in Truſtees, to be Sold for Payment of Debts.* 36. *An Act for the ſpeedy and effectual making a Convenient way out of* Chancery-Lane *into* Lincolns-Inn-Fields *and Places adjacent.* 37. *An Act for the Naturalizing of* Oliver d' Harcourt *and others.* 38. *An Act for ſettling of the Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, late of* Robert Merefield *and* John Merefield, *Eſquire, Deceaſed, and for Aſcertaining the Proportions between the Widow of the ſaid* Robert *and his Surviving Children.* 39. *An Act for the ſettling all Differences concerning Dame* Mary Bond's *Will, and for performing the ſame.* 40. *An Act for charging the Eſtate of Sir* Thomas Robinſon, *Baronet, with Seven Thouſand Pounds for the Portion of* Anne *his Siſter, and for ſettling her Eſtate upon the ſaid Sir* Thomas Robinſon *in lieu thereof.* 41. *An Act for confirming a Leaſe and certain Indentures between the City of* Norwich *and* Richard Barry, *Eſquire,* George Sorocold, *Gentleman, and* Richard Soame, *Merchant, and for Enlightning the Streets of the ſaid City.* 42. *An Act for ſettling the Eſtate of* Katherine Fitzgerald Villars, *and raiſing of Money for Payment of Debts, and better ſecuring the Portions of her Five Younger Children by* Edward Fitzgerald Villars, *Eſquire, her late Husband.* 43. *An Act to enable* Edward Manſel, *Eſquire, to Mortgage*

1700. *or Sell the Impropriate Rectories of* Llanridian *and* Penrice, *for Payment of Debts, and raiſing Portions for Younger Children, and for ſettling the Mannor of* Hanlyes *and other Lands of more Value.* 44. *An Act for the ſettling the Reverſion and Inheritance of the Farm of* Nethercott *in the County of* Oxon, *for Payment of the Debts and Legacies of* George Harriſon, *Eſquire, Deceaſed.* 45. *An Act for Veſting certain Lands and Tenements of Sir* Joſiah Child, *Baronet, Deceaſed, in Truſtees for the better Performance of certain Covenants entred into by the ſaid Sir* Joſiah Child, *upon the Marriage of his Eldeſt Son with the Daughter of Sir* Thomas Cook, *Knight.* 46. *An Act to ſupply the Loſs of certain Indentures of Leaſes and Releaſes heretofore made by* Philip Holman, *Eſquire, Deceaſed, to* George Holman *his Son, now alſo Deceaſed.* 47. *An Act to Enable* Henry Butler, *Eſquire, to make Leaſes of Part of his Eſtate in* Lancaſhire, *for Diſcharge of Incumbrances thereupon.* 48. *An Act for Veſting Part of the Eſtate of* Thomas Cooper, *of the City of* Cheſter, *Eſquire, in Truſtees for Payment of Debts.* 49. *An Act for Confirming the Sale of the Mannor of* Slanſal, *and certain Tenements in the County of* York, *made by* Thomas Barlow, *Gentleman, and for ſettling other Lands of greater Value to the ſame Uſes, and for Veſting other Lands and Hereditaments in Truſtees, to be Sold for Purchaſing other Lands to be ſettled to the ſame Uſes.* 50. *An Act for the ſettling the Mannor of* Fenham *in the County of* Northumberland, *for Payment of the Debts of* Thomas Riddell, *Eſquire, and* Edward Riddell *his Son, and raiſing Portions for the Daughters of the ſaid* Thomas Riddell. 51. *An Act for Sale of Part of the Eſtate of* Charles Hore, *Eſquire, for Payment of his Debts, and for ſettling other Part in Truſt, for raiſing a Portion and Maintenance for* Elizabeth *his only Daughter by his former Wife, and for making a Jointure for* Mary *his now Wife, and for a Proviſion for the Children by the ſaid* Mary. 52. *An Act to Enable* Dalby Thomas, *Eſquire, to Sell Lands in* Iſlington *in* Middleſex, *ſettled on his Marriage with* Dorothy *his Wife, as Part of her Jointure, he ſettling another Eſtate of equal or greater Value in lieu thereof.* 53. *An Act to Enable Truſtees to make Sale of the Inheritance of the Twelfth Part of ſeveral Mannors, Lands and Tenements of* Bluet Wallop, *Eſquire, during his Minority; and to purchaſe other Lands with the Money, to be raiſed by ſuch Sale, to be ſettled to the ſame Uſes, as the ſaid Twelfth Part was ſo ſettled.* 54. *An Act to Enable* Leonard Weſſel, *Eſquire, to Sell the Mannor of* Acres-Fleet *in the County of* Eſſex, *ſettled on his Marriage with* Sarah *his now Wife, as Part of her Jointure, laying out the Money ariſing by ſuch Sale in Purchaſe of other Lands.* 55. *An Act for taking the Eſtate in Law of ſeveral Meſſuages and Lands, Mortgaged to* Jeffery *and* Samuel Howland *and their Heirs, out of* Wriotheſley Ruſſel* (*commonly called, Lord Marquiſs of* Taviſtock) *and his Lady.* 56. *An Act for Naturalizing* John Bourges *and others.* 57. *An Act for Naturalizing* John Richard Jacob Dabbadie *and others.* 58. *An Act for confirming a Leaſe of a Piece of Ground from the Rector and Church-Wardens of the Pariſh of* St. Martins Orgers, London, *for liberty to Build a Church thereon, for the Worſhip and Service of God in the* French *Tongue, according to the Uſage of the Church of* England. 59. *An Act for the Sale of the Eſtate of* Bryan Janſon, *Eſquire, Deceaſed, for Payment of Debts, and Proviſion for his Wife and Children.* 60. *An Act for Naturalizing* Iſaac de Lagarde, John Battro *and others.* 1700.

While the Parliament was ſitting, there was a Second Treaty of Partition concluded *March* 15, *N. S.* between *England*, *France*, and *Holland*; whereby inſtead of the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, (who died on the 6th of *Feb.* 1699. *N. S.*) the Arch-Duke *Charles* of *Auſtria* was to have all the *Spaniſh* Dominions both within and without *Europe*; except what by the former Treaty had been aſſign'd to the *Dauphin* and *France*: And that the Duke of *Lorrain*, inſtead of his own Country, which was alſo to be given to *France*, ſhould have the Dutchy of *Milan*; and the Prince of *Vaudemont* the County of *Bilche* conferred upon him. His Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries for making this Treaty, were the Earls of *Portland* and *Jerſey*. But this Treaty of Partition, like the former, was but a preſent Amuſement, and ſerved only for an Occaſion of the more violent Breach of Faith in the *French* King; and for a Pretence of caſting more Odium upon King *William* and His Miniſtry.

Immediately after the Parliament was Prorogued (ſays a late Writer) "the King ſent the Earl of *Portland* to the Lord Chancellor *Somers*, "to demand the Great Seal of him: Whether "His Majeſty made this Step by His own Determination, or by the Impulſe of His new Favourite, who headed a growing Party, Hiſtory cannot affirm; but 'tis moſt certain, that "thereby His Majeſty loſt abundance of True "Friends, without gaining any Real ones: For "though the Lord *Somers* had been attacked by "the Commons, yet the Majority of that Houſe "had warmly ſtood up in his Defence. And as "the abandoning ſo Faithful a Miniſter could "not but diſcourage others from embracing "heartily His Majeſty's Service, ſo His Majeſty's yielding ſo tamely (if I may be allowed "the Expreſſion in ſpeaking, of a Prince who "was a Hero in the Field) to the Faint and "Negative Reſolves of the Houſe of Commons, "could not but lay him open to more vigorous "Attacks. Not long after, the Great Seal "was committed to the Cuſtody of Sir *Nathan Wright*, one of His Majeſty's Serjeants at "Law, with the Title of *Lord Keeper*, who by "virtue of his Office, took his Place in the Privy "Council. Seals taken from the Lord *Somers*.

The Removing of the Lord *Somers* from his high Station, though it diſpleas'd many People, yet it ſeem'd not to affect his Lordſhip, who retir'd with Content and Temper, and upon all Occaſions in Parliament ſerved the King and the Intereſts of the Publick, with the ſame Zeal as if he had not loſt a Place. The admitting the Earl of *Albemarle* into the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, which the King did on *May* 14. was generally diſliked; though to make it go down the better, His Majeſty did at the ſame Time beſtow that diſtinguiſhing Mark of Honour on the Earl of *Pembroke*, Preſident of the Council; who highly deſerved it, not only by his Eminent Services to the Government, but by his Illuſtrious

* See, A true Copy of a Paper delivered by *Robert Young*, alias, *&c.* formerly Accuſer of the Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, &c. delivered to the Reverend Mr. *Allen*, Ordinary of *Newgate*, at *Tyburn*, on the 19th of *April*, 1700. wherein he thinks himſelf eſpecially obliged to diſcover to the Publick, how far he was concerned in that pretended Plot, ſuppoſed to be carried on by the Earls of *Marlborough* and *Saliſbury*, the Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and ſome others.

Birth.

1700. Birth. About three Weeks after, the two Knights Elect were inſtalled at *Windſor* with the uſual Formalities; but it was obſerved, that though the Concourſe of People was extraordinary, great, and the Entertainment very ſplendid, yet few of the Nobility grac'd the Ceremony by their Preſence; and that many Severe Reflections were then made on His Majeſty, for laviſhing away a Garter on His Favourite.

Honours and Preferments. On *April* 11. His Majeſty conferred the Dignity of a Baronet upon *John Chetwode* of *Oakeley*, in the County of *Stafford*, Eſq; On *June* 24. the King was pleaſed to confer the Office of Lord Chamberlain (which had been ſometime Vacant) upon *Edward* Earl of *Jerſey*; and to make the Earl of *Romney* Groom of the Stole to His Majeſty; and the Earl of *Carliſle* one of the Gentlemen of His Bed-Chamber. On *June* 27. the King, in Council at *Hampton*-Court, was pleaſed to Declare, That the Publick Affairs requiring His going over to *Holland* for a ſhort time, He had appointed *Thomas* Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; Sir *Nathan Wright*, Lord Keeper; *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Preſident of the Council; *John* Viſcount *Lonſdale*, Lord Privy Seal; *William* Duke of *Devonſhire*, Lord Steward of His Majeſty's Houſhold; *John* Earl of *Bridgwater*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty; *John* Earl of *Marlborough*, Governour to his Highneſs the Duke of *Glouceſter*; and *Ford* Earl of *Tankerville*, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, to be Lords Juſtices of *England*, for the Adminiſtration of the Government during His Abſence. So on *July* 4. His Majeſty went in the Morning from *Hampton*-Court, and lay that Night at *Canterbury*; next Day he came to *Margate*, and went on Board His Yatcht; and toward Evening ſail'd with a fair Wind for *Holland*, under a Convoy Commanded by Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*; and Arriving next Day in the *Maeſe*, He Landed at the *Orange-Polder*; and went directly to the *Hague*.

Parliament of *Scotland*. Before His Majeſty left *England*, He thought it neceſſary to Aſſemble the Parliament of *Scotland*; and for that purpoſe appointed the Duke of *Queensbury* to be His High Commiſſioner. On the 21ſt of *May*, the Parliament of that Kingdom being met at *Edinburgh*, His Majeſty's Letter to them was firſt Read; which was to this Effect:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The great Deſire We have to promote and " advance the Intereſt of that Our Ancient King- " dom, did make Us intend to have held this " Seſſions of Parliament in Perſon, that We " might more clearly have diſcern'd what is yet " Needful to be done, for the full Eſtabliſhment " of your Religion, Laws, and Liberties. And " as Our Deſign in coming to *Britain*, was the " Relief and Happineſs of the Three Kingdoms, " ſo We are firmly reſolv'd to make it the chief " Deſign of Our Reign, to do every Thing that " may tend to the Advantage and Good of Our " Subjects.

"The preſent Circumſtances of Affairs A- " broad, not allowing of Our being with you at " preſent; We have appointed Our Right Tru- " ſty and Right entirely belov'd Couſin and " Counſellor, *James* Duke of *Queensbury*, to re- " preſent Our Royal Perſon, and to be Our Com- " miſſioner in this Seſſion. We are fully ſatisfied " with his Fitneſs and Ability for diſcharging this " Truſt: And we doubt not but his conſtant Loy- " alty to Us, ſince Our Acceſſion to the Crown, " and his Zeal and Fidelity for Our Service, and " the Proſperity and Good of the Kingdom, " which has appear'd on all Occaſions, and in all " the Truſts wherein he has been Imploy'd, will " render him Acceptable to you.

"We have fully inſtructed him in all Things " that We think may fall under your Conſidera- " tion, and ſeem to be Neceſſary at preſent. " Therefore We deſire that you may give him " entire Truſt and Credit. The breaking out of " the War in ſome Places of *Europe*, the great Arm- " ing by Sea and Land, the uncertain State of the " Publick Peace, and the continued Deſigns of Our " Enemies, both at Home and Abroad, cannot but " convince you that it is neceſſary for your Safe- " ty, That the Forces be Maintained; and We " expect that you will certainly Supply us with " ſufficient Funds for that end.

"We are heartily ſorry for the Misfortunes " and Loſſes that the Nation has ſuſtained in their " Trade; and We will effectually Concur in any " thing that may contribute for Promoting and " Encouraging Trade, That being ſo indiſpen- " ſibly needful for the Welfare of the Nation. " And we do particularly recommend to you the " encouraging Manufactures, and the improve- " ment of the Native Product of the Kingdom, " which is not only the ſureſt Foundation of Fo- " reign Trade, but will be an effectual way for " providing and employing the Poor, whoſe " Circumſtances require your Conſideration and " Aſſiſtance.

"We give you full Aſſurance, that We will " Maintain your Religion, Laws and Liberties, " and *Presbyterian* Government, as it is Eſta- " bliſh'd. And it will be moſt acceptable to Us, " that you fall upon effectual Methods for prevent- " ing the Growth of *Popery*, and diſcouraging " Vice and Immorality.

"We have had very many Eminent Proofs of " your Loyalty and good Affection to us, parti- " cularly in all your Proceedings in the laſt Seſ- " ſion, for which We return you Our hearty " Thanks. And ſeeing We have demanded " nothing of you upon this Occaſion, but what " is both neceſſary for your Preſervation againſt " the Deſigns or Attempts of your Enemies, and " for promoting the Welfare and Advantage of " the Nation; Therefore We doubt not but you " will act with Unanimity and Diſpatch, ſo as " all that comes before you may be concluded to " the mutual Satisfaction of Us and Our People. " And aſſuring you of Our Royal Favour " and Protection, We bid you heartily Fare- " well.

After the Reading of this Letter, the Lord High Commiſſioner made a Speech, as did likewiſe the Lord *Marchmont*, Lord High Chancellor; which done, the Houſe adjourned to the 24th.

The Parliament was but juſt met again, when there came a ſharp Repreſentation to them from the Council General of the *African* and *Indian* Company, containing a tedious Rehearſal of their Loſſes, Diſappointments and Grievances: Which Repreſentation was back'd by an Adreſs from the Shire of *Haddington*: Importing, "That " after a long and expenſive War, they expected " to have enjoy'd the Bleſſing of a happily con- " cluded Peace, by the Re-eſtabliſhment of their " Foreign Trade, Encouragement of Home Ma-

1700. " Manufactures, Employing the Poor, in Improvement of their Native Product, and the leſſening of their publick Burdens; but that inſtead thereof, to their unſpeakable Loſs, and almoſt Ruin of the Nation, they found their Trade Abroad ſenſibly decay'd, and their Coin carried out, by the Importation of Commodities from Places where theirs were prohibited; That their Woollen, and other Manufactures at Home, received not that Encouragement which the Good of the Country required; And more eſpecially, That their Company trading to *Africa* and the *Indies*, met with ſo much Oppoſition from Abroad, and got ſo little Support at Home, that after ſo great a Loſs of Men, and Expence of Treaſure, it was too probable, that their Settlement in *Caledonia* would fall a Second time, under the ſame unlucky Circumſtances as at Firſt, if not prevented. That yet, after all thoſe Hardſhips the Nation groan'd under, numerous Forces were kept on Foot, which occaſion'd them, in Times of Peace, heavy and unneceſſary Taxes, while their much wealthier Neighbours were diſbanding their Troops. All which Calamities they could not but look upon as the Effect of the Diſpleaſure of Almighty God, for the Immoralities that every where abounded amongſt all Ranks and Degrees of Men, to the Diſhonour of God, and their Holy Religion, the Debauching the Spirits, and Corrupting the Manners of the People.

There were likewiſe at the ſame Time, ſeveral other Addreſſes and Petitions preſented to the Parliament, complaining of many general and particular Grievances, and praying for Redreſs thereof: After Reading of all which, a Motion being made and preſt, That the Parliament ſhould Reſolve, *That the Colony of* Caledonia *in* Darien, *was a Legal and Rightful Settlement, in the Terms of the Act of Parliament*, 1695. *And that the Parliament would maintain and ſupport the ſame*; His Majeſty's High Commiſſioner, fearing the Conſequences of this Vote, which was likely to be carried in the Affirmative, did immediately Adjourn the Parliament for Three Days; and at their next Meeting, Adjourned it further for Twenty Days. Whereupon the Plurality of the Members met that very Evening, and ſign'd an Addreſs to His Majeſty, wherein they complain'd, *Of their having been interrupted by a ſudden Adjournment, while they were debating a Motion concerning their Colony at* Darien, *which they conceiv'd was not agreeable to the 40th Act of the 11th Parliament of King* James VI. *wherein it is enacted*, That nothing ſhould be done or commanded, which might directly or indirectly prejudice the Liberty of Free Voting, and Reaſoning of the Eſtates of Parliament. *That by a ſubſequent Adjournment of Twenty Days, the Parliament was not permitted to come to any Reſolution in the preſſing Concerns of the Nation, which they could not think conſiſtent with that Article of their Claim of Right, whereby it was declared*, That for the Redreſs of all Grievances, of ſtrengthning and preſerving the Laws, Parliaments ought to be frequently Call'd, and allow'd to Sit, and the Freedom of Speech and Debate ſecur'd to the Members. *Wherefore they earneſtly intreated His Majeſty, That he would be pleaſed to allow his Parliament to meet on the Day to which it was then Adjourn'd; and to ſit as long as might be neceſſary for Redreſſing the Grievances of the Nation.*

This Addreſs being Preſented and Read to the King, His Majeſty ſaid, *He would conſider of it.* 1700. And at a Second Audience, the Lord *Roſs*, one of the Commiſſioners, in the Name of the reſt, addreſſing himſelf to the King to this purpoſe: " That they were come by His Appointment to receive His Anſwer to the Addreſs, which they preſented from the Loyal Members of His Parliament of *Scotland*;" His Majeſty told them, " That he could give no Anſwer at that Time to their Petition; but they ſhould know his Intentions in *Scotland*.

The Addreſſers finding that the Parliament was further Adjourn'd by Proclamation, and not knowing how ſoon it might be allow'd to ſit, fram'd the Draught of a Second National Addreſs, to be ſign'd by the ſeveral Shires and Boroughs throughout the Kingdom: But while the ſame was carried on, His Majeſty writ a Letter directed to the Duke of *Queensbury*, and the Privy-Council, which Letter was publiſh'd in the manner of a Proclamation, and wherein the King declar'd, " That if it had been poſſible for Him to have agreed to the Reſolve offer'd to aſſert the Right of the *African* Company's Colony in *America*, though that Method ſeemed to Him unneceſſary, yet His Majeſty had from the beginning readily done it, at the earneſt Deſires of His Miniſters, and for His Peoples Satisfaction, all other Conſiderations ſet apart; but ſince that Things were much chang'd, His Majeſty being truly ſorry for the Nation's Loſs, and moſt willing to grant what might be needful for the Relief and Eaſe of the Kingdom; He aſſur'd them, that He would be ſo ready to concur with His Parliament in every thing that could be reaſonably expected of Him, for aiding and ſupporting their Intereſts, and repairing their Loſſes, that His good Subjects ſhould have juſt Grounds to be ſenſible of His hearty Inclinations to advance the Wealth and Proſperity of that His Majeſty's Ancient Kingdom. That His Majeſty was confident, That that Declaration would be ſatisfying to all good Men, who would certainly be careful both of their own Preſervation, and of the Honour and Intereſt of the Government, and not ſuffer themſelves to be miſ-led, nor give any Advantage to Enemies and ill-deſigning Perſons, ready to catch hold of any Opportunity, as their Practices did too manifeſtly witneſs. Concluding, That His Majeſty's neceſſary Abſence had occaſioned the late Adjournment; but as ſoon as God ſhould bring Him back, He was fully reſolv'd His Parliament ſhould meet.

The King had not been many Weeks in *Holland*, when he received the melancholy and ſurprizing News of the Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, which was in great meaſure occaſion'd by the over-heating of himſelf in the ſolemn Obſervance of his Birth-day, *Wedneſday*, *July* the 24th (*a*). After the Ceremony was over, his Highneſs found himſelf fatigu'd and indiſpoſed; the next Day he complain'd of his Throat, and of a Sickneſs in his Stomach. All *Friday* he was Hot and Feveriſh. On *Saturday* Morning, after taking away a little Blood, he thought himſelf better; but in the Evening, his Fever appearing more violent, a Bliſter was apply'd to him, and other proper Remedies adminiſtred. The ſame Day a Raſh appear'd on his Skin, which increaſing on *Sunday*, more Bliſters were laid on. In the Afternoon, the Fever growing ſtronger, his

Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

(*a*) See " A Panegyrical Eſſay preſented with all the Humble Duty to the Memory of his Highneſs the Duke of *Glouceſter*; deſcribing, 1. The great Honour we ſhould pay to his Memory. 2. The high Senſe we ſhould have of his Vertues. And, 3. The higheſt Grief which we owe to his Death. *London*. By *D. Brown*, 1701. 8°.

1700. Highneſs went into a *Delirium*, which laſted with his Life. He paſſed the Night as he did the preceding, in ſhort broken Sleeps, and incoherent Talk. On *Monday* the Bliſters having taken Effect, and the Pulſe mending, the Phyſicians that attended him, thought it probable his Highneſs might recover; but about Eleven at Night, his Highneſs was on the ſudden ſeiz'd with a difficult Breathing, and could ſwallow nothing down, inſomuch that he expir'd before Midnight, being Ten Years and Five Days Old.

Never was ſo great a Loſs ſo little lamented: which may be aſcribed to the different Parties that divided *England*; two of which, I mean the *Jacobites* and *Republicans*, look'd upon that hopeful young Prince as a future Obſtacle to their reſpective Deſigns. Grief, upon this ſad Occaſion, ſeem'd to be confin'd within the Palace of St. *James's*, and to center, in a more ſenſible manner, in the Royal Breaſts of the Princeſs and Prince of *Denmark*, who mourn'd not only for themſelves, but for the whole Nation. The Duke of *Glouceſter* was a Prince, whoſe tender Conſtitution bended under the Weight of his manly Soul; and was too much harraſs'd by the Vivacity of his Genius, to be of long Duration. He was ſcarce Seven Years old, when he underſtood the Terms of Fortification and Navigation, knew all the different Parts of a ſtrong Place, and a Ship of War, and could marſhal a Company of Boys, who had voluntarily liſted themſelves to attend him. He had early ſuck'd in his Mother's Piety, and was always attentive to Prayers; but he had a particular Averſeneſs to Dancing, and all Womaniſh Exerciſes; his only Delights being in martial Sports and Hunting: In a Word, he was too forward to arrive at Maturity (*a*).

The King had ever expreſs'd a great Love for the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and was certainly very much affected by his untimely Death. But not to dwell any longer upon this afflicting Subject, His Majeſty was about this Time waited on at *Loo*, by the Biſhop of *Oſnabrug*, Brother to the Duke of *Lorrain*; and gave Audience to the Preſident *de la Tour*, Envoy Extraordinary from the Duke of *Savoy*; and the Earl of *Jerſey's* going over to attend his Majeſty, occaſion'd various Speculations. In *September* his Majeſty was waited upon at *Breda* by the Duke of *Bavaria*; at the *Grave* by the Electoral Prince of *Brandenburgh*; and the Electoreſs Dowager of *Hanover*; who alſo accompanied his Majeſty to the *Hague*; where we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, conſidering the State of the Royal Family of *England* at that Juncture, by the Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Buſineſs of the Succeſſion in the *Proteſtant* Line, was ſo far concerted, as to have it laid before the Parliament at their next Seſſions. 1700.

Wars in the *North*.

A League had been made between the Kings of *Denmark* and *Poland*, with the Czar of *Muſcovy*, to cruſh the young King of *Sweden* with their united Force, and kindle a violent War in the *North*. Whilſt the *Poles* ſate down before *Riga* in *Livonia*, the King of *Denmark* attack'd the Duke of *Holſtein*, the Brother-in-Law and Confederate of the King of *Sweden*; and under Pretence of having ſome Forts demoliſhed, proceeded to ſubdue his whole Country, and laid Siege to *Tonningen*; though both without Succeſs. Several Princes and States concern'd themſelves in making up this Breach, but none ſo particularly as *England* and *Holland*; who finding an amicable Mediation would not do, His Majeſty thought fit to ſend a Squadron of Thirty *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Men of War into the *Sound*, beſides Fire-Ships and Bomb-Veſſels. This Squadron arriv'd at the Mouth of the *Sound* on the 20th of *July*; and about the ſame time the Fleet of *Sweden* put to Sea; whereupon the *Daniſh* Fleet quitted the *Sound*; and preſently after the Conjunction of the *Swedes* with the Confederates, near *Landſcroon*, beyond the Iſle of *Vere*, they retir'd in ſome Confuſion, for fear of being attack'd under the Caſtle of *Copenhagen*.

The Confederates made a ſhew of bombing that City, not with deſign to do it any Damage, tho' they might have laid it in Aſhes, but only to incline the King of *Denmark* to a Peace, which was much haſtened by the Deſcent of the *Swediſh* Troops headed by their King, in the Iſle of *Zeeland*. For his *Daniſh* Majeſty being coop'd up in *Holſtein*, by ſome *Swediſh* Frigats cruiſing on that Coaſt, and therefore unable to ſave his Capital City otherwiſe than by a Treaty; the Negotiations were reaſſum'd, and effectually carry'd on at *Travendal*, within a Mile of *Segeburg*, in *Holſtein*, where both the *Daniſh* and Confederate Armies lay; ſo that after a Debate of Six Days, the Peace was at length ſign'd on the 18th of *Auguſt*, between *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and the Duke of *Holſtein*, with the Excluſion of *Muſcovy* and *Poland*.

Some Days before, Lieutenant-General *Bannier*, who commanded in the Town of *Tonningen*, when it was lately beſieged by the *Danes*, waited upon his Majeſty at *Loo*, being ſent by the Duke of *Holſtein*, in Acknowledgment of His Majeſty's Protection; and about Six Weeks after, the King of *Poland's* Reſident at the *Hague* preſented a Memorial to the States-General, full of Aſſuran-

(*a*) See A Sermon on the Death of the moſt hopeful Prince William Duke of *Glouceſter*, by Dr. *William Fleetwood*, which he reprinted when he was Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, in 1712, 8°. and in the Preface ſpeaks thus of it: "The "Sermon that was preach'd upon the Duke of *Glouceſter's* "Death, was printed quickly after, and is now, becauſe "the Subject was ſo ſuitable, joyn'd to the others. The "Loſs of that moſt promiſing and hopeful Prince, was at "that Time, I ſaw, unſpeakably Great; and many Accidents ſince, have convinced us, that it could not have "been over-valued. That precious Life, had it pleaſed "God to have prolonged it to the uſual Space, had ſaved "us many Fears and Jealouſies, and dark Diſtruſts, and pre"vented many Alarms, that have long kept us, and will "keep us ſtill, waking and uneaſy. Nothing remained to "comfort and ſupport us, under this heavy Stroke, but the "Neceſſity it brought the King and Nation under of ſettling "the Succeſſion in the Houſe of Hanover, and giving it "an Hereditary Right by Act of Parliament, as long as it "continues Proteſtant. So much Good did God in his mer"ciful Providence produce from a Misfortune, which we "could never otherwiſe have ſufficiently deplor'd.

It is certain, had the Duke of *Glouceſter* liv'd, there had been no part to be acted in crying up Hereditary Right excluſive of the Parliamentary Settlement of the Crown; nor would the Revolution had ſuch falſe and odious Colours caſt upon it, when a young Prince was to reign upon that Title. Much leſs could any evil Counſellors have ever ſuggeſted one Thought to the late Queen in favour of a pretended Brother, when the undoubed Son had been ſo much nearer to Her. But ſtill Providence knows what is beſt for us. There might have been a Party in the Name of a *Church*, who, if they could have got the Heir under their Dominion, might have done at leaſt what they pleas'd. And ſuch an Heir, ſupported by ſuch a Strength, might have put us in mind of an Obſervation made by the aboveſaid excellent Preacher, in his Preface to the Four Sermons: "From the Obſervations I "have been able to make for theſe many Years laſt paſt upon "our publick Affairs; and from the natural Tendency of "ſeveral Principles and Practices, that have of late been "ſtudiouſly reviv'd, and from what has follow'd *thereupon*; I could not help both fearing and preſaging, That "theſe Nations would ſome time or other, if ever we ſhould "have an enterprizing Prince upon the Throne, of more "Ambition than Virtue, Juſtice, and true Honour, fall "into the way of all other Nations, and loſe their Li"berty.

1700. ces of Friendſhip from the King his Maſter, and acquainting them, That what induc'd Him to put off the bombarding of *Riga*, when every thing was in readineſs for executing that Deſign, was chiefly the Conſideration of the Loſs which divers Merchants, Subjects of the King of *England*, and the States-General, would have ſuffer'd thereby. His Majeſty having writ to the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, upon the Occaſion of the Differences between Him and the Crown of *Sweden*, to preſs him to an Accommodation, and offer his Mediation: And having likewiſe diſpatched ſeveral important Affairs at the *Hague*, His Majeſty embark'd for *England* on the 17*th* of *October* (*O. S.*) ſafely landed at *Harwich* the next Day, din'd at Sir *Iſaac Rebow*'s at *Colcheſter* on the 19*th*. lay at *Chelmsford* that Night, and on the 20*th*. came to *Hampton-Court*. Four Days after, the Parliament of *England* was further prorogued to the 21*ſt* of *September* following.

Parliament in *Scotland*. In the Interim, to conclude the Affairs of *Scotland*, to prepare for the meeting of that Parliament, on *October* 28. His Majeſty ſent this Letter to them from *Loo*.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The State of Our Affairs abroad requiring " Our going beyond Sea, was the Cauſe of Our " adjourning your Meeting till this time. When " We ordered the laſt Adjournment by our Letter " then publiſhed, We fully expreſs'd Our " good Intentions towards that Our Antient Kingdom, " which we are now ready to make good " to this Seſſion of Parliament.

" We have conſidered the Addreſs you made " to us in the Seſſion of Parliament 1698, in " behalf of the *African* Company, repreſenting " the ſame as a National Concern; and do aſſure " you, That we are very willing to aſſent to what " ſhall be reaſonably propoſed for repairing the " Loſſes, and ſupporting and promoting the Intereſt " of that Company: And having ever " reckoned the Eaſe and Proſperity of Our Good " Subjects Our greateſt Honour and Happineſs, " We are likewiſe moſt willing to agree to all " that can be demanded for maintaining and " advancing the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.

" And that you, and all Our Good Subjects may " have full and ſatisfying Aſſurance of this Our " good Mind, We again declare, That We are " reſolv'd to give Our Royal Aſſent to all Acts " that ſhall be offered for the better eſtabliſhing " the True *Proteſtant* Religion, and the *Presbyterian* " Government of the Church, which you " enjoy; for the more effectual preventing the " Growth of *Popery*, for the repreſſing of Vice and " Immorality, and the Encouragement of Piety " and Virtue; for the preſerving and ſecuring of " Perſonal Liberty; for the regulating and advancing " of Trade: And more eſpecially, for " making up the Loſſes, and promoting the Concerns " of the *African* and *Indian* Company; for " the ſetting forward and improving Manufactures: " And generally, We are ready to give " Our Aſſent to all other Laws that ſhall be " brought in for the farther clearing and ſecuring " Property and Civil Rights, ſtrengthning and " facilitating the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, reſtraining " and puniſhing of Crimes, and the preſerving " of the Peace and Quietneſs of the Kingdom; " ſo that nothing ſhall be wanting on Our " Parts, to make our People both happy and contented.

" 'Tis truly Our Regret, That We could not " agree to the aſſerting of the Right of the Company's " Colony in *Darien*; and you may be very " confident, if it had not been for invincible " Reaſons, the preſſing Deſires of all Our Miniſters, " with the Inclination of Our good Subjects " therein concern'd, had undoubtedly prevail'd: " But ſince we were, and are fully ſatisfied that " Our yielding in that Matter had infallibly diſturb'd " the General Peace of *Chriſtendom*, and " brought inevitably upon that Our Ancient Kingdom " a heavy War, wherein we could expect no " Aſſiſtance; and that now the State of that Affair " is quite alter'd, We doubt not but you will " reſt ſatisfied with theſe plain Reaſons.

" We are heartily ſorry for the Company's " Loſs, in what hath happen'd; but We being " moſt willing that the Company's Loſſes be repaired, " are ready to concur in any New Project " or Deſign that ſhall be reaſonably propoſed for " the Good and Advantage of the Kingdom: We " are moſt confident, the Wiſdom of a Parliament " will no longer ſtop upon this Obſtruction. Having " then this happy Opportunity for the promoting " of the Good and Welfare of the Kingdom, " you will certainly lay hold upon it; and ſeeing " you cannot but take notice of the Deſigns and " Practices of Perſons diſaffected both to Our Government, " and to your Peace; and how watchful " and ready Our Enemies are, as well at " Home as Abroad, and deſirous of nothing more, " than that Differences may fall in amongſt us, " We are perſuaded you will be no leſs careful to " avoid them. All that We demand, is, That " you will provide proper and competent Supplies " for ſuch Forces as ſhall be neceſſary for " the Kingdom's Security, and to maintain it in " its preſent happy Settlement.

" We have continued the Duke of *Queensbury* " to be our Commiſſioner, for repreſenting Us in " this Seſſion of Parliament, as a Perſon of whoſe " Ability and Fidelity We have made full Proof, " and are aſſured will be to you acceptable; and " therefore you are to give him full Credit: And " We expect that in all Things you will proceed " with that Wiſdom, Calmneſs and Unanimity, " as that this Seſſion may be concluded to Our " Mutual Satisfaction, and to the Joy of all Our " Good Subjects. And ſo we bid you heartily " farewel.

It muſt be obſerved, that during the Interval of the Two Seſſions of Parliament, came the melancholy News to *Scotland*, of their People's having abandoned, or rather ſurrender'd their New Settlement at *Darien*, which occaſion'd the Company to repreſent to the Parliament, on the firſt Day of their Seſſions, " That for want of due " Protection abroad, ſome Perſons had been encourag'd " to break in upon their Privileges even " at home." This Repreſentation was back'd by a National Addreſs, importing, " That they had " formerly petition'd His Majeſty for the Meeting " of a Parliament, to ſupport and aſſert their " Company's Trading to *Africa*, and the *Indies*; " which the ſaid Parliament declar'd, by an unanimous " Addreſs on the 5*th* of *Auguſt*, 1698. to " be their own and the whole Nation's Concern: " And His Majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed " to allow the Parliament to meet again on the " 21*ſt* of *May*, 1700. they could not but then expreſs " their Sorrow for the unexpected Adjournment " thereof, without their being permitted " to do any Thing towards the Ends of their " Meeting.

" That they did in all humble manner concur " with the Dutiful Addreſs then lately preſented " to His Majeſty, from the Plurality of Members " of Parliament, repreſenting the Prejudices " ariſing to the preſſing Concerns of the Nation " from that Adjournment, and to the Rights and " Liberties of Parliament, from the Manner of it.

1700. "And that it was to their unexpreſſible Regret, "that His Majeſty did ſeem to be prevail'd upon "by the Miſrepreſentations of evil Counſellors, "to iſſue out Proclamations, further adjourning "the Parliament from Time to Time, whilſt not "only their ſaid Company ſtood in need of the "Countenance, Support, and Protection promis'd "to it by His Majeſty in Parliament; and more "eſpecially upon the Misfortunes that had then "lately befallen it, by the Succeſs of Enemies "againſt its Colony of *Caledonia*; and whilſt the "Nation it ſelf remained under the Preſſure of "ſuch Grievances, as could only be redreſſed in "Parliament.

"That to the End His Majeſty might have a "juſt View thereof, they humbly repreſented to "Him, how indiſpenſibly neceſſary it was,

"That the *Proteſtant* Religion be ſecur'd againſt "the Growth of Popery, Immorality, and Prophaneneſs. That Freedom and Independency "of that ancient Kingdom, and the Nation's "Right and Title to *Caledonia*, as holding of His "Majeſty's Crown of *Scotland*, be Aſſerted and "Supported. That the good Inclinations of His "Majeſty, and Succeſſors of *Scotland*, be preſerv'd from foreign Influence, as well as from "the Miſrepreſentations and pernicious Counſels "of unnatural Countrymen. That the Frequency and Sitting of Parliaments be ſecur'd and "aſcertain'd, purſuant to the Claim of Right. "That dangerous Influences upon the Freedom of "Parliaments, either by Gratuities, Penſions, and "Farms of any Branch of the Revenue, and the "diſpoſing of any Part of the Revenue, or annexed Property of the Crown, otherwiſe than "according to Law, for the neceſſary Support of "the Government, be preſerv'd. That the publick Credit be reſtor'd, and an Enquiry made "into the Application of the Funds, laid on, and "appointed by Parliament, for the Support of "the Government, and Payment of the Army. "That the Security of the Nation and Government be ſettled, in a duly regulated National "Force, inſtead of a Standing Army, ſo burthenſome to the Country, and dangerous to its "Liberties. That the manner of applying the "Security, which they had by the Claim of "Right, for the perſonal Freedom of the Subject "againſt long and arbitrary Impriſonment, as "well as againſt purſuits upon old and obſolete "Laws, be eſpecially declar'd. That the Trade "of the Nation be encourag'd and advanc'd, by "duly regulating its Export and Import, by diſcharging prejudicial Branches thereof, by fixing their Current Money, by encouraging Manufactures, by employing the Poor; and more "eſpecially by countenancing and aſſiſting their "ſaid Company, in the Proſecution of its lawful "Undertakings: And that all ſuch Articles of "Grievances preſented to His Majeſty by the "Eſtates of that Kingdom, in the Year 1699, "as had not been redreſſed; together with ſuch "others Grievances as the Parliament ſhould, at "the meeting thereof, find the Nation aggrieved "with, be redreſſed in Parliament.

"That His Majeſty having, by His Royal Letter, of the 29th of *May*, 1699, been graciouſly "pleas'd to declare, and give full Aſſurance to "their Repreſentatives, in the Meeting of the "Eſtates, which ſettled the Crown and Royal "Dignity of that Realm on His Majeſty, That "they ſhould always find His Majeſty ready to "protect them, and to aſſiſt the Eſtates in making "ſuch Laws as might ſecure their Religion, Liberties and Properties; and to prevent and redreſs whatſoever might be juſtly grievous to "them. That His Majeſty would never believe "that the true Intereſt of His People and the "Crown could be oppoſite; And that His Majeſty would always account it His greateſt Prerogative to aſſent to ſuch Laws as might promote Peace and Wealth in this Kingdom. 1700.

"They therefore reckon'd it their Duty humbly to deſire, and aſſuredly to expect, that His "Majeſty would be graciouſly pleas'd to ſatisfy "the longing Deſires, and earneſt Expectations "of His People, by allowing His Parliament to "meet as ſoon as poſſible; and when met, to ſit "till they had fully deliberated upon, and came "to ſolid Reſolutions, on the great and weighty "Concerns of the Nation; and grant ſuch Inſtructions to His Commiſſioners, as might empower him to paſs ſuch Acts, as the great Counſel of the Nation might think moſt conducive "to the true Honour of His Majeſty and Government, the Welfare of that Realm, both as to "its Religious and Civil Intereſts, and to the full "quieting of the Minds of all His Majeſty's good "People." To this Addreſs, which was preſented to the King, on the 16th of *November*, by the Lord *Teſter*, and ſome other Commiſſioners, His Majeſty made Anſwer: "That He could not "take further Notice of it, ſeeing the Parliament "was then met, and He had made then a Declaration of His Mind for the good of His People, "wherewith He hop'd all His faithful Subjects "would be ſatisfied.

Wiſer Meaſures in Scotland.

The Parliament of *Scotland* having ſat near Three Months, amidſt Heats and threatning Feuds, about the Miſcarriage of their Settlement at *Darien*: By the prudent Temper of the King, and the good Conduct of His High Commiſſioner, they came at laſt to this cool and honeſt Reſolution, 21*ſt January*; *That in Conſideration of their great Deliverance by His Majeſty, and in that, next under God, their Safety and Happineſs depended wholly on the Preſervation of His Majeſty's Perſon, and the Security of His Government, they would ſtand by and ſupport both His Majeſty and His Government, to the utmoſt of their Power; and maintain ſuch Forces as ſhould be requiſite for thoſe ends.* In purſuance of this good Diſpoſition, the Lord High Commiſſioner ſoon after gave the Royal Aſſent to an Act for keeping on Foot Three Thouſand Men, till the 1*ſt* of *December*, 1702. And to another, for a Land Tax to maintain thoſe Troops. Which done, he communicated the King's Letter; wherein it was deſired, He might have Eleven Hundred Men on his own Account, to the firſt of *June* following; which was readily complied with; and then they were prorogued to the 6*th* of *May*.

Laſt Treaty of Partition.

The laſt Treaty of Partition did ſo much concern all *Europe*, and made ſuch a particular Noiſe in *England*, that it is proper to tranſmit to Poſterity this Form of it, as concluded in *March*, tho' not made publick till ſome Months after.

"Be it known to All thoſe to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, That the moſt Serene and "Thrice Potent Prince, *Lewis* XIV. by the Grace "of God, King of *France*, &c. And the moſt "Serene and Thrice Potent Prince, *William* III. "by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*; "and the Lords the States General of the United "Provinces, laying nothing more to Heart, than "by new Ties to ſtrengthen the good Correſpondence re-eſtabliſhed between His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, His Majeſty of *Great Britain*, "and the Lords the States General, by the laſt "Treaty concluded at *Ryſwick*; and to prevent "by Meaſures taken in time, the Accidents that "may excite a new War in *Europe*, have given "their full Powers for concluding a new Treaty; "His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to the Sieur *Camille d' Antem*, Count *de Tallard*, Lieutenant "General of the King's Arms in His Province of

"the

1700. " the *Dauphinate*, Extraordinary Ambaſſador " from *France* in *England*; and to the Sieur *Gabriel* Count *de Briord*, Marquis of *Senoſan*, " Counſellor to the King in all his Councils, and " his Extraordinary Ambaſſador with the Lords " the States General of the *United Provinces* of " the *Low Countries*. His ſaid *Britannick* Majeſty " to *William* Earl of *Portland*, Viſcount *Cirenceſter*, Baron of *Woodſtock*, Knight of the Order " of the Garter, and one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council; and to *Edward* Earl of *Jerſey*, Viſcount *Villars*, Baron of *Hoo*, Knight Marſhal of " *England*, one of his Principal Secretaries of " State, and one of the Lords of his Privy-Council. And the Lords the States General, to " *John Van Eſſen*, Burgomaſter and Senator of the " City of *Zutphen*, Overſeer of the Univerſity " of *Haerderwick*; *Frederick*, Baron *de Rede*, *St. Anthony*, &c. of the Order of the Nobility of " *Holland* and *Weſt-Friſe*; *Anthony Heinſius*, " Counſellor Penſioner, Keeper of the Seal, " and Super-Intendant of the Fiefs of the ſame " Provinces; *William de Naſſau*, Lord of *Odyke*, " *Cortugene*, &c. and principal Nobleman repreſenting the Nobility in the States of *Zealand*; " *Everard de Wede*, Lord of *Dykewelt*, *Rateles*, &c. " Feudatory Lord of *Oudwater*, Rector of the " Imperial Chamber of St. *Mary's* at *Utrecht*, " *Dyckgraef* of the River *Rhine* in the Province " of *Utrecht*, and Preſident of the States of the " ſame Province; *William Van Haren*, Deputy of " the Nobility in the States of *Friſe*, and Rector " of the Univerſity of *Franeher*; *Arnold Lemker*, " Burgomaſter of the City of *Deventer*; and *John Hekke*, Senator of the City of *Groningen*; all " Deputies in the Aſſembly of the States General, " on the behalf of the States of *Guelders*, *Holland*, and *Weſt-Friſe*, of *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Friſe*, " *Overyſſel*, *Groningen*, and *Omeland*; who by Virtue of their Powers, have agreed upon the following Articles.

" I. The Peace re-eſtabliſhed by the Treaty at " *Ryſwick*, between his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, " his *Britannick* Majeſty, and the Lords the States " General of the United Provinces, their Heirs " and Succeſſors, their Kingdoms, States and " Subjects, ſhall be firm and conſtant; and their " Majeſties, and the States General, ſhall reciprocally contribute to the utmoſt of their Power, to " the Advantage and Benefit of the one and the " other.

" II. In regard the principal End which his moſt " Chriſtian Majeſty, his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, " and the ſaid Lords the States General propoſe " to themſelves, is to maintain the general Tranquility of *Europe*, they cannot but be greatly " grieved to ſee, that the Condition of the King " of *Spain*'s Health has continued for ſome time " ſo extremely languiſhing, that there is nothing " more to be fear'd than the Death of that Prince; " tho' they cannot think of that Event without " Affliction, by reaſon of the ſincere and real " Friendſhip they have for him: They have in " the mean time deem'd it ſo much the more neceſſary to foreſee, that his Catholick Majeſty " not having any Children, the Vacancy of the " Succeſſion will infallibly raiſe a new War, if the " moſt Chriſtian King makes good his Pretenſions, and the Claims of *Monſeigneur* the *Dauphin*, and his Poſterity, to the whole Succeſſion " of *Spain*; and that the Emperor will alſo ſupport his Pretenſions, and thoſe of the King of " the *Romans*, and the Arch-Duke *Charles*, his Second Son, or of his other Children, Males or " Females, to the ſaid Inheritance.

" III. And in regard the Two Lords the Kings, " and the Lords the States General, deſire above " all things the Preſervation of the publick Repoſe, and to avoid a new War in *Europe*, by an " Accommodation of ſuch Diſputes and Differences as may ariſe by reaſon of the ſaid Succeſſion, " or out of a Jealouſy of thoſe too many Dominions being united under one and the ſame " Prince, they have thought fit to take Meaſures " before-hand, requiſite to prevent the Misfortunes which the ſaid Accident of that King's " dying without Iſſue may produce. 1700.

" IV. To this purpoſe, it is accorded and agreed, " That if the ſaid Accident ſhould happen, the " moſt Chriſtian King, as well in his own Name, " as in the Name of *Monſeigneur* the *Dauphin*, " his Children, Male or Female, Heirs and Succeſſors, born, or to be born; as alſo my ſaid " Lord the *Dauphin*, for Himſelf, his Children, " Male or Female, Heirs or Succeſſors, born, or " to be born, ſhall hold themſelves ſatisfy'd, as " they do by theſe Preſents hold themſelves ſatisfy'd; That *Monſeigneur* the *Dauphin* ſhall have " for his Share, in full Propriety, Poſſeſſion, plenary Extinction of all his Pretenſions to the " Succeſſion of *Spain*, to enjoy for him, his Heirs, " Succeſſors, Deſcendants, Male or Female, " born, or to be born, to Perpetuity, without " being ever moleſted, under any pretence whatever, of Right or Pretenſion, even by Reſignation, Appeal, Revolt, or any other way " whatever, on the part of the Emperor, the " King of the *Romans*, the moſt Serene Arch-Duke *Charles* his Second Son, the Arch-Dutcheſſes, and his other Children, Male or Female, Deſcendants, Heirs and Succeſſors, born, " or to be born; the Kingdoms of *Naples* and " *Sicily*, in the ſame manner as the *Spaniards* poſſeſs 'em at preſent; all Places depending upon " the Monarchy of *Spain*, upon the Coaſt of *Toſcany*, and Iſlands adjacent, compriz'd under the " Names of *Sancto Stephano*, *Porto Hercole*, *Orbitello*, *Talamone*, *Porto Longo*, *Piombino*, in the " ſame manner as the *Spaniards* hold 'em at preſent; the City and Marquiſate of *Final*, in the " ſame manner as the *Spaniards* now enjoy 'em; " the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, namely, the City " of *Fontarabie*, and St. *Sebaſtian*, ſeated in the " ſaid Province, and eſpecially the *Port du Paſſage*, with what is comprehended therein; " with this Reſtriction only, That if there be " any Places depending upon the ſaid Province, " which are ſeated beyond the *Pyreneans*, and " other Mountains of *Navarre*, *Alava*, or *Biſcay*, " in the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, they ſhall remain " to *France*; and the Paſſages of the ſaid Mountains, and the ſaid Mountains which are between " the ſaid Provinces of *Guipuſcoa*, *Navarre*, *Alava*, " and *Biſcay*, to which they ſhall appertain, ſhall " be divided between *France* and *Spain*; ſo that " there ſhall remain as much of the ſaid Mountains and Paſſages to *France* on her ſide, as ſhall " remain to *Spain* on her ſide. The whole, with " the Fortifications, Ammunition, and Proviſion, " Powder, Bullets, Cannon, Gallies and Chiorms, " which ſhall belong to the King of *Spain* at the " Time of his Deceaſe without Iſſue, to be annexed to the Kingdoms, Places, Iſles, and Provinces, which are to compoſe *Monſeigneur* the " *Dauphin*'s Share. Nevertheleſs, be it underſtood, That the Gallies, Chiorms, and other " Effects belonging to the King of *Spain*, throughout the Kingdom of *Spain*, and other Dominions, " which fall to the moſt Serene Arch-Duke's " Share, ſhall remain to him; thoſe that belong to " the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, before they " deſcend to *Monſeigneur* the *Dauphin*, as already " has been agreed. Moreover, the Territories " of *Monſeigneur* the Duke of *Lorrain*; that is " to ſay, the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, as " Duke *Charles* IV. of that Name poſſeſs'd 'em, and ſuch

1700. “ ſuch as were reſtor'd by the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, ſhall be relinquiſh'd and ſet over to *Monſeigneur* the *Dauphin*, his Children, and Heirs and Succeſſors Males, born, or to be born, in full Propriety and plenary Poſſeſſion, inſtead of the Dutchy of *Milan*, which ſhall be relinquiſh'd and ſet over in Exchange to the ſaid Duke of *Lorrain*, his Children Male and Female, Heirs, Deſcendants, Succeſſors, born, or to be born, in full Propriety and plenary Poſſeſſion, who will not refuſe ſo advantageous a Share; underſtanding withal, That the County of *Bitche* ſhall belong to the Prince of *Vaudemont*, who ſhall re-enter into the Lands which he formerly enjoy'd, which have, or ought to be ſurrender'd to him by virtue of the Treaty of *Ryſwyck*. In conſideration of which Kingdoms, Iſlands, Provinces and Places, the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, as well in his own Name, as in the Name of *Monſeigneur* the *Dauphin*, his Children, Male or Female, Heirs or Succeſſors, born or to be born; who has alſo given for that Effect his full Power to the Sieur Count *de Tallard*, and the Sieur Count *de Briord*, promiſe and engage to renounce upon the Vacancy of the ſaid *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, as in that caſe they now renounce by theſe Preſents, all Rights and Pretenſions to the ſaid Crown of *Spain*, and all other Kingdoms, Iſlands, Dominions and Places, which at this preſent depend upon it, excepting what is declared above to be their Share. And of all this, they ſhall cauſe to be drawn up ſolemn Acts, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt authentick Form that may be; which ſhall be deliver'd at the Time of the Exchange of the Ratifications of this preſent Treaty, to the King of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the States General.

“ V. All the Cities, Places, and Ports, ſituated in the Kingdoms and Provinces which are to compoſe the Share of the ſaid *Monſeigneur* the *Dauphin*, ſhall be preſerv'd, without being demoliſh'd.

“ VI. The ſaid Crown of *Spain*, and the other Kingdoms, Iſlands, Dominions, Countries, and Places, which the Catholick King poſſeſſes at preſent, as well within as without *Europe*, ſhall be given and relinquiſh'd to the moſt Serene Arch-Duke *Charles*, the Emperor's ſecond Son, except what was declar'd in the Fourth Article, which compoſes *Monſeigneur* the *Dauphin*'s Share, and the Dutchy of *Milan*, in purſuance of the ſaid Fourth Article, in full Propriety and plenary Poſſeſſion, as his Share; and in Extinction of all his Pretenſions to the ſaid Succeſſion of *Spain*; to be enjoy'd by him, and his Heirs and Succeſſors, born, or to be born, to perpetuity, never to be moleſted, upon any pretence whatever of Rights and Pretenſions, directly and indirectly, whether by Ceſſion, Appeal, Revolt, or any other way, on the part of the moſt Chriſtian King, my ſaid Lord the *Dauphin*, or his Children, Male or Female, his Heirs and Succeſſors, born, or to be born. In the lieu of which Crown of *Spain*, and other Kingdoms and Dominions, Countries and Places which depend upon it, the Emperor, as well in his own Name, as in the Names of the King of the *Romans*, the moſt Serene Arch-Duke *Charles* his ſecond Son, the Arch-Dutcheſſes his Daughters, his Children, their Children, Male or Female, their Heirs, Deſcendants or Succeſſors, born, or to be born, ſhall hold themſelves ſatisfied, That the moſt Serene Arch-Duke *Charles* ſhall have in Extinction of all other their Pretenſions to the Succeſſion of *Spain*, the Reſignation made as above. The ſaid Emperor, as well in his own Name, as in the Names of the King of the *Romans*, and the moſt Serene Arch-Duke *Charles* his ſecond Son, the Arch-Dutcheſſes his Daughters, their Children, Male and Female, their Heirs and Succeſſors; as alſo the King of the *Romans* in his own Name, ſhall at the time when they ſhall enter into the preſent Treaty, and ratifie it, and the ſaid Arch-Duke *Charles* when he comes of Age, renounce all other Rights and Pretenſions to the Kingdoms, Iſlands, Dominions, Countries and Places, which compoſe the Share and Portions aſſigned, as above, to *Monſeigneur* the *Dauphin*, and to him who ſhall have the Dutchy of *Milan* in Exchange for what ſhall be given to *Monſeigneur* the *Dauphin*: And that of all theſe things there ſhall ſpeedily be drawn up ſolemn Acts in the beſt and moſt authentick Form that may be; that is to ſay, the Emperor and the King of the *Romans* at the Time when they ſhall ratify the preſent Treaty, and the Arch-Duke when he ſhall be of Age, which ſhall be deliver'd to his *Britannick* Majeſty, and the Lords the States General. 1700.

“ VII. Immediately after the Exchange of the Ratifications of the preſent Treaty, it ſhall be imparted to the Emperor, who ſhall be invited to enter into it: But if within Three Months after, to reckon from the Day of the ſaid Communication and Invitation; or from the Day that the ſaid Catholick King ſhall happen to die; if it ſhould ſo fall out, within the Term of Three Months; his Imperial Majeſty, or the King of the *Romans*, ſhall refuſe to enter into it, and to agree to the Share aſſign'd the Arch-Duke; the Two Lords the Kings, and the Lords the States General, ſhall agree upon a Prince to whom the Share ſhall be given. And in caſe that notwithſtanding the preſent Agreement, the ſaid moſt Serene Duke will take Poſſeſſion of the Portion that ſhall fall to him, before he had accepted the preſent Treaty, or the Portion aſſigned to *Monſeigneur* the *Dauphin*, or to him who ſhall have the Dutchy of *Milan* in Exchange, as is above-mentioned; the ſaid Lords the Kings, and the ſaid Lords the States General, by Virtue of this Convention, ſhall hinder him with all their Force.

“ VIII. The moſt Serene Arch-Duke ſhall not paſs into *Spain*, nor into the Dutchy of *Milan*, during the Life of his Catholick Majeſty, but by common Conſent, and no otherwiſe.

“ IX. If the moſt Serene Arch-Duke happens to die without Iſſue, whether before or after the Death of the Catholick King; the Share which is above aſſign'd him by the Sixth Article of this Treaty, ſhall paſs to ſuch Child of the Emperor, Male or Female (except the King of the *Romans*) to whom his Imperial Majeſty ſhall think fit to aſſign it. And in caſe his Imperial Majeſty happens to die before ſuch Aſſignation, it may be made by the King of the *Romans*. But all this upon Condition, That the ſaid Partition ſhall never be re-united, nor belong to the Perſon of Him, who ſhall be Emperor, or King of the *Romans*; or who ſhall be both the one and the other, either by Succeſſion, Will, Contract of Marriage, Donation, Exchange, Ceſſion, Appeal, Revolt, or other way. And in like manner, the Share of the moſt Serene Arch-Duke ſhall never be united, nor belong to the Perſon of Him who ſhall be King of *France*, or *Dauphin*, or both together; whether by Succeſſion, Will, Contract of Marriage, Donation, Exchange, Ceſſion, Appeal, Revolt, or any other way whatever.

“ X. The King of *Spain* deceaſing without Iſſue, and the ſaid Accident coming to paſs, the ſaid Lords the Kings, and the States General, oblige themſelves to leave the whole Suc-

“ ceſſion

1700. "ceſſion in the ſame Condition it ſhall then be, "without Seizure of the whole, or any part, directly or indirectly: But every Prince ſhall immediately take Poſſeſſion of what is aſſign'd him "for his Share, when he ſhall, for his own part, "have given Satisfaction upon the Fourth and "Sixth Articles preceding this. And if he finds "therein any Difficulty, the Two Lords the "Kings, and the Lords the States-General, to "the end that every one may be put into his Share "according to the Agreement, and that it may "have its full Effect, engage themſelves to give "requiſite Succour and Aſſiſtance of Men and "Shipping, by Land and Sea, by Force to conſtrain thoſe that ſhall oppoſe themſelves againſt "the ſaid Agreement.

"XI. If the ſaid Lords the Kings, or the States-General, ſhall be attack'd by any one whatever, "by reaſon of this Agreement, or the Execution "of it; they ſhall mutually aſſiſt each other with "all their Forces, and ſhall make themſelves "Guarantees of the punctual Execution of the "ſaid Treaty, and the Renunciations made in "purſuance thereof.

"XII. All Kings, Princes, and States, who will "enter thereinto, ſhall be admitted by this preſent Treaty; and it ſhall be lawful for the Two "Lords the Kings, the States-General, and for "every one of them in particular, to requeſt and "invite whom they ſhall think fit into the preſent "Treaty, and likewiſe to be Guarantees of the "Execution of the ſaid Treaty and Renunciations therein contained.

"XIII. And for the greater Security of the "Repoſe of *Europe*, the ſaid Kings, Princes, and "States, ſhall not only be invited to be Guarantees of the ſaid Execution of this preſent Treaty, and of the Validity of the ſaid Renunciations, as above-mention'd; but if any one of "thoſe Princes, in whoſe Favour the ſaid Partitions are made, ſhall go about to trouble the "Methods ſettled by the ſaid Treaty, to attempt "new Enterprizes contrary to it, and ſo to aggrandize themſelves to the Prejudice of each "other, under any Pretence whatever; it ſhall "be deem'd to be the Duty of the ſaid Guaranty, "to extend it ſelf in that caſe; ſo that the Kings, "Princes and States, who promiſe it, ſhall be "bound to employ their Forces in Oppoſition "to the ſaid Enterprizes, and to maintain all "things in the Condition contain'd in the ſaid Articles.

"XIV. That if any Prince, whoever he be, "ſhall oppoſe taking Poſſeſſion of the Shares agreed, the ſaid Lords the Kings, and the States-General, ſhall be obliged to aſſiſt each other "againſt the ſaid Oppoſition, and to hinder it "with all their Forces. And there ſhall be an "Agreement made, preſently after the Signing "of this preſent Treaty, touching the Proportion "which every one is to contribute, as well by Sea "as Land.

"XV. The preſent Treaty, and all other Acts "done in Purſuance of it, or which may have any "reference to it; and particularly the ſolemn "Acts, which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and "Monſeigneur the *Dauphin*, are oblig'd to perform by virtue of the Fourth Article abovewritten, ſhall be regiſter'd in the Parliament "of *Paris*, according to their Form and Tenour, "and according to the uſual Cuſtom; to be in "force according to the Conditions therein contain'd; ſo ſoon as the Emperor ſhall be enter'd into the preſent Treaty, or at the end of "Three Months which are allow'd for that purpoſe, if he does not enter into it ſooner. And "in like manner, his Imperial Majeſty ſhall be "bound, when he ſhall enter into the preſent "Treaty, to cauſe it to be approv'd and regiſter'd "with all the ſolemn Acts which his Imperial "Majeſty, the King of the *Romans*, and the "moſt Serene Arch-Duke ſhall be oblig'd to "perform, by Virtue of the Sixth Article before-recited; in his Council of State, or otherwhere, "according to the moſt authentick Forms of the "Country.

"XVI. The Ratifications of the Two Lords "the Kings, and the Lords the States-General, "ſhall be all Three exchang'd at the ſame time "at *London*, within the Space of Three Weeks; "to reckon from the Day that the ſaid Lords the "States-General ſhall have ſign'd, and ſooner if "it may be done." Done and ſigned at *London*, *March* the 15th. *N. S.* 1700. by Us the Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *England*, and of the Lords the States-General: It being agreed, That the Signature of this preſent Treaty ſhall be made in ſuch manner. In Faith of which, We have ſign'd this preſent Treaty with our Hands, and ſet hereto the Seals of our Arms. 1700.

Sign'd,

Tallard, and *Portland*.	*Joan Van Eſſen.*
Briord, and *Jerzey*.	*F. B. Van Rede.*
	A. Heinſius.
	W. de Naſſau.
	Ev. de Weede.
	W. Van Haren.
	A. Lemker.
	Van Hekke.

France was the firſt Party that made this Treaty publick, being then in earneſt with it: The other contracting Powers propoſed it to ſeveral Princes and States, for their Acceptance and Guaranty. But the thing ſeem'd ſtrange, and it does not appear that any but the immediate Authors would come into it. As for the Emperor, He thought himſelf aggriev'd by it, as diſinheriting the *Auſtrian* Family of their Claim of Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain*. The great Ends which the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had in it, were certainly the Peace and Balance of *Europe*, and forming a Barrier in the *Netherlands*, to ſecure *Holland* and the Empire: There is no reaſon to queſtion the Sincerity, and in ſuch a Juncture, even the Wiſdom of King *William*, in this Tranſaction. But a Suſpicion lies hard upon the *French* King, that he meant it for an Amuſement only to the Allies, and for an Argument of drawing in the *Spaniards* more effectually to deſire his Grandſon for their Sole Monarch: For it is certain, that the Miniſters of *France* in the Court of *Spain* made uſe of this Partition to incenſe the Grandees againſt the Indignity of tearing their Monarchy in pieces; and made it a convincing and prevalent Argument to obtain a Will for declaring the Duke of *Anjou* an univerſal Heir. This memorable Will being the Management of the prime Miniſter Cardinal *Portocarero*, upon a Reſult of the Intriegues of the *French* Ambaſſador the Marquis *de Harcourt*, was ſign'd by the crazy and half-dead King of *Spain* on the Second of *October*, who within a Month after expired, on *November* the Firſt, *N. S.* He was born the 6th of *November*, 1661. and had ſucceeded his Father *Philip* IV. in 1666. Diſadvantages of this Treaty.

Immediately upon this Prince's Death, the Will was open'd in the Preſence of the *Spaniſh* Court, and a Copy of it was diſpatch'd by the appointed Regents to the King of *France*. The *Dutch* Envoy at *Madrid* had ſent Intelligence of this Intregue to the Lord *Mancheſter*, then Ambaſſador at the Court of *France*: Upon which his Excellency, who was ever watchful on the *French* Pro- King of Spain's Will.

1700. Proceedings, deſired a private Audience, wherein he preſs'd to know what his Majeſty intended to do in this Conjuncture; putting him in mind of his ſolemn Engagement to the King his Maſter. To this the *French* King anſwered, "That he "would not take a final Reſolution, till his Excellency had an Anſwer to his Diſpatches to "*England*, which he deſired he would not communicate to the *Dutch* Ambaſſador." However, to carry on the Diſſimulation and the Project, other Conſiderations prevail'd, and his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſoon after declared his Acceptance of the ſaid Will, without conſulting thoſe Allies with whom he had ſo lately concluded a Treaty of Partition. So that on *November* the 16th, *N. S.* the Duke of *Anjou*, in his Grandfather's Court was declared and ſaluted King of *Spain*: Beſides which, Two remarkable Inſtruments were drawn up, contrary to the Meaning of the Will, to preſerve his Title to the Crown of *France*, in caſe his Elder Brother died without inheritable Iſſue. This plainly ſhew'd, that the Houſe of *Bourbon* aim'd at the Union of the Two Crowns, as a greater Step to the Univerſal Monarchy.

Artifices of *France*. Count *Briord* the *French* Ambaſſador in *Holland* was labouring to put a Colour upon this coarſe Proceeding of his Maſter: He told Mr. *Stanhope* the *Engliſh* Envoy there, by way of ſounding, "That he found his Maſter had accepted the "Will; but he was inform'd the *Engliſh* did not "like it; and therefore he ſhould be glad to "know his Thoughts upon it." Mr. *Stanhope* gravely reply'd, That *ſuch a Queſtion was too weighty for an* extempore *Anſwer: But* (ſays he) *I hear you have communicated it to the Penſioner* Heinſius; *pray, what does he think of it?* The Penſioner, reply'd the *French* Ambaſſador, told me, he would impart it to the States. *And ſo will I* (ſaid Mr. *Stanhope*) *to the King my Maſter.* Not long after, Count *Briord* preſented a Memorial to the States, repreſenting the inſuperable Difficulties of the Partition, which if adher'd to, muſt be the Cauſe of Univerſal War; and therefore his Maſter had choſe rather to anſwer the End of that Treaty, which was to preſerve the Peace and Tranquility of *Europe*. Soon after this, Count *Briord*, at his publick Audience, after he had deliver'd his Maſter's Letter to the States, made this Harangue to them.

My Lords,

Harangue of the *French* Miniſter. "I Come to give your Lordſhips new Aſſurances of the King my Maſter's conſtant Amity, "and his ſincere Deſire to obſerve inviolably the "laſt Peace. All the Steps his Majeſty has trod "ſince it was concluded, may convince the whole "World, that he has no other Deſigns, than to "maintain the publick Tranquility; of which his "Majeſty thought he had given a convincing "Proof, in accepting the deceaſed King of *Spain*'s "Will. In a Word, he confirms that *Equilibrium* ſo long wiſh'd for over all *Europe*; and "his Union with the Crown of *Spain*, will only "ſerve to ſettle Peace over all *Chriſtendom*. And "this is the only Aim which he propoſed to himſelf in renouncing ſo great Advantages to his "Crown.

"*My Lords*, His Majeſty hopes, That your "Lordſhips, convinc'd of this Truth, will correſpond with Sentiments ſo favourable to the publick Good, and that they will contribute to the "Preſervation of ſo great a Bleſſing as that of "Peace. No body doubts, but that it is the "Fountain of all Bleſſings; and your Republick, "of all the Potentates in *Europe*, has the greateſt "Reaſon to preſerve it; and it is at preſent ſo "well eſtabliſh'd, that you have now no more to "do, but to enjoy the Effects of your long Labours and infinite Expences. 'Tis by the means "of this Peace, that you will uphold this flouriſhing State, and enlarge that Trade which "you have extended to the Extremities of the "Earth. Your ſincere Union with his Majeſty, "will be the moſt ſolid Foundation of the Continuance of this Peace; and your Puiſſance is ſo "well known to all the World, that no body can "ſuſpect that any other Motives but the publick "Good, engage you to deſire Peace. 1700.

"The Situation of your Republick is ſuch, as "enables it not only to preſerve Peace at Home, "but to ſecure it to the greateſt part of the States "of *Europe*. That you may attain to ſo deſir'd a "Bleſſing, you have no more to do, than to baniſh all ill-grounded Suſpicions, and anticipated "Fears, and to ſtop your Ears againſt the Sollicitations of the Maligners of the King's Glory. "Recal to mind, *my Lords*, that happy Time, "when by your Union with *France*, and by a perfect Correſpondence, both Parties laboured mutually to procure to themſelves all manner of "Advantages. It lies in your Lordſhips power "to reſtore all things to the ſame Condition. By "ſuch a Conduct you will engage the King to continue that Good Will of His, which you your "ſelves acknowledged to be ſo *precious in your* "Eſteem. His Majeſty demands no more for the "Price of his Friendſhip, but that you will concur with him in the Maintenance of this Peace, "ſo beneficial, and ſo much deſired by all the "Provinces.

"It would be to no purpoſe, *my Lords*, for me "to enlarge upon the Advantages of the Peace. "This Aſſembly, which is compoſed of Perſons "ſo Wiſe, ſo Conſummate in the Management of "Affairs, and ſo Zealous for the publick Good, "has queſtionleſs no other Deſigns, nor any other "Intentions, than *to promote ſo great a Bleſſing.* "But a Man of my Profeſſion is not accuſtom'd "to long Speeches. I conclude then, proteſting "to your Lordſhips, That I ſhall always endeavour to prove, more by Deeds than Words, "That never any Miniſter came into theſe Provinces with better Intentions; and that I have "for this illuſtrious Aſſembly, all that Veneration which they juſtly merit; and that I ſhall "always have a perfect Honour for all the particular Members that compoſe it.

This Speech and the preceding Memorial, however ſoft and ſmooth, would have had but little Effect on their High and Mightineſſes, had not the *French* at the ſame time over-run the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and by Stratagem ſeiz'd ſeveral ſtrong Towns, partly Gariſon'd by *Dutch*, whereby the States were brought under a Neceſſity of acknowledging the Duke of *Anjou*'s Title to *Spain*, to get their Soldiers again, who nevertheleſs were not without Difficulty ſuffer'd to return. King *William* in His own Heart was incens'd at this violent Breach of the *French* Faith and Honour; though he muſt forbear to ſhew his Reſentment, till he ſhould be in a better Condition of demanding Satisfaction. In the mean time, when Count *Tallard* (after his Return from *Paris*, whither he went every Year from *Holland*, to acquaint his Maſter with the Negociations) came to wait on his Majeſty at *Kenſington*, the King then looking out at a Window, contented Himſelf to ſay to him, *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadeur, le Tems eſt bien changé.* By which Expreſſion his Majeſty meant, not only the Alteration of the Weather, but chiefly the Change of Time, and Circumſtances of Things. And the Ambaſſador ſoon perceiv'd a greater Alteration in the King's Countenance and Reception of him; and therefore on *February* The Force as well as Fraud of *France*.

1700. *ary* 3. he took his publick Audience of Leave of his Majeſty, and ſoon after ſet out for *France*, to return no more till he was brought over a Priſoner of War. In his room one Monſieur *Pouſſin* was appointed to ſtay, but with no better Character, than that of Secretary.

New Parliament in England. Within few Days after his Majeſty's Return from *Holland*, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* on *October* 24. and was further prorogued to the 21ſt of *November* following. His Majeſty had broke off with them in Silence the laſt Seſſion, and was not much inclin'd to meet them again: And therefore on *November* 21ſt the Parliament was further prorogued to *January* 15, and in the mean time was diſſolved by Proclamation, dated 19 *December*, and a New Parliament called to begin at *Weſtminſter*, *February* 6.

Honours and Preferments. When the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen attended his Majeſty to congratulate his Health and ſafe Return on *October* 24, he conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon *Robert Beachcroft*, Eſq; one of the Sheriffs. On *November* 5, his Majeſty was pleaſed in Council to deliver his Privy Seal into the Cuſtody of *Ford* Earl of *Tankervile*; and to admit Sir *Charles Hedges* to be one of his principal Secretaries of State, and Privy-Counſellor. The next Day the New Call of Serjeants, Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* of the *Middle-Temple*, Knight, Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*; *John Green* of *Lincolns-Inn*, Eſq; *Charles Whiteacre*, *Thomas Gibbons*, *Philip Neve*, *Nicholas Hooper*, *James Munday*, *John Prat*, *James Selby*, *Thomas Cartheu* of the *Inner-Temple*, Eſquires; *Thomas Barry*, *John Hook*, *Lawrence Agar*, and *John Smith*, of *Grays-Inn*, Eſquires; *John Keen*, *Henry Turner*, of *Lincolns-Inn*, Eſquires; *Robert Tracy* and *William Hall*, of the *Middle-Temple*, Eſquires; went ſolemnly in their Coifs and Robes to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and entertain'd the Judges with a ſplendid Dinner at *Serjeants-Inn*. Before the Meeting of a new Parliament, *Charles Mountague*, Eſq; having contracted ſome Envy and ſome Hatred by his prevailing Intereſt at Court, and his long Aſcendant in the

Lord Halifax. Houſe of Commons, obtain'd now the Favour of removing to the Houſe of Lords, being created a Baron of *England*, by the Stile and Title of Baron of *Halifax*, in the County of *York*. The Reaſons of his Advancement were expreſs'd in his Patent.

Si ab antiquiſſimâ procerum familiâ ſplendorem derivare honeſtum; ſi rebus à ſe pulchre geſtis inclareſcere glorioſum cenſeatur, utroque hoc nomine ſingulari noſtræ æſtimationi ſeſe commendat prædilectus & per quam fidelis conſiliarius noſter Carolus Mountague, *Armiger; illâ domo ortus quæ tres comites, & octo ſimul alterius ordinis Senatores, in Imperii noſtri decus & ſubſidium fælici ubertate ſuppeditarit; illis virtutibus ornatus, quibus nullum honoris incrementum aut bonus civis invideat, aut æquus princeps non ultro offerat. Ingenium ei ad res arduas formavit natura, excoluerunt literæ, perfecere & bene dicendi uſus, & graviter agendi exercitatio. In tractandis in ſenatu negotiis ſtrenuum & diſertum; in conſilio ſanctiori fidum & prudentem, in adminiſtrando Ærario habilem & incorruptum, in fiſci cauſis adjudicandis integrum & perſpicacem experti ſumus. Quod nobis pro Libertate & Religione, pro communi Europæ incolumitate per novennium militantibus, bello ſubſidia haud defecerint, id ſenatui omnino deberi gratè agnoſcimus; ſed nec tacenda eſt viri egregii ſolertia, quâ cautum eſt, ne in ſummâ nummorum inopiâ fides publica fœnore plus æquo debilitata conſideret. Ejuſdem quoque fœlicitati ſaltem tribuendum, quod Ærario noſtro eo tempore præfuit, quo monetam ſceleratorum fraude vitiatam & immutatam, conſilio non minus fauſto quam audaci (quod ſæculi opus videbatur) infra biennium recudi & redintegrari ad admirationem vidimus; & ingruentibus rei pecuniariæ anguſtiis, eo auctore, novam inuſitatam inivimus rationem, quâ chartæ prætium arrogando, divitias publicas ampliari curavimus. Ob hæc præſtita officia populo ſe charum præbuit; ob hæc collata in populum beneficia, noſtram facile conſequutus eſt gratiam. Quâ igitur animi propenſione frequentibus ſubditorum votis ſolemus reſpondere, ea alacritate hunc procerum numero ad ſcribi volumus quem ſenatus communi ſuffragio,* Propter ſua in nos, noſtroſque merita, regio favore dignum pronunciavit. *Sciatis igitur, &c. Baronem* Hallifax, &c.

A new Miniſtry. To ſweeten the Humours and Meaſures of the New Parliament, the King was willing to oblige thoſe Men, who were more eminently diſtinguiſhed by the Name of the Church Party, who had thought themſelves neglected. And therefore on *December* 12, his Majeſty in Council was pleaſed to declare the Right Honourable *Lawrence* Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin*, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, in the room of Mr. *Mountague*, now Lord *Halifax*, who was made Auditor of the Exchequer.

The Parliament, according to the Writs of Summons, met at *Weſtminſter* on *February* 6, and was prorogued to *Monday*, *February* 10, when the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſending for the Commons, ſignified to them by the Lord Keeper, That they ſhould forthwith proceed to the Choice of a fit Perſon to be their Speaker, and preſent him to his Majeſty. The next Day Mr. Harley Speaker. the Commons returning to their Houſe, made choice of *Robert Harley*, Eſq; who was the next Day preſented, and approved by the King; after which, his Majeſty made this Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech. "OUR great Misfortune in the Loſs of the "Duke of *Glouceſter*, hath made it abſo- "lutely Neceſſary, that there ſhould be a fur- "ther Proviſion for the Succeſſion to the Crown "in the Proteſtant Line, after Me and the Prin- "ceſs. The Happineſs of the Nation, and the "Security of our Religion, which is our chiefeſt "Concern, ſeems ſo much to depend upon this, "that I cannot doubt but it will meet with a ge- "neral Concurrence: And I earneſtly recom- "mend it to your early and effectual Conſidera- "tion.

"The Death of the late King of *Spain*, with "the Declaration of his Succeſſor to that Monar- "chy, has made ſo great an Alteration in the Af- "fairs Abroad, that I muſt deſire you very ma- "turely to conſider their preſent State; and I "make no doubt but your Reſolutions thereupon "will be ſuch, as ſhall be moſt conducing to the "Intereſt and Safety of *England*, the Preſervation "of the Proteſtant Religion in general, and the "Peace of all *Europe*.

"Theſe Things are of ſuch Weight, that I have "thought them moſt proper for the Conſidera- "tion of a New Parliament, to have the more "immediate Senſe of the Kingdom in ſo great a "Conjuncture.

"I muſt deſire of you, *Gentlemen of the Houſe* "*of Commons*, ſuch Supplies as you ſhall judge ne- "ceſſary for the Service of the Current Year; and "I muſt particularly put you in mind of the De- "ficiencies and publick Debts occaſioned by the "late War, that are yet unprovided for.

"I am obliged further to recommend to you, "That you would inſpect the Condition of the "Fleet, and conſider what Repairs or Augmen- "tations may be requiſite for the Navy, which "is the great Bulwork of the *Engliſh* Nation, and

1700. "ought in this Conjuncture moſt eſpecially, to "be put in a good Condition; and that you "would alſo conſider what is proper for the better Security of thoſe Places where the Ships are "laid up in Winter.

"The Regulation and Improvement of Our "Trade, is of ſo publick a Concern, that I hope "it will ever have your ſerious Thoughts; and "if you can find proper Means of ſetting the Poor "at Work, you will eaſe your ſelves of a very "great Burthen; and at the ſame time add ſo "many uſeful Hands to be imployed in Our Ma"nufactures, and other publick Occaſions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I hope there will be ſuch an Agreement and "Vigor in the Reſolutions you ſhall take upon "the important Matters now before you, as may "make it appear We are firmly United among "Our ſelves; and in my Opinion nothing may "contribute more to Our Safety at Home, or to "Our being Conſiderable Abroad.

Proceedings in the Houſe of Commons. The Commons ſpent the Two ſucceeding Days in qualifying themſelves; and on the 13th began with the Buſineſs of Bribery in Elections, which was a Matter of long Debates and Cenſures. On the 14th, upon reading his Majeſty's Speech, they came to this expedient Reſolution; "That they "would ſtand by and ſupport his Majeſty and his "Government, and take ſuch effectual Meaſures, "as may beſt conduce to the Intereſt and Safety "of *England*, the Preſervation of the Proteſtant "Religion, and the Peace of *Europe.*" This Reſolution was preſented to his Majeſty by the whole Houſe, on *February* 17, and the King gave them this Gracious Anſwer.

Commons Addreſs, and King's Anſwer.

I thank you for this Addreſs, and your ready Concurrence to thoſe great Ends therein mentioned, which I take to be extremely important to the Honour and Safety of England; *and I aſſure you, I ſhall never propoſe any thing, but what is for our common Advantage and Security. Having this Occaſion, I think it proper to acquaint you, That Yeſterday I received a Memorial from the Envoy Extraordinary of the States General; a Tranſlation whereof I leave with you: As to the firſt Part of it, I think it neceſſary to ask your Advice; and as to the latter Part, I deſire your Aſſiſtance.*

Opening of a War with *France*. Upon a Report of this Anſwer, the Commons immediately Reſolv'd, "That an Humble Ad"dreſs be made to his Majeſty, by ſuch Mem"bers as are of the Privy Council, That he will "pleaſe to cauſe the Treaty between *England* "and the States General of the Third of *March*, "1677, and all the Renewals thereof ſince that "Time, to be laid before the Houſe." Which his Majeſty commanded to be done by Mr. Secretary *Hedges*. And the Houſe was ſo well ſatisfied, that on *February* 20, they Reſolved, "That "an Humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, "that he will pleaſe to enter into ſuch Negocia"tions, in concert with the States General of "the United Provinces, and other Potentates, "as may moſt effectually conduce to the mutual "Safety of theſe Kingdoms, and the States Ge"neral, and the Preſervation of the Peace of "*Europe*: And giving him Aſſurances of Support "and Aſſiſtance, in Performance of the Treaty "made with the States General the Third of "*March*, 1677." This Addreſs was preſented by the whole Houſe on *Friday* 21 *February*. And his Majeſty gave this acceptable Anſwer.

Second Addreſs and Anſwer.

Gentlemen, *I thank you heartily for the Advice you have given me, and your Unanimous Reſolution to ſupport and aſſiſt me in making good the Treaty mentioned in your Addreſs; and I will immediately order my Miniſters Abroad to enter into Negociations in concert with the States General and other Potentates, for the Attaining of thoſe Great Ends which you deſire. Nothing can more effectually conduce to our Security, than the Unanimity and Vigor you have ſhew'd on this Occaſion: And I ſhall always endeavour on my Part, to preſerve and increaſe this mutual Truſt and Confidence between us.* 1700.

On the 17th of *February*, Mr. Secretary *Vernon* had acquainted the Houſe of Commons, That he was commanded by his Majeſty to communicate to them a Letter, which came very providentially to his Hands out of *France*: Being a Letter from the Earl of *Melfort* to his Brother the Earl of *Perth*. And he deliver'd a Copy in at the Table, and the Original to Mr. Speaker: The Copy was read, and ran thus.

Letter of the E. of *Melfort*.

My deareſt Brother,

"Since I promiſed to put in Writing what we "had not Time to talk fully of, I am ſet down to "it in the Morning, that my Letter may be rea"dy for the Meſſenger, if any call. I told all "that I had heard at *Verſailles*, and the favoura"ble Audience I had of Madam *Maintenon*; for "which, I beg it of you to return my moſt hum"ble Thanks to the Queen, and beg her to be "ſo good, as to thank Madam *Maintenon*, and "know of her what can be done in that Mat"ter: It will be a great Charity in the Queen. "I told you, among other things, the great Fleet "the King intends to put out this Summer; the "Order being given, and the Money ready, the "Stores full, and every one concern'd active in "their Stations. There is no doubt but this Fleet "will be Maſter of the Sea for ſome Time, if "not for all the Summer; becauſe the *Dutch* dare "not ſtir till the *Engliſh* be ready; and they have "long Debates yet, before they can be in a Con"dition to act, if they have the Will; and 'tis a "Queſtion if they will have it at all. The King "never had ſo favourable a Conjuncture, if he "can perſuade this King that his Affairs are real"ly in the Circumſtances they are in; but there "is the Difficulty. The King and Queen have "more Authority with the King and with Ma"dam *de Maintenon*, than any other in the World "can have; but that is not all; there ſhould be "ſome one acceptable to the Miniſters, who "ſhould lay before them thoſe Proofs their Ma"jeſties cannot enter into the Detail of; and ex"plain the Reaſons, make Plans and Memoirs by "their Majeſties Approbation, to convince them "of the Neceſſity, and ſhew the Eaſineſs of Re"ſtoring the King, the Glory it brings their "Kingdom, and the Advantage to Religion: "How this will be done, their Majeſties are wiſe "enough to conſider, and I think it is not a Sub"ject fit for me to enter upon; but their Friends "in general, who know not the half of what I "know in this Matter, think, that it will not be "well done by a *Proteſtant* Miniſter, lazy in his "Temper, an Enemy to *France* by his Inclina"tion, tainted with Commonwealth Principles, "and againſt the King's returning by any other "Power, than that of the People of *England*, and "upon Capitulation and Terms, which is ſuſ"pected of giving Aid to the Compounders, if "not worſe.

"That Mr. *Carrill* is qualified, no body doubts, "but in Society with the other; theſe who muſt "be inſtrumental, will not truſt him as they "ought; ſo that ſo long as the other is within "diſtance of penetrating the Affairs, they will "never be ſecure: And yet the King has no ſuch "Game to play, as by theſe very Perſons, who "are

1700. “ are thus diffident; namely, the true Church of *England* Party, the Catholicks, and the Earl of *Arran*; and I ſhall ſay ſomething of every one of them.

“ The King cannot but be ſenſible, that the true Church of *England* Party, and their principal Head, now the Biſhop of *Norwich*, has been ſilent for a long time; and their Majeſties may remember, what Weight the Court of *France* laid upon their joyning the King (I mean the Nonſwearing Clergy) in caſe of a Landing: Therefore all Arts ſhould be uſed without delay, to get them to enter into a Correſpondence again, and every Impediment ought to be removed, I ſay, without Exception. And though ſometimes it is of hard digeſtion for Sovereigns, who ought to be obeyed without Reſerve, to yield to the Humours of Subjects, yet Prudence ſhould teach them, when they cannot, without injuring their Affairs, do what they would, do what they can; and remember the Fable of the Dog, who loſt the Subſtance by the Shadow. Aſſurances from the Non-Jurors, the ſoundeſt and moſt venerable Part of the *Engliſh* Church, would be of great uſe at this Time, to perſuade to undertake this great Affair; for, beſides their own Example at a Landing, and their Preaching and Writing to the People, that their Religion was in no Danger, it is moſt certain, they know better than any other can do, what the Church of *England* in general would do for the King's Service; and they being to run all the Hazard, would be better believed at the *French* Court than any other, as I found by Experience.

“ As to the Catholicks, and other Aſſociates with them, unfortunately for the King, they were thought to have too much Inclination for me, and ſo have been reckon'd as uſeleſs to the King: And I muſt beg Leave to ſay, That Undertaking was the beſt Feather in his Wing, and was moſt juſtly thought ſo by him, and the Court of *France* too, even to that degree, that they pretended, if this and the other Article concerning the Clergy, could be made appear, they would concur with the King to invade *England*: They conſiſted of ſeven Regiments of Horſe and Dragoons; their Arms, Trumpets, Kettle-Drums, Standards, *&c.* were all ready, and are yet in Surety; their Men were all liſted, and their Officers choſen, and they had Twenty Horſes to a Troop; which Troops lying at a diſtance, in a Horſe Country, Twenty Horſes would ſoon have mounted the reſt. Thoſe who could not divine the Greatneſs and Uſe of the Undertaking, blamed the Raſhneſs of it; and even ſome Churchmen have not been diſapproven, for endeavouring undutifully (becauſe contrary to the King's written Orders) to break the Deſign; but I deſire you now, for all this, to believe, that you have not ſuch another Argument to uſe to the Court of *France* as this: And if you can make it appear, as it might have been ſome Years ago, I ſhould have very good Hopes of this Summer's Work; nay, let the King have what other Hopes, even Promiſes, you pleaſe, from the Court of *France*, this is to be put into the Circumſtances it was in: For if there will ever be a Landing in *England* to purpoſe, it muſt be before they can be armed; and they cannot be armed, before the Parliament come to a Reſolution concerning the War; and, conſidering the few Troops in *England*, ſuppoſe theſe Men to be no better than Militia, what a Diverſion would it be? It is not neceſſary for me to ſay any more of this Article, till I know whether their Majeſties have as good an Opinion of this Undertaking as I have; if ſo, I ſhall ſhew what I think is to be done in it; if otherwiſe, I ſave the Pains. 1700. As to the Earl of *Arran*, it would be of great uſe to have an Underſtanding with him: He will have none where ——— can pry. His All is at ſtake, and he ought to be wary with whom he ventures to deal. I think it better for the King's Service, that the Court Party prevailed in the manner they have done in the Parliament of *Scotland*, than that the Country Party ſhould have got their Will: Oppoſition ſwells the Waters to a Flood; and ſo long as the Country Party is not diſcouraged, they gain more Ground in the Kingdom, than they loſe in the Government; ſo that the Diſaffection to the Government will increaſe; and one may judge of the Nation in general, which is of another Temper than this pretended Parliament, or rather *Presbyterian* Rabble, in repreſenting the Nation: For ſince even in it there is ſuch a Struggle againſt the Government, what would there be in a Free Parliament? Which the Prince of *Orange* durſt never hazard to call: The Nation then, at leaſt a great part of it, being diſaffected to this Government, it is of the laſt Conſequence, that the Earl of *Arran* may know what to do in caſe of an Invaſion of *England*, or in caſe he and his Friends be obliged, for Self-preſervation, to riſe in their own Defence. The Army, who are and ever were well-affected, are to be gained by Money; and a little goes a great way with them: The disbanded Troops would be engaged, and the Officers are well inclin'd: The Places of Strength would be ſecured, and ſuch as can be put in defence (without Expences) fortified: To do all this, at leaſt ſuch a part of them as can be begun with, a ſmall Sum will ſerve; and he ought to have Hopes of it, and of the Command.

“ Theſe being only Heads to be diſcourſed of, and much to be ſaid of every part, it is not to be thought, that this Letter can carry a final Concluſion; for it may be, upon Diſcourſe, I might change my Mind, or be more confirmed in it, and ſee farther. This makes me inſiſt again to you upon Two Things, as appearing to me abſolutely neceſſary to put Things upon a right Foot: The firſt is, The removing of all Impediments out of the way, and ſending all ſuſpected Perſons to *Champaign* or *Burgundy*, according to their Guilt. And the ſecond is of the laſt Uſe both to their Majeſties and the Prince; which is, The Eſtabliſhing of ſuch a Number, under no Qualification, to talk of their Affairs in their Majeſties Preſence; with whom we can freely converſe, and propoſe what may be for their Majeſties Service.

“ As for the firſt, it will be for the King's Reputation, both at the Courts of *Rome*, *France*, and with all his true Friends in *England*, for many Reaſons——As for the ſecond, it is according to Scripture; *In the Multitude of Counſellors there is Safety.* Nothing is ſo dangerous, as to determine what one will do, and then hear Reaſons againſt it, and imitate the deaf Adder, who *hearkens not to the Voice of the Charmer, let him charm never ſo ſweetly.* Reaſons againſt a Reſolution taken, offend; and the more Force they have, they offend the more; whilſt before the Reſolution be taken, Reaſon has its Effect, and the Determinations are not the Effect of Humour and Faction, but of Prudence and Juſtice. If in any thing I fail, I'll ſwear it is want of Underſtanding, and not of Will: And I beg, That their Majeſties may be perſuaded, that it is no Humour nor Va-

1700. " nity, but their Service I have in my View, " Who am,

My deareſt Brother,

Moſt Humbly Yours.

The Letter wiſely deſpiſed in both Houſes.

This Letter was alſo communicated by his Majeſty's Order to the Houſe of Lords; but neither they nor the Commons, would do it the Honour to take any particular Notice of it. Only it ſerved for the juſter Alarm, to ſecure the Government againſt the reſtleſs Endeavours of the Papiſts and *Jacobites*; and it brought in a ſeaſonable (*a*) Information, That there were great Quantities of Arms and other warlike Proviſions, made and kept concealed by Papiſts, and other diſaffected Perſons reſorting and meeting together in and about *London* and *Weſtminſter*. Upon which, his Majeſty iſſued out his Proclamation on *February* the 26th, " For all ſuch ſuſpected Perſons to repair to their reſpective Places of Abode; and for putting the Laws in Execution " againſt all Papiſts and reputed Papiſts, and all " other Offenders; who, by reaſon of their " Converſation, Diſcourſe, or other Demeanor, " ſhall be ſuſpected not to be well-affected to the " Government.

Addreſs of the Lords.

To excite a greater Caution againſt the common Enemy, the Houſe of Lords made a dutiful Addreſs to his Majeſty, wherein they declar'd, " their thankful Acknowledgments to him for " the Concern he had expreſs'd in his Speech, " for the Proteſtant Religion; and his Care for " its future Preſervation, by recommending to " their Conſideration a further Proviſion for the " Succeſſion to the Crown in the Proteſtant Line. " That they were highly ſenſible of the Weight " of thoſe Things, which his Majeſty was pleaſed " further to recommend to them; and therefore " they humbly deſired, He would be pleaſed to " order all the Treaties he had made ſince the " late War, to be laid before them, that they " might be enabled to give their mutual Advice, when they ſhould be informed of all " thoſe Matters, neceſſary to direct their Judgments. Then they humbly deſired him to " enter into Alliances with all thoſe Princes and " States, who were willing to unite for the " Preſervation of the Balance of *Europe*; and " aſſured his Majeſty, That they ſhould readily " concur in ſuch Methods, as might effectually " conduce to the Honour and Safety of *England*, " the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, " and the Peace of *Europe*. Then they humbly " return'd their further Thanks to his Majeſty " for communicating the Letter of the Lord " *Melfort*, and deſired him to ſearch and ſeize " all ſuch Perſons as were thought to be in a " Readineſs to diſturb the Government. In the " mean time, they humbly deſire, That his Majeſty would give ſuch Order for the ſpeedy " fitting out of the Fleet, as he in his great " Wiſdom ſhould think neceſſary in this Conjuncture, for the Defence of his Majeſty and " the Kingdom." His Majeſty thanked the Lords for their *Addreſs*, and for *the Concern they expreſs'd in relation to the common Security both at Home and Abroad*; and told them, *He would give the neceſſary Orders for thoſe Things they deſired of him, and take care for fitting out ſuch Ships as in that Conjuncture ſhould be neceſſary for their Common Safety.* 1700.

Proceedings of the Commons.

The Commons took pains in examining the publick Accounts, and enquiring into thoſe of the Commiſſioners of Prizes. They Reſolved on the 28th of *February*, That *John Parkhurſt*, Eſq; and *John Paſchal*, Eſq; Two of thoſe Commiſſioners, had been guilty of a Neglect of their Duty in the ſaid Office, and of a Contempt of the Act of Parliament made for the Execution of it. And therefore Ordered, That they ſhould be both committed Priſoners to the *Tower* of *London*.

Care of the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

On Conſideration of that part of his Majeſty's Speech, which related to the Succeſſion, the Commons Reſolved (3 *March*) *That for the Preſerving the Peace and Happineſs of this Kingdom, and the Security of the Proteſtant Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed, it is abſolutely neceſſary, a further Declaration be made of the Limitation and Succeſſion of the Crown, in the Proteſtant Line, after his Majeſty, and the Princeſs, and the Heirs of their Bodies reſpectively. And, that farther Proviſion be firſt made for Security of the Rights and Liberties of the People.* On March the 12th, Mr. *Conyers* Reported the further Reſolutions of the Committee appointed for that purpoſe; and the Houſe did then Agree and Reſolve, 1. That all Things relating to the well governing of this Kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy Council, ſhall be tranſacted there, and all Reſolutions taken thereupon ſhall be ſigned by the Privy Council. 2. That no Perſon whatſoever, that is not a Native of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, or the Dominions thereunto belonging; or who is not born of *Engliſh* Parents beyond the Seas (although ſuch Perſon be Naturalized or made Denizon) ſhall be capable of any Grant of Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments from the Crown, to himſelf, or any other in Truſt for him. 3. That upon the further Limitation of the Crown, in caſe the ſame ſhall

And of Rights & Liberties.

(*a*) See, 1. " By the King a Proclamation for putting in " due Execution and Publiſhing the Act made and herein " recited for the further preventing the Growth of Popery; " whereby the Sum of One hundred Pounds is order'd to be " paid by the Sheriffs of the County unto any Perſon, who " ſhall apprehend and take any Popiſh Biſhop, Prieſt, or " Jeſuite." Given at *Hampton-Court*, 22 *April*, 1700. *Reg.* 12.

2. " His Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Letter to the Reverend the Lords Biſhops of his Province, " concerning the late Act againſt Popery." Dated at *Lambeth*, *May* 9, 1700. *London*, 1700. 4°.

3. " A Letter from the Lord Biſhop of *London*, dated " 11th of *May*, 1700. communicating to the Biſhops of the " Province of *Canterbury* a Letter from his Grace the Lord " Archbiſhop, on Occaſion of the late Act for the further " preventing the Growth of Popery.

4. " Further Advice to the Clergy of the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, by *James* Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, occaſioned by a " Circular Letter of his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of " *Canterbury*, to the Biſhops of his Province, concerning " the late Act againſt Popery." Dated at *Buckden*, *May* 25, 1700. *Lond.* 4°.

5. " An Addreſs to thoſe of the *Roman* Communion, occaſioned by the late Act of Parliament, for the further " preventing the Growth of Popery." Publiſh'd *June* 20, 1700. 8°. For *M. Wotton*. [Suppos'd to be written by Dr. *Richard Willis*, now Lord Biſhop of *Glouceſter*.]

6. " An Account of the Seducing of Anne the Daughter " of Edward Kettilby of *Ludlow*, Gent. to the Popiſh " Religion. With ſome very extraordinary Paſſages relating thereto; particularly, of the groſs Prevarications and " inſolent Boldneſs of the Two Popiſh Biſhops Leyborn " and Giffard, in the Management of it. Humbly preſented to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons. *London*, 1700. Folio.

7. " A Letter of *John* Lord Biſhop of *Norwich* to his " Clergy, upon his communicating to them a Letter of the " Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, on Occaſion of the late Act " againſt Popery." Dated *Auguſt* 1, 1700. *Lond.* 4°.

8. " A Letter from the Lords Commiſſioners of Trade and " Plantations to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſignifying the great Want of ſome Miniſters of the Church of " *England*, to inſtruct the Five Nations of *Indians* on the " Frontiers of *New-York*; and to prevent their being " practis'd upon by the *French* Prieſts and Jeſuits, as of " late more-eſpecially attempted." Dated *October* 25. 1700.

here-

1700. hereafter come to any Perſon not being a Native of this Kingdom of *England*, this Nation be not obliged to engage in any War for the Defence of any Dominion or Territories not belonging to the Crown of *England*, without the Conſent of Parliament. 4. That whoſoever ſhall hereafter come to the Poſſeſſion of this Crown, ſhall join in Communion with the Church of *England*, as by Law Eſtabliſhed. 5. That no Pardon be pleadable to any Impeachment in Parliament. 6. That no Perſon who ſhall hereafter come to the Poſſeſſion of this Crown, ſhall go out of the Dominions of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, without Conſent of Parliament. 7. That no Perſon who has any Office under the King, or receives a Penſion from the Crown, ſhall be capable of ſerving as a Member of the Houſe of Commons. 8. That further Proviſion be made for the confirming of all Laws and Statutes for the ſecuring our Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of the People. 9. That Judges Commiſſions be made *Quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*, and their Salaries aſcertained and eſtabliſhed; but upon the Addreſs of either Houſe of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them. 10. That the Princeſs *Sophia*, Dutcheſs Dowager of *Hanover*, be declared the next in Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* in the Proteſtant Line, after his Majeſty and the Princeſs, and the Heirs of their Bodies reſpectively; and that the further Limitation of the Crown be to the ſaid Princeſs *Sophia*, and the Heirs of her Body, being Proteſtants. 11. That a Bill be brought in upon the ſaid Reſolutions. In this Caſe, it was obvious to obſerve, That People may come into the ſame Meaſures upon a very different View. Some, no doubt, might fall into ſuch Limitations upon a true Regard to the Security of the Church, and the Liberties of Poſterity. Others might come in with a Meaning to condemn the preſent Adminiſtration; and to provide for ſuch future Conveniencies as they ſeemed now to want. Some might think it a Step toward coming nearer to a beloved Commonwealth: And even others might imagine, that ſo to clog and embaraſs the Succeſſion, might indirectly prevent the Settlement of it.

Foreign Princes offended. This Affair was a great Subject of Diſcourſe and Alarm Abroad; thoſe Popiſh Princes, who were deſcended from the Blood-Royal of *England*, and were more nearly related to the Crown, than the Princeſs *Sophia*, were offended, at being ſtruck off from their remote Hopes and preſumptive Right. But the Perſon more immediately concern'd, as being nigheſt in Blood after the King and the Princeſs *Anne*, was the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, Daughter to the late Dutcheſs of *Orleance*, and thereby Grand-Daughter to King *Charles* I. who therefore ordered the *Savoy* Ambaſſador, Count *Maſſey*, to make a Proteſtation of her Right, to this Effect.

Proteſtation of the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*. "That *Anne* of *Orleance*, Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, &c. "Princeſs of the Blood-Royal of *England*, by the "Royal Princeſs of *Great Britain*, *Henrietta* her "Mother, put ſo high a Value upon that Prerogative, that ſhe gladly made uſe of the Opportunity that then offered, to ſet it forth before "the Eyes of the whole *Engliſh* Nation, as an "Evidence ſhe drew from thence, of having a "Right to that Auguſt Throne. That therefore "being informed, that it had been reſolved in "that Parliament, that being the only Daughter "of the late Princeſs Royal, *Henrietta* her Mother, ſhe was the next in Succeſſion after his "Majeſty *William* III. and the Princeſs *Anne* of "*Denmark*, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms "of *England*, who always preferred the neareſt to "the remoteſt Line. That her Title being thus "notoriouſly known and indiſputable, ſtood in "need of no farther Proof. However, that ſhe "thought fit to proteſt againſt all Reſolutions and "Deciſions contrary thereunto, in the beſt and "moſt effectual manner, that might be practiſed "in ſuch a Caſe; wherein ſhe complied rather "with Cuſtom, than Neceſſity; becauſe ſhe had "ſo great an Idea of the Wiſdom and Juſtice of "the King and Parliament, that ſhe had no Cauſe "to fear they would do any thing prejudicial to "her and her Children." But without taking notice of this Proteſtation, the Commons went on with the Bill of Succeſſion, and the King and his Miniſters were ſenſible of the Neceſſity of it.

The Circulation of Exchequer-Bills, to ſupply the Want of Specie Money, was very expedient at this Juncture; and therefore on *Thurſday* the 13th of *March*, his Majeſty came for this only purpoſe to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to *An Act for Renewing the Bills of Credit, commonly called Exchequer Bills.*

His Majeſty being very ſolicitous to defend the States of *Holland* from the Inſults and Approaches that were made upon them by the *French* in *Flanders*; and, if poſſible, to reſtore and preſerve a better Balance of *Europe*, was carrying on a firm Alliance Abroad againſt the Common Enemy; and therefore ſent this Meſſage, ſign'd by himſelf, deliver'd to the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, and read by the Speaker, *March* 18.

William R.

King's Meſſage to the Commons. *HIS Majeſty having directed Mr.* Stanhope, *his Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the* Hague, *to enter into Negociations in Concert with the States General of the United Provinces, and other Potentates, for the mutual Security of* England *and* Holland, *and the Preſervation of the Peace of* Europe, *according to an Addreſs of this Houſe to that Effect: And the ſaid Mr.* Stanhope *having tranſmitted to his Majeſty Copies of the Demands made by Himſelf and the Deputies of the States upon that Subject, to the* French *Ambaſſador there, his Majeſty has thought fit to communicate the ſame to you. It being his Majeſty's Gracious Intention, to acquaint you from Time to Time with the State and Progreſs of thoſe Negociations, into which he has entred purſuant to your Addreſs above-mentioned.* Kenſington *the* 17*th of* March, 1700.

Treaty of Partition. When this Meſſage was taken into Conſideration of the Commons on the 21ſt of *March*, they began with the great Obſtruction to it, the Treaty of Partition: And after reading the ſaid Meſſage, the Propoſals made to the *French* Ambaſſador by Mr. *Stanhope*, and the Reſolutions of the States General for treating with Monſieur *D'Avaux*, they Reſolved, *That the Treaty of Partition be read*; and after reading of it, they proceeded to this Reſolution, *That an Humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return the Thanks of this Houſe for his Gracious Meſſage, wherein he is pleaſed to communicate his Royal Intentions to acquaint this Houſe from Time to Time with the State and Progreſs of thoſe Negociations into which his Majeſty has entred purſuant to the Addreſs of this Houſe. And alſo to lay before his Majeſty the ill Conſequences of the Treaty of Partition (paſſed under the Great Seal of* England, *during the Sitting of Parliament, and without the Advice of the ſame) to this Kingdom and the Peace of* Europe, *whereby ſuch large Territories of the King of* Spain's *Dominions were to be delivered up to the* French *King.* When this Addreſs was preſented to the King, He did ſomewhat reſent the Unkindneſs of it; and thought there was much more

1700. more Reaſon to complain of the perfidious Breach of the Treaty, than of the Making of it. However, to decline the entring into any Defence of it, he gave this prudent Anſwer:

Gentlemen,

Addreſs and King's Anſwer. *I Am glad you are pleaſed with my communicating to you the State of the Negociations I have entred into, purſuant to your Addreſs: I ſhall continue to inform you of the Progreſs that ſhall be made in them, and be always willing to receive your Advice thereupon; being fully perſuaded, that nothing can contribute more effectually to the Happineſs of this Kingdom, and the Peace of* Europe, *than the Concurrence of the Parliament in all my Negociations, and a good Underſtanding between me and my People.*

Lords Addreſs againſt the Partition. The Houſe of Lords had before fell on this unhappy Subject of the Partition-Treaty, and repreſented their Diſlike of it to his Majeſty, in an Addreſs on *March* the 20th, to this Effect, "That they having read and conſidered the "Treaty of the 21ſt of *February*, or the 3d of "*March*, 1700. made with the *French* King, to"gether with the Separate and Secret Articles "which he had been pleaſed to communicate "to them, did moſt humbly repreſent to Him, "That to their great Sorrow, they found the "Matters thereof to have been of very ill Con"ſequence to the Peace and Safety of *Europe*; "for that, beſides the Occaſion it might have "given the late King of *Spain* to have made "his Will in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, if "that Treaty had Effect; the Prejudice to his "Majeſty and his Subjects, and indeed to all "*Europe*, by the Addition of *Sicily*, *Naples*, ſe"veral Ports of the *Mediterranean*, the Province "of *Guipuſcoa* and the Dutchy of *Lorrain*, had "been not only very great, but contrary to the "Pretence of the Treaty it ſelf, which was to "prevent any Umbrage that might have been "taken by uniting ſo many States and Domi"nions under one Head. That by all the Infor"mations they had had of that fatal Treaty, "they could not find, that the verbal Orders "and Inſtructions (if any were given to his "Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries) were ever con"ſidered in any of his Majeſty's Councils; or "that the Draught of that Treaty had ever "been laid before his Majeſty at any Meeting "of his Council, much leſs that it was adviſed "or approved of by any Council, or Commit"tee of Council: Wherefore they thought "themſelves bound in Duty to his Majeſty, and "Juſtice to their Country, moſt humbly to be"ſeech Him, that for the future he would be "pleaſed to require and admit, in all Matters "of Importance, the Advice of his Natural"born Subjects, whoſe known Probity and For"tunes might make him and his People a juſt "Aſſurance of their Fidelity to his Service; "and that in order thereunto, he would be plea"ſed to conſtitute a Council of ſuch Perſons "to whom his Majeſty might be pleaſed to im"part all Affairs, both at Home and Abroad, "which might any way concern Him and his "Dominions. For as Intereſt and Natural Af"fection to their Country, would incline them "to wiſh the Welfare and Proſperity of it much "more than others, who had no ſuch Ties upon "them; and as their Experience and Know"ledge of their Country, would alſo render "them more capable than Strangers, of advi"ſing his Majeſty in the true Intereſts of it; "ſo they were confident, that after ſuch large "and repeated Demonſtrations of his Subjects "Duty and Affection, his Majeſty could not "doubt of their Zeal in his Service, nor want 1700. "the Knowledge of Perſons fit to be employed "in all his moſt Secret and Arduous Affairs. "And that ſince it appeared the *French* King's "accepting of the King of *Spain*'s Will, was a "manifeſt Violation of that Treaty, they hum"bly adviſed his Majeſty in future Treaties with "that Prince, to proceed with ſuch Caution, as "might carry a real Security."

His Majeſty having received the Lords Addreſs, anſwered, *It contain'd Matters of very great Moment; and that he would always take care, that all Treaties he made, ſhould be for the Honour and Safety of* England.

Before this Addreſs was actually preſented, a Debate for Concurrence of the Commons Motion was made to ſend to the Commons for their Concurrence; and theſe Reaſons were urg'd for it by ſome of the Lords, "That the laſt "Clauſe in the Addreſs did neceſſarily imply a "War, and that a very long one, by Reaſon of "the Extent (unintelligible at leaſt to them) "of a *real Security*, and the great Improbability "of obtaining any Terms of that kind; and "ſince that neceſſarily implied great Supplies, "which could not be granted without the Com"mons, they look'd upon their Concurrence in "the Addreſs to be abſolutely neceſſary; and "that it was improper for them to deſire that of "the King, which, for want of ſuch Concur"rence of the Commons, they conceived, his "Majeſty would not think fit or prudent for him "to grant them. That they were of Opinion, "all the other parts of the Addreſs, were very fit "to be communicated to the Commons; for up"on the Succeſs of it depended the future Hap"pineſs of the Nation: And as they could not "doubt of the Commons Readineſs to join in any "proper Meaſures towards it, ſo they thought "their Concurrence therein would highly con"tribute towards the obtaining of a Gracious An"ſwer from his Majeſty; and they could not "but think it reaſonable, that the Advice of the "whole Nation aſſembled in Parliament ſhould "be made known to the King upon ſuch an Oc"caſion.

"It was urged farther, That their Lordſhips "having deſired the Commons to permit Mr. Se"cretary *Vernon*, a Member of their Houſe, to "come to a Committee of Lords, in order to "be informed by him of ſome Matters relating "to the Treaty of Partition, they apprehended "that the Commons might think it extraordi"nary, and not ſuitable to the good Correſpon"dence which was highly neceſſary between the "Two Houſes, not to acquaint them with the "Things which had come to their Knowledge, "partly by the Information of their own Mem"bers: And that having been otherwiſe infor"med of ſome Tranſactions relating to that "Treaty, between the Earl of *Portland*, and "Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, by Letters, of which "they had not received a full Account, they "thought it might be very uſeful to the Publick, "to communicate that Addreſs to the Commons, "who had a better Opportunity than their "Lordſhips, of enquiring into that Matter, "which ſeem'd to be yet in the Dark, and which "their own Members might help to explain to "them.

But the major part of the Lords were againſt the communicating of this Addreſs to the Commons, and left them to make a like ſeparate Addreſs, for a double Regret to his Majeſty.

Honours. The King had been pleaſed on *December* the 30th to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *John Meres*, Eſq; eldeſt Son of Sir *Thomas Meres*; and

1700. and on *February* the 2d, to confer the Dignity of a Baronet of this Kingdom upon *Nicholas Vanacker* of *London*, Eſq; and before the ſitting of the Parliament, His Majeſty had writ this Letter of Congratulation to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, upon his taking the Title and Prerogatives of King of *Pruſſia*.

Letter to the King of *Pruſſia*. "*William* the Third, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* to the moſt Illuſtrious, and moſt Potent Lord, the Lord *Frederick*, by the like Grace of God, King of *Pruſſia*, Margrave of *Brandenburgh*, Arch-Chamberlain of the Holy Empire, and Elector of *Magdenburgh*, &c. our loving Brother, Kinſman, and faithful Ally and Friend, all Health and Happineſs.

"So ſoon as we underſtood by your Majeſty's Letter of the 18th Inſtant, dated at *Coningſburgh*, that you had taken to your ſelf the Royal Name, Title and Dignity, which your Predeceſſors have enjoy'd in the Dutchy of *Pruſſia* for an incredible many Years, and which we have thought you worthy to bear long ago; becauſe you are fully endowed with extraordinary Royal Virtues and Magnificence: Therefore the Notification thereof has been the more joyful and acceptable to us, as well for all theſe Reaſons, as becauſe of the nearneſs of Blood; and the inward Affection which we have, both to your Majeſty's High Perſon, and to your whole Illuſtrious Family, can work nothing elſe in us, than that whatever Succeſſes and Pleaſures your Majeſty may meet with, ſhall likewiſe cauſe great Joy to us. This our Joy is the greater, becauſe your Majeſty has been pleaſed to communicate this your Joy unto us, even in the very Beginning of your Royal Dignity; and as the ſame is moſt highly acceptable to us, ſo we ſhall let no Opportunity ſlip, of teſtifying by our Actions, how highly we eſteem you; and that ſo much the more, becauſe the preſent Juncture of Affairs requires a ſtrict Confidence in the Minds and Unity in Council, together with a mutual good Underſtanding. We further wiſh, that as the Almighty God hath raiſed in your Majeſty's High Perſon, a new Star in the Northern Parts of the Earth, he will alſo grace you with a new Light; and that this our Wiſh may be the more powerful in it ſelf, we recommend you ever to the Mercy of God."

Given at our Court of Kenſington, *the 13th of* January, O. S. *in the Year* 1701, *and Twelfth of our Reign.*

State of Religion. In the View of Religion this Year (*a*), we ought to condole the Unhappy Diſpute that now began, about the Form and Manner of holding a Convocation. For the occaſion of this Conteſt, we muſt go back to the latter End of the Reign of King *James* II. when our Biſhops and Clergy being ſadly ſenſible, that the Papiſts hop'd to compaſs their Deſigns, by dividing of Proteſtants, began to apply friendly to their Diſſenting Brethren; and to invite them with more Tenderneſs into the Boſom of the Church, they offered at ſome Healing Methods; and to teſtify their Sincerity in it, they made a Publick Declaration to that Prince, that *They were willing to come to ſuch a Temper*. But as that Prince, conſidering his Deſigns, had no Reaſon to deſire it; ſo His Unhappy Reign gave no Leiſure to effect it. When the Revolution had Sav'd all our Rights and Liberties, every Body then remembred how Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, and other Prelates, with the moſt Eminent Divines (eſpecially of *London*) had been engag'd in ſome amicable Deſigns, which they hoped the preſent Juncture might facilitate and bring to Perfection. To this deſirable End, Their Majeſties in the Firſt Year of Their Reign, did commiſſionate the moſt Learned of the Biſhops, and others of the Chief Clergy, to prepare for a Convocation, ſuch Improvements and Alterations in our Liturgy and Canons, as they ſhould judge Expedient for the Edification and good Government of the Church, and for reconciling the more reaſonable Diſſenters. The Commiſſioners labour'd in this excellent Work with great Judgment, Temper and Application; and had prepared ſuch a modeſt Plan of Union, as very well deſerved the Conſideration of the Prelates and Clergy Synodically Aſſembled, before whom it was to be laid, and ſubmitted to their Debates and Deciſions, to be afterward confirm'd by King and Parliament. But in the mean Time, an Opinion was induſtriouſly propagated among the Clergy, that the Deſign of Reconciling was only to overthrow the Eſtabliſh'd Church. Hence, upon the opening of that Convocation in 1689. the Majority of the Clergy were prejudic'd againſt any Accommodation to be had with the Diſſenters: and choſe a Prolocutor on purpoſe to oppoſe it; ſo as the Biſhop of *London*, then Preſident of the Convocation, could do nothing in that matter, but connive at their treating of him with ſome Indignity, which he did not deſerve from them.

[Right margin: 1700. — Diſputes in Convocation. — Beginning of this unhappy Controverſy.]

The Majority of the Lower Houſe having thus publickly declared their Averſion to the Scheme intended to be laid before them, without ſignifying their deſire to enter upon any other Buſineſs; and rather expreſſing their Reſolution to do nothing: His Majeſty (according to the Practice of King *Charles* II.) order'd this Convocation prorogu'd.

(*a*) For the good Deſign of promoting the Reformation of Manners, ſee, 1. "The Preſentment of the Grand Jury for the City of *London*, at *Juſtice Hall* in the *Old Baily*, for Carrying on the Reformation of Manners, and moving that no Play-Houſe Bills may be poſted up within the City," 16 *May*, 1700.

2. "Order of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London* againſt Interludes, Stage-Plays, Comedies, Gaming Places, Lotteries, Diſorderly Muſick Meetings, *&c.* during the Time of *Bartholomew Fair*, in order to the better Suppreſſion of Prophaneneſs, Vice and Debauchery." Dated 25 *June*, 1700.

3. "A Short Account of the ſeveral Kinds of Societies ſet up of late Years for carrying on the Reformation of Manners, and for the Propagation of Chriſtian Knowledge." *Feb.* 1700.

4. "The Biſhop of *London*'s Eleventh Conference with his Clergy, held in the Years 1699, and 1700. upon the King's Proclamation for preventing Immorality and Prophaneneſs, with Copies of, 1. The Act for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of prophane Curſing and Swearing. 2. An Act for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of Blaſphemy and Prophaneneſs. 3. The King's Proclamation for preventing and puniſhing Immorality and Prophaneneſs." *London*, by *Ben. Motte*, 4to.

5. "A Liſt of the Names of the ſeveral Clergymen who intend to ſupply the Lecture, or Courſe of Preaching at ſeveral Places within the County of *Cheſter*, on the 4th *Tueſday* of each Month, in purſuance of his Majeſty's Proclamation to ſuppreſs Prophaneneſs and Immorality." And licenſed by *Nickolas* Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*. Printed 1700.

6. "A Sermon preached at the Church of St. *Mary le Bow* to the Societies for Reformation of Manners, *January* 1. 1700. by *John Mapletoft*, D. D. Miniſter of St. *Lawrence Jewry* in *London*, for *B. Aylmer*, 1700. 4to.

7. "An Account of the Progreſs of the Reformation of Manners in *England* and *Ireland*. In a Letter to a Friend." *London*, 1701. 4*to*.

8. "Order of the Juſtices at the General Seſſions for the County of *Middleſex*, 3 *March*, 1700. for making frequent Searches after all ſuch as keep diſorderly Houſes, and all prophane Swearers and Drunkards, *&c.* and declaring that no Conſtable ſhall be a Victualler or Ale Houſe-Keeper." Printed Sheet, 1701.

1700. Convocation to be regularly prorogued. And in every other Seſſion of Parliament, a Convocation was ſummon'd and in being with it, which for want of proper Buſineſs was continued and prorogu'd by the Preſident, and left always in a Capacity and Readineſs to come together, upon any Exigence of Church or State that required their Counſel or Aſſiſtance; though no ſuch Exigence did happen for ſeveral Years together. But what was thus deſign'd for the Eaſe of the Clergy, in not obliging them to a fruitleſs and expenſive Attendance, when there was no occaſion to juſtify their Abſence from the Duty of their Cures; did by degrees give a Handle of Complaint, as if they were debarr'd from the Rights and Liberties of meeting and acting in Convocation.

Murmurs and Diſcontents of the Clergy.

Theſe Murmurs of Reſtraint and Hardſhip were privately fomented among thoſe of the Clergy who were Non-Jurors (*a*); and among thoſe who complied with the Government, without ſatisfying their own Expectations in it. Theſe Diſcontents did unhappily move the Lower Clergy to raiſe new Diſputes of Privilege and Independence on the Archbiſhop and Biſhops in Convocation; and to labour to bring themſelves to be ſuch a Spiritual Houſe of Commons (*b*), as, if their Pretenſions could prevail, would very much endanger the Peace of Church and State. Under this diſpoſition, the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, by the Archbiſhop's Mandate in purſuance of the King's Writ, met in the Church of St. *Paul*, *London*, on *Monday*, *February* the 10*th*; where after the Litany in the *Latin* Tongue, and an eloquent Sermon in the ſame Language, deliver'd by Dr. *Hayley* Dean of *Chichester*, and the Hymn Sung, *O pray for the Peace of Jeruſalem*, &c. The Archbiſhop, followed by his Suffragans, went out of the Choir, and proceeded to the Chapter Houſe; where after reading the Royal Writ, and the Certificatory of the Biſhop of *London* for executing the Archiepiſcopal Mandate; his Grace in a *Latin* Speech admoniſhed the Lower Clergy then preſent, to retire and chuſe a Prolocutor, and preſent him on *Friday* the 21*ſt* Inſtant. They elected Dr. *Hooper* Dean of *Canterbury*, who on the ſaid appointed Day was preſented to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops by Dr. *Jane* Dean of *Glouceſter*, and was approved and confirmed in uſual manner. In the next Seſſion, *February* the 25*th*. when the Archbiſhop's Schedule of Prorogation was brought down to the Lower Houſe, which was legally to determine every Seſſion, in Contempt of it they continued ſitting, and proceeded in ſome Debates of no Moment; after which, the Prolocutor intimated an Adjournment by conſent of the Houſe to meet again in *Henry* VII's Chapel, inſtead of the Prorogation to meet in the *Jeruſalem Chamber* as by the Schedule, which expreſly included the whole Body of the Convocation, and left no pretence to ſeparate Adjournments in either Houſe. The Archbiſhop, and a far greater part of his Suffragans, look'd on this Proceeding of the Lower Houſe as a Declaration of ſetting up for a ſeparate Intereſt and Power, that would break the Union of a Provincial Synod, and prevent the good Correſpondence of both Houſes, and ſo fruſtrate the common Methods of doing any Buſineſs. Hence in the Fourth Seſſion, *February* the 28*th*. the Prolocutor and Clergy did not attend his Grace and their Lordſhips in the Synodical Place, the *Jeruſalem*-Chamber; which was interpreted to be a ſecond Contempt of the Authority of the Preſident, and the Obligation of his Inſtrument, the Schedule proroguing and continuing the whole Body of Prelates and Clergy. 1700.

Opening of the Convocation.

So the Archbiſhop ſent for the Prolocutor, and with conſent of his Brethren put theſe Two Queſtions to Him, 1. *Whether the Lower Houſe of Convocation did ſit, after they were prorogued by his Grace on the* 25*th Day of this Inſtant Month* February? 2. *Whether they did meet this Morning, without attending in this Place, to which they were prorogued?* Upon ſome Diſcourſe concerning theſe Queſtions, the Prolocutor ſaid, *That the Lower Houſe was preparing ſomewhat to lay before his Grace and the Upper Houſe, concerning the Methods of Prorogation, and ſome other Things of Form.* His Grace anſwer'd, That *he and his Brethren were ready to receive whatſoever ſhould be offer'd by them, and would conſider of it, and do upon it what ſhould appear to them to be juſt and right: But in the mean time he and his Brethren thought fit to continue the uſual Practice.*

Accordingly, that the Phraſe of proroguing in *hunc locum* might admit of no Diſpute, it was in the Schedule of the Day expreſly ſpecified, in *hunc locum, vulgo vocat. Jeruſalem Chamber*; to which the Lower Houſe ſubmitted with a *Salvo Jure*; and at the next Seſſion, *March* the 6*th*. the Prolocutor, accompanied with ſeveral Members, paid Attendance upon his Grace and their Lordſhips in *Jeruſalem* Chamber, according to the Form of the laſt Schedule; and being ſoon diſmiſt went to their own Houſe; from whence in a little time they carried up this Report of a Committee appointed to ſearch the Convocation-Books for Directions concerning the Prorogations of this Houſe, made on *Thurſday* the Sixth Day of *March*, 1700.

Firſt, We find that the common Uſage of this Houſe has been to continue ſitting, till the Prolocutor did prorogue or adjourn, or intimate the Adjournment or Prorogation thereof, either perſonally, or by ſome Member of this Houſe thereunto deputed by him: And in both theſe Caſes (as we conceive) with the conſent of this Houſe. And we alſo find by ſome Inſtances, that this Houſe did not always prorogue and adjourn to the ſame Day with the Upper Houſe.

Secondly, We find the like common Uſage by this Houſe to have been, that when in the Upper Houſe the Convocation was prorogued or adjourned by

Adjournments by the Prolocutor perſonally.
Seſſ. 3, 4, 6, 9, 11. *A.D.* 1586.
Seſſ. May 8. 1640. *Lower Houſe Book.*
Seſſ. Nov. 28. 1640. *ib.*
Seſſ. March 21. 1677. *and Apr.* 17. 1679. *ib.*

By Deputy.
Seſſ. 7. *Nov.* 23. 1586. *ib.*
Seſſ. 10. *ib. May* 2. 1640. *ib.*

With Conſent of the Houſe.
Seſſ. May 2. 1640. *ib. Seſſ. prox. ib.*
Convocat. incept. Nov. 4. 1640. *ib.*

Intimations.
Convocat. 1586, 1588. *paſſim.*
Minute Book 1661. *paſſim.*

To a different Day.
Seſſ. May 5. 1640. *both Books Collated. Seſſ.* 12. *Dec.* 9. 1640. *both Books Collated ut ſupra.*

(*a*) One main Reaſon of the Diſguſt of the Clergy, not yet diſtinguiſh'd and dignified according to their Hopes, was the King's granting a Commiſſion to the Archbiſhops, and certain Biſhops, for the diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſtical Preferments in the Gift of the Crown, which His Majeſty meant for the Honour of the Church, and the ſtricter Regard to the Merit of the Perſons. But they who thought themſelves neglected, ſet up themſelves for the better Church-Men, and were the more angry with theſe that were preferr'd. The Commiſſion bearing Teſts at *Weſtminſter* 9th, of *May*, *Reg.* 12. *Anno* 1700. did nominate and appoint *Thomas* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *John* Lord Archbiſhop of *York*, *Gilbert* Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*, *William* Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Simon* Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, and *John* Lord Biſhop of *Norwich*, to be his Majeſty's Commiſſioners for diſpoſing all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, &c.

(*b*) See a Paper convey'd to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* by the Hands of Mr. *Tyllot*, Regiſtrar, to urge the Execution of the Premunientes Writ in the Call to Convocation, dated *Decemb.* 4. 1700.

the

1700.

In hunc Locum.
Seſſ. 2. *Upper Houſe Book Collated with Seſſ.* 3. *Lower Houſe Book, Apr.* 17. *and* 23. 1640.

the Words *in hunc locum*, this Houſe did meet apart from the ſame, at the ſame particular Place where it ſat laſt. And when the Convocation was prorogued or adjourn'd to ſome other General Place, *viz.* St. *Paul*'s and *Lambeth*, then alſo this Houſe did aſſemble in a ſeparate Place diſtinctly from their Lordſhips. And farther we find no footſteps of Evidence to conclude, that it was ever the Practice of this Houſe to attend their Lordſhips before this Houſe did meet and ſit purſuant to their former Adjournment. But when this Houſe hath firſt met and ſat, it hath been the conſtant Practice to attend their Lordſhips with Buſineſs of their own Motion, or when they were called up to their Lordſhips by a ſpecial Meſſenger.

St. *Paul*'s and *Lambeth*.
Seſſ. 10. 1586. *Seſſ.* 8, 9. 1588.

Houſe went up.
Seſſ. 11. 1586. *Seſſ.* 4. *March* 4. 1586.
Seſſ. 8. 1588.

Houſe called up.
Seſſ. 1, 2, 3, 6, 9. *in Feb.* 1586.
Seſſ. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12. *in* 1588.
Seſſ. June 13. 1662.

The Archbiſhop and his Brethren thought it their Right to expect, and to receive a direct Anſwer, in Matters of Fact, to the Two Queſtions propoſed to the Prolocutor; and wonder'd to find no Notice taken of them. However, his Grace, with conſent of his Brethren, order'd this Paper to be read, though it was intitled, *A Report of the Committee*, and did not run, as it ſhould have done, in the Name of the *Houſe*; and then referr'd the Examination of it to a Committee of Biſhops. In the mean while, his Grace deliver'd to the Prolocutor, the Form of an *Humble Addreſs to His Majeſty*, and propoſed to him the Conſent of the Lower Houſe, which was given with no Amendment, only they propoſed that it might be *Reformed Churches* inſtead of *Reformed Religion*; and with the Alteration of that Word, it was preſented to His Majeſty at *Kenſington* on *Monday March* the 10*th*, by the Archbiſhop in the Name of himſelf, his Suffragans, and the reſt of the Clergy.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

Addreſs of Convocation.

"WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and " Loyal Subjects, the Archbiſhops and " Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy of the " Province of *Canterbury*, being in Obedience " to Your Majeſty's Summons aſſembled in Con" vocation, do take this Opportunity to preſent " our humble Thanks to Your Majeſty, for the " conſtant Protection and Favour which the Church " of *England*, by Law Eſtabliſhed, has received " from You ever ſince Your happy Acceſſion to " the Crown.

" We do alſo thankfully Acknowledge Your " Majeſty's pious Concern for the Reformed " Churches in General; beſeeching Almighty " God, that as He hath made Your Majeſty His " chief Inſtrument in the Preſervation of them " hitherto, ſo He would ſtill bleſs Your Majeſty's " Endeavours for their farther Security againſt " the imminent Dangers wherewith they are " threatned at this Time (*a*).

" And we humbly crave leave to give Your " Majeſty all poſſible Aſſurance of our ſtedfaſt " Fidelity and Affection to Your Sacred Perſon " and Government, which we ſhall always teſtify, by maintaining the Supremacy " as Eſtabliſh'd by the Laws of this Realm, " and the Articles and Canons of our Church; " by promoting true Religion and Loyalty " among Your People committed to our " Charge; and by our earneſt Prayers to God " for Your Majeſty's long Life and proſperous " Reign over us.

To which His Majeſty was pleaſed to return the following moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords, and the reſt of the Clergy,

"I Am very well pleaſed with the Affecti" onate Senſe you expreſs of the conſtant " Protection I have ſhewn to the Church of *England* " as by Law Eſtabliſhed. I aſſure you I " ſhall always continue to deſerve your Thanks " in this Particular.

" Your good Will to the Reform'd Churches " Abroad, and Tenderneſs for ſuch of them " as may be in Danger, is alſo very agreeable " to me.

" I likewiſe thank you for your Promiſes of " maintaining my Supremacy according to " Law, beyond which I will never extend it. " I never doubted of the Fidelity and Loyalty " of the Church of *England* to me.

" I make no queſtion of your zealous Endeavours " to promote Religion, Virtue and " Piety among the People committed to your " Charge. And I ſhall be ever ready to contribute " what is proper to be done on my Part, " to make your good Intentions in that kind " more ſucceſsful, as being the great Concern " of us all.

(*a*) The Quakers were the Party who with moſt Reaſon were ſuſpected of having, at leaſt, ſome Leaders among them, who were to manage them in promoting the Popiſh Intereſt. See,

1. " The Quakers Prophecy of the dreadful and utter " Deſtruction of all the Miniſters of the Church of " *England*. Collected out of their Writings." Printed by *J. Nutt*, 1700.

2. " Some Reaſons why *Robert Bridgman* and his Wife, " and ſome others, in *Huntingdonſhire*, have left the Qua" kers, and have join'd in Communion with the Church " of *England*. With ſome Letters between *George White*" *head*, &c. 16 *April*, 1700." By *Robert Bridgman*, *London*, 1700. 4to.

3. " A Certificate, or Teſtimonial, given by Dr *James* " *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, directed to the Clergy of his " Dioceſe, concerning the uſeful Writings, and great Ex" pences and Trouble of *Francis Bugg*, in confuting the " Errors of the Quakers. Dated *May* 24, 1700." Printed 1700. 4*to*.

4. " A Relation given from the Mouth of the Reverend " Mr. *Battle*, Sub-Dean of the Royal Chapel, on the 2d of " *July*, 1700. declaring that in 1677. he was at *Rome*, " and was there informed, and fully ſatisfy'd, that *Wil*" *liam Penn* in *England*, kept a Correſpondence by Let" ters with the Jeſuits at *Rome*, and had weekly Packets " ſent to and from him; with other Authorities, imply" ing *William Penn* to be a Papiſt, and probably in Or" ders from the See of *Rome*.". Publiſh'd by *Francis Bugg*, 1700.

5. " A Serious Call to the Quakers, inviting them to " return to Chriſtianity, ſetting forth their Vile and Mon" ſtrous Doctrines. Collected out of their own Books, " atteſted by Eight Miniſters of the Church of *England*, " viz. Dr. *Iſham*, Dr. *Wincop*, Dr. *Bedford*, Mr. *Altham*, " Mr. *Bradford*, Mr. *Whitfield*, Mr. *Butler*, and Mr. *Adams*.", Large printed Sheet, 1700.

6. " A Sermon preached at St. *Olave Southwark*, *Sep*" *tember* 8, 1700. By *John Haſlewood*, D. D. Rector " of Saint *Olave*'s *Southwark*, occaſioned by the Recanta" tion of Dr. *John Spire*, lately a Quaker: With a Copy " of the ſaid Retractation and Confeſſion, entitled, Dr. " *John Spire*'s Oration at the Pariſh Church of Saint " *Olave Southwark*, *September* 8. 1700." *London*, 1700. Quarto.

1700.

In the next Seſſion, *Thurſday* the 20th of *March*, the Prolocutor brought up this *Humble Repreſentation of the Lower Houſe of Convocation to the moſt Reverend his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and the Right Reverend the Biſhops his Suffragans of the Upper Houſe, praying their Lordſhips Concurrence with theſe Reſolutions hereunto annexed (which have been unanimouſly agreed to by the Lower Houſe) together with their Advice and Directions, what effectual Courſes may be taken to ſuppreſs the Book mentioned in the ſaid Reſolutions, and all other pernicious Books already written againſt the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion; and to prevent the Publication of the like for the future.*

Repreſentation of the Lower Houſe.

The Report of the Committee appointed for the Examination of Books lately publiſhed againſt the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, as to part of the Matter to them referred, made on Thurſday *the* 20th *Day of* March, *in the Year of our Lord* Juxta, &c. 1700, *as follows,* viz.

"Upon the Peruſal of the Book and Schedule "hereunto annex'd, laid before this Committee "by Mr. Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, on *Tueſday* "the 11th Day of this Inſtant *March*, this Com"mittee came to the following Reſolutions "(*Nemine Contradicente*) hereupon, *viz.*

Reſolved Firſt,

"That in the Judgment of this Committee, "the ſaid Book is a Book of pernicious Principles, "of dangerous Conſequence to the Chriſtian Re"ligion, written on a Deſign (as we conceive) "and tending to ſubvert the fundamental Articles "of Chriſtian Faith.

Reſolved Secondly,

"That in the Judgment of this Committee, "the Poſitions extracted out of the ſaid Book, "and therewith hereunto annex'd, are, together "with divers others of the like Nature therein "contained, pernicious, dangerous, and ſcanda"lous Poſitions, and deſtructive of the Chriſtian "Faith.

Reſolved Thirdly,

"That to prevent the Growth of theſe and the "like pernicious Principles, it is the Opinion of "this Committee, That ſome ſpeedy Courſe "ought to be taken for ſuppreſſing this and all "other Books of the like miſchievous Nature "and Tendency.

Reſolved Fourthly,

"That in order thereunto, it is alſo the Opi"nion of this Committee, That an Humble Re"preſentation of the Premiſes be forthwith laid "by this Houſe before the Lords the Biſhops of "the Upper Houſe, praying their Lordſhips Con"currence with theſe Reſolutions; together with "their Advice and Directions, what effectual "Courſe may be taken, to ſuppreſs theſe and all "other pernicious Books already written againſt "the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, and to "prevent the Publication of the like for the "future.

1700.

A Schedule of Poſitions extracted out of the Book herewith annex'd, entitled, Chriſtianity not myſterious, *and bearing the Name of* J. Toland; *Printed at* London, *in* October, Anno Dom. 1696. In which the Author expreſly ſays as follows.

Pag. 80. *Sect.* 14. *he ſaith*;

Poſ. 1. "I conclude, That neither God himſelf, "nor any of his Attributes, are myſterious to us, "for want of adequate Idea.

Pag. 107. *Sect.* 34. *he ſaith*;

Poſ. 2. "No doubt on't, as far as any Church "allows of Myſteries, ſo far it is Anti-Chriſtian, "and may, with a great deal of Juſtice, though "little Honour, claim Kindred with the Scarlet "Whore.

Pag. 134. *Sect.* 60. *he ſaith*;

Poſ. 3. "To ſpeak freely, Contradiction and "Myſtery are but Two emphatical Ways of ſay"ing nothing.

Pag. 39. *Sect.* 36. *he ſaith*;

Poſ. 4. "It evidently follows (i. e. *from his Ob"ſervations*) That Faith is ſo far from being an "implicit Aſſent to any thing above Reaſon, that "this Notion contradicts the Ends of Religion, "the Nature of Man, and the Goodneſs and Wiſ"dom of God.

Pag. 162. *Sect.* 19.

Poſ. 5. "*Having drawn a Parallel of the Ancient "Heathen, and, as he calls them, new-coin'd "Chriſtian Myſteries, he ſaith*——

"I could draw out this Parallel much larger, "but here is enough to ſhew how Chriſtianity "became myſterious, and how ſo Divine an In"ſtitution did, through the Craft and Ambition "of Prieſts and Philoſophers, derogate into meer "Paganiſm.

In the following Seſſion, held *Saturday, March* 22. the Archbiſhop produced a certain printed Book, entitled, *Eſſays upon the Balance of Power*; and after the reading of a certain Paragraph in the 40th Page, the ſaid Preſident and his Suffragans agreed, that the following Paper ſhould be fix'd over ſeveral Doors in *Weſtminſter-Abby.*

March 22. 1700.

Whereas this Day a Book entitled, *Eſſays upon* I. *The Balance of Power.* II. *The Right of making War, Peace, and Alliances.* III. *Univerſal Monarchy, &c.* was brought into the *Jeruſalem Chamber*, where his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the reſt of the Suffragan Biſhops of his Province were aſſembled in Convocation: In the 40th Page of which Book are theſe Words (*a*); *Are not a great many of us able to* point out *to ſeveral Perſons, whom nothing has recommended to Places of higheſt Truſt, and often to* Rich BENEFICES *and* DIGNITIES, *but the open Enmity which they have almoſt from their Cradles, profeſt to the Divinity of Chriſt:*

It is deſired by the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops, That the Author himſelf, whoever he be, or any one of the *great many* to whom he refers, would *point out to* the particular Perſons, whom *he* or *they* know to be liable to that Charge, that they may be proceeded againſt in a Judicial Way; which will be eſteemed a great Service to the Church: Otherwiſe, the above-mentioned Paſſage muſt be look'd upon as a PUBLICK SCANDAL.

THO. TILLOTT.

(*a*) This was a part of the ill-natur'd Spirit now moving on the Top of the Church, to point out the Biſhops and Divines beſt affected to the Peace of the Government in Church and State, as *Socinians*, or any other kind of Hereticks. But no Proof was made by Dr. *Davenant*, or any one who ſuggeſted this Scandal to him.

We

1701. *Proceedings in Parliament,*

We left the Two Houſes Debating, or rather Declaiming on the Treaty of Partition. When the Motion of it began in the Houſe of Peers, many of the Lords directly charg'd it upon the Earl of *Portland*. His Lordſhip excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, That the Duke of *L*——, the Earls of *P*——, *J*——, and *M*——, the Lords *S*——, *L*——, and *H*——, and Mr. *Vernon*, had their Share in that Negotiation, as well as himſelf: Whereupon the Peers whom his Lordſhip had named, did readily acknowledge, That they had indeed ſeen the rough Draught of the Treaty; but that the Earl of *Portland* had drawn it up himſelf in *French*; and as for their part, they had neither given nor refuſed their Conſent to it; becauſe the Treaty was never communicated to the Privy-Council. Upon this Occaſion, ſome Peers had ſpoke very reflectingly of the King of *France*; the Earl of *R* took them up, and ſaid, *That all Men ought to ſpeak reſpectfully of Crown'd Heads; and that this Duty was more particularly incumbent on the Peers of a Kingdom, who derived all their Honour and Luſtre from the Crown.* This was back'd by another Earl, who ſaid, *That the King of* France *was not only to be Reſpected, but likewiſe to be Feared.* To whom another Member of that illuſtrious Aſſembly replied, that *He hoped no Man in* England *needed to be afraid of the* French *King; much leſs the Peer who ſpoke laſt, who he doubted was too much a Friend to that Monarch, to fear any thing from Him.* And in the Houſe of Commons, they talked over this Matter with more extraordinary Warmth; and ſome Members gave themſelves a Looſe in reflecting upon (a) His Majeſty, beyond all the Bounds of Duty and Decency; intimating, *How* the Combination for dividing another Man's Kingdom, might be compared to an Action on the High-way; with ſome other Expreſſions too groſs to be related.

About the Treaty of Partition.

Memorial of Mr. Stanhope at the Hague.

In the mean time, Mr. *Stanhope*, his Majeſty's Envoy at the *Hague*, delivered in a Memorial to the *French* Ambaſſador the Count *d' Avaux*, importing, That the King his Maſter, and the States General, having on the 25th of *March*, 1700. concluded a Treaty of Partition with the *French*, to prevent a New War, which they had all the Reaſon to fear, in caſe the King of *Spain* died without Iſſue. And that among other things, the principal Aim of the Contractors was to preſerve Peace, and particularly in thoſe Parts: But the *French* King had found it convenient to accept the Will of the late King of *Spain*, and ſo to depart entirely from the Partition agreed upon: However, the King of *England* ought not to loſe the Effect of that Treaty, which was the General Peace and Tranquility, and his own particular Security; for which he muſt demand an Equivalent to Himſelf and the States, in theſe following Articles.

I. That for preſerving the Peace and General Tranquility, wherein conſiſted a great part of the particular Security of the King of *Great Britain's* Kingdoms; the Emperor ſhould be invited to enter into the Negotiation, and reaſonable Content and Satisfaction given him upon his Pretenſions to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, which the Partition Treaty had regulated; and that the Emperor ſhould be admitted and included in the Treaty the King of *England* and States ſhould make with the *French* King and Crown of *Spain*.

II. That the *French* King, by a ſhort and limited Time ſhould withdraw all his Troops out of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and ſend no more thither for the future; but that the ſame ſhould be Gariſon'd by the Troops of *Walloons*, or of the *Netherlands*, ſubject to *Spain*, except in the Places reſerved for Security; but that it ſhould be lawful for *England* and *Holland* to ſend their Forces for the Defence of the *Netherlands*, when lawfully requir'd. 1701.

III. That for the particular Security of *England*, *Oſtend* and *Newport*, with all their Forts, Fortifications, &c. ſhould be guarded only by *Engliſh* Troops.

IV. That the King of *England* might augment, leſſen, or change the ſaid Garriſons as he pleaſed, and ſend thither what Ammunition, Proviſion, Arms and Materials for Fortifications he thought fit.

V. That his Majeſty ſhould have full Power over the ſaid Places, yet without Prejudice to the Rights and Revenues of the Crown of *Spain*.

VI. That he ſhould be free to repair or improve the Fortifications, as he judged moſt convenient.

VII. That no Places or Provinces belonging any where to *Spain*, ſhould be any way alienated or given away to *France*, or ſubmitted to the Power of the *French* King.

VIII. That the King of *England's* Subjects ſhould have the ſame Privileges and Immunities within the *Spaniſh* Dominions, as well in as out of *Europe*, as before the King of *Spain's* Death, except otherwiſe agreed on by a Treaty.

IX. That all the Treaties of Peace and Trade between *England* and *Spain*, ſhould be renew'd.

X. That the *Engliſh* Subjects ſhould be upon the ſame Foot, in reſpect to Privilege of Trade, as the *French*, in any of the *Spaniſh* Dominions.

XI. That *France* and *Spain* ſhould ſolemnly engage to obſerve theſe Points.

XII. That the Treaty to be made upon this Occaſion, ſhould have the Guarantee of the Potentates deſired by the Contractors.

This Memorial was the ſame Day ſeconded by another from the *Dutch*, much in the ſame Terms; only inſtead of *Newport* and *Oſtend*, which the King of *England* demanded, the States required to have the Cities and Fortreſſes of *Venlo*, *Ruremond*, *Stevenwaerds*, *Luxemburgh*, *Namur*, *Charleroy*, *Mons*, *Dendermond*, *Damme*, and St. *Denys*, with all their Appurtenances. But the *French* Ambaſſador was inſtructed by his Maſter, and ſupported by an Army, to give no other Anſwer, but a Pretence of keeping to the Peace of *Ryſwick*, though the *French* Seizure of the Crown of *Spain* had perfectly vacated the Ends of that Peace. Upon this Dallying of the Count *d' Avaux*, King *William*, with ſome Indignation at it, ſent this Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Secretary *Hedges*. *Memorial from the Dutch.*

William R.

His Majeſty having received an Account from Mr. *Stanhope*, his Envoy Extraordinary at the *Hague*, that the *French* Ambaſſador there had declared to the Penſionary, That the King his Maſter had no other Anſwer to return to the Demands made by the States General of the *United Provinces*, than that he is ready to renew and confirm the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, it being all the Secu- *King's Meſſage to the Commons.*

(a) The rudeſt of thoſe Members in the Houſe of Commons, never after thrived in Reputation, or any thing elſe, but the growing Infirmities of Mind and Body.

1701. rity the States are to expect; and that he has no Orders to give any Anſwer to his Majeſty's ſaid Envoy; but if his Majeſty has any thing to demand, it may be done by his Ambaſſador at *Paris*, or to the *French* Miniſter at *London*; and that he has no Commiſſion to treat with any but the States. And his Majeſty having alſo received Two Reſolutions of the States, and a Memorial from their Envoy here, relating to the Ships they are ſending to join his Majeſty's Fleet, and the Succours they deſire may be haſten'd to them, by virtue of the Treaty made the Third of *March*, One Thouſand Six Hundred Seventy Seven: His Majeſty has thought fit to communicate the whole to this Houſe, that they may be particularly inform'd of the preſent State of Affairs Abroad, where the Negotiations ſeem to be at an End, by the poſitive Anſwer the *French* Ambaſſador has given to the States: Which his Majeſty recommends to the ſerious Conſideration of this Houſe, as a Matter of the greateſt Weight and Conſequence; and deſires, that they will give his Majeſty ſuch Advice thereupon, as may be for our own Security, and that of the States General, and the Peace of *Europe*. *Kenſington*, the Thirty Firſt Day of *March*, One Thouſand Seven Hundred and One.

It was a very gracious Condeſcenſion in the King thus to admit the Commons into a Share in the Rights of Peace and War: But the Supplies on which this Affair muſt depend, made it neceſſary to do more than had been generally practiſed by former Princes. When this Meſſage was taken into the Conſideration of the Houſe, they Reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, *April* 2. "That the Humble Advice of this Houſe be given to his Majeſty, to deſire, That his Majeſty will be pleaſed to carry on the Negotiations in concert with the States-General, and take ſuch Meaſures therein as may moſt conduce to their Security; And that his Majeſty will purſue the Treaty made with the States-General, the Third of *March*, 1677: And to aſſure his Majeſty, that this Houſe will effectually enable Him to ſupport the ſaid Treaty of 1677." When this Reſolution of Advice was preſented to his Majeſty, Mr. Secretary *Hedges* reported his Majeſty's Anſwer to this Effect: *That according to the Advice of the Houſe of Commons, his Majeſty has given Order to his Envoy Extraordinary at the* Hague, *to carry on the Negotiations in concert with the States General, and to take ſuch Meaſures therein, as may moſt conduce to their Security. His Majeſty thanks you for the Aſſurance you have given, that this Houſe will effectually enable him to ſupport the Treaty of* 1677, *and will purſue the ſame as you adviſe. He does not doubt, but the Readineſs you have ſhewn upon this Occaſion, will very much contribute to the obtaining ſuch a Security as is deſired.*

Reſolutions of the Commons

King *William* foreſaw, that *France* would never yield up any part of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy by fair means; but conſidering at the ſame time the Unwillingneſs of the Commons to enter into a new War, which manifeſtly appear'd by their Slowneſs in making effectual Proviſion for the *Engliſh* Auxiliaries, which, according to the Treaty of 1677. were to be ſent to *Holland*; his Majeſty thought it Prudence to keep the Matter in Suſpence by a faint Negotiation with the *French*, which both the Earl of *Mancheſter* at *Paris*, and Mr. *Stanhope* at the *Hague* managed with great Caution and Dexterity. And the better to cover the Delays of Treating, his Majeſty acknowledged the Duke of *Anjou* for King of *Spain* in this congratulatory Letter. 1701.

Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, Our Dear Brother and Ally,

"WE have received your Majeſty's Letter of the Twenty Fourth of *March* laſt, which has been very acceptable to us upon many Accounts: *Firſt*, Becauſe they brought us Notice of your ſafe Arrival into your Kingdom of *Spain*, and of your coming to the Poſſeſſion of it, and taking upon your ſelf the Government of the Dominions thereunto belonging; and in the *Second* place, becauſe they have made it plain to us, that your Majeſty hath a mind to continue and keep inviolably that moſt ancient Alliance which is between the Two Crowns: Indeed we having willingly embraced this Occaſion, both to congratulate your Majeſty's happy Exaltation to the *Spaniſh* Throne, and to ſhew you how much Eſteem we have for your Majeſty, and how much we deſire to make it appear to you, that our Inclination doth moſt readily prompt us to endeavour what we can, that the mutual Conjunction of Friendſhip and Alliance between us, may be confirm'd and knit faſter, and the common Good of the Two Nations may daily more and more flouriſh and be promoted; which we hope alſo will redound to the publick Benefit and Good of all *Europe*. What remains, is to commend and commit your Majeſty to the Care and Protection of Almighty God.

King *William*'s Letter to the King of *Spain*.

Given at our Palace at Kenſington, *the Seventeenth Day of* April, 1701. *and in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of your Majeſty's moſt loving Brother and Ally.* Sign'd,

Gulielmus Rex.

Mr. *Stanhope* having received an Expreſs of his Majeſty's Recognition of the King of *Spain*, he complimented the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador thereupon, while Monſieur *d'Avaux* the *French* Miniſter at the *Hague*, preſented an amuſing Memorial to the States; ſetting forth, "That having tranſmitted their Reſolution of the Firſt of *April* to his Maſter, wherein they deſired the Negotiations might be reſumed, in Conjunction with the King of *England*'s Envoy, for maintaining the Peace of *Europe*, and providing for their own particular Security; and that their Lordſhips having at the ſame time declared, they wiſhed nothing ſo much, as that thoſe Negotiations might be brought to a ſpeedy and good Concluſion with his Maſter; to whom he had given an Account of the Anſwer he gave their Lordſhips concerning the (a) Admittance of the *Engliſh* Envoy, and he had entirely approved the ſame, and was pleaſed with the Aſſurances given by their Lordſhips, of the Deſire they had to preſerve the Peace. And as his Majeſty continued in the Reſolution of maintaining the publick Tranquility, he would conſent to every Expedient that might conduce towards ſecuring the common Good and Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*; and that in order thereunto, his Majeſty had no ſooner been acquainted with their Lordſhips Deſign of renewing the Conferences, but he had commanded his Ambaſſador to reſume the ſame, and continue at the *Hague*.

Memorial of *D'Avaux* at the *Hague*

(a) See the "Form of Prayer to be uſed in all Churches and Chapels on *Friday* the 4th of *April*, 1701; being the Faſt Day appointed by Proclamation for a Bleſſing upon the Conſultations of this preſent Parliament, and for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion and the publick Peace. *Quarto*, 1701.

1701. Intrigues of the French.

Notwithſtanding this ſpecious Declaration, the Deſign of the *French* Politicks was ſtill to keep out the *Engliſh* Envoy, and to engage the States to Treat ſeparately. The *Dutch* Deputies preſently apprehended their Meaning by the Ambiguity of the Memorial, and therefore preſt Count *D'Avaux* to explain himſelf; letting him know at the ſame Time, that the States would not enter into any Negotiation with *France*, but in Conjunction with *England*, their Intereſts in this Caſe being inſeparable: And they muſt inſiſt upon a poſitive Anſwer to that Point; eſpecially now that His *Britannick* Majeſty's owning the King of *Spain*, had removed the principal Objection that was before inſiſted on, againſt Treating with the Miniſters of *England*. The *French* Ambaſſador, to procraſtinate his Anſwer, deſired Time to ſend for new Inſtructions to Court, which they appeared no way forward to ſend him; their Deſign being to draw the Buſineſs into a negative Delay; which gave them Opportunity to ſtrengthen themſelves daily on the Frontiers of *Holland*, and to ſecure the *Milaneze* againſt the Efforts of a Veteran Imperial Army, headed by Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, a brave and experienc'd General, who was ſurmounting incredible Difficulties to penetrate into *Italy*.

The Commons of *England* not content with their Addreſs to the King againſt the Treaty of Partition, proceeded to ſhew their Abhorrence of it, in a manner that ſeemed to affect our Peace at home, more than to prepare for a War abroad. For on *April* the 1*ſt* they reſolved, *That* William *Earl of* Portland, *by Negotiating and Concluding the Treaty of Partition (which was deſtructive to the Trade of this Kingdom, and dangerous to the Peace of* Europe) *is Guilty, and ſhall be impeached, of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors.* And they ordered Sir *John Leveſon Gower* to go up to the Lords, and at their Bar to impeach the ſaid Earl, and to acquaint their Lordſhips, that they will in due Time exhibit particular Articles againſt him. And then deſired a Conference with the Lords upon Matters relating to the Treaty of Partition; at which Conference the Commons delivered this Paper to the Lords.

Impeaching of the Earl of Portland

" It appearing by your Lordſhips Journal, that " your Lordſhips have received Information of " ſome Tranſactions between the Earl of *Portland* " and Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, relating to the Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, the Commons " having the ſaid Matter under their Conſideration, deſire your Lordſhips will be pleaſed to " communicate to the Commons what Informations your Lordſhips have had of any Tranſactions relating to any Negotiations or Treaties of " Partion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, by Letters or " otherwiſe. And the Commons are fully aſſured, " that your Lordſhips will readily concur in aſſiſting them in this Enquiry, which they conceive " abſolutely neceſſary for the Safety and Honour " of this Kingdom, and the Preſervation of the " Peace of *Europe*.

The Lords order'd the Two *Latin* Commiſſions of Powers granted to the Earls of *Portland* and *Jerſey*, for negotiating the ſaid Treaties, one dated the 1*ſt* of *July*, 1699. the other on the 2*d* of *January*, 1700. as alſo a private Paper of the Lord *Portland*'s, running thus.

" At the beginning of the Summer of the " Year 99. when I was in *Holland*, at my Country-Houſe, and when the King would have " me be concerned in the Negotiation of this " Treaty with the Emperor, the *French* King, " and the States; being very unwilling to meddle " with Buſineſs again, from which I was retired, " before I would engage my ſelf, I adviſed with " my Friends in *Holland*, and writ into *England* " to Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, as my particular " Friend, Whether it was adviſable for me to engage in any Buſineſs again? To which Mr. *Vernon* anſwer'd in Subſtance, That this would not " engage me but for a little while: That I being " upon the Place, and generally acquainted with " the foreign Miniſters, it would be eaſier for the " King, and properer for me to be employed in " it, than any Body elſe, that muſt be otherwiſe " ſent for on purpoſe.

The next Perſon whom the Commons intended to call upon, was *John* Lord *Somers*, late Lord Chancellor of *England*, on whoſe Judgment and Fidelity the King had very much relied. His Lordſhip being ſenſible of the Storm that was coming on, deſired the Earl of *Portland*, with Leave of the Houſe, to declare, if he pleaſed, whether the Lord *Somer*'s Name was mentioned in the Letter he received from Mr. Secretary *Vernon*? The Earl of *Portland* ſtood up and declared, " That if he had remembred any ſuch Thing in " the Letter, and had not inſerted it in the Paper " which he had delivered to the Houſe, he " ſhould have thought he had deceived the " Houſe." On *April* the 14*th* the Lord *Somers* ſent in an Information to the Houſe of Commons, that *Having heard the Houſe was upon a Debate concerning him, he deſired that he might be admitted in and heard*: This was granted, and a Chair was ſet by the Serjeant, a little within the Bar on the left Hand; then the Serjeant had Directions to acquaint the Lord *Somers*, that he might come in; and the Door being opened, his Lordſhip came in, and Mr. Speaker acquainted his Lordſhip, that he might Repoſe himſelf in the Chair provided for him; and his Lordſhip was heard what he had to offer to the Houſe, which he did with great plainneſs and preſence of Mind; but when his Lordſhip withdrew, the Houſe came to this Reſolution, That *John* Lord *Somers*, by adviſing His Majeſty in the Year 1698. to the Treaty for Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, whereby large Territories of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions were to be deliver'd up to *France*, is Guilty of a High Crime and Miſdemeanor. And they ordered Mr. *Harcourt* to go up to the Lords, and at their Bar to impeach him; and to acquaint their Lordſhips, that the Houſe will in due Time exhibit particular Articles againſt him. And immediately after they reſolved, that *Edward* Earl of *Orford*, and *Charles* Lord *Halifax*, be for the ſame Reaſons impeached of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors. The Lord *Somers* had delivered into the Houſe of Commons a Copy of the Letter which he had ſent to His Majeſty, in anſwer to One from His Majeſty upon occaſion of that Treaty; both which are fit to be inſerted.

Impeachment of the Lord Somers.

At Loo, $\frac{15}{14}$ *of* Auguſt, 1698.

King William's Letter to the Lord Somers.

" I Imparted to you before I left *England*, that " in *France* there was expreſs'd to my Lord " *Portland* ſome Inclination to come to an Agreement with us, concerning the Succeſſion of the " King of *Spain*; ſince which, Count *Tallard* has " mention'd it to me, and has made Propoſitions, " the Particulars of which my Lord *Portland* will " write to *Vernon*, to whom I have given Orders " not to communicate them to any other beſides " your ſelf, and to leave to your Judgment to " whom elſe you would think proper to impart " them; to the end that I might know your " Opinion upon ſo important an Affair, and " which requires the greateſt Secrecy. If it be " fit this Negotiation ſhould be carried on, there

1701. "is no Time to be loſt, and you will ſend me "the full Powers under the Great Seal, with the "Names in Blank to treat with Count *Tallard*. "I believe, that this may be done ſecretly, that "none but you and *Vernon*, and thoſe to whom "you ſhall have communicated it, may have "Knowledge of it; ſo that the Clerks who are "to write the Warrant and the full Powers, "may not know what it is. According to all In-"telligence, the King of *Spain* cannot out-live "the Month of *October*, and the leaſt Accident "may carry him off every Day. I received "Yeſterday your Letter of the 9th. Since my "Lord *Wharton* can't at this Time leave *England*, "I muſt think of ſome other to ſend Ambaſſador "into *Spain*; if you can think of any one proper, "let me know it, and be always aſſur'd of my "Friendſhip.

William R.

The Lord *Somers*'s Anſwer.

Tunbridge-Wells, 28 Aug. 1698. O. S.

SIR,

Lord *Somers*'s Anſwer to the King. "HAving your Majeſty's Permiſſion to try if "the Waters would contribute to the Re-"eſtabliſhment of my Health, I was juſt got to "this Place when I had the Honour of your "Commands; I thought the beſt way of exe-"cuting them would be to communicate to my "Lord *Orford*, Mr. *Mountague*, and the Duke "of *Shrewsbury* (who before I left *London*, had "agreed upon a Meeting about that Time) the "Subject of my Lord *Portland*'s Letter; at the "ſame time letting them know how ſtrictly your "Majeſty required, that it ſhould remain an ab-"ſolute Secret.

"Since that Time, Mr. *Mountague*, and Mr. "Secretary are come down hither; and upon "the whole Diſcourſe, Three Things have prin-"cipally occurred, to be humbly ſuggeſted to "your Majeſty.

"*Firſt*, That the entertaining a Propoſal of "this Nature, ſeems to be attended with very "many ill Conſequences, if the *French* did not "act a ſincere Part; but we were ſoon at Eaſe, "as to any Apprehenſion of this ſort, being "fully aſſured, your Majeſty would not act but "with the utmoſt Nicety, in an Affair wherein "the Glory and Safety of *Europe* were ſo highly "concerned.

"The *Second* Thing conſidered, was the very "ill Proſpect of what was like to happen upon "the Death of the King of *Spain*, in caſe nothing "was done previouſly towards the providing "againſt that Accident, which ſeem'd probably "to be very near: The King of *France* having ſo "great a Force in ſuch a Readineſs, that he "was in a Condition to take poſſeſſion of *Spain*, "before any other Prince could be able to make "a Stand. Your Majeſty is the beſt Judge, "whether this be the Caſe, who are ſo per-"fectly inform'd of the Circumſtances of Parts "Abroad.

"But ſo far as relates to *England*, it would be "want of Duty, not to give your Majeſty this "clear Account, That there is a Deadneſs and "want of Spirit in the Nation, univerſally ſo, "as not at all to be diſpoſed to the Thought of "entring into a new War; and that they ſeem "to be tired out with Taxes, to a Degree beyond "what was diſcerned, till it appear'd upon the "Occaſion of the late Elections. This is the "Truth of the Fact, upon which your Majeſty "will determine what Reſolutions are proper to "be taken.

"That which remain'd, was the Conſideration "what would be the Condition of *Europe*, if the "Propoſal took place: Of this we thought ourſelves "little capable of judging; but it ſeemed, that if "*Sicily* was in the *French* Hands, they will be en-"tirely Maſters of the *Levant* Trade; that if "they were poſſeſs'd of *Final*, and thoſe other "Sea-ports on that ſide, whereby *Milan* would "be entirely ſhut out from Relief by Sea, or any "other Commerce, that Dutchy would be of "little Signification in the Hands of any Prince; "and that if the King of *France* had poſſeſſion "of that part of *Guipuſcoa*, which is mention'd "in the Propoſal, beſides the Ports he would have "in the Ocean, it does ſeem he would have as "eaſie a way of invading *Spain* on that ſide, as he "now has on the ſide of *Catalonia*.

"But it is not to be hoped, that *France* will quit "its Pretences to ſo great a Succeſſion, without "conſiderable Advantages; and we are all aſſu-"red, your Majeſty will reduce the Terms as "low as can be done, and make them, as far as is "poſſible in the preſent Circumſtances of Things, "ſuch as may be ſome Foundation for the future "Quiet of *Chriſtendom*; which all your Subjects "cannot but be convinced is your true Aim. If "it could be brought to paſs, that *England* might "be ſome way a Gainer by this Tranſaction, "whether it was by the Elector of *Bavaria* (who "is the Gainer by your Majeſty's Interpoſition in "this Treaty) his coming to an Agreement to "let us into ſome Trade to the *Spaniſh* Plantati-"ons, or in any other manner, it would won-"derfully endear your Majeſty to your *Engliſh* "Subjects.

"It does not appear, in caſe this Negotiation "ſhould proceed, what is to be done on your "part, in order to make it take place: Whe-"ther any more be requir'd, than the *Engliſh* "and *Dutch* ſhould ſit ſtill, and *France* it ſelf to "ſee it executed. If that be ſo, what Security "ought to be expected, that if by our being Neu-"ters, the *French* be ſucceſsful, they will confine "themſelves to the *Terms of the Treaty*, and not "attempt to make further Advantages of their "Succeſs?

"I humbly beg your Majeſty's Pardon that "theſe Thoughts are ſo ill put together: Theſe "Waters are known to diſcompoſe and diſturb "the Head, ſo as almoſt totally to diſable one "from Writing: I ſhould be extremely troubled "if my Abſence from *London* has delayed the "Diſpatch of the Commiſſion one Day. You "will be pleaſed to obſerve, that Two Perſons "(as the Commiſſion is drawn) muſt be named "in it, but the Powers may be executed by either "of them. I ſuppoſe your Majeſty will not "think it proper to name Commiſſioners that are "not *Engliſh*, or naturalized, in an Affair of this "Nature.

"I pray God give your Majeſty Honour and "Succeſs in all your Undertakings. I am, with "the utmoſt Duty and Reſpect,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and moſt Obedient Subject and Servant.

P. S. *The Commiſſion is wrote by Mr. Secretary, and I have had it ſealed in ſuch a manner, that no Creature has the leaſt Knowledge of the Thing, beſides the Perſons nam'd.*

The Commons, in purſuance of Reſolutions taken the 15th of *April*, did on the 23d preſent this Addreſs to the King.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

"WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal "Subjects, the Commons in Parliament "aſſembled, do humbly crave Leave to repreſent Addreſs of the Commons to the King.

1701. " to Your Majeſty, the great Satisfaction we have " from our late Enquiry concerning the Treaty " of Partition, made in the Year 1698. (on which " the Treaty in 1699 was founded) to ſee your " Majeſty's great Care of your People and this " Nation, in not entring into that Negotiation " without the Advice of your *Engliſh* Counſellors; and finding that *John* Lord *Somers*, on " whoſe Judgment your Majeſty did chiefly rely " in that ſo important Affair, did, in concert " with *Edward* Earl of *Orford*, and *Charles* Lord " *Halifax*, adviſe your Majeſty to enter into that " Treaty, of ſo dangerous Conſequence to the " Trade and Welfare of this Nation; and who, " to avoid the Cenſure which might juſtly be apprehended to fall on thoſe who adviſed the " ſame, endeavour'd to inſinuate, that your Majeſty, without the Advice of your Council, entred into that Treaty, and under your Sacred " Name, to ſeek Protection for what themſelves " had ſo adviſed: Of which Treatment of your " Majeſty, we cannot but have a juſt Reſentment: And that they may be no longer able " to deceive your Majeſty, and abuſe your People; we do humbly beſeech your Majeſty, " That you will be pleaſed to remove *John* Lord " *Somers*, *Edward* Earl of *Orford*, and *Charles* " Lord *Halifax*, from your Council and Preſence " for ever; as alſo *William* Earl of *Portland*, who " tranſacted theſe Treaties, ſo unjuſt in their " own Nature, and ſo fatal in their Conſequences to this Nation, and the Peace of *Europe*. And we humbly crave Leave upon " this Occaſion, to repeat our Aſſurances to your " Majeſty, That we will always ſtand by and " ſupport your Majeſty to the utmoſt of our " Power, againſt all your Enemies both at Home " and Abroad.

The King diſpleaſed yet gives a

His Majeſty could not but be very uneaſy at this ſevere dealing with his Counſels and his Miniſters; when he knew the Error, if any, was a Miſtake of Judgment only, and that rather of his own, than of any employed by him. However, he kept his Temper, and gave this Gracious Anſwer.

Gracious Anſwer

" I am willing to take all Occaſions of thanking you very heartily for the Aſſurances you " have frequently given me, and now repeat, of " ſtanding by and ſupporting me againſt all our " Enemies both at Home and Abroad; towards " which, nothing, in my Opinion, can contribute ſo much, as a good Correſpondence between me and my People. And therefore " you may depend upon it, that I will employ " none in my Service, but ſuch as ſhall be thought " moſt likely to improve that mutual Truſt and " Confidence between Us, which is ſo neceſſary " in this Conjuncture, both for our own Security, " and the Defence and the Preſervation of our " Allies.

Addreſs of the Lords againſt theſe Proceedings.

The Houſe of Lords was alarm'd at the Addreſs of the Commons, and did apprehend it to be an ill Precedent for Perſons to be cenſur'd, before they were tried. And therefore they interpos'd with this Counter-Addreſs to his Majeſty.

" WE Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and " Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave " to repreſent to Your Majeſty, That the Houſe " of Commons have ſeverally impeach'd at the " Bar of our Houſe, *William* Earl of *Portland*, " *John* Lord *Somers*, *Edward* Earl of *Orford*, and " *Charles* Lord *Halifax*, of High Crimes and " Miſdemeanors. And they having acquainted " Us, that they will in due Time exhibit particular Articles againſt the ſaid Lords, and make " good the ſame; We do moſt humbly beſeech " Your Majeſty, That Your Majeſty will be " pleaſed not to paſs any Cenſure upon them, " until they are tried upon the ſaid Impeachments, and Judgment be given according to " the Uſage of Parliament, and the Laws of the " Land.

The Dutch prepare for War.

In the mean Time, two or three fruitleſs Conferences paſſed at the *Hague*; wherein the *French* Miniſter was ſtill attempting to draw in the States to treat alone, without the Concurrence of the *Engliſh*; which they would by no means conſent to. His Majeſty, in mutual Kindneſs, did all that lay in his Power to aſſiſt them; for which End, he had ſent the Three *Scotch* Regiments retained in his own Pay in that Kingdom, over into *Holland*. When the States had procured all poſſible Supplies and Reinforcements by their Money and Intereſt from Princes Abroad, and had exerted their Powers to the utmoſt at Home, they wrote a Letter to his Majeſty, to inform him how Matters ſtood with them, and to deſire the Troops to be ſent over to their Aſſiſtance without delay, as ſtipulated by the Treaty of 1677. Upon which, his Majeſty on *May* the 8th, ſent this Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Secretary *Hedges*.

William R.

The King's Meſſage to the Commons

" HIS Majeſty having lately received an Account from Mr. *Stanhope*, of the preſent " Poſture of Affairs in *Holland*, and likewiſe a " Letter from the States-General, which is of the " greateſt Importance: And his Majeſty, who " has ſo perfect a Knowledge of their Country, " being entirely convinced of the Hardſhips of " their preſent Condition, and the great Preſſures they now lie under, which are particularly expreſſed in the above-mentioned Letter, " has thought it abſolutely neceſſary to communicate the ſame to this Houſe; that the Expectations the States have of preſent Aſſiſtance " from his Majeſty, may more fully appear: " And his Majeſty does not doubt, but this Houſe " will be ſo juſtly ſenſible of thoſe immediate " Dangers to which they ſtand expos'd, as to " take the ſame into their moſt ſerious and effectual Conſideration; it being moſt evident, " that the Safety of *England*, as well as the very " Being of *Holland*, does very much depend upon " your Reſolutions in this Matter.

Reſolution of the Commons

This Meſſage was the next Day taken into the Conſideration of the Commons; and they unanimouſly Reſolv'd, *That this Houſe will effectually Aſſiſt his Majeſty to ſupport his Allies, in maintaining the Liberty of* Europe; *and will immediately provide Succours for the States-General, according to the Treaty of the 3d of* March, 1677. This Reſolution was preſented to his Majeſty by the whole Houſe on *Saturday*, *May* the 10th, and his Majeſty expreſs'd his Satisfaction in theſe Words:

Gentlemen,

Satisfaction of the King.

" I Return you my hearty Thanks for the ready " Aſſurances you give me of providing immediate Succours for the States General, and " for the Zeal you expreſs for the Common " Cauſe: I know nothing that can be more effectual for its Support, both at Home and Abroad, " than the unanimous Concurrence which you " have ſhewed upon this Occaſion. And it will " be a particular Satisfaction to me, in my Time, " to

" to revive the Glory which the *Engliſh* Nation " has formerly had, of maintaining the Liberty " and Balance of *Europe.*

The King had likewiſe communicated the Letter from the States to the Houſe of Lords, who on that Occaſion preſented this Addreſs on *May* the 14th.

Addreſs of the Lords.

" WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal " Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, return Your " Majeſty our moſt humble Thanks, for communicating to us the Letter from the States-General to Your Majeſty. It gives us an Opportunity (with great Satisfaction) to repeat to " Your Majeſty the Aſſurances of our Duty, and " Zeal for Your Service. And we take this Occaſion further to aſſure Your Majeſty, we are " very ſenſible of the great and imminent Danger to which the States-General are at preſent " expos'd. And we do perfectly agree with " them, in believing, That their Safety and " ours are ſo inſeparably united, that whatſoever is Ruin to the one, muſt be Fatal to the " other.

" And we humbly deſire Your Majeſty will be " pleaſed, not only to make good all the Articles of any former Treaty to the States-General, but that You will enter into a ſtrict " League, Offenſive and Defenſive, with them, " for our Common Preſervation: And that You " will invite into it all Princes and States, who " are concern'd in the preſent viſible Danger, ariſing from the Union of *France* and " *Spain.*

" And we further deſire Your Majeſty, That " You will be pleaſed to enter into ſuch Alliances with the Emperor, as Your Majeſty ſhall " think fit, purſuant to the Ends of the Treaty " of 1689. Towards all which, we aſſure Your " Majeſty of our hearty and ſincere Aſſiſtance: " not doubting, but whenever Your Majeſty ſhall " be obliged to engage for the Defence of Your " Allies, and the ſecuring the Liberty and Quiet " of *Europe*, Almighty God will protect Your Sacred Perſon in ſo righteous a Cauſe: And that " the Unanimity, Wealth, and Courage of Your " Subjects will carry Your Majeſty with Honour " and Succeſs through all the Difficulties of a " Juſt War.

" And in the laſt Place, with great Grief, we " take Leave humbly to repreſent to Your Majeſty, That the Dangers to which Your Kingdoms and Your Allies have been expos'd, are " chiefly owing to the fatal Councils that prevented Your Majeſty's ſooner meeting Your " People in Parliament.

To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to return his Gracious Anſwer in the enſuing Terms.

The King's Anſwer.

My Lords,

I Thank you for the Expreſſions you make of your Duty, and Zeal to my Service, and the Concern you ſhew for the imminent Danger to which the States General are at preſent expoſed. I ſhall take into Conſideration your Deſires to me of entring into new Meaſures with them, and other Princes and States for our Common Preſervation: And you may be ſure, it ſhall be always my Care to make ſuch Alliances with our Neighbours, as may tend to our own, and their greater Security; which will be the moſt effectual means to raiſe the Honour of the Engliſh *Nation in our Days, to the Reputation it hath maintain'd in any former Times.*

The Nation by this time began to be in a high Ferment, and the People generally diſlik'd the Proceedings of the Commons. A bold Teſtimony of it was given in the County of *Kent*, where a Petition was drawn up in this Form.

Kentiſh Petition.

The Humble Petition of the Gentlemen, Juſtices of the Peace, Grand Jury, and other Freeholders, at the General Quarter Seſſions of the Peace, holden at Maidſtone, *the 29th of* April, *in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord* William III. *over* England, &c.

" WE the Gentlemen, Juſtices of the Peace, " Grand Jury, and other Freeholders, at " the General Quarter Seſſions at *Maidſtone* in " *Kent*, deeply concern'd at the dangerous Eſtate " of this Kingdom, and of all *Europe*; and conſidering that the Fate of us and our Poſterity depends upon the Wiſdom of our Repreſentatives " in Parliament, think our ſelves bound in Duty " humbly to lay before this Honourable Houſe, " the Conſequence, in this Conjuncture, of your " ſpeedy Reſolution, and moſt ſincere Endeavour " to anſwer the great Truſt repos'd in you by your " Country.

" And in regard, that from the Experience of " all Ages, it is manifeſt, no Nation can be great " or happy without Union; we hope, that no " Pretence whatſoever ſhall be able to create a " Miſunderſtanding among our ſelves, or the leaſt " Diſtruſt of his moſt Sacred Majeſty; whoſe great " Actions for this Nation are writ in the Hearts " of his Subjects, and can never, without the " blackeſt Ingratitude, be forgot.

" We moſt humbly implore this Honourable " Houſe to have regard to the *Voice of the People*, " that our Religion and Safety may be effectually " provided for; that your Loyal Addreſſes may " be turned into Bills of Supply; and that his " moſt Sacred Majeſty (whoſe propitious and " unblemiſh'd Reign over us, we pray God long " to continue) may be enabled powerfully to aſſiſt his Allies, before it is too late.

Signed by the Deputy Lieutenants there preſent, above 20 Juſtices of the Peace, all the Grand Jury, and other Freeholders, then there.

And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c.

The Petitioners committed.

This Petition was boldly deliver'd to the Houſe on *May* 8th, and Mr. *William Colepeper*, Mr. *Thomas Colepeper*, Mr. *David Polehill*, Mr. *Juſtinian Champney*, and Mr. *William Hamilton*, being call'd in, own'd the Petition at the Bar, and their Hands to the ſame: Then they withdrew, and the Petition being read, the Houſe Reſolved, *That the ſaid Petition was Scandalous, Inſolent, and Seditious, tending to deſtroy the Conſtitution of Parliaments, and to ſubvert the Eſtabliſhed Government of theſe Realms.* And then Ordered, " That all thoſe Gentlemen " ſhould be taken into Cuſtody, as guilty of promoting the ſaid Petition." And on *May* 14. the Houſe being informed, That Mr. *Thomas Colepeper* had made his Eſcape; and that the reſt of the Perſons committed, did behave themſelves diſorderly; the Serjeant was called in, who acquainted the Houſe, That the ſaid Mr. *Colepeper* had upon *Saturday* laſt made his Eſcape, and that ſome of the others had threatned, and he was apprehenſive of Force to reſcue them; and prayed the Direction of the Houſe concerning them: Whereupon the Houſe ordered them to be delivered Priſoners to the *Gate-houſe*; and agreed to Addreſs his Majeſty, to iſſue his Proclamation for apprehending Mr. *Colepeper*; and for putting out of the Commiſſions of Peace and Lieutenancy ſuch of the others as were in any of the ſaid Commiſſions. But Mr. *Colepeper* made a voluntary Surrender of himſelf, and was confin'd with his Neighbours.

This

1701. This Impriſonment of the *Kentiſh* Petitioners did but inflame thoſe People who were before warm'd againſt the Proceedings of the Commons. And it gave Occaſion to a Libel, entituled, *A Memorial from the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Counties of—— in Behalf of themſelves and many Thouſands of the good People of* England. This was ſent to the Speaker in a very inſolent Letter, charging and commanding him, in the Name of Two hundred thouſand *Engliſh* Men, to deliver it to the Houſe of Commons. It began with a Preamble falling into this Maxim, *Whatever Power is above Law, is Burdenſome and Tyrannical, and may be reduc'd by extra-judicial Methods.* Then it charg'd the Houſe with illegal and unwarrantable Practices in XV Particulars; of which the Three firſt were as followeth: I. *To raiſe Funds for Money, and declare by borrowing Clauſes, That whoſoever advances Money on thoſe Funds, ſhall be reimburs'd out of the next Aids, if the Funds fall ſhort; and then give ſubſequent Funds, without transferring the Deficiency of the former, is a horrible Cheat on the Subject who lent the Money, a Breach of Publick Faith, and deſtructive to the Honour and Credit of Parliaments.* II. *To impriſon Men who are not your own Members, by no Proceedings but a Vote of your own Houſe, and to continue them in Cuſtody* ſine die, *is illegal, a notorious Breach of the Liberty of the People; ſetting up a Diſpenſing Power in the Houſe of Commons, which your Fathers never pretended to; bidding Defiance to the* Habeas Corpus *Act, which is the Bulwark of perſonal Liberty; deſtructive of the Laws, and betraying the Truſt repoſed in you. The King being at the ſame time obliged to ask you Leave to continue in Cuſtody the horrid Aſſaſſinators of his Perſon.* III. *Committing to Cuſtody thoſe Gentlemen, who at the Command of the People (whoſe Servants you are) came in a peaceable way to put you in mind of your Duty, is illegal and injurious; deſtructive of the Subjects Liberty of Petitioning for Redreſs of Grievances, which has by all Parliaments before you, been acknowledged to be their undoubted Right.* After the enumerating 12 other Particulars, the Memorial proceeds to a Claim of Right, under Seven Heads; of which the Three former run thus: *We do hereby Claim and Declare,* I. *That it is the undoubted Right of the People of* England, *in caſe their Repreſentatives in Parliament do not proceed according to their Duty and the People's Intereſt, to inform them of their Diſlike, diſown their Actions, and to direct them to ſuch things as they think fit, either by Petition, Addreſs, Propoſal, Memorial, or any other peaceable way.* II. *That the Houſe of Commons ſeparately, and otherwiſe than by Bill legally paſs'd into an Act, have no legal Power to ſuſpend or diſpenſe with the Laws of the Land, any more than the King has by his Prerogative.* III. *That the Houſe of Commons have no legal Power to impriſon any Perſon, or commit them to Cuſtody of Serjeants, or otherwiſe (their own Members excepted) but ought to addreſs the King to cauſe any Perſon, on good Grounds, to be apprehended; which Perſon ſo apprehended, ought to have the Benefit of the* Habeas Corpus *Act, and be fairly brought to Trial by due courſe of Law.*—— After other Claims, it concludes: *Thus, Gentlemen, you have your Duty laid before you, which 'tis hop'd you will think of: But if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to be treated according to the Reſentments of an injur'd Nation; for* Engliſhmen *are no more to be Slaves to Parliaments, than to Kings. Our Name is* Legion, *and We are Many.*

Libel called *Legion.*

A Number of prudent ſober Men, who did not approve of the wording or way of ſending this *Memorial,* were apt to think the Subject Matter of it for the moſt part True and Reaſonable: and the very Court of Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London* were very near to the coming in to ſome publick Declaration of the ſame Effect, tho' more modeſtly to be expreſs'd. The Commons were extremely incens'd at the *Legion* Paper, but would not deſcend to a particular Cenſure of it. It was thought ſufficient, that a Complaint was made to the Houſe, of Endeavours to raiſe Tumults and Seditions, in order to diſturb the Publick Affairs; and a Committee was appointed to draw up an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, humbly to lay before him the Endeavours of ſeveral ill-diſpoſed Perſons, to raiſe Tumults and Seditions in the Kingdom; and humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, that He will provide for the Publick Peace and Security. 1701.

To return to the unhappy Difference between the Two Houſes, in the Caſe of the impeach'd Lords; The Houſe of Peers ſeem'd to think, that their Members had been impeached by the Commons, without a ſerious Intention to proſecute the Charge againſt them. And therefore, on *May* the 5th, their Lordſhips ſent this quickning Meſſage to the Commons, by Sir *Robert Legard,* and Sir *Richard Holford.*

Difference between the Two Houſes upon the Matter of Impeachment.

Mr. Speaker,

THE *Lords have commanded us to acquaint this Houſe, That they having on the Firſt Day of* April *laſt, ſent up to their Lordſhips an Impeachment againſt* William *Earl of* Portland, *of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors; And having alſo on the Fifteenth Day of the ſame Month ſeverally impeached* John *Lord* Somers, Edward *Earl of* Orford, *and* Charles *Lord* Halifax, *of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors: Their Lordſhips think themſelves obliged to put this Houſe in mind, that as yet no particular Articles have been exhibited againſt the ſaid Lords; which, after Impeachments have been ſo long depending, is due in Juſtice to the Perſons concerned, and agreeable to the Methods of Parliament in ſuch Caſes.*

The Commons, aſhamed to be upbraided with Delay in a Matter wherein they had appeared ſo forward, ſent Anſwer, That the Articles againſt the Lords impeached were preparing, and in a ſhort time ſhould be ſent up to the Houſe of Lords. So on *May* the 9th, to begin their own way, the Commons, by Colonel *Bierly,* ſent up Articles againſt *Edward* Earl of *Orford,* in Maintenance of their Impeachment.

I. That in a long and expenſive War, the ſaid Earl, always preferring his private Intereſt to the Good of the Publick, in Violation of his Duty and Truſt, had procured from His Majeſty One or more Grant or Grants of ſeveral Manors, Meſſuages, *&c.* and alſo exorbitant Sums of Money. ——To which the Earl anſwered, *That he having for ſeveral Years render'd to his Majeſty his utmoſt Service and Duty, as a good and loyal Subject, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, upon ſeveral Occaſions, to take notice of the ſame; and out of his wonted Bounty and his free Will, was pleaſed to give to the ſaid Earl Two Grants, One a Reverſionary Grant for Years, of ſome Houſes; the other a Grant of the Remainder of a groſs Sum amounting to about* 2000 l. *a Year for Five Years.*

Articles of Impeachment againſt the Earl of *Orford.*

II. That in Breach of the Truſt repoſed in him, whilſt he was Commander in Chief of the Navy Royal of *England,* in or near the Streights of *Gibraltar;* he did receive great Sums of the publick Money, which he converted to his own private Uſe, and unlawfully procured a Privy Seal to diſcharge him from Accounting to the Publick for the ſame. ——To which he anſwered, by denying the ſaid Facts, and ſaying, *That he did make up, and upon Oath paſs his Accompts for the Monies impreſt to him, and hath his* Quietus eſt *in due Courſe of Law upon the ſame.*

III. That

1701. III. That he did receive from the King of *Spain* and others, conſiderable Sums of Money, and great Quantities of Wine, Oil, and other Proviſions for the Fleet, for which he ought to have accounted, but he converted the ſame to his own Uſe: And for ſecuring himſelf from rendering any Account, he poſſeſs'd divers great Offices inconſiſtent, and deſigned as Checks one upon the other. —To which the Earl anſwer'd, *That whatever he received from the King of* Spain, *or any others, for the Fleet, was duly delivered and diſtributed amongſt the Officers and Seamen: And he denies, that he did enjoy any Offices inconſiſtent, or which ought to be Checks one upon the other.*

IV. That he hath clandeſtinely, contrary to the Law of Nations, ſold and diſpoſed of ſeveral Veſſels, taken under pretence of Prize, without Condemnation or Judicial Proceedings, and converted the Money to his own Uſe. —To which he anſwered, by denying the Fact, and ſaying, *That he did from Time to Time give Orders, that the Prizes taken ſhould be carefully preſerved without Imbezzlement, and duly proceeded againſt, and the Product anſwered as the Law directs.*

V. That he preſiding in the Commiſſion for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, had diſcouraged and rejected the Requeſt and Propoſal of the Company trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, for ſuppreſſing Piracies in the *South Seas*; and had procured a Commiſſion for one *William Kidd*, who had committed divers Piracies and Depredations on the High Seas, being thereto encouraged thro' (*a*) the Hopes of being protected by the high Station and Intereſt of the ſaid Earl. —To which he anſwered, *That he did never diſcourage or reject the Company's Requeſt, unleſs it were by telling them, That the Admiralty by Law could not grant the ſame: And as to the Matter of* Kidd, *his Commiſſion was according to Law, and his Expedition intended for the Publick Good and Service; and if he have committed any Piracies, is anſwerable for the ſame, he never being ordered or encouraged by the ſaid Earl ſo to do.*

VI. That while the Kingdom was under an Apprehenſion of an immediate Invaſion from *France*, he, preferring his Hopes of Gain to himſelf, to the Safety of the Publick, did order Captain *Steward*, Commander of the Ship *Dutcheſs*, to deliver over and put on board the ſaid *Kidd* a great Number of able Seamen, to the prejudice of the Publick Security, and to the endangering the ſaid Ship the *Dutcheſs*, if it had been attacked by the Enemy. —To which he anſwered, *That the Men taken from on Board the* Dutcheſs, *were but ſome of the very Perſons that were juſt before taken from on board of Captain* Kidd, *and returned by their own Conſent again, not being above twenty in Number, and that when all Fears of an Invaſion were over and at an end.*

VII. That during the War, he did by Miſrepreſentations, procure a Grant or Order for his Majeſty's Ship the *Dolphin*, then fitted out, mann'd and equipp'd for the Service of the Publick, to be employ'd in a private Voyage and Undertaking, for the Advantage of himſelf and others concerned with him. —To which he anſwered, *That what was done therein, was done after the Peace concluded, and by his Majeſty's Command, at the Inſtance and Requeſt of other Perſons, and not of the ſaid Earl, but contrary to his Opinion.*

VIII. That during the Time of his Commanding the Navy Royal, he did thro' Neglect, and in Contempt of Orders, unneceſſarily hazard and expoſe the Navy, and loſe the Opportunities of taking or deſtroying the *French* Ships, and ſuffer them to return ſafe into their own Harbours. —To which he anſwered, *That he is not guilty of any Neglect or Omiſſion of his Duty herein, nor did expect in this Particular to be charged therewith, conſidering his faithful Services render'd againſt the* French *Fleet.* 1701.

IX. That he did, in concert with other falſe and evil Counſellors, adviſe our Sovereign Lord the King, in the Year 1698, to enter into one Treaty for dividing the Monarchy and Dominions of *Spain*; in purſuance whereof, in 1699, one other Treaty was entred into to the like purpoſe. Both which Treaties were prejudicial to the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, &c. —To which he anſwered, *He does deny, that he did adviſe his Majeſty to enter into the Treaty of Partition; but ſo far as he was any ways acquainted therewith, he objected to, and gave his Opinion againſt the ſame.*

X. That he was one of the Lords Juſtices, Firſt Commiſſioner in the Admiralty, Commander in Chief of the Navy, one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Navy, or in ſome or one of the Stations, during the Time that all and every the Crimes before ſet forth were done and committed. —To which he anſwered, *That his Majeſty was pleaſed to intruſt him in the ſeveral Offices and Stations, which he had diſcharged with Loyalty, Faithfulneſs, and Zeal to his Majeſty and his People.*

On *May* the 19th, the Commons by Mr. *Harcourt* ſent up Articles of Impeachment againſt *John* Lord *Somers*.

Articles againſt the Lord *Somers*.

I. That well knowing the moſt apparent evil Conſequences, as well as the Injuſtice of the Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, he did adviſe his Majeſty to enter into a Treaty for it; and did ſo far encourage and promote the ſame, that the ſaid Treaty was concluded and ratified in 1698, under the Great Seal of *England*, then in Cuſtody of the ſaid Lord *Somers*. —To which his Lordſhip anſwered, in a full and plain Account of all the Steps of that Treaty, referring himſelf to the Letters on that Subject between his Majeſty and him (before-recited) *wherein, as he conceived, he had fully and faithfully diſcharged his Truſt, and the Duty incumbent on him.*

II. That for the more effectual carrying on the ſaid Treaty, Commiſſions were prepared, amended, enlarged or altered by the ſaid Lord *Somers*, without any lawful Warrant for his ſo doing; whereunto, without communicating the ſame to the reſt of the then Lords Juſtices of *England*, or adviſing with the Privy Council, he did preſume to affix the Great Seal of *England*, with a Blank for Commiſſioners Names, to be afterwards inſerted.

III. That having affix'd the Great Seal without lawful Warrant, in hopes of concealing that evil and moſt dangerous Practice, after he had ſettled the ſaid Commiſſions, he uſed his Endeavour to procure a Warrant to be tranſmitted to him for affixing the Great Seal, that it might not be known, but that he had it in due time. —To which Second and Third Articles, he anſwer'd, *That having received his Majeſty's expreſs Com-*

(*a*) See "The Ordinary of *Newgate* his Account of "the Behaviour, Confeſſions, and Dying Words of Captain *William Kidd*, and other Pirates, that were executed at the *Execution Dock* in *Wapping*, on *Friday*, "*May* the 23d, 1701." Sign'd, *Paul Lorrain*, Ordinary.

mands

1701. *mands to ſend to his Majeſty full Powers under the Great Seal, for negotiating the ſaid Treaty; with Blanks for his Majeſty's Commiſſioners Names, he thought it ſufficient Warrant for him ſo to do. And that he did afterwards deſire his Majeſty, that a particular Warrant for ſigning the ſaid Commiſſion might be ſigned and returned; not that he doubted his Majeſty's ſaid Letter to be a ſufficient Warrant, but for that ſuch Warrant would be more proper to be produced if Occaſion ſhould require.*

IV. That contrary to his Duty, he affixed the Great Seal of *England* to the Ratification of the ſaid Treaty in 1698, not having communicated the ſame to the reſt of the then Lords Juſtices, or adviſed with the Privy Council, leaving one entire Blank Sheet, and many other Blanks in the ſaid Ratification, with an intent to be afterwards filled up by other Perſons beyond the Seas. —To which he anſwer'd, *That Mr. Secretary* Vernon *having prepared by his Majeſty's Commands the Inſtruments for Ratification, with Blanks therein, he did affix the Great Seal, which he conceives and is adviſed he might lawfully do, not communicating the ſame, becauſe he had his Majeſty's Command, that the ſaid Treaty ſhould be kept ſecret.*

V. That in the Year 1699, another Treaty of Partition was concluded and ratified under the Great Seal, then in the Cuſtody of the ſaid Lord *Somers*, diſhonourable to his Majeſty, highly injurious to the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, &c. —To which he anſwered, *That a Draught of the ſaid Treaty being read over in the Preſence of divers of the Lords of the Privy Council, he the ſaid Lord* Somers, *as well as others then preſent, did make ſeveral Objections; but they were informed by his Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries for tranſacting this Treaty, who were alſo then preſent, that the ſaid Treaty was ſo far perfected, that nothing could be altered therein; and his Majeſty afterwards by Warrant ſo requiring, he did affix the Great Seal, being, as he conceives, obliged to do it.*

VI. That whereas by the Laws and Uſages of this Realm, all Commiſſions under the Great Seal, for the making any Treaty or Alliance, ought to be inrolled and entred on Record in the Court of *Chancery*; he the ſaid Lord *Somers*, not minding the Duty of his Office, did not in any manner inroll or enter on Record any of the ſaid Commiſſions or Ratifications. —To which he anſwered, *He conceives it was not incumbent upon him as Lord Chancellor, to ſee the Commiſſions or Ratifications inrolled; but the Care of inrolling the ſame, if neceſſary, doth belong to the* Prothonotary *of the Court of* Chancery.

VII. That the ſaid Lord *Somers*, contrary to his Oath as Lord Chancellor of *England*, did paſs many great, unreaſonable and exorbitant Grants, under the Great Seal, of divers Mannors, Lordſhips, &c. belonging to the Crown of *England*; and did adviſe, promote, and procure divers like Grants of the late Forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland*, in Contempt of the Advice of the Commons of *England*. —To which he anſwer'd, *He doth acknowledge he did paſs ſeveral Grants,* &c. *but the ſame were regularly paſſed through the proper Offices, and brought with ſufficient Warrants for the Great Seal; and believes, more conſiderable Grants have paſſed in the like Number of Years in moſt of his Predeceſſors Times.*

VIII. That he did not only receive and enjoy the Fees, Profits and Perquiſites belonging to the Great Seal, but had received an annual Penſion from the Crown, of 4000 *l.* and had further begged and procured for his own Benefit many great, unreaſonable and exorbitant Grants of Revenues belonging to the Crown of *England*. —To which he anſwered, *That the annual Penſion or Allowance of 4000 l. had been allowed to ſeveral of his Predeceſſors; but denies he did ever Beg or uſe any Means to procure any Grant whatſoever for his own Benefit; but what his Majeſty was pleaſed to give him, proceeded from his Majeſty's own Motion, and of His meer Bounty, and as his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare upon that Occaſion, as an Evidence of the gracious Acceptation of the ſaid Lord* Somers's *zealous Endeavours for his Service.* 1701.

IX. That in order to procure a Grant of the ſaid Fee-Farm Rents, he did enter into ſeveral Treaties, and had many Communications with the Auditor of the Rates, and with the Clerk of the Truſtees for Sale of the ſaid Rents, and contracted and agreed with them, as a Reward for their Diſcovery, one full Fourth Part of all ſuch Rents ſo diſcover'd.

X. That notwithſtanding the ſaid pretended Contracts, there was not any Sum of Money really paid, but the Contracts and Payments were colourably and fraudulently contrived in Deceit of his Majeſty, and Eluſion of the Acts of Parliament. —To which Ninth and Tenth Articles he anſwered, *That after his Majeſty had given Directions to the Lords of the Treaſury for granting Fee-Farm Rents to the Benefit of him and his Heirs; his Majeſty's intended Bounty would have been loſt, without Information could be gained of ſuch particular Rents: And therefore Application was made to the ſaid Auditor and Clerk, as the moſt likely to give Information therein; but they did refuſe to give any Account of ſuch Rents, unleſs they might have near a Fourth part for ſo doing; which the ſaid Lord* Somers *did, as he conceives he lawfully might, comply with. And there was not any Sum of Money paid, as the Conſideration of the Grants of the ſaid Rents, but the Contracts were made, and the Payment diſcharged, without any Deceit of his Majeſty, or Eluſion of the Acts of Parliament.*

XI. That many Rents ſtanding in Charge for Payment of Penſions, Stipends, Salaries, Annuities, Alms and Allowances for Schools, Churches, Bridges, &c. and many Quit-Rents of Mannors *united and annex'd to the Caſtle of* Windſor *for Support of the ſame, and Maintenance of the Officers, Servants and Attendants in the ſaid Caſtle,* were conveyed by the ſaid Truſtees, through the Direction and Power of the ſaid Lord *Somers*, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of the ſaid Acts of Parliament, to the great Vexation and Oppreſſion of many of his Majeſty's good Subjects, and creating many new and unreaſonable Charges on other Revenues of the Crown. —To which he anſwered, *That ſome things might be inſerted by miſtaken Informations, and not out of any Deſign: He denies, that as to his Knowledge or Belief, any of the ſaid Rents were ever united or annexed to the Caſtle of* Windſor, *for any purpoſe whatſoever; or that any Oppreſſion or Vexation hath happened; and little or no new Charge to the Crown.*

XII. That by the Direction of the ſaid Lord *Somers*, the Perſons in whoſe Names the Purchaſes were made, did ſurrender ſeveral of the ſaid Rents to them granted, amounting to the yearly Value of 347 *l.* 11 *s.* 5 *d.* on Suggeſtion of wrong Conveyance; and procured other Rents of the yearly Value of 391 *l.* 3 *d.* to be allowed by way of Reprize, as if the ſaid Rents ſo ſurrender'd, had been really and *bona fide* purchaſed. —To which he anſwered, *That the Truſtees for Sale of the Fee-Farm Rents, by Warrant of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, did grant divers other Rents, amounting to* 391 l. *in Lieu and Reprize of the* 347 l. *having appeared to be granted before, or not grantable by the ſaid Truſtees, or not leviable on Surrenders of ſuch Rents; which he conceives might be, and was lawfully done.*

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XIII. That in the Year 1695, the ſaid Lord *Somers*, being then Lord Keeper, procured a Commiſſion to be granted to one *William Kidd*, a Perſon of evil Fame and Reputation, and ſince that Time convicted of Piracy; and in a Grant from his Majeſty, of Ships, Veſſels and Goods to be taken by the ſaid *William Kidd*, unto *Richard* Earl of *Bellamont*, *Edmund Harriſon*, Merchant, *Samuel Newton*, Gent. and others, the Name of the ſaid *Samuel Newton* was uſed in Truſt, and for the only Benefit and Advantage of the ſaid Lord *Somers*. ——To which he anſwered, *That the ſaid* William Kidd *had from his Majeſty a Commiſſion for preventing the Piracy of others, and to apprehend certain Pirates, and bring them to a legal Tryal; the granting of which Commiſſion was then apprehended to be neceſſary for the Preſervation of Trade and Navigation. He does admit, there was a Grant to the Earl of* Bellamont, Edmund Harriſon, *and* Samuel Newton, *who was named by and in Truſt for the ſaid Lord* Somers, *of Ships and Goods taken by the ſaid* William Kidd, *with account to be duly made to the Uſe of his Majeſty, of a clear Tenth Part, whereby the Publick might have received Benefit, had the ſaid* Kidd *faithfully diſcharged the Truſt, which he failing to do, the Owners of the ſaid Ship have loſt all their Expences.*

XIV. That as Lord Chancellor, he had in ſeveral Cauſes depending before him, by many extraordinary Methods, and unwarrantable Practices, for ſeveral Years, delayed Proceedings in the ſaid Cauſes; and by colour of his Office, had made divers arbitrary and illegal Orders, and had of his own Authority reverſed Judgments given in the Court of Exchequer, without calling the Barons before him: And had declared and affirmed in publick Places of Judicature, That particular Subjects might have Rights and Intereſts, without any Remedy for Recovery of the ſame, unleſs by Petition to the Perſon of the King only, or to that Effect: Which Poſition was highly dangerous to the legal Conſtitution of this Kingdom, and abſolutely deſtructive to the Property of the Subject. ——— To which he anſwered, *That he did not delay any Proceedings longer or otherwiſe, than as the Circumſtances and Juſtice of each Cauſe required; nor did he ever make any arbitrary or illegal Order, or ever reverſe any Judgment given in the Court of Exchequer, otherwiſe than as is warranted and allowed by the Law: Nor did ever deliver any Poſition whatſoever, dangerous to the legal Conſtitution, or deſtructive to the Property of the Subjects.*

A Copy of the Lord *Somers*'s Anſwer was with great Diſpatch delivered to the Commons on *May* the 24th. In the mean time, on the 21ſt, the Lords had ſent down this Meſſage.

Mr. Speaker,

THE Lords command us to acquaint this Houſe, That their Lordſhips having been deſired by the Earl of Orford, *that a Day may be appointed for his ſpeedy Tryal, their Lordſhips finding no Iſſue joined by Replication of this Houſe, think fit to give Notice thereof to this Houſe.*

They alſo command us to to acquaint this Houſe, That they having on the Firſt of April *laſt ſent up an Impeachment to their Lordſhips againſt* William *Earl of* Portland, *for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors; and having alſo on the 15th of the ſame Month impeached* Charles *Lord* Halifax *for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors; and there being as yet no particular Articles exhibited againſt the ſaid Lords, their Lordſhips think themſelves obliged to put this Houſe in mind thereof; which, after Impeachments have ſo long depended, is a Hardſhip to the Perſons concerned, and not agreeable to the uſual Methods and Proceedings of Parliaments in ſuch Caſes.*

The Commons prepared this Replication to my Lord of *Orford*'s Anſwer. 1701.

The Commons have conſider'd the Anſwer of Edward *Earl of* Orford, *to the Articles of Impeachment exhibited againſt him by the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes aſſembled in Parliament, and do aver their Charge of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors againſt him to be true, and that the ſaid Earl is guilty in ſuch manner as he ſtands accuſed and impeached; and that the Commons will be ready to prove their Charge againſt him, at ſuch convenient Time as ſhall be appointed for that Purpoſe.* Replication of the Commons to the Earl of Orford.

And on the Thirty firſt they ſent this Anſwer to the Lords.

In Anſwer to your Lordſhips Meſſage of the 21ſt Inſtant, the Commons have prepared a Replication to the Earl of Orford's *Anſwer to the Articles of Impeachment of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, exhibited againſt him; and at preſent defer bringing it up to your Lordſhips, becauſe in the Trial of the ſeveral Impeachments now depending, the Commons think it moſt proper, from the Nature of the Evidence that will be given at the ſaid Trials, to begin with the Trial of the Impeachment of* John *Lord* Somers, *of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors.* Their Anſwer to the Lords.

And as to your Lordſhips other Meſſage, the Commons take it to be without Precedent, and Unparliamentary: They, as Proſecutors, having a Liberty to exhibit their Articles of Impeachment in due Time, of which they, who are to prepare them, are the proper Judges; and therefore, for your Lordſhips to aſſert, that having not yet exhibited particular Articles againſt William *Earl of* Portland, *and* Charles *Lord* Halifax, *is a Hardſhip to them, and not agreeable to the uſual Methods and Proceedings in Parliament in ſuch Caſes, does, as they conceive, tend to the Breach of that good Correſpondence betwixt the Two Houſes, which ought to be mutually preſerved.*

On the ſame Day, 31ſt *May*, Sir *John Hoskyns* and Sir *Robert Legard* brought this Meſſage to the Commons.

Mr. Speaker,

THE Lords have commanded us to acquaint this Houſe, That their Lordſhips have appointed Monday *the 9th Day of* June *next, for the Tryal of* Edward *Earl of* Orford, *upon the Articles brought up againſt him by this Houſe, in* Weſtminſter Hall, *and that this Houſe may reply, if they think fit.* Day appointed for Trial of the Earl of Orford.

They have alſo commanded us to acquaint this Houſe, That this Houſe having, on the Firſt Day of April *laſt, ſent up to their Lordſhips an Impeachment againſt* William *Earl of* Portland, *for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors; and having alſo on the 15th Day of the ſame Month, impeached* Charles *Lord* Halifax *for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors; and there being as yet no particular Articles exhibited againſt the ſaid Lords, their Lordſhips think themſelves obliged to put this Houſe in mind thereof; which, after Impeachments have ſo long depended, is a Hardſhip to the Perſons concerned, and not agreeable to the uſual Methods of Parliament in ſuch Caſes.*

The Commons on the Fifth of *June*, returned this Anſwer.

The Commons, on Conſideration of your Lordſhips Meſſage to them of the 31ſt of May, *concerning the Earl of* Orford, *think it their undoubted Right, when ſeveral Perſons ſtand impeached before your Lordſhips, to bring to Trial ſuch of them in the firſt place as the Commons apprehend, from the Nature of the Evidence, ought firſt to be proceeded againſt, to the Intent all ſuch Offenders may in due time be brought to Juſtice; and that no Day ought to be appointed by your Lordſhips for the Trial of any Impeachment by the* Anſwer of the Commons

Commons,

1701. *Commons, without ſome previous Signification to your Lordſhips from the Commons, of their being ready to proceed thereon.*

The Commons could not receive this Meſſage from your Lordſhips without the greateſt Surprize; your Lordſhips Proceedings in this Caſe, being neither warranted by Proceedings, nor (as the Commons conceive) conſiſtent with the Methods of Juſtice, or with Reaſon: Wherefore the Commons cannot agree to the Day appointed by your Lordſhips for the Tryal of the Earl of Orford.

As to your Lordſhips Meſſage at the ſame time, relating to the Earl of Portland, *and* Charles *Lord* Halifax, *the Commons take the ſame to be without Precedent, and Unparliamentary; and conceive, your Lordſhips frequent Repetition thereof, in a ſhort time after the Commons had tranſmitted to your Lordſhips their Articles againſt Two of the Impeached Lords, and were daily preparing their Articles againſt the others, manifeſtly tends to the Delay of Juſtice, in obſtructing the Tryals of the Impeach'd Lords, by introducing Diſputes in Breach of that good Correſpondence between the Two Houſes, which ought inviolably to be preſerved.*

In the mean time, the Lords on the Fourth, accoſted them with another Meſſage to this purpoſe.

Mr. Speaker,

Meſſage from the Lords. "The Lords do think fit, upon Occaſion of "the Meſſage from this Houſe of the 31ſt of "*May*, to acquaint this Houſe, That having "been deſired by the Lord *Somers*, that a Day "may be appointed for his ſpeedy Tryal, and "their Lordſhips finding no Iſſue joined by Re-"plication of the Houſe of Commons, judge it "proper to give them notice thereof, that the "Commons may reply, if they think fit. And "at the ſame time, their Lordſhips let the Com-"mons know, That they will proceed to the "Trial of any of the Impeached Lords, whom "the Commons ſhall be firſt ready to begin with, "ſo as there may be no Occaſion taken from "thence for any unreaſonable Delay in the Pro-"ſecution of any of them: And further to ac-"quaint them, having ſearched their own Jour-"nals, they do not find, that after a general Im-"peachment, there has ever been ſo long a De-"lay of bringing up the particular Articles of "Impeachment, Sitting the Parliament: And "therefore the Lords do think, they had Reaſon "to aſſert, that it was a Hardſhip to the Two "Lords concerned (eſpecially when their Lord-"ſhips had put the Houſe of Commons in mind "of exhibiting ſuch Articles) and not agreeable "to the uſual Proceedings in Parliament. And "as the Lords do not controvert what Right "the Commons may have, of Impeaching in "general Terms, if they pleaſe; ſo the Lords, "in whom the Judicature does entirely reſide, "think themſelves obliged to aſſert, That "the Right of limiting a convenient Time for "bringing the particular Charge before them, "for the avoiding Delay in Juſtice, is lodged in "them.

"The Lords hope, the Commons on their part "will be as careful not to do any thing that may "tend to the Interruption of the good Corre-"ſpondence between the Two Houſes, as the "Lords ſhall ever be on their part; and the beſt "way to preſerve that, is, for neither of the "Two Houſes to exceed thoſe Limits which the "Law and Cuſtom of Parliament have already "eſtabliſhed.

The Commons hereupon, *June* the Sixth, deſir'd a Conference with the Lords, upon the Subject Matter of the ſaid Meſſage; at which 1701. Mr. *Harcourt* deliver'd himſelf in this manner.

Conference. "The Commons have deſired this Conference, "upon your Lordſhips Meſſage of the Fourth of "*June*, in order to preſerve a good Correſpon-"dence with your Lordſhips, which will always "be the Endeavour of the Commons, and is at "this time particularly neceſſary, in order to "bring the Impeached Lords to a ſpeedy Trial. "And becauſe the Meſſages which your Lord-"ſhips have thought fit to ſend to the Commons, "and the Anſwers thereunto, ſeem not to tend "toward expediting the Trials, which the Com-"mons ſo much deſire, but may rather furniſh "Matter of Diſpute between the Two Houſes; "the Commons therefore chuſe to follow the "Methods formerly uſed with good Succeſs upon "the like Occaſion; and for the more ſpeedy "and eaſie adjuſting and preventing any Diffe-"rences which have already happened, or may "ariſe, previous to, or upon thoſe Trials, the "Commons do propoſe to your Lordſhips, "That a Committee of both Houſes be nomi-"nated, to conſider of the moſt proper Ways "and Methods of proceeding on Impeachments, "according to the Uſage of Parliaments in ſuch "Caſes.

The Conference being ended, the Lords, on the Ninth, ſent the following Meſſage to the Commons.

Meſſage from the Lords. "In Anſwer to the Meſſage of the Houſe of "Commons of the Fourth Inſtant, the Lords ſay, "by their Meſſage ſent on the Third, wherein "they declare themſelves ready to proceed to "the Trial of any of the Impeached Lords, "whom the Commons ſhall be firſt ready to be-"gin with; They have given a full Proof of their "Willingneſs to comply with the Commons in "any thing which may appear reaſonable, in "order to the ſpeedy determining of the Im-"peachments now depending; and therefore, as "the Lords conceive, the Commons had no Oc-"caſion to begin any Diſpute on that Head, ſo "their Lordſhips decline entring into a Contro-"verſie, which ſeems to them to be of no Uſe at "preſent.

"The Lords think themſelves obliged to aſſert "their undoubted Right to appoint a Day for the "Trial of any Impeachment depending before "them, if they ſee good Cauſe for it, without "any previous Signification from the Commons "of their being ready to proceed; which Right is "warranted by many Precedents, as well as con-"ſonant to Juſtice and Reaſon. And their Lord-"ſhips, according to the Example of their An-"ceſtors, will always uſe that Right, with a Re-"gard to the equal and impartial Adminiſtration "of Juſtice, and with a due Care to prevent un-"reaſonable Delays.

"This being the Caſe, the Lords cannot but "wonder, that the Commons, without any Foun-"dation for it, ſhould make uſe of Expreſſions, "which, as their Lordſhips conceive, have never "been uſed before by one Houſe of Parliament to "another, and which, if the like were returned, "muſt neceſſarily deſtroy all good Correſpon-"dence between the Two Houſes.

"The laſt part of the Commons Meſſage be-"ing in effect, a Repetition only of their former "of the 21ſt of *May*, to which the Lords have "already return'd a full Anſwer, their Lordſhips "think it not requiſite to ſay any more, than "that they cannot apprehend with what Colour "their calling upon the Houſe of Commons to "ſend up Articles againſt Two Lords, whom

"the

1701. "the Commons have ſo long Impeached in General Terms, can be ſaid to tend to the Delay "of Juſtice. And therefore, as the Lords think "the Commons ought to have forborn that "Reflection, ſo their Lordſhips, in ſaying no "more upon the Occaſion of this Meſſage of the "Commons, think they have given a convincing "Proof of their Moderation, and of their ſincere "Deſire of preſerving a good Correſpondence between the Two Houſes; which is ſo neceſſary "for the publick Security, as well as doing Right "upon the Impeachments.

The Commons anſwer'd them next Day to this Effect:

Anſwer of the Commons. "The Commons, in hopes of avoiding all Interruptions and Delays in proceeding againſt "the Impeach'd Lords, and the many Inconveniencies which might ariſe thereby, having "propoſed to your Lordſhips at a Conference, "That a Committee of both Houſes might be "nominated, to conſider of the moſt proper "Ways and Methods of proceeding on Impeachments; think they might juſtly have expected "your Lordſhips Compliance with their ſaid "Propoſition, inſtead of your Lordſhips Anſwer "to their Meſſage of the Fourth Inſtant, which "they Yeſterday received. In which Anſwer of "your Lordſhips, though many Matters of great "Exception are contained, a ſuitable Reply "whereunto would inevitably deſtroy all good "Correſpondence between the Two Houſes; "yet the Commons, from an earneſt Deſire to "preſerve the ſame, as well as to give the moſt "convincing Proof of their Moderation, and to "ſhew their Readineſs to bring the Impeached "Lords to ſpeedy Juſtice, at preſent inſiſt only "on their Propoſition, of both Houſes to ſettle "and adjuſt the neceſſary Preliminaries to the "Trials; particularly, Whether the Impeached "Lords ſhall appear on their Trials at your "Lordſhips Bar as Criminals? Whether, being "under Accuſations for the ſame Crimes, they "are to ſit as Judges on each others Trials for "thoſe Crimes, or can vote in their own Caſes, "as we find by your Lordſhips Journal, ſince "their being impeach'd, they have been admitted to do? Which Matters, and ſome others, "being neceſſary to be adjuſted, the Commons "cannot but inſiſt on a Committee of both Houſes, to be appointed for that purpoſe: The "departing from which, would be giving up "the Rights of the Commons of *England*, known "by unqueſtionable Precedents, and the Uſage "of Parliament, and making all Impeachments (the greateſt Bulwark of the Laws and "Liberties of *England*) impracticable for the "future.

Debate of the Lords. The Lords hereupon enter'd into a Debate, Whether they ſhould appoint a Committee, in purſuance of the Commons Deſire; and having carried it in the Negative, yet deſir'd a preſent Conference with them, which was managed by the Duke of *Devonſhire*, who acquainted them:

Conference with the Commons. "That the Lords have deſir'd this Conference, "upon Occaſion of the laſt Conference, in order "to preſerve a good Correſpondence with the "Houſe of Commons, which they ſhall always "endeavour.

"As to the late Meſſages between the Two "Houſes, their Lordſhips are well aſſur'd, that "on their part nothing has paſſed, but what was "agreeable to the Methods of Parliament, and "proper to preſerve that good Underſtanding "between both Houſes, which is neceſſary for the "carrying on of the Publick Buſineſs.

"As to the Propoſal of the Commons, That a 1701. "Committee of both Houſes ſhould be appointed, "to conſider of the Ways and Methods of Proceedings on Impeachments, their Lordſhips "cannot agree to it:

I. Becauſe they do not find, that ever ſuch a Reaſons for not appointing a Committee. "Committee was appointed on Occaſion of Impeachments for Miſdemeanors; and their Lordſhips think themſelves obliged to be extremely "cautious in admitting any thing new in Matters "relating to Judicature.

"II. That although a Committee of this nature was agreed to upon the Impeachments of "the Earl of *Danby*, and the Five Popiſh Lords, "for High Treaſon, yet it was upon Occaſion of "ſeveral conſiderable Queſtions and Difficulties "which did then ariſe. And their Lordſhips do "not find that the Succeſs in that Inſtance was "ſuch, as ſhould encourage the purſuing the "ſame Methods again, though in the like Caſe: "The Lords obſerving, that after much time "ſpent at that Committee, the Diſputes were ſo "far from being there adjuſted, that they occaſion'd an abrupt Concluſion of a Seſſion of Parliament.

"III. Their Lordſhips are of Opinion, That "the Methods of Proceedings on Impeachments "for Miſdemeanors, are *ſo well ſettled by the* "Uſage of Parliaments, that they do not foreſee "any Difficulties likely to happen; at leaſt, "none have been yet ſtarted to them: And all "the Preliminaries in the Caſe of *Stephen Goudett*, "and others (which was the laſt Inſtance of Impeachment for Miſdemeanors) were eaſily "ſettled and agreed to, without any ſuch Committee.

"IV. The Lords cannot but obſerve, That this "Propoſal of the Commons comes ſo very late, "that their Lordſhips can expect no other Fruit "of ſuch a Committee, but the preventing the "Trials during this Seſſion.

"The Lords aſſure the Commons, That in "caſe any Difficulties ſhall ariſe in the Progreſs "of theſe Trials (which their Lordſhips do not "foreſee) they will be ready to comply with the "Commons in removing them, as far as Juſtice, "and the Uſage of Parliament will admit.

The Commons on the 11th, deſired a free Conference on the Subject Matter of the laſt; and at the ſame time drew up an Anſwer to their Lordſhips other Meſſage, on *Monday*, about their appointing *Friday* the 13th for the Trial of the Lord *Somers*; which was to this Effect:

"The Commons, on *Monday* laſt (which was Free Conference. "the 9th) received a Meſſage from your Lordſhips, That your Lordſhips had appointed the "Trial of *John* Lord *Somers* upon *Friday* next, on "their Impeachment againſt him; in which they "obſerve, your Lordſhips have not nominated "any Place for his Trial, though your Lordſhips "thought fit to make that Matter on the laſt Impeachment for Miſdemeanor, the Subject of a "long Debate.

"And they cannot but take Notice, That your "Lordſhips have taken as long a Time to give "your Anſwer to the Commons Deſire of a Committee of both Houſes, deliver'd at a Conference on *Friday* laſt, as you are pleaſed to allow "the Commons to have of the Day appointed "by your Lordſhips for the ſaid Trial.

"Your Lordſhips appointing ſo ſhort a Day, "eſpecially whilſt the Propoſition made to your "Lordſhips for a Committee of both Houſes, "was undetermined, the Commons take to "be ſuch a Hardſhip to them, and ſuch an Indulgence to the Perſon accuſed, as is not "to

1701. "to be parallel'd in any Parliamentary Proceed-
"ing.

"The Commons muſt likewiſe acquaint "your Lordſhips, That their Experience of the "Interruption of a former Trial on an Impeach-"ment for Miſdemeanors, for want of ſet-"tling the Preliminaries between the Two "Houſes, obliged them to inſiſt on a Committee "of both Houſes, for preventing the like Inter-"ruption.

"And they conceive 'twould be very prepoſte-"rous for them to enter upon the Trial of any "of thoſe Lords, till your Lordſhips diſcover "ſome Inclination to make the Proceeding there-"upon practicable; and therefore they think "they have Reaſon to inſiſt upon another Day "to be appointed for the Trial of the Lord *So-*"*mers*. And the Commons doubt not but to "ſatisfy your Lordſhips at a free Conference, "of the Neceſſity of having a Committee of "both Houſes, before they can proceed upon "the ſaid Trial.

Acts paſſed.

On *Thurſday, June* 12th, his Majeſty, who would have been glad to ſilence theſe Diſputes, came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better ſecuring the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects.* 2. *An Act for preventing the Inconveniences that may happen by Privilege of Parliament.* 3. *An Act for the recovering, ſecuring, and keeping in Repair the Harbour of* Minehead, *for the Benefit and Support of the Navigation and Trade of this Kingdom.* 4. *An Act for continuing the Acts therein mentioned, for preventing Theft and Rapine upon the Northern Borders of* England. 5. *An Act for appointing Wardens and Aſſay-Maſters, for aſſaying wrought Plate in the Cities of* Exeter, York, Briſtol, Cheſter, *and* Norwich. 6. *An Act for continuing a former Act, to prevent falſe and double Returns of Members to ſerve in Parliament.* 7. *An Act for raiſing the Militia for one Year, although the Month's Pay formerly advanced be not repaid.* 8. *An Act for the better ſettling and preſerving the Library kept in the Houſe at* Weſtminſter, *called* Cotton-Houſe, *in the Name and Family of the* Cottons, *for the Benefit of the Publick.* 9. *An Act for the more ſpeedy Payment of the Creditors of* James *late Duke of* Ormond, *and of the preſent Duke of* Ormond. 10. *An Act to enable Sir* Robert Marſham, *Knight and Baronet, to diſpoſe of Lands in* Hertfordſhire; *and to ſettle other Lands, of better Value, in* Kent, *to the ſame Uſes as the Lands in* Hertfordſhire *are ſettled.* 11. *An Act to enable* Stephen Jermyn *to make Proviſion for his younger Children, and for the Advancement of his eldeſt Son.* 12. *An Act for the more ſpeedy Payment of the Debts of* Chriſtopher Killiow, *Eſq; and for raiſing Portions and Maintenance for his Brothers and Siſters, in Purſuance of his Father's Will.* 13. *An Act for Sale of the Eſtate of* William Daviſon, *Eſq; deceas'd, for Payment of Debts, and raiſing his Childrens Portions charged thereupon.* 14. *An Act for ſeparating* James *Earl of* Angleſey *from* Katherine *Counteſs of* Angleſey, *his Wife, for the Cruelty of the ſaid Earl.* 15. *An Act for the veſting and ſettling ſeveral Meſſuages, Lands and Tenements, belonging to* John Fawconer, *Eſq; in Truſtees, to be ſold for Payment of Debts.* 16. *An Act to enable* William Vaughan, *Eſq; and* Frances Vaughan, *his intended Wife, (being both under the Age of One and Twenty Years) to perform Articles made for their Marriage.* 17. *An Act for Naturalizing* Adrian Loftland, *and others.* 18. *An Act for transferring a Truſt in Lands belonging to the City of* London, *unto New Truſtees.* 19. *An Act to diſſolve the Marriage of* Ralph Box *with* Elizabeth Eyre, *and to enable him to marry again.* 20. *An Act for erecting a Court of Requeſts or Conſcience in the City and County of the City of* Norwich, *for Recovery of ſmall Debts under Forty Shillings.* 21. *An Act to enable the Right Honourable* Elizabeth *Viſcounteſs* Buckley *of* Laſſels, *in the Kingdom of* Ireland, *to ſell certain Lands in the County of* Devon, *and City and County of the City of* Exon, *for the Payment of Debts.* 22. *An Act for the veſting and ſettling certain Mannors and Lands in* South-Pickenham, *and other Places in the County of* Norfolk, *in Truſtees, to be ſold, and for laying out the Moneys ariſing by the Sale thereof, in the Purchaſe of other Lands, to be ſettled to ſuch and the ſame Uſes as the Mannors and Lands ſo to be veſted are, and ſtand ſettled.* 23. *An Act for removing the County Gaol of* Hertford. 24. *An Act to enable* Robert *Lord Viſcount* Kilmore, *of the Kingdom of* Ireland, *(being an Infant) to ſettle divers Mannors, Lands, and Hereditaments in the Kingdom of* England, *upon a Treaty of Marriage.* 25. *An Act to enable Sir* Charles Barrington, *Baronet, to ſettle a Jointure, and make Proviſion for his younger Children.* 26. *An Act for furniſhing the Town of* New-Deale *with Freſh Water.* 27. *An Act for diſſolving the Marriage of Sir* John Dillon *with* Mary Boyle, *and for other Purpoſes therein mentioned.* 28. *An Act for veſting a Meſſuage and Lands in* Stevenage, *in the County of* Hertford, *the Eſtate of* Richard Nodes, *in Truſtees, to be ſold for making a Proviſion for his Wife and Children, equal to the Proviſion ſecured to them out of the ſaid Eſtate.* 29. *An Act for the better Performance of the laſt Will of* Henry Apſley, *Eſq; deceaſed.* 30. *An Act for Naturalizing* Jane Barkſtead, *Widow, and veſting ſeveral Mortgages and Securities in her, to enable her to convey or aſſign the ſame.* 31. *An Act for veſting the Eſtate of* Humphry Hyde, *Eſq; deceaſed, in Truſtees, for raiſing Portions for his younger Children.* 32. *An Act to change the Sirname of* Ellis Mews *and his Heirs, to the Sirname of* Saint John. 33. *An Act for Naturalizing* Archibald Arthur, *and enabling him to ſettle and diſpoſe of his Eſtate.* 34. *An Act for the erecting Hoſpitals and Work-Houſes, within the Borough of* Kings-Lynn *in the County of* Norfolk, *for the better employing and maintaining the Poor there.* 35. *An Act for diſcharging a Mortgage upon the Eſtate of* Peter Treviſa, *Eſq; deceaſed, and providing a Maintenance for his Widow and Children.* 36. *An Act for veſting the Eſtate of* Thomas Bennet, *late of* Newton cum Larton *in the County of* Cheſter, *in Truſtees, for the Uſe of the Poor of* Weſt Kirby, *purſuant to the Will of the ſaid* Thomas Bennet. 37. *An Act for making good the Deficiency of the Charges of making a Way out of* Chancery-Lane *into* Lincolns-Inn Fields. 38. *An Act for declaring the Will of Sir* Joſeph Herne, *Knight, deceaſed, the Twenty fifth Day of* February, *One thouſand Six hundred Ninety eight, to be taken and eſteemed the laſt Will of the ſaid Sir* Joſeph Herne.

After which, his Majeſty made this Speech, to expedite the Diſpatch of Affairs, with as much Importunity as was decent for him to uſe.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech.

"I Return you my hearty Thanks for the Care "you have taken to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion "to the Crown in the Proteſtant Line: And I "muſt not loſe this Occaſion of acquainting you, "that I am likewiſe extremely ſenſible of your "repeated Aſſurances of ſupporting me in ſuch "Alliances as ſhall be moſt proper for the Pre-"ſervation of the Liberty of *Europe*, and for the "Security of *England* and *Holland*. Your ready "Compliance with my Deſires, as to the Succours "for the States General, is alſo a great Satis-"faction to me, as well as a great Advantage to "the Common Cauſe. And as I have nothing ſo "much at Heart, as the Preſervation of the Li-

"berty

1701. "berty of *Europe*, and the Honour and Intereſt "of *England*, ſo I make no doubt of attaining "thoſe great Ends, by the Bleſſing of God, and "the Continuance of your chearful Concurrence.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The Seaſon of the Year makes it neceſſary "to have a ſpeedy Receſs; and the Poſture of "Affairs Abroad does abſolutely require my "Preſence, for the Encouragement of our Allies, and for the perfecting of ſuch Alliances "as may be moſt effectual for the common Intereſt: And therefore I muſt recommend a "Diſpatch of the Publick Buſineſs, eſpecially "of thoſe Matters which are of the greateſt Importance.

The Commons were willing to interpret this Speech, as an Approbation of their Proceedings in reſpect of their Conteſt with the Lords; and therefore agreed upon this Addreſs to his Majeſty.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign;

Addreſs of the Commons

WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, do with all imaginable Chearfulneſs, return your Majeſty our moſt humble Thanks for your moſt Gracious Speech from the Throne, in which your Majeſty is pleaſed to expreſs your Royal Approbation of the Proceedings of your Commons. And we do further unanimouſly aſſure your Majeſty, That we will be ready on all Occaſions to aſſiſt your Majeſty in ſupporting ſuch Alliances as your Majeſty ſhall think fit to make, in Conjunction with the Emperor and the States General, for the Preſervation of the Liberties of Europe, *the Proſperity and Peace of* England, *and for reducing the exorbitant Power of* France.

When this Addreſs was preſented, on *Friday, June* 13th, the King gave this Anſwer, to moliſy and to oblige in the wiſeſt manner.

Gentlemen,

King's Anſwer.

I Thank you heartily for the unanimous Aſſurances you have given me of your Readineſs to aſſiſt me, in ſupporting ſuch Alliances as I ſhall make in Conjunction with the Emperor and the States General. It will be a good Encouragement to them, to find the Senſe of this Kingdom ſo fully expreſſed on this Occaſion, and will likewiſe contribute moſt effectually to the obtaining thoſe great Ends you have now mentioned, on which the Happineſs of Europe *does ſo much depend.*

But to return again to the Conteſts between the Two Houſes. The Lords on the ſame Day the King made this Speech, had ſent this Meſſage to the Commons by Dr. *Newton* and Mr. *Gery*.

Conteſts between the Two Houſes.

"In Anſwer to the Meſſage from the Houſe of "Commons of the Tenth Inſtant, the Lords ſay, "That altho' they take it to be Unparliamentary "in many Particulars, yet, to ſhew their real "Deſire of avoiding Diſputes, and removing all "Pretence of delaying the Trials of the impeach'd "Lords, they will only take notice of that part "of their Meſſage, wherein the Commons propoſe ſome Things as Difficulties in reſpect of "the Trials; which Matters relating wholly to "their Judicature, and to their Rights and Privileges, as Peers, they think fit to acquaint the "Commons with the following Reſolutions of "the Houſe of Lords.

I. *That no Lord of Parliament, impeached for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, and coming to his Trial, ſhall, upon his Trial, be without the Bar.*

II. *That no Lord of Parliament, impeached of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, can be precluded from Voting on any Occaſion, except in his own Trial.* 1701.

"Their Lordſhips further take Notice of a Miſtake in point of Fact, alledged in the Meſſage "of the Commons; it no way appearing upon "their Journals, that the Lords impeached have "voted in their own Caſe.

"The Lords being well aſſured, that all the "Steps that have been taken by them in relation "to theſe Impeachments, are warranted by the "Practice of their Anceſtors, and the Uſage of "Parliament, have Reaſon to expect the Trials "ſhall proceed without Delay.

Alſo, That they are commanded by the Lords to acquaint this Houſe, That,

"In Anſwer to the Meſſage of the Houſe of "Commons Yeſterday, the Lords ſay, That they "cannot give a greater Evidence of their ſincere "and hearty Deſires of avoiding all Differences "with the Houſe of Commons, and of proceeding "on the Trials of the Impeachments, than by "not taking Notice of the ſeveral juſt Exceptions to which that Meſſage is liable, both as to "the Matter, and the Expreſſions.

"The Lords have nothing farther from their "Thoughts, than the going about to do any thing "which might have the leaſt Appearance of Hardſhip with relation to the Commons.

"But the Anſwer of the Lord *Somers* to the "Articles exhibited againſt him, having been "ſent down to the Commons on the 24th of *May* "laſt, and they having by their Meſſage of the "21ſt of *May*, ſignified to their Lordſhips their "Intention of beginning with the Trial of his "Impeachment in the firſt place:

"The Lords, conſidering how far the Seſſion "is advanced, thought it reaſonable to appoint "the 13th Inſtant for the ſaid Trial, their Lordſhips finding ſeveral Precedents of appointing "Trials on Impeachments within a ſhorter "Time.

"The Lords alſo think it incumbent upon "them, to diſpatch the Trials of all the impeach'd Lords, before the Riſing of the Parliament. This is what Juſtice requires, and cannot be look'd upon as a Matter of Indulgency: "Nevertheleſs, that the Commons may ſee how "deſirous their Lordſhips are to comply with "them in any thing which may be conſiſtent "with Juſtice, they have appointed the Trial of "Impeachment againſt *John* Lord *Somers*, on "*Tueſday* the 17th of this Inſtant *June*, at Ten "of the Clock in the Forenoon, in the Houſe of "Lords, which will be then ſitting in *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

"That they were commanded by the Lords to "acquaint this Houſe, That the Lords do agree "to a free Conference with the Commons, as "deſired; and do appoint to Morrow at One a "Clock in the *Painted Chamber*.

The Commons on the 13th made theſe Anſwers to them.

"The Houſe of Commons find greater Reaſon "to inſiſt upon their Propoſal of a Committee of "both Houſes, from the Two Meſſages received "Yeſterday from your Lordſhips; for their Ambiguity and Uncertainty do ſhew the Methods "of former Parliaments to be the moſt proper "way for Diſpatch of Buſineſs. Anſwer of the Commons

"The Commons have been obliged to employ "that Time in conſidering how to anſwer your "Lordſhips Meſſages, which otherwiſe would "have been ſpent in preparing for the Lord *Somers*'s Trial; ſo that the Delay muſt be charged where the Occaſion ariſeth. And the

"Com-

1701. "Commons having deſired a Committee of both "Houſes, to adjuſt the Preliminaries of the "Trials, cannot but think it ſtrange your Lordſhips ſhould come to Reſolutions upon Two "of thoſe Points, while the Propoſal of the "Houſe of Commons is under Debate at Conferences between the Two Houſes; the Commons having other Difficulties to propoſe, "which concern them as Proſecutors, and all future Impeachments.

"And though the Commons have the Subject "of your Lordſhips Reſolutions, with other "Things, to be debated at a Committee of both "Houſes; yet they cannot but obſerve, That "your Lordſhips ſecond Reſolution is no direct "Anſwer to the Commons Propoſal; which was, "Whether Peers, impeached of the ſame Crimes, "ſhall vote for each other upon their Trial for "the ſame Crimes. And the Commons cannot "believe, that any ſuch Rule can be laid down "in plain Words, where there is a due Regard "to Juſtice.

"And as to what your Lordſhips obſerve, that "there is a Miſtake in point of Fact alledged by "the Commons; The Houſe may take notice of "the Caution uſed by your Lordſhips in wording "that part of your Meſſage; for they know your "Lordſhips are too well acquainted with the "Truth of the Fact, to affirm, that the impeached Lords did not vote in their own Caſes; "and though the appearing, or not appearing "upon your Lordſhips Journal, does not make "it more or leſs agreeable to the Rules of Juſtice, "yet the Commons cannot but add this further "Obſervation from your Lordſhips Journal; "That the impeached Lords Preſence is not "only recorded when thoſe Votes paſſed, but "they alſo find ſome of them appointed of Committees for preparing and drawing up the Meſſages and Anſwers to the Houſe of Commons; "which they do not think has been the beſt "Expedient for preſerving a good Correſpondence between the Two Houſes, or adjuſting "what will be neceſſary upon theſe Trials: "And therefore the Commons cannot think it "agreeable to the Rules of Parliament, for "them to appear at the Trial, till all neceſſary "Preliminaries are firſt ſettled with your Lordſhips.

Report of the Conference. Then the Commons went to the Conference with the Lords, and Mr. *Harcourt* reported the Matter thereof, and the Words which the Lord *Haverſham* had ſpoke thereat; which he read in his Place, and afterwards deliver'd in at the Clerk's Table, where the ſame was read, and is as followeth; *viz.*

"That the Managers appointed by this Houſe "met the Lords at the Free Conference, the Subject Matter whereof was opened by Mr. *Harcourt*, and immediately afterwards further argued by Sir *Bartholomew Shower*.

"It was inſiſted on by each of them, That the "Reaſons offered by their Lordſhips at the laſt "Conference, were not ſufficient for their Lordſhips diſagreeing to a Committee of both Houſes, deſired by the Commons at the firſt Conference.

"That notwithſtanding thoſe Reaſons, the "Commons ſtill thought a Committee of both "Houſes abſolutely neceſſary for adjuſting and "preventing ſuch Differences as had happen'd, "or might ariſe previous to, or upon the Trials; "and therefore inſiſted, that ſuch a Committee "ſhould be appointed before the Commons could "proceed on any Trial.

"'Twas urged as one Reaſon for ſuch a Committee, That many Difficulties might happen, "whereby the Trials might be obſtructed, if the "Preliminaries ſhould not be firſt adjuſted: As "one Inſtance, That Point of ſeveral Lords being under Impeachments of the ſame Crimes, "voting on each others Trials, was mentioned.

"The Lord Steward firſt replied, and nothing "was offer'd by his Grace, but what was material and pertinent to the Matter in Queſtion, "and agreeable to the Method of Parliament in "free Conferences.

"That *John* Lord *Haverſham* ſpoke immediately after; and in his Lordſhip's Diſcourſe, "uſed theſe or the like Expreſſions.

Speech of the Lord Haverſham. *One Thing there is, tho' I cannot ſpeak it, becauſe I am bound up by the Orders of the Houſe: Yet I muſt have ſome Anſwer; This is as to the Lords voting in their own Caſe; it requires an Anſwer, tho' I cannot go into the Debate of it. The Commons themſelves have made this Precedent; for in theſe Impeachments they have allowed Men guilty of the ſame Crimes, to vote in their own Houſe; and therefore we have not made any Diſtinction in our Houſe, that ſome ſhould vote, and ſome not. The Lords have ſo high an Opinion of the Juſtice of the Houſe of Commons, that they hope Juſtice ſhall never be made uſe of as a Mask for any Deſign. And therefore give me Leave to ſay (tho' I am not to argue it) 'tis a plain Demonſtration, that the Commons think theſe Lords innocent; and I think the Propoſition is undeniable; for there are ſeveral Lords in the ſame Crimes, in the ſame Facts, there is no Diſtinction. And the Commons leave ſome of theſe Men at the Head of Affairs near the King's Perſon, to do any Miſchief, if their Perſons were inclined to it; and impeach others, when they are both alike guilty, and concern'd in the ſame Facts. This is a Thing I was in hopes I ſhould never have heard aſſerted, when the Beginning of it was from the Houſe of Commons.*

"Theſe Expreſſions were inſtantly objected to "by Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*; and the Managers "took them to be ſo great an Aſperſion on the "Honour of this Houſe, that they thought themſelves obliged in Duty immediately to withdraw from the free Conference.

"As the Managers were withdrawing, his "Grace my Lord Steward ſpoke to the Effect "following; *That he hoped they would not think* "*that that Lord had any Authority from the Houſe* "*of Lords, to uſe any ſuch Expreſſions towards the* "*Commons.*

Reſolved, That *John* Lord *Haverſham* hath at the free Conference this Day uttered moſt ſcandalous Reproaches and falſe Expreſſions, highly reflecting upon the Honour and Juſtice of the Houſe of Commons, and tending to the making a Breach in the good Correſpondence between the Lords and Commons; and to the interrupting the publick Juſtice of the Nation, by delaying the Proceedings on Impeachments.

Reſolved, That *John* Lord *Haverſham* be charged before the Lords, for the Words ſpoken by the ſaid Lord this Day at the Free Conference: And that the Lords be deſired to proceed in Juſtice againſt the ſaid Lord *Haverſham*, and to inflict ſuch Puniſhment upon the ſaid Lord as ſo high an Offence againſt the Houſe of Commons does deſerve.

Ordered, That Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave* do carry the ſaid Charge and Reſolution to the Lords.

A Meſſage from the Lords by Doctor *Newton* and Mr. *Gery*.

1701. Mr. Speaker,

THE Lords having been informed by their Managers, that ſome Interruption happened at the Free Conference, which their Lordſhips are concerned at; becauſe they wiſh that nothing ſhould interrupt the Publick Buſineſs, do deſire the Commons would come again preſently to the ſaid Free Conference; which they do not doubt, will prove the beſt Expedient to prevent the Inconvenience of a Miſunderſtanding upon what has paſt.

Next Day, which was *Saturday* the 14th, came another Meſſage from the Lords, importing:

That upon Occaſion of their laſt Meſſage Yeſterday, in order to continue a good Correſpondence between the Two Houſes, their Lordſhips did immediately appoint a Committee to ſtate the Matter of the Free Conference, and alſo to inſpect Precedents of what has happened of the like Nature; and that the publick Buſineſs may receive no Interruption, the Time deſired by their Lordſhips for renewing the Free Conference, being elapſed, their Lordſhips deſire a preſent Free Conference in the Painted Chamber *upon the Subject Matter of the laſt Free Conference.*

Upon which the Commons came to the following Reſolutions.

That an Anſwer be returned to the Lords, That the Commons are extremely deſirous to preſerve a good Correſpondence between the Two Houſes, and to expedite the Trials of the impeached Lords; but do conceive, 'tis not conſiſtent with the Honour of the Commons to renew the Free Conference, until they have received Reparation, by their Lordſhips doing Juſtice upon John *Lord* Haverſham, *for the Indignity he Yeſterday offered to the Houſe of Commons.*

Articles againſt the Lord *Halifax.* On the ſame Day, *Saturday,* 14 *June,* Mr. *Bruges* reported, that he had carried the Articles of Impeachment againſt *Charles* Lord *Halifax* to the Lords, which were,

I. That whereas it was the continued Senſe of the Commons of *England,* that it was highly reaſonable, that the Forfeited Eſtates of Rebels and Traitors in *Ireland* ſhould be applied in Eaſe of his Majeſty's Faithful Subjects of the Kingdom of *England,* the ſaid Lord *Halifax* preſumed to adviſe, paſs, or direct the paſſing a Grant to *Thomas Railton,* Eſq; in Truſt for himſelf, of ſeveral Debts, Intereſts, *&c.* amounting to 13000 *l.* or thereabouts, accruing to his Majeſty from Attainders, Outlawries, or other Forfeitures in *Ireland.* ——To which he anſwered, *That he did accept the ſaid Grant, as it was lawful for him to do, without Breach of his Duty, and the Truſt repoſed in him; which Grant hath ſince been taken away by Act of Parliament, and he hath not made clear thereof, as yet, above* 400 l.

II. That he has not repaid into the Receipt of his Majeſty's Exchequer in *Ireland* the Sum of 1000 *l.* which he had actually received to his own Uſe, out of the Profits of the fore-mentioned Grant, which he ought to have ſo repaid, by virtue of the *Act for granting an Aid to his Majeſty, by Sale of the Forfeited Eſtates in* Ireland. —— To which he anſwered, *That he gave Direction, after the ſaid Act paſſed, to his Agents in* Ireland, *to do, in relation to the Money received, as ſhould be adviſed by Council there; by whom his Agents were adviſed, that the ſaid Monies being received out of the mean Profits, which were remitted by that Act, were not within the firſt-mentioned Clauſe in the ſaid Act.*

III. That in the Time of a tedious and expenſive War, he did adviſe, procure, and aſſent, not only to the paſſing of divers Grants to others, but did obtain and accept of ſeveral beneficial ones for himſelf; which Practices were a moſt notorious Abuſe of his Majeſty's Goodneſs, *&c.* 1701. ——To which he anſwered, *That he ſerved his Majeſty faithfully in his Stations, and his Majeſty graciouſly accepted of his Service; and as a Mark of his Royal Favour, did make for his Benefit, ſuch Grants as are mentioned in the precedent and ſubſequent Articles, and none other. And as to other Perſons, he only, in conjunction with the other Commiſſioners, did ſign ſeveral Warrants and Dockets for ſuch Grants, as his Majeſty was pleaſed to direct.*

IV. Whereas by Common Law, and other Statutes, the King's Foreſts ſhould be preſerved, the ſaid Lord *Halifax,* not regarding the Laws and Ordinances of this Realm, nor his Duty to his Majeſty and the Publick, had procured a Grant to *Henry Segar,* Gent. in Truſt for himſelf, of the Sum of 14000 *l.* of ſcrubbed Beech, Birch, Holly, *&c.* under colour whereof, Sapling Oaks, and many Tuns of well grown Timber had been cut and fallen, and ſold and diſpoſed for his Benefit. —— To which he anſwered, *That his Majeſty out of his Grace and Favour, did grant in Truſt for him the Sum of* 2000 l. per Ann. *to be raiſed by the Fall of Scrub-Beech, Birch,* &c. *for the Space of Seven Years, which Grant was not prejudicial to any Timber growing in the ſaid Foreſt. And if any Abuſe were in cutting the Wood, he conceives he is not anſwerable for the ſame, it being done by the Direction of his Majeſty's Surveyor General, and other his Majeſty's Officers.*

V. That he the ſaid Lord *Halifax* did grant, or procure to be granted, to his Brother *Chriſtopher Mountague,* Eſq; the Place and Office of Auditor of the Receipts, and Writer of the Tallies, in Truſt for himſelf; ſo that he the ſaid Lord was, in effect, at the ſame time, one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Auditor of the Receipts, and Writer of the Tallies, and enjoyed the Profits of the ſaid ſeveral Offices, which were manifeſtly inconſiſtent, and ought to have been a Check to each other. —— To which he anſwered, *That the Grant of the ſaid Office was done at his Deſire and Requeſt, becauſe he intended in a ſhort time after, to leave his own Employment and Places in the Treaſury, and to obtain a Surrender from his ſaid Brother of the ſaid Office, and procure a Grant thereof to himſelf, which has been ſince done, and he conceives was lawful for him to do.*

VI. That the ſaid Lord *Halifax,* well knowing the moſt apparent evil Conſequences, as well as the Injuſtice of the Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, did yet adviſe his Majeſty to enter into a Treaty for it, and did encourage and promote the ſame. ——To which he anſwered, *That he never did adviſe his Majeſty to enter into or make the ſaid Treaty, or was ever conſulted upon any Clauſe or Article thereof: But when the ſaid Matter was diſcourſed at* Tunbridge-Wells, *he made ſeveral Objections to the ſame.*

On *Monday, June* the 16th. The Lords ſent a Meſſage to acquaint the Houſe of Commons, *That the Lords taking into their Care the Ordering of the Trial of* John *Lord* Somers, *on* Tueſday *the* 17th *of* June *Inſtant, at Ten of the Clock in* Weſtminſter-Hall, *have prepared ſome Notes and Rules to be obſerved at the ſaid Trial, which the Lords have thought fit to communicate to this Houſe, viz.* Rules for the Trial of the Impeached Lords.

"That the whole Impeachment is to be read, "and then the Anſwer; which being done, the "Lord Keeper is to tell the Commons, that now "they may go on with their Evidence.

"Then

1701. " Then the Lord Keeper is to declare, That " now the Court is proceeding to hear the " Evidence, and deſire the Peers to give Atten- " tion.

" If any of the Peers, or the Members of the " Houſe of Commons, that manage the Evidence, " or the Lord impeached, do deſire to have any " Queſtion asked, they muſt deſire the Lord " Keeper to ask the ſame.

" If any Doubt doth ariſe at the Trial, no De- " bate is to be in the Court, but the Queſtion ſuſ- " pended to be debated in this Houſe.

" The Members of the Houſe of Commons to " be there before the Peers come.

" None to be covered at the Trial but the " Peers.

" That ſuch Peers at the Trial of the im- " peached Lord, who at the Inſtance of the ſaid " Lord, or of the Commons, ſhall be admitted " Witneſſes, are to be ſworn at the Clerk's Ta- " ble, and the Lord Keeper to adminiſter the " Oath, and to deliver their Evidence in their " own Places.

" Thoſe Witneſſes that are Commoners, are to " be ſworn at the Bar by the Clerk, and are to " deliver their Evidence there.

" The impeached Lords may croſs examine " Witneſſes, *viva voce.*

Reaſons of the Commons againſt proceeding to the Trial of the Lord *Somers.*

But the Commons appointed a Committee to conſider of the Reaſons why they cannot proceed to the Trial of the Lord *Somers.* Which Reaſons were the next Day reported by Mr. *Harcourt,* and were as follow:

" The Commons in this whole Proceeding " againſt the impeached Lords, have acted with " all imaginable Zeal to bring them to a ſpeedy " Trial; and they doubt not but it will appear, " by comparing their Proceedings with all others " upon the like Occaſion, That the Houſe of " Commons have nothing to blame themſelves " for, but that they have not expreſſed the Re- " ſentment their Anceſtors have juſtly ſhewed " upon much leſs Attempts which have been made " upon their Power of Impeachments.

" The Commons, on the 31ſt of *May,* ac- " quainted your Lordſhips, that they thought it " proper from the Nature of the Evidence, to " proceed in the firſt place upon the Trial of " the Lord *Somers.* Upon the firſt Intimation " from your Lordſhips, ſome Days afterwards, " That you would proceed to the Trial of the " impeached Lords, whom the Commons ſhould " be firſt ready to begin with, notwithſtanding " your Lordſhips had before thought fit to ap- " point which Impeachment ſhould be firſt tried, " and affix a Day for ſuch Trial, without " conſulting the Commons, who are the Proſe- " cutors:

" The Commons determine to expedite the " Trials to the utmoſt of their Power, in hopes " of attaining that end: And for the more ſpee- " dy and eaſie adjuſting and preventing any Diffe- " rences, which had happened, or might ariſe " previous to or upon theſe Trials, propoſed to " your Lordſhips at a Conference, the moſt Par- " liamentary and Effectual Method for that pur- " poſe, and that which in no manner intrenched " upon your Lordſhips Judicature, That a Com- " mittee of both Houſes ſhould be nominated, to " conſider of the moſt proper Ways and Methods " of proceeding upon Impeachments according to " the Uſage of Parliament.

" In the next Meſſage to the Commons, upon " *Monday* the 9th of *June,* your Lordſhips " thought fit, without taking the leaſt Notice of " this Propoſition, to appoint the *Friday* then " following for the Trial of the ſaid Lord *Somers;* 1701. " whereunto, as well as to many other Meſſages " and Proceedings of your Lordſhips upon this " Occaſion, the Houſe of Commons might have " juſtly taken very great Exceptions; yet, as an " Evidence of their Moderation, and to ſhew " their Readineſs to bring the impeached Lords " to ſpeedy Juſtice, the Commons inſiſted only " on their Propoſition for a Committee of both " Houſes, to ſettle and adjuſt the neceſſary Pre- " liminaries to the Trial; particularly, Whe- " ther the impeached Lords ſhould appear on " their Trial at your Lordſhips Bar as Criminals? " Whether, being under Accuſations of the ſame " Crimes, they ſhould ſit as Judges on each " other's Trial for thoſe Crimes, or ſhould vote " in their own Caſes, as 'tis notorious they have " been permitted by your Lordſhips to do, in ma- " ny Inſtances which might be given; to which " Particulars, your Lordſhips have not yet given " a direct Anſwer; tho' put in mind thereof by " the Commons.

" Your Lordſhips at a Conference, having " offered ſome Reaſons why you could not agree " to a Committee of both Houſes to adjuſt the " neceſſary Preliminaries, the Commons there- " upon deſired a Free Conference, and your " Lordſhips agreed thereunto; at which, 'tis well " known to many of your Lordſhips, who were " then preſent, what moſt ſcandalous Reproaches " and falſe Expreſſions, highly reflecting upon " the Honour and Juſtice of the Houſe of Com- " mons, were uttered by *John* Lord *Haverſham,* " whereby the Commons were under a Neceſſity " of withdrawing from the ſaid Free Conference; " for which Offence, the Commons have, with " all due Regard to your Lordſhips, prayed your " Lordſhips Juſtice againſt the Lord *Haverſham;* " but have as yet received no manner of Satiſ- " faction.

" The Commons reſtrain themſelves from " enumerating your Lordſhips very many Irregu- " lar and Unparliamentary Proceedings upon this " Occaſion; but think it is what they owe to " publick Juſtice, and all the Commons of *Eng-* " *land* whom they repreſent, to declare ſome few " of thoſe Reaſons, why they peremptorily re- " fuſe to proceed to the Trial of the Lord *Somers* " on the Seventeenth of *June.*

" Firſt, Becauſe your Lordſhips have not yet " agreed, That a Committee of both Houſes " ſhould be appointed, for ſettling the neceſſary " Preliminaries; a Method never until this time " denied by the Houſe of Lords, whenſoever the " Commons have thought it neceſſary to deſire " the ſame.

" Secondly, Should the Commons (which they " never will do) be contented to give up thoſe " Rights which have been tranſmitted to them " from their Anceſtors, and are of abſolute Ne- " ceſſity to their Proceedings on Impeachments; " yet, whilſt they have any Regard to publick " Juſtice, they never can appear as Proſecu- " tors before your Lordſhips, till your Lord- " ſhips have firſt given them Satisfaction, that " Lords impeached of the ſame Crimes, ſhall not " ſit as Judges on each other's Trials for thoſe " Crimes.

" Thirdly, Becauſe the Commons have as yet " received no Reparation for the great Indignity " offered to them at the Free Conference by the " Lord *Haverſham.* The Commons are far from " any Inclination, and cannot be ſuppoſed to be " under any Neceſſity of delaying the Trial of " the Lord *Somers:* There is not any Article " exhibited by them in Maintenance of their " Impeachment againſt the Lord *Somers,* for " the Proof whereof they have not full and un-

1701. "deniable Evidence; which they will be ready "to produce, as ſoon as your Lordſhips ſhall have "done Juſtice upon the Lord *Haverſham*; and "the neceſſary Preliminaries in order to the ſaid "Tryal, ſhall be ſettled by a Committee of both "Houſes.

"The Commons think it unneceſſary to ob-"ſerve to your Lordſhips, that moſt of the Ar-"ticles whereof the Lord *Somers* ſtands impeach-"ed, will appear to your Lordſhips to be un-"doubtedly true, from Matters of Record, as "well as by the Confeſſion of the ſaid Lord *So-"mers*, in his Anſwer to the ſaid Articles; to "which the Commons doubt not but your Lord-"ſhips will have a due Regard, when his Trial "ſhall regularly proceed.

The Lords ſent their Anſwer to this Meſſage, on *Friday*, *June* the 20th, in theſe Words.

Anſwer of the Lords. "The Lords, in Anſwer to the Meſſage of the "Commons of the 17th Inſtant, ſay, The only "true way of determining which of the Two "Houſes has acted with the greateſt Sincerity, in "order to bring the impeached Lords to their "Trials, is to look back upon the reſpective Pro-"ceedings.

"The Lords do not well underſtand what the "Commons mean by that Reſentment which they "ſpeak of in their Meſſage: Their Lordſhips "own, the Houſe of Commons have a Right of "Impeaching: And the Lords have undoubted "Power of doing Juſtice upon thoſe Impeach-"ments, by bringing them to Trial, and Con-"demning or Acquitting the Parties in a reaſona-"ble Time. This Power is derived to them from "their Anceſtors, which they will not ſuffer to "be wreſted from them by any Pretences what-"ſoever.

"Their Lordſhips cannot but wonder, that "the Commons ſhould not have propoſed a Com-"mittee of both Houſes much ſooner, if they "thought it ſo neceſſary for the bringing on the "Trials; no mention being of ſuch a Committee "from the Firſt of *April* to the Sixth of *June*, "although during that Interval, their Delays "were frequently complained of by the Houſe "of Lords.

"The Manner in which the Commons demand "this Committee, the Lords look upon as a di-"rect Invading of their Judicature; and there-"fore, as there never was a Committee of both "Houſes yielded to by the Lords in Caſe of any "Impeachment for High Crimes and Miſde-"meanors; ſo their Lordſhips do inſiſt, That "they will make no new Precedent upon this Oc-"caſion. Many Impeachments for Miſdemeanors "have in all Times been determined without "ſuch a Committee: And if now the Commons "think fit, by any unprecedented Demand, to "form an Excuſe for not proſecuting their Im-"peachments, it is demonſtrable where the Ob-"ſtruction lies.

"As to the Preliminaries which the Commons "mention in particular, as proper to be ſet-"tled at ſuch a Committee, they have received "the Reſolutions of the Houſe of Lords there-"in, by their Meſſage of the Twelfth Inſtant; "from which (being Matters entirely relating "to their Judicature) their Lordſhips cannot de-"part.

"As to the laſt Pretence the Commons would "make to ſhelter the delaying the Trials, from "ſome Expreſſions which fell from the Lord "*Haverſham* at the Free Conference, at which "Offence was taken, their Lordſhips will only "obſerve,

Firſt, That they have omitted nothing which "might give the Commons all reaſonable Satis-"faction of their purpoſe to do them Juſtice in "that Matter, ſo far as is conſiſtent with doing "Juſtice to that Lord; and alſo to preſerve all "good Correſpondence with them; as appears by "the ſeveral Steps they have taken.

"*Secondly*, That this Buſineſs has no Relation "to the Trial of the impeached Lords, and there-"fore their Lordſhips cannot imagine why the "Commons ſhould make Satisfaction and Repa-"ration againſt the Lord *Haverſham* a neceſſary "Condition for the going on with the Trials, and "at the ſame time find no Difficulties in proceed-"ing on other Buſineſs.

In the mean time, on *Tueſday*, *June* the 17th, the Lords proceeded to the Trial of *John* Lord *Somers* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where this Proclamation firſt was made: *Whereas a Charge of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors has been exhibited by the Houſe of Commons, in the Name of themſelves, and all the Commons of* England, *againſt* John *Lord* Somers; *All Perſons concerned are to take Notice, that he now ſtands upon his Trial, and they may now come forth, in order to make good the ſaid Charge.* Then the Houſe adjourned to the ſaid Hall; and being ſeated, after Proclamation for Silence, the Articles againſt *John* Lord *Somers* were read, and alſo his Lordſhip's Anſwer to them. Then the Lord Keeper declared the Houſe was ready to hear the Evidence againſt him. The Lord *Somers* moved to have his Council heard. After long Debate, and hearing the Judges to ſeveral Queſtions asked them by the Lords, this Queſtion was propoſed, *That* John *Lord* Somers *be acquitted of the Articles of Impeachment againſt him, exhibited by the Houſe of Commons, and all things therein contained, and that the ſaid Impeachment be diſmiſſed.* When the Lord Keeper had asked every Lord, Whether Content or not? He declared the Majority was for Acquitting. Then the Lords adjourned to the Houſe above, and made the following Order: *It was Conſidered, Ordered, and Adjudged by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That* John *Lord* Somers *ſhall be, and is hereby Acquitted of the Articles of Impeachment againſt him, exhibited by the Houſe of Commons, and all things therein contained, and that the ſaid Impeachment ſhall be, and is hereby diſmiſſed.*

Trial of *John* Lord *Somers*. Honourably Acquitted.

Remonſtrance of the Commons. The Commons, to juſtify their Refuſal of appearing at the ſaid Trial, did Reſolve, on *June* the 20th, "That the Lords have refuſed Juſtice "to the Commons upon the Impeachment againſt "the Lord *Somers*, by denying them a Com-"mittee of both Houſes, which was deſired by "the Commons as the proper and only Method "of ſettling the neceſſary Preliminaries, in order "to the proceeding to the Trial of the ſaid Lord "*Somers* with effect; and afterwards by proceed-"ing to a pretended Trial of the ſaid Lord, which "could tend only to protect him from Juſtice by "colour of an illegal Acquittal. Againſt which "Proceedings of the Lords, the Commons do "ſolemnly proteſt, as being repugnant to the "Rules of Juſtice, and therefore null and void. "That the Houſe of Lords, by the pretended "Trial of *John* Lord *Somers*, have endeavour'd "to overturn the Right of Impeachments lodged "in the Houſe of Commons by the ancient Con-"ſtitution of this Kingdom, for the Safety and "Protection of the Commons againſt the Power "of Great Men; and have made an Invaſion up-"on the Liberties of the Subject, by laying a "Foundation of Impunity for the greateſt Offen-"ders. That all the ill Conſequences which may "at this Time attend the Delay of the Supplies "given by the Commons for the preſerving the "pub-

1701. "publick Peace, and maintaining the Balance of "Europe, by ſupporting our Allies againſt the "Power of *France*, are to be imputed to thoſe, "who, to procure an Indemnity for their own "enormous Crimes, have uſed their utmoſt En-"deavours to make a Breach between the Two "Houſes.

The Lords the ſame Day ſent this Anſwer to that Meſſage.

Anſwer of the Lords.

The Lords do acquaint the Commons, That they might have known by the Records of the Houſe of Lords, that the Lords had proceeded to the Trial of the Lord Somers *on* Tueſday *laſt, being the Day appointed; and the Commons not appearing to maintain their Articles againſt the ſaid Lord, the Lords had by Judgment of their Houſe, acquitted him of the Articles of Impeachment againſt him exhibited by the Houſe of Commons, and all things therein contained, and had diſmiſſed the ſaid Impeachment.*

And the Lords had appointed Monday *next for the Trial of the Earl of* Orford, *on which Day they would proceed on the ſaid Trial.*

The Commons ſtill preſſing for a Committee of both Houſes, which their Lordſhips could never conſent to for the Reaſons already given, their Lordſhips could infer nothing from their perſiſting in this Demand, than that they never deſigned to bring any of their Impeachments to a Trial.

As to the Lord Haverſham, *his Anſwer was now before the Houſe of Commons, and the Lords reſolved to do Juſtice in that Matter.*

The ſame Day the Commons had a Copy given them of the Lord *Haverſham's* Anſwer to the Charge againſt him; which being extraordinary, deſerves to be inſerted in this place.

Anſwer of the Lord *Haverſham* to a Complaint of the Commons.

"The ſaid Lord *Haverſham*, ſaving to himſelf "all Advantages of Exception to the ſaid Charge, "and of not being prejudiced by any want of "Form in this Anſwer; and alſo ſaving to him-"ſelf all Rights and Privileges belonging to him as "one of the Peers of this Realm; for Anſwer to "the ſaid Charge, ſaith, That on the Sixth Day "of *June*, 1701, the Commons, by a Meſſage "ſent to the Lords, deſired a Conference upon "their Meſſage to the Commons of the Fourth of "*June*: In which Conference, they propoſed to "the Lords, That a Committee of both Houſes "might be nominated, to conſider of the moſt "proper Ways and Methods of Proceeding in "the Impeachments of the Lords, according to "the Uſage of Parliaments. That on the 10th "of *June*, the Lords deſired another Conference "with the Commons, in which they delivered "them their Reaſons why they could not agree "to the appointing of ſuch a Committee; *viz.* "*Firſt*, That they could not find that ever ſuch "a Committee was appointed on Occaſion of "Impeachments for Miſdemeanors, and their "Obligation to be curious in admitting any thing "new relating to Judicature. *Secondly*, That al-"though a Committee of this Nature was agreed "to, upon the Impeachments of the Earl of "*Danby*, and the Five Popiſh Lords for High-"Treaſon; yet the Succeſs in that Inſtance was "not ſuch as ſhould encourage the purſuing of "the ſame Method, though in the like Caſe; "and that, after ſo much Time ſpent in the "Committee, the Diſputes were ſo far from being "there adjuſted, that they occaſion'd the abrupt "Concluſion of a Seſſion of Parliament. *Thirdly*, "That the Methods of Proceedings for Miſde-"meanors are ſo well ſettled by the Uſage of "Parliament, that no Difficulties were likely to "happen, nor none had been ſtated to them; "and that all the Preliminaries in the Caſe of 1701. "*Stephen Goudett*, and others (which was the "laſt Inſtance of Impeachments for Miſdemea-"nors) were eaſily ſettled and agreed to, with-"out any ſuch Committee. *Fourthly*, That the "Propoſal of the Commons came ſo very late, "that no other Fruit could be expected of ſuch "a Committee, but the preventing of the Tri-"als during this Seſſion. Whereupon the Com-"mons on the 12th of *June*, deſired of the Lords "a Free Conference, on the Subject Matter of "the laſt Conference. That the Lords, on the "12th of *June* came to Two Reſolutions in rela-"tion to the Lords impeached. Firſt, *That no* "*Lord of Parliament, impeached of High Crimes* "*and Miſdemeanors, and coming to his Trial, ſhall,* "*upon his Trial, be without the Bar.* Secondly, "*That no Lord of Parliament, impeached for High* "*Crimes and Miſdemeanors, can be precluded from* "*voting on any Occaſion, except in his own Trial.* "And by Meſſengers of their own, the Lords "acquainted the Commons with the ſaid two "Reſolutions; and alſo, that they agreed to a "Free Conference with the Commons, and ap-"pointed the next Day. That upon the 30th of "*June* Mr. *Harcourt*, one of the Managers, be-"gan the Free Conference on the part of the "Commons, and argued upon the Four Rea-"ſons given by the Lords, why they could not "agree to the appointing a Committee of both "Houſes; and principally relied upon the In-"ſtance in the Caſe of the Popiſh Lords, and "inſiſted upon the Delay that the not agreeing "to the Nomination of ſuch a Committee would "neceſſarily occaſion, whereby the Lords Trials, "and the Juſtice due to the Nation, would be "retarded. And departing from the Subject "Matter of the ſaid Conference (which was, "Whether it were requiſite to appoint, or not "appoint ſuch a Committee) the ſaid Manager "diſcourſed upon the latter of the Reſolutions "of the Lords, communicated to the Commons, "and ſaid, *That he wiſhed the Lords had ſent down* "*their Reaſons, as well as their Reſolutions*; "which Words ſeemed to the ſaid Lord *Haver-*"*ſham*, to carry therein an Implication, as if the "ſaid Reſolution could have no Reaſon to juſtify "it. That Sir *Bartholomew Shower*, another Ma-"nager for the Commons, obſerved the ſame "Method of Diſcourſe; and having argued on "the Lords Reaſons, departed from the Subject "Matter of the Free Conference, and inveighing "againſt the Manner of the Lords Judicature, "aſſerted by their Reſolutions, ſaid, *That it was* "*abhorrent to Juſtice.* Which Expreſſions being "foreign (as the ſaid Lord *Haverſham* apprehen-"ded) to the Subject Matter of the ſaid Free "Conference, which was, Whether ſuch Com-"mittee of both Houſes ſhould be appointed or "not; the ſaid Lord being appointed by the "Lords for one of the Managers of the ſaid Free "Conference on their Behalf, in Vindication of "the Honour and Juſtice of the Houſe of Peers, "and of their Judicature and Reſolutions, in "Anſwer to what had been ſaid by the Managers "for the Commons, he ſpoke to the Effect fol-"lowing:

Gentlemen, *I ſhall begin what I have to ſay, as that worthy Member who opened this Conference, That there is nothing the Lords more deſire, than to keep a good Correſpondence, which is ſo neceſſary to the Safety of the Nation, and the Diſpatch of publick Buſineſs; and nothing they have more carefully avoided, than what might create a Miſunderſtanding between the Two Houſes: A greater Inſtance of which could not be given, than the Meſſages my Lords return'd to ſome the Commons had ſent them up; in which they took care to expreſs themſelves ſo cautiouſly, that no*

Heat

1701. *Heat might ariſe from any Expreſſions of theirs. And as to what the worthy Members mentioned, in relation to delay, the repeated Remembrances ſent the Commons, with relation to the ſending up the Articles againſt the impeached Lords, are a ſufficient Inſtance how deſirous they are that theſe Matters ſhould proceed. And the Lords have this Satisfaction, that it is not on their part that the Trials are not in a greater Forwardneſs; they cannot but look upon it as a great Hardſhip, that they ſhould lie under long Delays on Impeachments. Perſons may be incapable; Facts may be forgotten; Evidences may be laid out of the Way; Witneſſes may die, and many other like Accidents may happen. The Inſtance the worthy Members give of the Popiſh Lords, as it is a Crime of another Nature, and not fully to the Point, ſo it ſeems to make againſt what it was brought for. For the worthy Members ſay, there was but One of the Lords brought to Juſtice, though Four more (as I take it) were accuſed. And can any Man believe, that the Commons have a mind to bring only One of theſe Lords to Trial? It is inconſiſtent with the Opinion that every Body muſt have of their Juſtice. And as to the Point of Judicature, it were very hard upon the Lords, that no Perſon ſhould be brought to Trial, till the Judicature of the Houſe be ſo firſt. The Judicature of the Lords is their Peculiar, and hath in former Ages been ſacred with the Commons themſelves. And this Houſe, perhaps, hath as much Reaſon to be jealous and careful of it, as any other Houſe ever had; eſpecially when one ſingle Precedent is ſo urged and inſiſted upon. One Thing there is which a worthy Member mentioned, though I cannot ſpeak to it at large, becauſe I think my ſelf bound up by the Reſolutions of the Houſe; yet it muſt have ſome Anſwer; That is, as to the Lords voting in their own Caſe; it requires an Anſwer, though I cannot enter into the Debate of it. The Commons themſelves have made this Precedent; for in theſe Impeachments they have allowed Men, equally concerned in the ſame Facts, to vote in their own Houſe; and we have not made the Diſtinction in ours, that ſome ſhould vote, and ſome not. The Lords have ſo high an Opinion of the Houſe of Commons, that they believe Juſtice ſhall never be made uſe of as a Mask for any Deſign. And therefore give me Leave to ſay, though I am not to argue it, 'tis to me a plain Demonſtration, that the Commons think thoſe Lords innocent; and I think the Propoſition is undeniable, for when there are ſeveral Lords in the ſame Circumſtances, in the ſame Facts; there is no Diſtinction; and the Commons leave ſome of theſe Men at the Head of Affairs, near the King's Perſon, to do any Miſchief, if they were inclined to it; it looks as if they thought them all innocent. This was a Thing I was in Hopes I ſhould never have heard aſſerted, when the Beginning of it was from the Houſe of Commons.*

"The ſaid Lord being here interrupted, he "deſired to be heard out, and that his Words "might be taken down in Writing. But the "Managers for the Commons broke up, and de"parted, refuſing to hear any Explanation. Now "the ſaid Lord, as to any implicit Charge of a "Deſign to reflect on, or diſhonour the Houſe "of Commons, denies any ſuch Deſign or In"tention; having, for many Years, had the Ho"nour to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, and "having ever had an honourable and reſpectful "Senſe thereof: But the ſaid Lord was led to "expreſs himſelf in the manner aforeſaid, for "the Reaſons aforeſaid, and takes himſelf to be "juſtified therein, by the Facts and Reaſons fol"lowing.

"That the Nature of that Conference was, "That it ſhould be *Free*; the Occaſion of it, "Becauſe either Houſe apprehended the other "to be in an Error; and the End of it, That "each ſide might urge ſuch Facts as are true, "and ſuch Reaſons as are forcible to convince. 1701. "That one Article of the Impeachment againſt "*John* Lord *Somers*, was, That the Treaty of "Partition of 1699. was ratified under the "Great Seal, which then was in the Cuſtody "of the ſame Lord, then Lord Chancellor of "*England*; That the Commons on the Firſt of "*April*, 1701. Reſolved, That the Earl of "*Portland* by negotiating and concluding the "Treaty of Partition, was guilty of a High "Crime and Miſdemeanor; and purſuant there"to, lodged an Impeachment againſt him "in the Houſe of Peers; which Vote and Im"peachment could not have reference to any "Treaty, other than the Treaty of Partition "of 1699. the Treaty of 1698. not being be"fore the Houſe of Commons, till after the "Time of that Vote and Impeachment; and "yet the Earl of *Jerſey*, who then was Secre"tary of State, and a Privy Counſellor, and "actually ſign'd the ſaid Treaty of 1699. as a "Plenipotentiary with the Lord *Portland*, ſtands "unimpeached, and continues at the Head of "Affairs, being Lord Chamberlain, near his "Majeſty's Perſon, and in his Preſence and "Councils (without Complaint): That the "Earl of *Orford*, and the Lords *Somers* and *Ha*"*lifax*, are ſeverally impeached for adviſing "the Treaty of Partition of 1698; and yet "Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, who then was Secretary "of State, and a Privy Counſellor, and acted "in the promoting of the Treaty of Partition "of 1698. ſtands unimpeached, and ſtill conti"nues one of the Principal Secretaries of State; "and Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, who then was a "Privy Counſellor, and tranſacted and ſign'd "the Treaty of Partition of 1698. as a Pleni"potentiary, ſtands unimpeached. That the "Lord *Halifax* is impeached, for that he being "a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, aſſented to "the paſſing of divers Grants from the Crown "to ſeveral Perſons, of Lands in *Ireland*; and "yet Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, and "Mr. *Pelham*, who being ſeverally Lords Com"miſſioners of the Treaſury, did ſeverally aſ"ſent to the paſſing of divers like Grants from "his Majeſty, of Lands in *Ireland*, ſtand unim"peached. That in the Impeachments againſt "the Earl of *Orford* and Lord *Somers*, one of "the Articles againſt them, is, For procuring a "Commiſſion to Captain *William Kidd*, and "likewiſe a Grant under the Great Seal, of the "Ships and Goods of certain Perſons therein "named, to certain Perſons in Truſt for them; "and yet other Lords equally concerned in pro"curing the ſaid Commiſſion and Grant, ſtand "unimpeached. That the ſaid Mr. Secretary "*Vernon*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, "and Mr. *Pelham*, notwithſtanding their being "Parties in the ſame Facts, charged in the ſaid "reſpective Impeachments, have been permit"ted to ſit and vote in the Houſe of Com"mons, touching the Impeachments and the "Matters thereof. That theſe Facts being true "and publickly known, the Conſequences re"ſulting therefrom (as the ſaid Lord *Haverſham* "apprehended) are undeniable, *viz.* That the "doing of the ſame thing, by Two Perſons in "equal Circumſtances, cannot be a Crime in "one, and not in another. That the Commons "had no Reaſon to inſiſt, That the Lords "ſhould not permit that in their Members, "which the Commons had firſt permitted, and "continued to permit, and ſo begun the firſt "Precedent in their own Members. That it "muſt be thought, that the impeached Lords "(notwithſtanding the Facts alledged in the

"Impeach-

1701. " Impeachment) are innocent of Danger to the " King, when the Lord *Jerſey* and Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, who were reſpectively concerned in the Partition Treaties, are permitted, without Complaint, to be at the Head of " Affairs, and in the King's Preſence, and of " his Council, as not dangerous; That the " Word *Innocent*, uſed in the Words ſpoken by " the ſaid Lord *Haverſham*, can extend no farther " than to ſuch Matters as were done by the impeached Lords, of the ſame Nature with what " was done by thoſe unimpeached. All which " Facts being true, and the Conſequences obvious, the ſaid Lord being ready to prove the " ſame; he inſiſts, that the Words ſpoken by " him at the ſaid Free Conference, were not " ſcandalous or reproachful, nor falſe, or reflecting on the Honour or Juſtice of the Houſe " of Commons; but were ſpoken upon a juſt " Occaſion, given in Anſwer to ſeveral Expreſſions that fell from the Managers for the Commons, remote, as he conceives, from the Matter in Queſtion, and reflecting on the Honour " and Juſtice of the Houſe of Peers; and in " Maintenance and Defence of the Lords Reſolution and Judicature, and conformable to the " Duty he owes to the ſaid Houſe. And the " ſaid Lord humbly demands the Judgment of " this Honourable Houſe therein. And the ſaid " Lord *Haverſham* denies, that he ſpoke the " Words ſpecified in the ſaid Charge, in ſuch " Manner and Form, as the ſame are therein ſet " down. And having thus given a true Account " of this Matter, and it being true and indiſputable, that ſome Lords in this Houſe, equally " concerned in Facts, for which other Lords are " impeached by the Houſe of Commons, are ſtill " near the King's Perſon, in the greateſt Places " of Truſt and Honour, and unimpeached; and " alſo, That ſeveral Members of the Houſe of " Commons, equally concerned in the ſame " Facts, for which ſome of the Lords are impeached, do however remain unimpeached; " The ſaid Lord thinks, ſuch a Truth could never have been more properly ſpoken, in the " Maintenance and Defence of your Lordſhips " Judicature and Reſolutions; and inſiſteth, That " what he ſaid at the Free Conference, was not " any ſcandalous Reproach, or falſe Expreſſion, " or any ways tending to make a Breach in the " good Correſpondence between the Lords and " Commons, or to the Interrupting the publick " Juſtice of the Nation, by delaying the Proceedings on the Impeachments, as in the ſaid " Charge alledged; but agreeable to Truth, in " Diſcharge of his Duty, and in the Defence of " the undoubted Right and Judicature of this " Houſe.

Haverſham.

Conteſt betwixt the Two Houſes.

The Commons on *Friday* 20, after the ſending and receiving the forement,'d Meſſages, Ordered, That no Member ſhould preſume to appear on *Monday* next at the pretended Trial of the Earl of *Orford*, upon pain of incurring the utmoſt Diſpleaſure of the Houſe; and then adjourn'd to *Tueſday* Morning. But the Lords continued ſitting, and on the 21ſt Reſolved, *That unleſs the Commons Charge againſt the Lord* Haverſham, *were preſented by them with effect before the End of that Seſſion, the Lords would declare and adjudge him wholly innocent of the Charge.*

On *Monday*, *June* 23, It was Reſolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That the Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons, in their Votes of the 20th Inſtant, contained moſt unjuſt Reflections on the Honour and Juſtice of the Houſe of Peers, and were contrived to cover their affected and unreaſonable Delays in proſecuting the impeached Lords: 1701. And did manifeſtly tend to the Deſtruction of the Judicature of the Lords; to the rendering Trials and Impeachments impracticable for the future, and to the ſubverting the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government; and therefore, whatever ill Conſequences might ariſe from the ſo long deferring the Supplies of this Year's Service, were to be attributed to the fatal Counſel of the putting off the Meeting of a Parliament ſo long, and to the unneceſſary Delays of the Houſe of Commons.

Trial of the Earl of *Orford*.

Then the Lords adjourn'd to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and after two Proclamations made for Silence and Proſecution, the Articles of Impeachment againſt *Edward* Earl of *Orford*, were read, and alſo his Lordſhip's Anſwer to the ſaid Articles; and after taking the ſame Methods as in the Trial of the Lord *Somers*, his Lordſhip, by unanimous Votes, was acquitted of the Articles, and the Impeachment was diſmiſſed.

His Lordſhip honourably acquitted.

On *Tueſday*, *June* 24, being the laſt Day of the Seſſion of this Parliament, this Order was made by the Lords.

Order of the Lords.

" The Houſe of Commons not having preſented " their Charge which they brought up againſt " *John* Lord *Haverſham*, for Words ſpoken by " him at a free Conference the 13th Inſtant, the " ſaid Charge is hereby diſmiſſed. The Earl of " *Portland* being impeached by the Houſe of " Commons of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, " the 1ſt Day of *April* laſt, the Impeachment is " hereby diſmiſſed, there being no Articles exhibited againſt him. The Houſe of Commons " having impeached *Charles* Lord *Halifax* of High " Crimes and Miſdemeanors on the 15th Day of " *April* laſt, and on the 14th Day of this Inſtant " *June* exhibited Articles againſt him, to which " he having anſwered, and no further Proſecution " thereupon, the ſaid Impeachment and Articles " are hereby diſmiſſed. At the ſame Time their " Lordſhips diſmiſſed an old Impeachment againſt " the Duke of *Leeds*.

The Affair of the impeached Lords had ſo much divided both Houſes, that the Correſpondence was almoſt broken off or interrupted with continual Diſagreements. Hence the Commons having paſs'd a Bill for appointing Commiſſioners to Take, State, and Examine the Publick Accounts, the Lords made ſome Amendments to it, which the Commons would by no means allow; and drew up theſe Reaſons for their Diſagreement, to be offered to the Lords at a Conference.

Bill for ſtating the Publick Accounts.

" The Commons do diſagree to the firſt Amendment made by the Lords, becauſe it is " notorious, That many Millions of Money have " been given to his Majeſty by the Commons, " for the Service of the Publick, which remain " yet unaccounted for, to the great Diſſatisfaction " of the good People of *England*, who cheerfully " contributed to thoſe Supplies. And their Lordſhips firſt Amendment prevents any Account " being taken of thoſe Monies by the Commiſſioners appointed by the Commons for that purpoſe.

Reaſons of the Commons

" The Commons do diſagree to the ſecond Amendment made by the Lords, becauſe *John* " *Parkhurſt* and *John Paſcall*, Eſquires, have for " ſeveral Years been Commiſſioners of the Prizes " taken during the late War, and are accountable for great Sums of Money ariſing thereby, " which ought to be applied to the Uſe of the " Publick. That the ſaid *John Parkhurſt* and " *John Paſcall* were frequently preſſed to Account for the ſame by the late Commiſſioners " appointed by Act of Parliament; but by many

" Arti-

1701. "Artifices and Evaſions delayed and avoided "giving any ſuch Account as was required by the "ſaid Commiſſioners. That the Clauſe to which "their Lordſhips have diſagreed by their ſecond "Amendment, requires them to account before "the 1ſt of *September* next, but by their Lordſhips "Amendment they are exempted from giving any ſuch Account, which is highly unreaſonable.

"The Commons do diſagree to the Third Amendment, becauſe their Lordſhips have in a "Clauſe directed the Commons to allow and certify a pretended Debt to Colonel *Baldwin Layton*; "whereas the Diſpoſition as well as Granting of "Money by Act of Parliament, hath ever been in "the Houſe of Commons; and this Amendment "relating to the Diſpoſal of Money, does intrench "upon that Right.

"The Commons do diſagree to the Fourth "Amendment; becauſe it is notorious, That "*Edward Whitaker*, mentioned in the *Rider* left "out by their Lordſhips, hath by Colour of his "Impeachment, as Solicitor to the Admiralty, received the Sum of Five and twenty "thouſand Pounds and upwards of Publick Monies, without producing any juſt or reaſonable Vouchers for the Expence thereof; and "therefore ought to be accountable for the "ſame.

"And that by reaſon of their Lordſhips diſagreeing to the ſeveral Parts of this Bill, the "Supplies provided by the Commons for paying "the Arrears of the Army, muſt of neceſſity be "ineffectual till another Seſſion of Parliament.

To interrupt theſe fatal Diſputes between the Two Houſes, it was the greateſt Wiſdom of his Majeſty firſt to take no notice of them, and then to put a more ſpeedy End to this Seſſion; and therefore on the ſaid *Tueſday, June* 24. the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſent for the Commons to attend him; when Mr. Speaker upon preſenting the Money-Bills, deliver'd himſelf to his Majeſty in this Speech.

SIR,

Speaker's Speech to the King. '*TIS with great Joy and Satisfaction that I attend Your Majeſty at this Time, ſince Your Commons have comply'd with all Your Majeſty was pleaſed to deſire at their Meeting. They have paſſed the Bill of Succeſſion, which has ſettled the Crown in a Proteſtant Line, and continued the Liberty of* England, *which Your Majeſty hath reſtored and preſerved. They have paſſed a Bill for taking away thoſe Privileges which might have proved burthenſome and oppreſſive to Your Subjects. They have given Your Majeſty thoſe Supplies which are more than ever were given in a Time of Peace, to enable Your Majeſty, when You are Abroad, to ſupport Your Allies, procure either a laſting Peace, or to preſerve the Liberties of* Europe *by a neceſſary War.*

Then his Majeſty gave the Royal Aſſent to, 1. Acts paſſed. *An Act for granting to his Majeſty an Aid for defraying the Expence of his Navy, Guards, and Garriſons for One Year, and for other neceſſary Occaſions.* 2. *An Act for granting to his Majeſty ſeveral Duties upon Low-Wines, or Spirits of the firſt Extraction; and continuing ſeveral Additional Duties upon Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, Spices and Pictures; and certain Impoſitions upon Hawkers, Pedlars and Petty-Chapmen; and the Duty of Fifteen Pounds* per Cent. *upon Muſlins; and for improving the Duties upon Japanned and Lacquered Goods, and for continuing the Coinage Duty for the ſeveral Terms and Purpoſes therein mentioned.* 3. *An Act for appropriating Three thouſand ſeven hundred Pounds Weekly, out of certain Branches of Exciſe, for publick Uſes, and for making a Proviſion for the Service of his Majeſty's Houſhold and Family, and other his neceſſary Occaſions.* 4. *An Act to enable his Majeſty to make Leaſes and Copies of Offices, Lands and Hereditaments, parcel of his Dutchy of* Cornwall, *or annexed to the ſame, and for Confirmation of Leaſes already made.* 5. *An Act to enable Sir* Thomas Stanley, *Baronet, to charge certain Mannors and Lands in the County of* Lancaſter, *with Three thouſand Pounds, for Payment of his Siſters Portions, and his Debts.* 6. *An Act for Sale of the Eſtate of* James Deane, *and for ſecuring the Monies raiſed thereby for the Benefit of himſelf and Family, according to the Settlement thereof.* 7. *An Act for Naturalizing* Peter Bagwel, Daniel Senault, *and others.* 8. *An Act for Naturalizing* Gaſper Gordoſo, Harman Van't Weede, *and others.* 9. *An Act to enable* Richard Bigg *to charge part of his Eſtate in the Counties of* Hertford *and* Bedford, *with the Payment of his Debts.* And afterwards made this Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech. "THE Seſſion being now come to a Concluſion, I muſt return you my hearty Thanks "for the great Zeal you have expreſſed for the "publick Service, and your ready Compliance "with thoſe Things which I recommended to "you at the Opening of this Parliament. And "I muſt thank you, Gentlemen of the Houſe of "Commons in particular, both for your Diſpatch "of thoſe neceſſary Supplies which you "have granted for the publick Occaſions, and "for the Encouragements you have given me to "enter into Alliances for the Preſervation of the "Liberty of *Europe*, and the Support of the Confederacy; "in which, as it ſhall be my Care, "not to put the Nation to any unneceſſary Expence, "ſo I make no doubt, that whatſoever "ſhall be done during your Receſs, for the Advantage "of the Common Cauſe in this Matter, "will have your Approbation at our Meeting "again in the Winter.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I ſhall conclude with recommending to you "all, the Diſcharge of your Duties in your reſpective "Counties; that the Peace of the Kingdom "may be ſecured by your Vigilance and "Care in your ſeveral Stations.

Then the Lord Keeper (by his Majeſty's Command) prorogued the Parliament until *Thurſday* the Seventh Day of *Auguſt* next.

Thus ended this memorable Seſſion (*a*).

On *March* 27. His Majeſty had appointed Honours and Preferments. *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Preſident of the Council, to be Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the

(*a*) A late Writer gives his Opinion thus: "A Party diſaffected to the King, did all that was poſſible to prevent "a War, and by uſing the *Church*'s Name, thruſt themſelves "into the Miniſtry. So far did theſe ill Inſtruments go, "that when the Elector of *Bavaria*, on the King of *Spain*'s "Death, ſent over an Envoy to King *William*, on purpoſe "to promiſe, he would keep *Flanders* till the War was declar'd, "if the Court of *England* could then get the Parliament "to declare it; that they fell upon thoſe who were "of that Opinion, and by their Piques and Squabbles hinder'd "the King's taking quick and vigorous Meaſures; "forcing him upon a Neceſſity to diſſolve the Parliament, "that was then ſitting; and before another could meet, "*Flanders* and *Italy* were loſt, and the War they would "have prevented, made abſolutely neceſſary.

"By the King A Proclamation, for diſſolving this preſent "Parliament, ſtanding prorogued to *Thurſday* 13th of *November*; "and for the calling a New Parliament, to meet on "*Tueſday* the 30th of *December* next." Given at *Hampton-Court* the 11th of *November*, 1701.

Admiralty,

1701. Admiralty in the Room of *John* Earl of *Bridgwater*, who died on *March* 19. much lamented for a juſt and good Man, a Faithful Friend, and a Wiſe Counſellor. On the ſame Day *Henry Boyle*, Eſq; Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer, was ſworn of the Privy Council; and *Thomas Pelham*, Eſq; was made one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury. On *April* 2. *Henry Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* died a ſudden Death: He had been bred a *Roman* Catholick, but leaving the Church of *Rome* about the Time of the Popiſh Plot, he ever ſince continued ſtedfaſt to the Church of *England*, and was a zealous Promoter of the Revolution. His Place of Earl-Marſhal was conferr'd upon the Earl of *Carliſle*, during the Minority of his Nephew my Lord *Thomas Howard*'s Eldeſt Son, who ſucceeded him in his Honour and in his Eſtate, if at the Age of Eighteen he ſhould conform to the Rites of the Church of *England*. Within the ſame Month died *Francis* Lord *Carrington*, *Robert* Earl of *Lindſey*, and *Theophilus* Earl of *Huntingdon*; the latter a great Enemy to the Government, and for that Reaſon to his own Son. On *April* 3. His Majeſty conferred the Dignity of a Baronet of this Kingdom upon *Samuel Moyer* of *Pitſey-Hall*, in the County of *Eſſex*, Eſq; On *April* 26. the King appointed Sir *George Rook* to be Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Fleet this Summer, which lay at *Spithead*; and on *May* 3. was joined by Admiral *Allemond* and Admiral *Callemburg*, with 5 *Dutch* Men of War. On *May* 23. Captain *William Kidd*, and three other Pirates lately condemned at the Admiralty-Seſſions at the *Old-Baily*, were executed at *Execution-Dock*. At the beginning of this Year, the Count *de Wratiſlaw* came Envoy Extraordinary from the Emperor, and the Baron *de Spanheim* Envoy Extraordinary from the King of *Pruſſia*; and *Hadgi Muſtapha Aga* Envoy from the Baſhaw and Government of *Tripoli*. On *June* 1. His Majeſty, upon a Senſe of his own declining Health, was pleaſed to declare *John* Earl of *Marlborough* to be General of the Foot, and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Forces in *Holland*. On *June* 18. His Electoral Highneſs of *Hanover*, and the Duke of *Queensbury*, were elected Knights of the Garter, in a Chapter held at *Kenſington*. On *June* 19. *Robert* Earl of *Lindſey* Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*, and *Charles* Earl of *Carliſle* Earl-Marſhal of *England* during the Minority of the Duke of *Norfolk*, were ſworn of the Privy Council.

Other Honours and great Offices. Within Four Days after the Parliament roſe, the King declared in Council, That the Publick Affairs requiring his going over into *Holland* for a ſhort Time, he had appointed the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Keeper, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Duke of *Devonſhire*, the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Jerſey*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, to be Lords Juſtices of *England*, for the Adminiſtration of the Government during his Majeſty's Abſence. At the ſame Time the Duke of *Somerſet* was ſworn of the Privy Council. At the ſame Time his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint the Earl of *Marlborough* to be his Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary for the Negotiations at the *Hague*; and to conſtitute *Edward Southwell*, *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, and *James Vernon, Jun.* Eſq; Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Keeper of his Majeſty's Privy Seal, vacant by the Death of the Right Honourable *Ford* late Earl of *Tankervile*, who died on *June* 25. being ſucceeded in the Barony *Werke* by his Brother the Honourable *Ralph Gray*, Governor of *Barbadoes*. In the ſame Evening his Majeſty appointed Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Kt. his Attorney General, to be Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, in the Place of Sir *George Treby*, deceas'd; and *Edward Northey* of the *Middle-Temple*, Eſq; to be Attorney General. And when on the ſame Day the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen had waited on his Majeſty to take Leave of Him, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to accept that Demonſtration of their Loyalty and Affection, and conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon *Peter Floyer*, Eſq; Alderman, and one of the Sheriffs elect for the Year enſuing. On *June* the 28th. His Majeſty conferr'd the like Honour of Knighthood upon the Sieur *Benjamin Pontle* of *Amſterdam*, in Conſideration of his good Services.

1701. The King goes to Holland. On *Monday* Morning, *June* 30. the King went from *Hampton Court*, and lay that Night at *Canterbury*, and the next Day about Noon embark'd at *Margate* in a Yatcht, with a Convoy under Command of Rear-Admiral *Munden*, on whom his Majeſty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on Board the Yatcht in *Margate* Road. He arriv'd in the *Maeſe* on *Thurſday* Morning, and went that Night to the *Hague*. The next Day he receiv'd the Compliments of the Ambaſſadors, and other Foreign Miniſters; as alſo of the Courts of Juſtice, and of the Council of *Brabant*; and in the Afternoon he went to the Aſſembly of the States General, to whom he addreſs'd himſelf in this Manner.

His Speech to the States General.

High and Mighty Lords,

"I Always come into this Country with Joy, "but more eſpecially in this dangerous Con-"juncture of Affairs, becauſe I foreſee my Pre-"ſence will be neceſſary for the Service of the "State. I was in hopes, and deſir'd to have "paſs'd the reſt of my Days in Repoſe and "Peace; and after the End of my Days, to have "left this State in a quiet and flouriſhing Con-"dition. To which End I have always labour'd, "particularly after the Concluſion of the laſt "Peace: But ſince there have happen'd ſuch "great Alterations in the Affairs of *Europe*, that "we know not what will be the Diſpoſal of Di-"vine Providence concerning them: Neverthe-"leſs, I can ſincerely aſſure your High Puiſſances, "that whether Affairs may be accommodated "without coming to further Embroilments, or "whether we muſt be obliged to take Arms "again, I perſiſt in the ſame Affection, and the "ſame Zeal which I ever had for the Service and "Proſperity of theſe Provinces; and will contri-"bute as far as lies in my Power, whatever may "tend to advance the Welfare of this State, the "Maintenance of their Liberties and Religion, "and their particular Security, as well as that "of *Europe*. I am overjoyed to find all things "ſtill in a quiet Condition; which, next to the "Bleſſing of the Almighty, muſt be aſcribed to "the ſpeedy and unanimous Reſolution of your "High Puiſſances, to put your ſelves in a Poſture "of Defence. I am perſwaded, that the reſpe-"ctive Confederates will contribute ſtrenuouſly "towards it; which I look upon as the only "Means to prevent a War; or, in Caſe of a "Rupture, to defend the State from the Danger "that threatens it. 'Tis a great Satisfaction to "me, that I can aſſure your High Puiſſances, "not only of my Affection, but of the whole "*Engliſh* Nation; and that they are ready to "aſſiſt this State, and ſtrongly to contribute to-"wards their Defence, and to whatever may "tend to the common Security. And this is "what your High Puiſſances may be fully con-"vinced of. I hope the Great God will bleſs "the Means which you have made uſe of, either "by way of Negotiation, or by Force of Arms, "in caſe of a Rupture, to attain the End pro-

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“poſed; that is to ſay, reaſonable Security for the Common Cauſe, and particularly the Preſervation of this State in their Liberties and Religion. There is nothing which I wiſh with more Fervency; and I will contribute towards it whatever lies in my Power. This is what I thought neceſſary to ſay at preſent; only that I deſire the Continuance of your High Puiſſances Affection and Amity.

To this their High and Mightineſſes return'd an Anſwer to this Effect.

Anſwer of the States.

“That they thank'd his Majeſty with all their Hearts, for the Honour he had done them to come again into their Aſſembly; and at the ſame time teſtified their unexpreſſible Joy to ſee his happy Arrival. That they were ſenſible how much his Majeſty's Preſence was neceſſary among them in ſuch a Thorny Conjuncture, to ſettle Affairs in a good Condition, and ſo to preſerve them, with the Aſſiſtance of God, out of the great Confidence which they all had, from the Higheſt to the Loweſt, in his Majeſty's Prudence and ſurpaſſing Abilities. That they were extremely obliged to his Majeſty, and moſt heartily thanked him for his perſevering in his kind Inclinations for their Repoſe and Tranquility. That they were fully convinced, that ſince the laſt Treaty of Peace, his Majeſty's Care and Application had tended to the Preſervation of the ſaid Peace, and the publick Tranquility. That they were overjoyed that their Conduct, ſince the ſtrange Mutations in General Affairs, had met with his Majeſty's Approbation. And in regard the State was in ſo much Danger, that their Religion and Liberties lay at ſtake, they are reſolved to uſe all poſſible Means for the Preſervation of thoſe ineſtimable Pledges. That they could not omit to thank his Majeſty for his Aſſurances, not only in his own, but in the Name of the *Engliſh* Nation, in Favour of themſelves and the Common Cauſe; well knowing, how much they might rely upon a People, whoſe Courage and Valour had gained ſo much Reputation in the World. That they were always of Opinion, that their Intereſts were inſeparable from thoſe of *England*. In the mean time, they moſt ardently beſought the Almighty to bleſs his Majeſty and his Councils, and to grant him long Life, Health and Strength, that he might be able to continue his Cares for the Publick Good, and the Welfare of his own Kingdoms and their State: Aſſuring him of their Perſeverance in that Amity and high Eſteem which they have always had, and ever ſhall be bound to have of his Majeſty ſo long as their State endures.

After this, his Majeſty went to view the Frontier Garriſons; and returning to the *Hague*, he found that on the 26th Inſtant Monſieur *D'Avaux* had deliver'd a Letter from the King of *France*, accompanied with a Memorial of his own, to notify the Recalling of the Ambaſſador. The Letter was this.

To our moſt Dear Great Friends and Allies.

Moſt Dear Great Friends, Allies and Confederates,

Letter of the French King to the States.

WE have thought fit to recall the Count D'Avaux, *our Ambaſſador Extraordinary to you, ſeeing the little Fruit thoſe Conferences have produced which you have deſired of us, and which you have ſince often interrupted. We are not the leſs inclined to the eſtabliſhing of the Peace; as he will further declare his Intentions to you before his Departure. Nothing remains for us, but to aſſure you, That it ſtill depends on you to receive Marks of our ancient Friendſhip for your Republick, and of our Deſire to give you Proofs thereof upon all Occaſions: So we pray God, that he may have you, Moſt Dear Great Friends, Allies and Confederates, in his Holy Keeping.*

Given at *Verſailles* the 18th of *July*, 1701.

Your Good Friend, Ally and Confederate,

LEWIS.

Colbert.

The Memorial which accompanied this Letter, contained in Subſtance:

Memorial of the Count D'Avaux.

“That his Excellency was in hopes, that their Lordſhips would have had that Confidence in his Maſter's Affection, and his Deſires of Peace, that would have diſſipated thoſe vain Fears, which the Advancement of his Grandſon to the Throne of *Spain* had infuſed into them, and that he ſhould have returned to the King his Maſter, with the Satisfaction of having been employ'd in preventing the new Troubles that threatned *Europe*. Which Hope was confirm'd, when, by their acknowledging the lawful Rights of the King of *Spain*, they wrote to congratulate him, and ſeem'd thereby to diſown the Injuſtice of Foreign Pretenſions, whatever they might perſiſt in demanding for themſelves. So that all things ſeemed to be in a fair way towards the ſettling of Peace, when the Propoſals made by your High Puiſſances and the King of *England*'s Envoy, gave Occaſion to judge, that War rather than Peace, would be the Fruit of that ſtrict Union, which the Conformity of Propoſals denoted between that Prince and your High Puiſſances. They proteſted, That their exceſſive Demands were the Effect of a juſt Fear, grounded on the King's Power. But if that Fear, ſo lively expreſs'd in their Letter to the King of *Great Britain*, during the Sitting of the Parliament, were real, and that they had no other End in repreſenting them, than to prevent them; the means of doing it were in their own Hands: there was no need of making all thoſe Preparations for the greateſt War. That their Lordſhips had deſired the Conferences, and it depended upon them to render them uſeful. But their Lordſhips had again delayed the Concluſion of them, by demanding the Admiſſion of the King of *England*'s Envoy into the Conferences. Which if he oppoſed for ſome time, 'twas out of his ſincere Deſire to remove all Obſtacles, which the Enemies to Peace are continually laying in the way. Nor did his Majeſty believe their Lordſhips would ſo eaſily have inſiſted upon the pretended Satisfaction to be given to the Emperor, confounding the Intereſts of other Princes with their own, and ſet themſelves up for Arbitrators between the Houſes of *France* and *Auſtria*; that ſo wiſe a Republick ſhould, in Favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria* againſt *France*, reſolve to break theſe Treaties, which they had look'd upon as the Confirmation and Seal of their Sovereignty; that they ſhould engage themſelves, at the Expence of their Provinces, their Countries, and their Wealth, to ſupport Foreign Intereſts, when a little before they had acted quite the contrary, by acknowledging the King of *Spain*.

“That his Excellency ſhould abuſe his Maſter, ſhould he write to him, that any Succeſs was to be expected from the Conferences. That his Maſter had too diſcerning a Judgment, after the King of *Great Britain*'s Envoy had declared; That his Maſter would never depart from the Intereſt of the Emperor; that he would

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“not enter into any Propoſals of Accommodation, unleſs Satisfaction were given to that Prince: That the Ties between their Lordſhips and the King of *England* were too ſtrict, and had too well made known their blind Submiſſion to the Sentiments of that Monarch, and no doubt that they had already taken a Reſolution to make the ſame Declaration to the moſt Chriſtian King's Ambaſſador. Indeed, they had done it already before-hand, by declaring, That their Commiſſioners ſhould not continue the Conference, without the Intervention of the *Engliſh* Envoy: So that if he exclude himſelf, the Conferences were ſuſpended; and therefore it would be to no purpoſe for the moſt Chriſtian King's Ambaſſador, ſent only for the ſake of thoſe Conferences, to continue any longer at the *Hague*. Where, if he has not the Satisfaction to fulfil his Majeſty's Intentions in eſtabliſhing a durable Peace between him and the *United Provinces*, yet it will be ſome Conſolation to him, that he had made known his Majeſty's Deſire to contribute whatever depends on him, to prevent a Rupture of the publick Peace. That he has taken Arms in the Defence of his Grandſon only; and that if it had been his Deſign to make new Conqueſts, he might have done it when his Forces, upon the Frontiers of their Republick, afforded him the Means to have made his Advantage of their Weakneſs. At length his Excellency wiſhes, That their Lordſhips, convinced by his Majeſty's Conduct of the Sincerity of his Intentions, would, while it was yet time, take ſuch Reſolutions as might be conformable to their true Intereſts.

To which the States General return'd an Anſwer, which was on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* deliver'd to the Ambaſſador, to this Effect.

Anſwer of the States.

“That they were obliged to the moſt Chriſtian King, for ſending hither the Count *D' Avaux* as his Ambaſſador Extraordinary: They wiſh'd ſufficient Means might have been found in the Conference to have obtain'd a General Peace, and Reaſonable Security for themſelves, and that he had tarried till that had been done. They were troubled he ſhould be recall'd before thoſe Things were effected; and ſo much the more, that the Cauſe of it ſhould be imputed to their Conduct. That upon his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſignifying to them, that he accepted the Will of the late King of *Spain* inſtead of the Treaty of Partition, they gave him their Reaſons why they could not come to a ſpeedier Reſolution in that Affair: And, as ſoon as their Conſtitution would allow it, they offered to enter into a Conference with any that his Majeſty ſhould think fit to appoint. That they appointed Deputies accordingly to treat with the Count *D' Avaux*; and in Compliance with his Majeſty, own'd the new King of *Spain*, that they might remove all Occaſions of Delays, and give a convincing Proof of their Deſire to preſerve the Grand Peace. They cannot apprehend, how they ſhould obſtruct the ſame by the Intervention of the King of *Great Britain*, who was one of thoſe concerned in the Treaty of Partition; or by the Intervention of any other Potentate, that has an Intereſt in preſerving the General Peace. That they had not thereby owned the Juſtice or Injuſtice of the Pretenſions of a Third Party, nor ſeparated their Intereſts from any who are concerned in the General Peace. That ſince his Majeſty's Miniſters had repreſented to them, that the End of the Treaty of Partition might be as well obtain'd by the Acceptation of the Will, they deſir'd the Count *D' Avaux* might make Propoſals for the General Peace, and their Particular Security; and he excuſing himſelf, and deſiring Propoſals from them, they had, in Concert with his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, deliver'd him Propoſals. They cannot comprehend, why the Effect of that Union betwixt them and the ſaid King, ſhould be rather War than Peace, ſince his Majeſty of *Great Britain* has on all Occaſions given ſufficient Proofs of his Inclinations to Peace. That they were ſtrictly united with him by Alliances many Years ago, for their mutual Security: That he was one of the chiefeſt Parties in the Treaty of Partition; and that they declared before their Propoſals were communicated, they thought his Conſent neceſſary, as well for theſe Reaſons, as for his private Relation to their Republick; and no Objection was then raiſed againſt it. They were ſorry the King of *France* had returned no Anſwer to their Propoſals; which tho' they had heard to be called *Exceſſive*, no body had undertaken to prove them ſuch. That the General Peace could not be preſerved, without Satisfaction to the Emperor, whoſe Pretenſions were ſo far own'd by the King of *France* himſelf in the Treaty of Partition, that it was agreed how the ſame ſhould be ſatisfied: That therefore there was nothing in this Article of their Propoſal that could be called *Exceſſive*; and what they had demanded for their own Security, was not equal to what they had before the Death of the late King of *Spain*, or to what they had acquired by the Treaty of Partition. That their Forces were not grounded alone on their own private Sentiments, but on the Opinion of their Allies, who had not ſcrupled to ſend them the Aſſiſtance they were obliged to by their Alliances. That had it been in their Power to rid themſelves out of their Difficulties, without arming, ſeeking new Alliances, and drowning their Country, they would certainly have done it. That the Difficulties raiſed about admitting the *Engliſh* Envoy, was not from them, but from the Count *D' Avaux*, and not chargeable upon them, for the Reaſons before-mentioned. That the King of *France* had Reaſon to think they would inſiſt on Satisfaction to the Emperor, ſeeing that was the firſt of their Propoſals, which the King of *France* himſelf thought juſt and neceſſary. That they had given no Cauſe to think that they preſumed to ſet up as Umpires betwixt *France* and *Auſtria*, or to determine which of the Two laſt Kings of *Spain* had a Right to alter the Laws of the Succeſſion to that Crown; but deſired his Majeſty to remember, That he himſelf, as well as the King of *Great Britain* and the States, thought a War would be unavoidable, if upon the Death of the late King of *Spain*, either he or the Emperor ſhould inſiſt upon the Pretenſions of their Families to the Succeſſion; and therefore they enter'd into the Treaty of Partition. That their Owning the King of *Spain* could not be judged to be a Step contrary to this, ſince it did not hinder giving reaſonable Satisfaction to the Emperor. And the King of *France* ought to be convinc'd, that they would do nothing to the Detriment of their Provinces, Commerce or Riches, but what was abſolutely neceſſary to their Preſervation. They had done nothing that could be conſtrued a Breach of the Treaties which confirm'd and ſeal'd their Sovereignty, and did not well apprehend the Meaning of that Aſſertion: Their Provinces were always Free and Sovereign: Their Anceſtors

1701. " ſpent their Lives and Fortunes to aſſert their " Freedom, and they reſolv'd to do the like. " They were ſorry to hear that the Count *D'Avaux* expected no Succeſs from the Conferences, becauſe of the *Engliſh* Envoy's declaring " that Satisfaction muſt be given to the Emperor. " They own'd, That the King of *Great Britain* " and they thought it reaſonable to treat of Satisfaction to that Prince; and that the Emperor " ſhould, in order thereunto, be invited into the " Negotiation. The States did not blindly follow the King of *Great Britain*'s Sentiments, " but had a great Deference for his Advice, becauſe they were perſuaded, *He is wholly inclined* " *to preſerve the Peace*, and convinc'd he ſeeks " nothing but the Welfare of their Republick. " That if the Conferences were ſuſpended upon " that Account, they ſhould look upon it as a " great Misfortune: But if the King of *France* " had thought fit to let them continue, and to " allow Satisfaction to the Emperor, they had " Hopes of a good Concluſion. They had been " obliged, indeed, to arm, but did not begin to " do it, till they ſaw their Barriers in the *Spaniſh* " *Netherlands*, that coſt them ſo much Blood and " Treaſure, poſſeſs'd by *French* Troops, their " own Forces detained, and great Preparations of " War made there. Their Jealouſy was beſides " conſiderably increaſed by the ſtrict Union that " appeared every Day between *France* and *Spain*; " though the Treaty of Partition was made for " this, among other Reaſons, to prevent Jealouſies from the Union of too many States. That " they had endeavour'd, by all poſſible Means, " to preſerve Friendſhip, but if they muſt, contrary to their own Inclination, enter into a " War, they have no Cauſe to blame themſelves " for it, and therefore hop'd that God would " protect them.

Return of the Count *D'Avaux.* Thus all the Pretenſions of the *French* to give the States a reaſonable Security, went off with the Count *D' Avaux*; who yet was willing to retire without any open Breach, and therefore took his Leave of the States in very obliging Terms, accepted from them the Preſent of a Gold Chain and Medal, and left his Secretary behind, under a Shew of renewing the Negotiations, when he had made a Report of them to his Maſter. But the States underſtood the artful Receſs of the Ambaſſador; and therefore daily augmented their Army with the Troops arrived from *Ireland*, and with other Auxiliary Forces, and were indefatigably at work on the Fortifications of their Frontiers; ſo as the People ſeem'd now no more to fear than to love the *French*. To ſtrengthen the Alliances, his Majeſty ſent the Earl of *Galloway* to treat with the Elector *Palatine*, and the Elector of *Cologn*; the Earl of *Macclesfield* to the Courts of *Hanover* and the Duke of *Cell*; Sir *Robert Sutton* to *Venice*, &c.

Inclinations of the People for a new Parliament. In *England* the People were in an uneaſy Suſpence between Peace and War; and as much between the Continuance of the preſent Parliament, and the Expectance of a new one. Some Addreſſes did inſinuate the Deſire of a Diſſolution: One from the County of *York* concluded thus; *And we humbly beg leave further to aſſure Your Majeſty, That whenever the Diſſolution of this preſent or any other Parliament ſhall happen, either by virtue of the Triennial Bill, or Prerogative Royal, we will from time to time make it our conſtant Endeavour to elect ſuch Perſons as ſhall be in the true Intereſt of Your Majeſty and theſe Kingdoms.* One from the High Sheriff, Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, and Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Cumberland*, ended to the ſame Effect; *We humbly beg leave further to aſſure your Majeſty, That upon all Occaſions of Elections, we will conſtantly endeavour to chuſe ſuch Repreſentatives, as ſhall manifeſt their Affections to Your Perſon, and their Zeal to the Church and State, as by Law eſtabliſhed.* And yet another Addreſs from another Set of Men in the very ſame County of *Cumberland*, was made to run in a direct Oppoſition: while " they crave Leave to " give his Majeſty the Aſſurance of their unanimous and hearty Concurrence with their Repreſentatives in Parliament; who, they do not " doubt, will give his Majeſty ſuch freſh Teſtimonies of their firm Loyalty at the next Attendance on his Majeſty in the approaching Winter, as becomes the Repreſentatives of a moſt " obedient and dutiful People." And indeed ſome Perſons did imagine, that the very Members did inſtruct the People to addreſs for the Continuance of their Power in Parliament: For an Addreſs from *Exeter*, ſaid to be ſigned at the Aſſizes there by all the Grand Jury, and by their Foreman Sir *John Pole*, delivered in open Court to Mr. Juſtice *Blencoe*, concluded thus; *We have not Confidence to think we can direct his Majeſty, or his Great Council the Parliament: We acquieſce in every thing they have done, and ſhould be extremely concerned, that any Device ſhould be ſet on foot to divide this Nation in the Reign of the Beſt of Kings, and when we have the Beſt Houſe of Commons, except that which brought his Majeſty to the Throne.*

The Truth is, theſe popular Addreſſes for or againſt the Continuance of a Parliament, were a very ill Precedent, and therefore not countenanc'd by the King; who yet was always diſpoſed to take his general Meaſures from the prevailing Inclinations of the People. But to ſolve this Difficulty, another unforeſeen Accident now happen'd, which gave Things quite another Turn, and produced Addreſſes from all Parts, of the moſt unanimous Adherence to his Majeſty, and of an Abhorrence to the laſt Degree of the *French* King: We mean, the Death of the late King *James*; who after above Twelve Years Second Exile, and ſeveral unſucceſsful Attempts of Reſtoration, and even many Contempts and Neglects of the *French* King, was ſo broken with Reſentments and Sorrows, that on *Sept.* 4. *O. S.* he fell into a Lethargy at *St. Germain*'s, and was thought to be immediately dead; but he recovered ſome part of his Senſes, and lay in Maze and Confuſion till *Saturday*, *Sept.* 6. when he expir'd between Three and Four that Afternoon *(a)*. Upon his Deceaſe, the *French* King preſently declared the young pretended Prince of *Wales* to be King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. It was ſuppoſed this Matter was concerted between the *French* King and King *James*, upon the laſt Indiſpoſition of King *William*; that in Caſe he died, the other's abſolute Title ſhould be ſet up again, either in his own Perſon, or in his ſurviving Heir. Death of K. *James*. The *French* K. declares for the pretended Prince of *Wales*.

(a) In a late Collection, intitled, *Memorials on both Sides*, 1711. 8°. is publiſh'd, The Manner of his Sickneſs and Death; his Dying Speech; his Advice to his Son, found among his Papers in his Cabinet after his Death; and the *French* King's Declaration of eſpouſing the Cauſe and Title of his pretended Son, &c. Said to be taken out of a *Circular Letter concerning King* James's *Death. Printed at* Paris, *by Order of the Chancellor.*

Dipping into *Lilly*'s *Collection of Prophecies*, &c. publiſh'd 1645. 4°. I could not but obſerve, That the famous *Iriſh* Prophecy found at the *Newry* in *Ireland*, and brought into *England* by Dean *Jones*, call'd by the *Iriſh*, *The Baby Prophecy*, ended thus: *Fugit Talpa, moritur in via, & ſemen Regis erit mendicum in terra aliena in æternum.*

Others

1701.

Others believ'd it a Dying Requeſt of the unfortunate King *James*, which the *French* Monarch, in his laſt Viſit to him, thought it Humanity to grant. Though many Perſons did infer, That it was no Point of Honour in the *French* King, but Self-Intereſt and Revenge, to affront King *William*, and to keep up a *Jacobite* Party in *England*, where Diviſions muſt be his only Hopes. Some of the wiſeſt Men look'd upon this Action as a Rant, and a prodigal ſort of Madneſs, rather than the Effect of mature and ſedate Counſels: And therefore it was oppoſed by a Majority of that very Junto whom the King pretended to adviſe with on this Occaſion; and among others, they ſay, by the very *Dauphin* himſelf; becauſe they ſaw the Neceſſity of a War depending on it, which had not otherwiſe come to any ſpeedy Criſis. King *William* was a Prince of too much Spirit, to digeſt ſuch an Indignity; and the People of *England* had ſuch an univerſal Belief of the Spurioufneſs of the Prince of *Wales*, and ſuch a Deteſtation to have a King impoſed by *Lewis* the Great, eſpecially at a Time when the Succeſſion was juſt ſettled in a Proteſtant Line, that it ſerv'd only to animate an effectual War againſt *France*.

King *William* reſents this Indignity.

The King recalls his Ambaſſador from *France*.

Accordingly, His Majeſty was no ſooner inform'd of this inſolent Step taken by the Court of *France*, but he forthwith diſpatch'd a Courier to the King of *Sweden* (as Guarantee of the Treaty of *Ryſwick*) to give him an Account of the manifeſt Violation of it. On the ſame Day his Majeſty ſent an Expreſs to my Lord *Mancheſter*, his Ambaſſador in *France*, to come directly away, without taking Leave. My Lord having receiv'd his Orders, ſent the following Letter to M. *de Torcy*, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Lord *Mancheſter*'s Letter.

My Lord,

THE King my Maſter being informed, That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has acknowledged another King of Great Britain, *thinks that his Glory and Honour permits him no more to have an Ambaſſador near the King your Maſter; and has ſent me Orders to depart immediately; whereof I do my ſelf the Honour to acquaint you by this Letter; and withal, to aſſure you, That I am,* &c.

Hereupon the *French* King, who was then at *Fontainbleau*, aſſembled his Council; and after two or three Days this Anſwer was returned.

M. *de Torcy*'s Anſwer.

My Lord,

I Have nothing more to add to what I had the Honour to tell you Eight Days ago of the ſincere Deſire the King has always had, to preſerve with the King your Maſter the Peace confirm'd by the Treaty of Reſwick. *I pray you only, as to me in particular, to be perſuaded, That in what Place ſoever you be, you will have none that ſhall be with more Sincerity than I ſhall be all my Life-time,*

Your, *&c.*

My Lord hereupon having obtained his Paſſports, made haſte to leave that intriguing Court:

M. *Pouſſin* commanded to leave *England*.

And before 23 *Sept.* Notice was given by his Majeſty's Command, to Monſieur *Pouſſin* the *French* Secretary here, That he ſhould forthwith depart out of *England*. Before his Departure, one thing happen'd that made a Noiſe of Jealouſies and Fears. Three Gentlemen, Members of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Anthony Hammond*, Mr. *John Tredenham*, and Dr. *Charles Davenant*, were found at Supper with him at the *Blue Poſts* a Night or two before he went off: This gave an Alarm of Secret Correſpondence; and though they excuſed themſelves upon Accident and common Civility, yet the World open'd their Mouths againſt them, and left them the Name of *Pouſſineers*, as a Blot and Reproach that was not eaſily wiped off.

In the mean Time, the Nation, as well as his Majeſty, began to reſent this Indignity offer'd by the *French* King: The City of *London* ſet the good Example in this Addreſs preſented to the Lords Juſtices, containing their Declaration of Abhorrence, in theſe Words:

Addreſs of the City of *London*.

Great Sir,

"WE are deeply ſenſible how much we are in Duty bound highly to reſent that great Indignity and Affront offered to Your moſt Sacred Majeſty by the *French* King, in giving the Title of King of *England, Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the pretended Prince of *Wales*, contrary to Your Majeſty's moſt Juſt and Lawful Title, and to the ſeveral Acts of Parliament for ſetling the Succeſſion to the Crown in the Proteſtant Line.

"By this it is apparent, he deſigns, as much as in him lies, to dethrone Your Majeſty, to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion out of theſe Your Majeſty's Kingdoms, and to invade our Liberties and Properties; for the maintaining whereof, Your Majeſty hath ſignaliz'd Your Zeal, by the often hazarding Your precious Life.

We therefore, Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, do ſincerely, unanimouſly, and chearfully, aſſure Your Majeſty, That we will at all Times, and upon all Occaſions, exert the utmoſt of our Abilities, and contribute whatever lies in our Power, for the Preſervation of Your Perſon (whom God long preſerve) and the Defence of Your Juſt Rights, in Oppoſition to all Invaders of Your Crown and Dignity.

The King much pleas'd with this Addreſs.

This Addreſs being tranſmitted to the King in *Holland*, his Majeſty was very well pleaſed with this Expreſſion of the Loyalty and Affection of the City; and order'd their Excellencies the Lords Juſtices, as by his ſpecial Direction, to acquaint the Lord Mayor and Aldermen with the great Satisfaction he received in it: Which their Excellencies ſignify'd to the Aldermen on *October* 14. And next Day the Lord Mayor ſummon'd the Common-Council to meet, to communicate to them his Majeſty's moſt Gracious Acceptance of their Addreſs. According to this Precedent, numerous Addreſſes came from all Parts of the Kingdom, with like Expreſſions of Deteſtation of the Perfidiouſneſs of the *French* King, and Aſſurances of aſſerting and defending his Majeſty's undoubted Right and Title to the Imperial Crown of theſe Kingdoms, againſt the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and all his Adherents: And ſeveral Corporations expreſs'd themſelves to this Effect: That if Occaſion ſhould require, they would make Choice of ſuch Perſons to repreſent them in Parliament, as they had good Reaſon to believe, would readily go into all ſuch Meaſures as might effectually conduce to the Ends of ſupporting and defending his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line.

General Alliance made by the King.

His Majeſty, when he had perfected the Alliances he was making Abroad, and eſpecially that between *England*, *Holland*, and the *Empire*, which was concluded about the middle of *September*, began to prepare for his Return; but under that Intention, he was detain'd at the *Hague* above a Month, very much indiſpoſed, though it was kept very private: For the very News of his Sickneſs would have been a dreadful Obſtruction to the Interests of *Europe*; and if his Death had happen'd at that Time, it muſt have occaſion'd in *England*

His Majeſty detain'd by Sickneſs.

and

1701. and other Parts, unſpeakable Confuſion. His Majeſty, however, began to make his Illneſs a Preſage of his not having long to live: And therefore, upon a Diſcourſe concerning the Succeſs and brave Actions of the King of *Sweden*, in the *North*, againſt the *Poles* and *Saxons*; and of Prince *Eugene*, in *Italy*, againſt the *French*; He fetch'd a ſort of languiſhing Sigh, and ſaid, *It was a fine thing to be a young Man*. It is moſt certain, his Majeſty from this Time was very ſenſible of his declining State; and he was pleaſed to tell my Lord *Portland* this Winter in his Garden at *Hampton-Court*, That *He found himſelf ſo weak, that he could not expect to live another Summer:* But charged him at the ſame time, to *ſay nothing of it till he was dead*.

Parliament diſſolv'd.

Soon after his Majeſty's Arrival, the Parliament was prorogued till the 13th of *November*, and ſoon after diſſolv'd by a Proclamation, importing the Reaſons of it to be, in this extraordinary Juncture, to give the People Opportunity of chuſing ſuch Perſons to repreſent them in Parliament, as they ſhould judge moſt likely to bring to effect their juſt and pious Purpoſes; of ſhewing a Reſentment of the Injuſtice and Indignity offer'd by the late Proceedings of the *French* King; and of expreſſing an Affection to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government; and of doing all things which can be deſir'd from good *Engliſhmen* and Proteſtants; and therefore to call a New Parliament on *Tueſday* the 30th of *December* next. The Elections went on with unhappy, but not unuſual, Conteſts. The City of *London* and Borough of *Southwark* having choſen, by great Majority, very Worthy Perſons to be their Repreſentatives, they deliver'd Papers of Inſtructions to them, that deſerve to be remembred. That from the City to their Members ran thus:

New Parliament called.

Inſtructions to Members elected.

Gentlemen,

"WE earneſtly deſire and charge you our " Repreſentatives, That in the approach- " *ing Parliament* you heartily purſue the Engage- " ments made to his Majeſty in the Addreſs of " this City, and other Loyal Addreſſes from all " Parts of the Kingdom. To this purpoſe we ex- " pect, That, to the utmoſt of your Power, and " without Loſs of Time, you endeavour to put " his Majeſty into a Condition to maintain his " undoubted Right and Title to the Crown, and " to vindicate his and the Nation's Honour. To " enable him in this critical Juncture, to provide " for the Security of his Kingdoms; to appear at " the Head of the Proteſtant Intereſt; to make " good his Alliances, and in Conjunction with his " Allies, ſo to reduce the *French* King, that it " may be no longer in his Power to diſturb and " oppreſs the reſt of *Europe*. In order to theſe " good Ends, we deſire you diligently to labour " to preſerve an entire good Correſpondence be- " tween the Two Houſes of Parliament, and hin- " der the purſuing of private Piques and Animo- " ſities; to take care of our Trade, ſupport pub- " lick Credit, make good the Deficiencies, and " to have ſpecial Regard to the Royal Navy. " And ſo God proſper your Undertakings.

That from the Borough of *Southwark* was drawn by ſo peculiar a Hand, and gives ſo conciſe a Recapitulation of the Affairs of *Europe*, that 'tis more remarkable than the other.

Gentlemen,

"IT is notorious, That for more than Forty " Years, the *French* King hath affected Uni- " verſal Monarchy; that he has conſtantly pur- " ſued the ſame by all the Methods of Violence, " Rapine and Injuſtice; and that he has no other- " wiſe regarded his Oaths, Treaties and Religi- " on, than as ſo many ſolemn Cheats to catch and " inſnare all that have depended on him. 1701.

" To enable himſelf to marry the *Infanta* of " *Spain*, he, by Oath, renounced any Title to that " Crown for all the Iſſue of that Marriage; yet " he hath made the Invalidity of that Renuncia- " tion, the Ground of every one of his Wars with " the King of *Spain*.

" By the *Pyrenæan* Treaty he ſtipulated with " the King, to give no Aſſiſtance to his Enemy " the King of *Portugal*; yet preſently after diſ- " patch'd ſo many Troops to the Aſſiſtance of " that Prince, as reduced the *Spaniſh* Monarchy " to a Degree of Weakneſs, from which it hath " never ſince recover'd.

" He lull'd the *Spaniard* aſleep with repeated " Promiſes of Friendſhip; and then, without " giving him any Time to prepare for his De- " fence, carried his Conqueſts over the greateſt " part of *Flanders*; and was prevented only by " the Triple Alliance of *England*, *Holland*, and " the King of *Sweden*, from reducing the Re- " mainder of that Province.

" To the everlaſting Diſhonour of the late " King *Charles* II. he diſengaged that Prince from " ſo neceſſary an Alliance, and preſently after " invaded the Seven *United Provinces* with all his " Forces; and could give no better Reaſon for a " bloody War, which reduced thoſe flouriſhing " States almoſt to utter Ruin, than that he had " been ill ſatisfied with their Conduct.

" To break a powerful Confederacy againſt " him, he made the Peace of *Nimeguen*; by " which Conceſſion was made to him of almoſt " all his Conqueſts in that War, and immediately " after, invaded the Empire himſelf, to aſſiſt his " Infidel Confederate.

" The Peace of *Reſwick* gave an End to that " War, and a Balance to *Europe*, till the *French* " King, by Colour of a *Will ſurreptitiouſly* gain- " ed from the late King of *Spain*, in Favour of " the Duke of *Anjou*, has poſſeſs'd himſelf of the " *Spaniſh* Monarchy, contrary to his own Renun- " ciation, and the *Pyrenæan* Treaty. *Flanders* " and *Milan* he hath inveſted with his own " Troops, while the Duke of *Anjou* is forced to " govern the reſt of that Monarchy as Vice-Roy " to his Grand-Father, both to obtain his Sup- " port, and for fear of being excluded from a " better Kingdom.

" He has exalted himſelf upon this good Suc- " ceſs, and hath already named a Vice-Roy for " more Countries, by giving the Title of his " Majeſty's Kingdoms to the pretended Prince of " *Wales*. Our Condition muſt be very miſera- " ble, if we are to be govern'd by the Diſcretion " of a King, who hath deſtroy'd the Proteſtants " of his own Kingdoms by the Sword, Fire and " Gallies; we cannot hope to be us'd with greater " Tenderneſs than his own Subjects.

" Nevertheleſs, we cannot doubt but his re- " peated ill Succeſſes in *Italy*, the vaſt Debts of " his Crown, increaſed by his prodigious Ex- " pences among his Confederate Princes, will " oblige him to offer a Treaty, that he may ſave " by a Peace a conſiderable Share of the *Spaniſh* " Monarchy, rather than loſe the whole by a " War. And we had Reaſon to be afraid that " the Diviſion of the Two Houſes of Parliament, " the Animoſities of thoſe Men that have oppo- " ſed the Settlement, the Recognition and Aſſo- " ciation, and the great Authority of others, who " in former Reigns had always given Countenance " for the *French* Invaſions, might oblige his Ma- " jeſty to hearken to ſuch a Peace as *France* would " pleaſe to give him.

" But

1701. "But we hope, Gentlemen, that the Diſſolution of the Parliament has put an End to the Diviſion of the Two Houſes; and we have that Aſſurance of your Integrity and Moderation, that you will do nothing to revive the ſame Diviſion. It is indeed very popular, and very juſt, to be ſevere with ſuch Miniſters as have betrayed the Commonwealth: But when the Lords, ſo conſiderable a part of the Legiſlative Power, have eſpouſed the Innocency of any Perſon, we hope you will either give Credit to their Authority, or defer your Reſentments during our Common Danger. We are aſſured, that you will neither join with the Enemies of the King, nor with the Advocates of *France*, to hang upon the Wheels of the Government.

"We beſeech you, Gentlemen, not to be amuſed with the Offers of any Treaties from the *French* King, or, for the ſake thereof, to defer any Supplies that ſhall be convenient, before he ſhall have given entire Satisfaction to the Emperor for his Right to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and to his Majeſty for the Affront put upon him and his People, by giving the Title of his Kingdoms to the pretended Prince of *Wales*. We hope you will be ready upon all Occaſions to addreſs the King, That he will never enter into any Treaty with *France*, which ſhall not effectually ſecure to his People their Religion and Commerce.

"We beſeech you, Gentlemen, that ſetting aſide all other Buſineſs, you will be ſo early, and ſo liberal in your Supplies to his Majeſty, to ſupport his Great Alliances, that *France* may have no Hopes, nor her Enemies any Fears of the Neutrality of *England*: That other Princes, like thoſe of *Savoy*, *Portugal* and *Cologn*, may not make ſeparate Treaties for themſelves with the common Enemy of *Europe*.

"We beſeech you, Gentlemen, to be careful of the Credit of the Government, and to join your Votes with ſuch as ſhall be for the moſt ſpeedy and moſt eaſie Methods of raiſing Money; that the Blame of buying every thing for the King at exceſſive Prices, may not be caſt upon the Miniſters, which has been moſt juſtly due to the Diſtance or Inſufficiency of thoſe Funds which Parliaments have given.

Above all, Gentlemen, we conjure you to be moſt tender of the Perſon of his Majeſty, to endeavour that no Indignity may be offered to a Prince, born for the Good of Europe; *to diſtinguiſh between one that ſits upon his Throne, and ſends Generals Abroad to make Slaughters and Deſolation among his Neighbours, and a King who has ſo liberally and ſo generouſly expoſed his Life for the Liberty of his Country againſt this common Enemy.*

Honours and Preferments.

Since the Receſs of the laſt Parliament ſome few Titles and Places had been thus diſpoſed. On *September* 1ſt, His Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Dignity of a Baronet upon *John Thornicroft* of *Milcomb*, in the County of *Oxon*, Eſq; On *November* 22. His Majeſty was pleaſed to grant to the Earl of *Radnor*, the Office of Steward of the Dutchy of *Cornwall*, and of Warden and Steward of the Stannaries, and of Rider and Maſter of his Majeſty's Foreſts and Chaces of *Dartmore*, in the Room of *John* Earl of *Bath*, deceaſed; and to appoint the Earl of *Rivers* to be Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Lancaſter*, in the Room of *Charles* Earl of *Macclesfield*, deceaſed; who ſoon after his Return from an Embaſſy to the Court of *Hanover*, died on *November* 5. ordering by Will all his juſt Debts to be ſatisfied; and leaving moſt part of his perſonal Eſtate to his Kinſman the Lord *Mohun*, thinking his Hereditary Eſtate and Honours to be ſufficient for his Brother *Fitſon Gerrard*. On 27 *December*, His Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute *Charles* Earl of *Carliſle* Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of his Majeſty's Treaſury. And at the beginning of the Parliament, the more wiſely to balance the publick Counſels and Intereſts, on *January* 1ſt. the Earl of *Radnor* was ſworn of the Privy Council; on *January* 4th. the Earl of *Mancheſter* was conſtituted one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State; on *January* 8th. the Earl of *Burlington* was admitted into the Privy Council; and to complete the Choice of able Miniſters, the King, with an admirable Sagacity, on *January* 18. appointed the Earl of *Pembroke* to be Lord High Admiral of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; while the Duke of *Somerſet* ſucceeded him as Lord Preſident of the Privy Council.

Meeting of the New Parliament. On the appointed Day, 30th *December*, the Parliament met, and the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſent for the Commons; to whom the Lord Keeper ſignified his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that they ſhould forthwith proceed to the Choice of a Speaker, and preſent him next Morning: The Competition was between Mr. *Harley* and Sir *Thomas Littleton*, to which latter the King and Court inclin'd; but the former was elected by a Majority of Fourteen Votes; who being the next Day preſented and approved, His Majeſty made this memorable Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech. "I Promiſe my Self you are met together full of the juſt Senſe of our common Danger of *Europe*, and that Reſentment of the late Proceeding of the *French* King, which has been ſo fully and univerſally expreſs'd in the Loyal and Seaſonable Addreſſes of my People.

"The Owning and Setting up the pretended Prince of *Wales* (a) for King of *England*, is not only the higheſt Indignity offered to Me and the whole Nation, but does ſo nearly concern every Man, who has a Regard for the Proteſtant Religion, or the preſent and future Quiet and Happineſs of your Country, that I need not preſs you to lay it ſeriouſly to Heart, and to conſider what further effectual Means may be uſed for ſecuring the Succeſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line, and extinguiſhing the Hopes of all Pretenders, and their open or ſecret Abettors.

"By the *French* King's placing his Grandſon on the Throne of *Spain*, he is in a Condition to oppreſs the reſt of *Europe*, unleſs ſpeedy and effectual Meaſures be taken. Under this Pretence, he is become the real Maſter of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy; he has made it to be

(a) A good Writer has thus expreſs'd himſelf: "Could any thing be more contrary to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſolemn Engagements at the Treaty of *Reſwick*, than his quickly after promiſing the late King *James* upon his Death-Bed, never to abandon the Pretender; but always to acknowledge and entertain him as King of *England*, and declaring, that he hop'd to ſee him treated after the ſame manner by the whole World? Yet, what Papiſt is there, who does not cry up this publick Violation of his Faith, as one of the moſt Heroical and Glorious Actions of his Life? And the Pope, in a Speech made in a full Conſiſtory, ſays, That it is truly the moſt Chriſtian King's Zeal and Greatneſs of Soul ſhines in a wonderful manner.—— The *French* King afterward gave the Pretender a *French* Sword, with this remarkable Expreſſion: *Remember, if you prove ſucceſsful, that it is a* French *Sword.*

"entirely

1701. "entirely depending on *France*, and diſpoſes of it as of his own Dominions, and by that means he has ſurrounded his Neighbours in ſuch a manner, that tho' the Name of Peace may be ſaid to continue, yet they are put to the Expence and Inconveniencies of War.

" This muſt affect *England* in the neareſt and moſt ſenſible manner, in reſpect to our Trade, which will ſoon become precarious in all the valuable Branches of it; in reſpect to our Peace and Safety at Home, which we cannot hope ſhould long continue; and in reſpect to that part which *England* ought to take in the Preſervation of the Liberty of *Europe*.

" In order to obviate the general Calamity with which the reſt of *Chriſtendom* is threatned by this exorbitant Power of *France*, I have concluded ſeveral Alliances, according to the Encouragement given me by both Houſes of Parliament; which I will direct ſhall be laid before you, and which I do not doubt you will enable me to make good.

" There are ſome other Treaties ſtill depending, that ſhall be likewiſe communicated to you as ſoon as they are perfected.

" It is fit I ſhould tell you, The Eyes of all *Europe* are upon this Parliament; all Matters are at a Stand till your Reſolutions are known, and therefore no Time ought to be loſt.

" You have yet an Opportunity, by God's Bleſſing, to ſecure to you and your Poſterity the quiet Enjoyment of your Religion and Liberties, if you are not wanting to your ſelves, but will exert the ancient Vigor of the *Engliſh* Nation: But I tell you plainly my Opinion is, If you do not lay hold on this Occaſion, you have no Reaſon to hope for another.

" In order to do your part, it will be neceſſary to have a great Strength at Sea, and to provide for the Security of our Ships in Harbour; and alſo, that there be ſuch a Force at Land as is expected in proportion to the Forces of our Allies.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I do recommend theſe Matters to you with that Concern and Earneſtneſs, which their Importance requires: At the ſame Time I cannot but preſs you to take Care of the publick Credit, which cannot be preſerved, but by keeping ſacred that Maxim, That they ſhall never be Loſers, who truſt to a Parliamentary Security.

" It is always with Regret when I do ask Aids of my People; but you will obſerve, that I deſire nothing which relates to any perſonal Expence of mine; I am only preſſing you to do all you can for your own Safety and Honour at ſo Critical and Dangerous a Time; and am willing that what is given ſhall be wholly appropriated to the Purpoſes for which it is intended.

" And ſince I am ſpeaking on this Head, I think it proper to put you in mind, That during the late War I ordered the Accounts to be laid Yearly before the Parliament, and alſo gave my Aſſent to ſeveral Bills for Taking the publick Accounts, that my Subjects might have Satisfaction how the Money given for the War was applied; and I am willing that Matter may be put in any further way of Examination; that it may appear whether there were any Miſapplications and Miſmanagements; or whether the Debt that remains upon us, has really ariſen from the Shortneſs of the Supplies, or the Deficiency of the Funds.

" I have already told you how neceſſary Diſpatch will be for carrying on that great publick Buſineſs, whereon our Safety, and all that is valuable to us depends. I hope, what Time can be ſpared, will be employed about thoſe other very deſirable Things, which I have ſo often recommended from the Throne; I mean, The Forming ſome good Bills for employing the Poor, for encouraging Trade, and the further ſuppreſſing of Vice. 1701.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I hope you are come together, determined to avoid all manner of Diſputes and Differences, and reſolved to act with a general and hearty Concurrence, for promoting the Common Cauſe; which alone can make this a happy Seſſion.

" I ſhould think it as great a Bleſſing as could befal *England*, if I could obſerve you as much inclined to lay aſide thoſe Unhappy Fatal Animoſities, which divide and weaken you, as I am diſpoſed to make all my Subjects ſafe and eaſy, as to any even the higheſt Offences committed againſt Me.

" Let me conjure you to diſappoint the only Hopes of our Enemies, by your Unanimity. I have ſhewn, and will always ſhew, how deſirous I am to be the Common Father of all my People: Do you in like manner lay aſide Parties and Diviſions; Let there be no other Diſtinction heard of among us for the Future, but of thoſe who are for the Proteſtant Religion and the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and of thoſe who mean a Popiſh Prince and a *French* Government.

" I will only add this, If you do in good earneſt deſire to ſee *England* hold the Balance of *Europe*, and to be indeed at the Head of the Proteſtant Intereſt, it will appear by your right improving the preſent Opportunity.

This Wiſe and Affectionate Speech was extremely grateful to both Houſes, and they were very Unanimous in their Thanks for it. The Lords began the New Year with this ſeaſonable Preſent.

Die Jovis 1. *Januarii*, 1701.

"WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, did hear, with all imaginable Satisfaction, Your Majeſty's moſt Gracious Speech to both Your Houſes of Parliament; for which we return Your Majeſty our moſt humble and hearty Thanks. And tho' the ſeveral Particulars which Your Majeſty was pleaſed to recommend to us, are of the higheſt Importance; and that we will loſe no Time in proceeding to the Conſideration of them, with great Duty to Your Majeſty; Yet we cannot defer expreſſing our juſt Reſentments of the Proceedings of the *French* King, in Owning and Setting up the pretended Prince of *Wales* for King of *England*, and other Your Majeſty's Realms and Dominions; which we take to be the higheſt Indignity that can be offered to Your Sacred Majeſty and this Kingdom. And we do aſſure Your Majeſty, we are ſo ſenſible thereof, that we are reſolved to aſſiſt Your Majeſty to the utmoſt of our Power, in defending Your Sacred Perſon and Government from all Attempts whatſoever, that ſhall be made either from Your open or ſecret Enemies. And that no Enemies to our Religion and Country may ever hope to proſper in their Attempts againſt us, when, to our great Unhappineſs, it ſhall pleaſe God to deprive us of Your Majeſty's Protection, we do further declare our Reſolutions to aſſiſt and defend, to the utmoſt of our Power, againſt the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and all other Pretenders whatſoever, every Perſon and Perſons who have Right to ſucceed to the

Addreſs of the Lords.

1701. "the Crown of theſe Realms, by Virtue of the Two Acts of Parliament, entitled, *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown*; and, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better ſecuring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*. And we conclude with our earneſt Prayers to Almighty God, for Your Majeſty's long and happy Reign over us.

To this Addreſs his Majeſty made an agreeable Anſwer.

My Lords,

The King's Anſwer. "I Heartily thank you for your very ſeaſonable Addreſs, and for all your kind Expreſſions of Duty to me in it. I recommend to you to take into your ſpeedy Conſideration the other Matters mentioned in my Speech, and doubt not but that your Reſolutions will be for the Honour and Safety of the Kingdom.

On the 5th of *January* the Commons preſented their Addreſs in this agreeable Form.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

Addreſs of the Commons. "WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects the Commons of *England* in Parliament aſſembled, do return our moſt humble and hearty Thanks to Your Majeſty for Your moſt Gracious Speech from the Throne; and humbly crave Leave to aſſure Your Majeſty, That this Houſe will ſupport and defend Your Majeſty's lawful and rightful Title to the Crown of theſe Realms, againſt the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and all his open and ſecret Abettors and Adherents, and all other Your Majeſty's Enemies whatſoever. And we will enable Your Majeſty to ſhew Your juſt Reſentment of the Affront and Indignity offered to Your Majeſty and this Nation by the *French* King, in taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of *Wales* King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: And we are firmly and unanimouſly Reſolved to maintain and ſupport the Succeſſion to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, in the Proteſtant Line, as the ſame is ſettled by an Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown, and farther provided for by an Act of the laſt Parliament, intituled, *An Act for the farther Limitation of the Crown, and better ſecuring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*. And for the better effecting the ſame, we will, to the utmoſt of our Power, enable Your Majeſty to make good all thoſe Alliances Your Majeſty has made, or ſhall make, purſuant to the Addreſſes and Advice of Your moſt Dutiful and Loyal Commons of the laſt Parliament, for the preſerving the Liberties of *Europe*, and reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*.

To which his Majeſty gave this grateful Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

King's Anſwer. *I Give you my hearty Thanks for this Addreſs, which I look upon as a good Omen for the Seſſion. The Unanimity with which it paſſed, adds greatly to the Satisfaction I receive from it; ſo good a Step at your firſt Entrance upon Buſineſs, cannot but raiſe the Hopes of all who wiſh well to* England, *and to the Common Cauſe. I can deſire no more of you, than to proceed as you have begun; and I depend upon it: For when I conſider how chearfully and univerſally you concurr'd in this Addreſs, I cannot doubt but every one of you will ſincerely endeavour to make it effectual in all the Parts of it.* 1701.

The Lords had taken into ſeaſonable Conſideration the dangerous State of *Europe*, more eſpecially ariſing from the Duke of *Anjou*'s poſſeſſing the Crown of *Spain*, which made in effect a Conjunction with *France*, and ſo muſt inevitably overthrow the Balance of Power, unleſs timely prevented by ſtrong Alliances of other States and Princes: And therefore on *January* 6. their Lordſhips addreſs'd the King a ſecond Time in theſe clear Words.

"WE Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, are highly ſenſible of what we owe to Almighty God, for the great Deliverance he hath wrought for us by Your Majeſty. We are highly ſenſible of his Mercies in preſerving You hitherto, in ſo many publick and private Dangers to which Your Sacred Perſon hath been expoſed; and we hope the ſame Providence will carry Your Majeſty thro' the great Work (which ſeems reſerv'd for you) the reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*, and maintaining the Balance of *Europe*. Second Addreſs of the Lords.

"All true *Engliſhmen*, ſince the Decay of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, have ever taken it for granted, that the Security of their Religion, Liberty and Property, that their Honour, their Wealth, and their Trade, depend chiefly upon the proper Meaſures to be taken from Time to Time in Parliament againſt the growing Power of *France*: But it is their peculiar Bleſſing in Your Majeſty's Reign, to have a Prince upon the Throne, who not only agrees with them in this Opinion, but who, in the frequent Parliaments aſſembled, is ever reminding them of this their greateſt Concern; and who to compleat their Happineſs, is always ready, with the Hazard of his Perſon, to ſupport his Subjects and Allies againſt their Common Enemy.

"And we eſteem it a further good Fortune, in the Time of publick Danger, That the *French* King has taken thoſe Meaſures, which will make it impoſſible for him to impoſe any more upon the World, by Treaties ſo often violated: Neither can he hope any longer to cover his ambitious Deſigns, or juſtifie his Uſurpations under the ſpecious Pretences of Peace.

"Your Majeſty hath ſo juſtly repreſented the Danger to which *Europe* is expoſed, by the *French* King's placing his Grandſon on the Throne of *Spain*; Your Majeſty is ſo juſtly ſenſible, that under that Pretence he is become abſolute Maſter of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy; and we are all ſo well apprized of the dangerous Conſequence of this bold Attempt, that we think it moſt proper to aſſure Your Majeſty in Your own Words, That we are under the higheſt Impatience, that ſpeedy and effectual Meaſures may be taken againſt the undoubted Ambition of the *French* King.

"And as the placing his Grandſon upon the Throne of *Spain* is viſibly to the whole World, the Cauſe of all thoſe Dangers mentioned in Your Majeſty's Speech, and of the Breach of the Balance of Power in *Europe*, which the People of *England* are ſo deeply engaged to preſerve; ſo we humbly conceive the Remedy is as apparent as the Diſeaſe; and that Your Majeſty, Your Subjects and Allies, can never be ſafe and ſecure, till the Houſe of *Auſtria* be reſtored to their Rights, and the In-

1701.

"vader of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy brought to Reaſon.

"To conclude, Sir, As we humbly addreſs'd to Your Majeſty laſt Parliament to enter into Alliances with the Emperor, the States of *Holland*, and all other Princes and States, willing to unite againſt the Power of *France*; ſo we take the Liberty at this Time to aſſure You, we are all willing and zealous to lay hold of this Opportunity, which the Bleſſing of God, and Your Majeſty's Care, have put into our Hands; Reſolving to make our utmoſt Efforts for our own Security, and the Support of our Allies; deſiring of Your Majeſty to reſt aſſured, That no Time ſhall be loſt, nor any thing wanting on our part, which may anſwer the reaſonable Expectation of our Friends Abroad; not doubting but to ſupport the Reputation of the *Engliſh* Name, when engaged under ſo Great a Prince, in the Glorious Cauſe of maintaining the Liberty of *Europe*.

His Majeſty return'd this good Anſwer:

My Lords,

Anſwer of His Majeſty.

I *Am extremely pleaſed to find the juſt Sentiments you have of the preſent State of Affairs, and your Readineſs to do your Part in this great Conjuncture. I hope your joint Endeavours will be ſucceſsful for reſtoring the Balance of* Europe, *and eſtabliſhing our Common Security.*

State of *Europe* laid before the Commons

To bring the Houſe of Commons into more effectual Meaſures for eſpouſing and ſupporting the Cauſe of a new War, the King commanded Mr. Secretary *Vernon* to lay before them the Copies of the Treaties of the Grand Alliance. 1. Treaty between the King of *Denmark* and the States General, 15 *June*, 1701. 2. Secret Articles of Treaty with *Denmark*, 15 *June*, 1701. 3. Treaty between the Emperor, his Majeſty, and the States General, 7 *Sept.* 1701. 4. A Convention between the King of *England*, the King of *Sweden*, and the States General, 26 *September*, 1701. 5. Treaty between the King and the States General, 11 *November*, 1701. All which were ſo well approved, that the Houſe immediately reſolved on the 7th of *January*, That a Supply be granted to his Majeſty: And that whoſoever ſhall advance or lend into his Majeſty's Exchequer the Sum of Six hundred thouſand Pounds for the Service of the Fleet, ſhall be repaid the ſame with Intereſt at Six *per Cent.* out of the firſt Aids to be granted this Seſſion. And that whoſoever ſhall advance the further Sum of Fifty thouſand Pounds for the Subſiſtence of the Guards and Garriſons, ſhall be repaid in like manner. Then they took the State of the Navy into Conſideration, and ordered the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty to lay before that Houſe a State of the Fleet, and Condition of each reſpective Ship and Place where they are; with a State of the Debt of the Navy, and an Eſtimate of what is neceſſary for the Extra-Repairs of it. And to encourage the People with the Hopes of making good all former Deficiencies, they ordered an Account of the Debts of the Nation unprovided for, both Principal and Intereſt to be laid before them. And further to juſtifie the Diſpoſal of publick Funds, they ordered the Speaker to write to Two of the Truſtees for the Forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland*, to attend the Houſe, and lay before them a full Account of their Proceedings in Execution of that Act. And what gave the greateſt Life and Spirit to a War Abroad, and Unity at Home, on *Jan.* 9th, they reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for a further Security of His Majeſty's Perſon, and the Succeſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line, and extinguiſhing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and all other Pretenders, and their open and ſecret Abettors. And on the next Day they farther Reſolved, "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to take care, that it be an Article in the ſeveral Treaties of Alliance with his Majeſty and other Potentates, *That no Peace ſhall be made with* France, *until his Majeſty and the Nation have Reparation for the great Indignity offered by the* French *King, in owning and declaring the pretended Prince of* Wales *King of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland." To which the King gave a chearful Anſwer, *That he would take Care of what they deſired.* They agreed at the ſame Time, *That the Proportion of Land-Forces to act in Conjunction with the Forces of the Allies, for making good the Alliances, be Forty thouſand Men, and Forty thouſand more for Sea-Service.* They proceeded to a Bill for the Attainder of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. The Lords were intent upon the ſame Meaſures, and paſs'd a Bill *for the Security of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and for maintaining the Succeſſion of the Crown, according to the Two late Acts of Parliament*; which they ſent down to the Commons, who after twice Reading, let it lie upon their Table, as thinking their own depending Bills more effectual. Yet the Chief of thoſe Bills, that *for the Security of his Majeſty's Perſon*, &c. was likely to have been weakened, by an Inſtruction to the Committee, That they take Care that the Oath in the ſaid Bill mentioned, be Voluntary. But the Queſtion being put upon this Offer, it paſs'd in the Negative. And on *Jan.* 22. they gave a much better Inſtruction to the ſaid Committee, *That they do take Care to make it equally Penal to compaſs or imagine the Death of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs* Anne *of* Denmark, *as it is to compaſs and imagine the Death of the King's Eldeſt Son and Heir, by the Statute of* 25 Ed. III. The Houſe had a Multiplicity of other Buſineſs before them; as, The Produce of Cuſtoms; The *Quakers* Bill; The Forfeitures in *Ireland*; The more effectual puniſhing of Vagrants; The Number, and Charge, and Condition of the Forces to be fill'd up and rais'd for Sea and Land; The Affair of the Abuſes committed in the King's Brew-houſe at St. *Catherine's*; The Apothecaries Bill; The Care of Regulating Collections; The Examination of Shams and Stories told by *William Fuller*; and of a Letter ſent to the Speaker from one Dr. *Stringer*, pretending the Diſcovery of a Plot againſt the Government; with other intervening Affairs, that were enough to retard the more important Buſineſs of the Nation; wherein, notwithſtanding, they proceeded with a very vigorous Application. On *Febr.* 3. they reſolved, That a Sum not exceeding Three hundred fifty two thouſand Pounds be granted to his Majeſty, for the maintaining of Guards and Garriſons, and for providing for Officers upon Half-pay. And to quicken the Allies, as well as to ſupport the King, they reſolved at the ſame Time, "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, That he will be graciouſly pleaſed to interpoſe with his Allies, that they may increaſe their Quota's of Land-Forces to be put on Board the Fleet, in proportion to the Numbers his Majeſty ſhall have on Board his Fleet." To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, *He would do it.* When they had ſettled the Sums appropriated to the ſeveral Uſes of the War, on *Febr.* 7. they agreed on another Addreſs to the King, "That he would be graciouſly pleaſed to provide for the Half-pay Officers in the firſt place, in the Recruits

Reſolutions of the Commons

Happy Proceedings.

"and

1701. "and Levies to be now made". To which he anſwered, That *it was always his Intention.*

His Majeſty, to encourage the Diſpatch of publick Affairs, came to the Houſe of Peers on *Tueſday, Feb.* 10. and gave the Royal Aſſent to a Bill which had formerly miſcarried, intituled, *An Act for reviving and continuing an Act, intituled, An Act for the appointing Commiſſioners to take, examine and determine the Debts due to the Army, Navy, and the Tranſport-Service; and alſo an Account of Prizes taken during the late War.*

Act paſſed.

Commons aſſert their Privileges.

The Commons were diſpoſed to aſſert their own Privileges, as well as to conſult the common Good; and therefore, on the controverted Election at *Maidſton*, between *Thomas Bliſſe* and *Thomas Colepepper*, Eſquires, they reſolved, That the latter had been guilty of Corrupt, Scandalous and Indirect Practices, in endeavouring to procure himſelf to be elected a Burgeſs; and being one of the Inſtruments in promoting and preſenting the ſcandalous, inſolent, and ſeditious Petition, commonly called The *Kentiſh Petition*, to the laſt Houſe of Commons, was guilty of promoting a ſcandalous, villanous, and groundleſs Reflection upon the ſaid Houſe of Commons, by aſperſing the Members with receiving *French* Money, or being in the Intereſt of *France*; for which Offence he ſhould be committed to *Newgate*, and his Majeſty's Attorney-General ſhould proſecute him for the ſaid Crimes.

Under this Indignation, they reſolved on *Febr.* 26. That agreeable to the Opinions of a Committee appointed to conſider of the Rights, Liberties and Privileges of the Houſe of Commons, That to aſſert, that the Houſe of Commons is not the only Repreſentative of the Commons of *England*, tends to the Subverſion of the Rights and Privileges of the Houſe of Commons, and the Fundamental Conſtitution of the Government of this Kingdom. 2. That to aſſert, that the Houſe of Commons have no Power of Commitment, but of their own Members, tends to the Subverſion of the Conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons. 3. That to print or publiſh any Books or Libels reflecting upon the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, or any Member thereof, for, or relating to his Service therein, is a high Violation of the Rights and Privileges of the Houſe of Commons. 4. That it is the undoubted Right of the People of *England*, to petition or addreſs to the King for the Calling, Sitting, or Diſſolving of Parliaments, and for the Redreſſing of Grievances. 5. That it is the undoubted Right of every Subject of *England*, under any Accuſation, either by Impeachment or otherwiſe, to be brought to a ſpeedy Trial, in order to be acquitted or condemned. And indeed, if every Vote of any Body of Men can create a Privilege to 'em, it is a great Favour to other Bodies and Perſons, that they are but ſhort and modeſt in thoſe Votes and Reſolutions.

His Majeſty was very ſenſible that the Proteſtant Succeſſion would not be ſo eaſily ſettled in *Scotland*, where it might be retarded on purpoſe for a Claim to an Independence on the Crown of *England*; and that nothing was more ſeaſonable at this Juncture, than an Union of the Two Kingdoms; to which Effect his Majeſty in a hearty Concern for the Common Good, writes this Letter to the Houſe of Commons, being diſabled from coming to the Houſe of Peers by his late Fall.

William R.

"HIS Majeſty being at preſent hindered, "by an unhappy Accident, from coming "in Perſon to his Parliament, is pleaſed to ſignifie to the Houſe of Commons by Meſſage, "what he deſigned to have ſpoken to both Houſes from the Throne. His Majeſty in the firſt "Year of his Reign did acquaint the Parliament, "That Commiſſioners were authoriz'd in *Scotland* to treat with ſuch Commiſſioners as ſhould "be appointed in *England*, of proper Terms for "Uniting the Two Kingdoms, and at the ſame "Time expreſſed his great Deſire of ſuch an "Union: His Majeſty is fully ſatisfied, that no-"thing can more contribute to the preſent and "future Security and Happineſs of *England* and "*Scotland*, than a firm and entire Union between "them; and he cannot but hope, that upon a "due Conſideration of our preſent Circumſtan-"ces, there will be found a general Diſpoſition "to this Union. His Majeſty would eſteem it a "peculiar Felicity, if, during his Reign, ſome "happy Expedient for making both Kingdoms "One, might take place; and is therefore ex-"tremely deſirous, that a Treaty for that pur-"poſe might be ſet on Foot; and does, in the "moſt earneſt manner, recommend this Affair "to the Conſideration of the Houſe.

His Majeſty's Misfortune & Indiſpoſition.

The Commons appointed firſt one and then another Day to conſider of this Meſſage; but the Shortneſs of his Majeſty's Life prevented their coming to any Reſolution; for his Majeſty being in a very infirm State of Health, was ſtill willing to continue his uſual Diverſions of Hunting; ſo on *February* 21. riding out from *Kenſington* to Hunt near *Hampton-Court*, as he was putting his Horſe to the Gallop, the Horſe fell, and his Majeſty in the Fall broke his Right Collar-Bone. Upon this fatal Accident, his Majeſty was carried to *Hampton-Court*, where the Bone was dexterouſly ſet by Monſieur *Ronjat*, Serjeant-Surgeon to the King, who having felt his Majeſty's Pulſe, told him he was Feveriſh, and that any other Perſon in his Condition would be let Blood; As for that, reply'd the King, I have now and then had a Hand-ake, and ſome ſhivering Fits this Fortnight, and had this very Morning a Pain in my Hand before I went out a Hunting. In the Afternoon, the King finding himſelf eaſie, contrary to Advice, return'd to *Kenſington*, and ſlept almoſt all the way in his Coach. He came to *Kenſington* about Nine at Night, with his Right-Arm tied up; and as he enter'd the Great Bed-Chamber he ſaw Dr. *Bidloo*, to whom he ſpake in this manner: *I have got a Hurt in my Arm, pray come and ſee it.* Soon after, he continued to this Effect; *I was riding in the Park at Noon, and while I endeavour'd to make the Horſe change his Walking into a Gallop, he fell upon his Knees: Upon that I meant to raiſe him with the Bridle, but he fell forwards to one ſide, and ſo I fell with my Right Shoulder upon the Ground. 'Tis a ſtrange thing, for it happen'd upon a ſmooth level Ground.* Ronjat (his Majeſty's Surgeon) *ſays, There's a little Bone broken; and indeed I feel ſome Pain towards my Back.* At the ſame time, he pointed with his Left-hand to the Shoulder-blade, ſaying, *There, there.* Dr. *Bidloo* finding his Pulſe in good Order, diſſuaded him from Bleeding, and after viewing the affected part, gave his Majeſty to know, That the Right Channel-Bone was broke obliquely a little below its Juncture with the Shoulder-blade. Then his Majeſty ask'd, *If it was well ſet?* And the Doctor anſwering, *No*; he ſaid to Mr. *Ronjat*, his Surgeon, *Juſtify your ſelf, Monſieur* Ronjat, *Is it well ſet?* Mr. *Ronjat* made Anſwer, *That it was well ſet; but that the Jolting of the Coach, and the Looſening of the Bandage had occaſion'd that Disunion.* After the Fracture was taken care of, his Majeſty went to Bed, and ſlept the whole Night ſo ſound, that the Gentlemen who ſat up with him, ſaid, they did not hear him complain ſo much as once.

1701.

His Majeſty ſeem'd in a fair way of doing well, till on *Sunday*, *March* 1ſt, a Defluxion fell upon his Knee, which was a great Pain and Weakneſs to him, and thought to be a very ill Symptom; He took it as a Warning for the Diſpatch of publick Affairs; and therefore the next Morning this Meſſage was ſent from the Houſe of Peers to the Commons. Mr. Speaker, *The King hath granted a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, for paſſing the Royal Aſſent to thoſe Bills, which have been agreed to by both Houſes of Parliament; and the Lords commiſſion'd by the King, do deſire, That this Houſe would preſently come up with their Speaker, to be preſent at the paſſing thereof.* Then Mr. Speaker with the Houſe went up; and the Lord Keeper acquainted both Houſes, That his Majeſty by an unhappy Accident had been prevented from coming in Perſon, and had granted a Commiſſion to ſeveral Peers for paſſing the Bills therein mentioned; and that the Royal Aſſent was given by Commiſſion to theſe following Bills: 1. *An Act for the Attainder of the pretended Prince of* Wales *of High Treaſon.* 2. *An Act for puniſhing Officers and Soldiers who ſhall Mutiny or Deſert in* England *and* Ireland. 3. *An Act for continuing an Act, intituled, An Act that the ſolemn Affirmation and Declaration of the People called Quakers, ſhall be accepted inſtead of an Oath in the uſual Form.* 4. *An Act for Naturalizing* Charlelotte, *the Wife of* Hugh Boſcawen, *Eſq*;

The King grants a Commiſſion to paſs ſome Bills.

Acts paſſed.

On *Wedneſday*, *March* 4. His Majeſty ſeem'd ſo well recover'd of the Lameneſs in his Knee, that he took ſeveral Turns in the Gallery at *Kenſington*; but at length, finding himſelf tir'd and faint, he ſat down on a Couch, and fell aſleep, which probably occaſion'd that ſhivering Fit which ſoon after ſeiz'd him, and which turn'd to a Fever, accompany'd with Vomiting and a Looſeneſs: Thereupon the King thought fit to ſend for Sir *Thomas Millington*, who attended him to the laſt Moment, as did alſo Sir *Richard Blackmore*, Dr. *Hutton*, Dr. *Hanes*, Dr. *Browne*, Dr. *Lawrence*, Sir *Theodore Colladon*, Dr. *Bidloo*, and others of that Faculty. Theſe Learned Phyſicians adminiſtred ſeveral Remedies to his Majeſty, that gave him great Relief, and he continued indifferent well till *Friday* 6th, when his Vomiting and Looſeneſs return'd ſo violent upon him, that he refus'd to take any Suſtenance till Two of the Clock on *Saturday* Morning, when he ſupp'd a Cup full of Chocolate, that ſtaid with him; ſoon after they gave him a gentle ſleeping Draught to compoſe him, which had that good Effect, that he reſted for Three Hours after: In the Forenoon he ſupp'd ſome Broth and a Cordial, and found himſelf ſomewhat eaſier, though exceſſive weak. His Mind was ſo fix'd upon the publick Intereſt, that he immediately order'd another Commiſſion, for paſſing thoſe Bills that were ready for his Aſſent; and becauſe he was now ſo weak, that he could not write his own Name, a Stamp was prepar'd, by which he ſign'd the Commiſſion. The Earl of *Albemarle* arriv'd at *Kenſington* from *Holland* about Five a Clock this *Saturday* Morning, and immediately went to wait on the King; who being willing at that Time to be retired, bid his Lordſhip go and take ſome Reſt, and come to him ſome Hours after. The Earl attending accordingly, the King call'd him to one ſide of the Bed, where his Lordſhip gave him an Account of the Poſture of Affairs in *Holland*, at which his Majeſty ſeem'd well pleaſed. The King had order'd the Two Houſes to adjourn till Six a Clock this Evening; when being met, the Royal Aſſent was given by Commiſſion to theſe Bills: 1. *An Act for granting an Aid to his Majeſty, by laying Duties upon Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry.* 2. *An Act for the further Security of his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Succeſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line, and extinguiſhing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of* Wales, *and all other Pretenders, and their open and ſecret Abettors.* 3. *An Act for enabling* Lionel *Earl of* Orrery *in the Kingdom of* Ireland, *by Sale of certain Lands and Tenements, to raiſe Money for Payment of his Debts, and ſettle other Lands to the Uſes and Purpoſes in that Act mentioned.*

King's laſt Illneſs.

Acts paſſed by Commiſſion.

1701.

On *Saturday* Night an extraordinary Council was call'd, before whom the Phyſicians appear'd frequently, and at laſt acquainted them by Sir *Thomas Millington*, That all their Hopes, under God, depended upon the Uſe of thoſe Remedies they had already preſcribed, and upon his Majeſty's taking ſome little Suſtenance. Upon this the Duke of *Devonſhire*, and ſeveral other Noblemen, deſir'd Dr. *Bidloo* to preſs his Majeſty to take ſomething: Accordingly, Dr. *Bidloo* ſpoke to him in *Dutch*, and his Majeſty made Anſwer, *Lift me up, and I'll take as much as I can of what is thought proper.* Then he took ſome of *Rawley's* Cordial, with the Cordial Julep, and ſoon after ſome hot Claret. About the ſame Time he thank'd *Bidloo* for the great Care he had taken of his Perſon; adding to this Effect, *I know you and the other learned Phyſicians have done all that your Art can do for my Relief, but finding all means ineffectual, I ſubmit.* About Three a Clock on *Sunday* Morning he call'd again for Dr. *Bidloo*, and complain'd to him, That he had had a bad Night, and could not ſleep: Upon that, he ſat up, and lean'd on him, ſaying, *I could ſleep in this Poſture; ſit nearer me, and hold me ſo for a little time.* In this Poſture he ſlept about half an Hour, and when he awak'd, ſaid, *You can bear me up no longer.* Then he was held up by Mr. *Freeman* on the Right Side, and Mr. *Sewell* on the Left, both of them having Pillows in their Arms. Soon after, the Phyſicians gave notice, They were apprehenſive his Majeſty had not long to live: The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who attended him in thoſe Extremes with his Prayers and proper Exhortations, adminiſtred the Sacrament to him about Five in the Morning, which his Majeſty received with firm Attention, and very grave Devotion. The Lords of the Privy-Council, with many of the Nobility and Gentry, attended in the adjoining Apartments, and ſeveral of 'em were call'd in at Times, to whom his Majeſty ſpoke a little, and then they withdrew. Amidſt all their Tears, his Majeſty did not betray the leaſt Concern or Fear of Death, but labour'd to ſpeak with Eaſe and Chearfulneſs; and particularly, when he talk'd a little to the Lord *Overkirk*, he rais'd his Voice in a diſtinguiſhing manner: He took Leave of all of 'em with a great deal of Satisfaction, and deliver'd to the Lord *Albemarle* the Keys of his Cloſet and Scriptore, telling him, *He knew what to do with 'em.* After Seven a Clock, He took *Bidloo* by the Hand, and breathing with great Difficulty, he ask'd him, *If this could laſt long?* The Doctor anſwering, No; He ask'd again, *How long?* To which the Doctor reply'd, *An Hour, or an Hour and half; tho' you may be ſnatch'd away in the Twinkling of an Eye.* After that, while the Doctor was feeling his Pulſe, his Majeſty took him again by the Hand, ſaying, *I do not die yet; hold me faſt.* Having taken a little of the Cordial Potion, he faintly enquir'd for the Earl of *Portland*, who immediately came to him, and plac'd his Ear as near as he could to his Majeſty's Mouth; but tho' his Majeſty's Lips were ſeen to move, his Lordſhip was not able to hear any diſtinct articulate Sound. About Eight a Clock, his Majeſty ſitting on his Bed in his Night Gown, and in the Arms of Mr. *Sewell*, one of the Pages of the Back-Stairs, he lean'd a little backwards towards the

Report of the Phyſicians.

The King's laſt Agonies.

Left,

1701. Left, and ſhutting his Eyes, expir'd with two or three ſoft Gaſps. As ſoon as the Breath was out of his Royal Body, the Lords *Lexington* and *Scarborough*, who were then in Waiting, order'd Monſieur *Ronjat* to pull from the King's Left-Arm a Black Ribbon, which tied next to his Skin a Gold Ring with ſome Hair of the late Queen *Mary*. (a)

The King's Death.

Two Days after, the Royal Body was open'd; and the Phyſicians and Surgeons ſummon'd by the Privy-Council to aſſiſt at, and examine the Diſſection, made this Report.

Report of the Phyſicians upon Diſſection.

1. Upon the viewing the Body before the Diſſection, the following Appearances were remarkable: The Body in general was much emaciated: Both the Legs up to the Knees, and a little higher, as alſo the Right Hand and Arm, as far as the Elbow, were conſiderably ſwell'd: There was likewiſe on the Left Thigh, near the Hip, a Bladder full of Water, as big as a ſmall Pullet's Egg, reſembling a Blain.

2. Upon opening the Belly, the Guts were found of a livid Colour, and the Blood contained in their Veſſels black. The Gut called *Ilion* had in ſome places the Marks of a ſlight Inflammation. The Stomach, Pancreas, Meſentery, Liver, Gall, Bladder, Spleen, and Kidneys, were all ſound, and without Fault.

3. In the *Thorax*, or Cheſt, we obſerv'd, That the Right Side of the *Lungs* adher'd to the *Pleura*, and the Left much more: From which, upon Separation, there iſſued forth a Quantity of purulent or frothy Serum. The *Upper Lobe* on the Left Side of the *Lungs*, and the part of the *Pleura* next to it, were inflam'd to a Degree of Mortification: *And this we look upon as the immediate Cauſe of the King's Death.* From the Ventricles of the Heart, and the greater Blood-Veſſels ariſing out of them, were taken ſeveral large, tough, fleſh-like Subſtances, of the kind call'd *Polypus*. The Heart it ſelf was of the ſmaller Size, but firm and ſtrong.

4. Upon laying bare the Right Collar-Bone, we found it had been broken near the Shoulder, and well ſet. Some extravaſated Blood was lodg'd above and below the Fracture.

5. The Brain was perfectly ſound, and without any ſign of Diſtemper.

6. 'Tis very rare to find a Body with ſo little Blood as was ſeen in this: There being more found in his Lungs, than in all the Parts beſides put together. 1701.

Doctors preſent.	Surgeons preſent.
Sir *Richard Blackmore*,	Mr. *Bernard*,
Sir *Theodore Colladon*,	Mr. *Cowper*,
Dr. *Hanes*,	Mr. *Gardner*,
Dr. *Harrel*,	Mr. *Ronjat*, &c.
Dr. *How*,	
Dr. *Hutton*,	
Dr. *Lawrence*,	
Sir *Thomas Millington*,	
Profeſſor *Bidloo*, &c.	

The Royal Body having been embalm'd, and for ſome time lain in State at *Kenſington*, the private Interment, in a Method adjuſted by the Lords of the Privy-Council, was perform'd on *Sunday* Night the 12th of *April*, in a ſolemn Proceſſion from the Palace at *Kenſington*, to the Collegiate Church of St. *Peter's Weſtminſter*, where the Royal Corps was laid into a Vault in *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel: And after the Office of Burial, perform'd by the Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and an Anthem ſung by the Choir, *Clarenceux* King of Arms concluded in theſe Words: *Thus it hath pleaſed Almighty God to take out of this tranſitory Life to his Divine Mercy, the late moſt High, moſt Excellent, and moſt Mighty Monarch* William *the Third, by the Grace of God King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and Sovereign of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter. Let us beſeech Almighty God, to bleſs and preſerve with long Life, Wealth, and Honour, and all Worldly Happineſs, the moſt High, moſt Excellent, and moſt mighty Princeſs, our Sovereign Lady* Anne, *now by the Grace of God Queen of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and Sovereign of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter. God ſave Queen* Anne. This being done, the ſeveral White-Staff Officers of his late Majeſty's Houſhold broke their White Staffs, and threw them into the Vault or Grave.

Interment of his Royal Body.

Towards the beginning of *May*, the laſt Will which his Majeſty had made in the Year 1695, and depoſited in the Hands of Monſieur *Schuylemberg*, was open'd in the Preſence of Mr. *Stanhope* and

(a) King *William* was always ready to countenance and promote any good Works of Piety, and Charity, and publick Good. And to inſtance only in this laſt Year of his Reign, there were theſe ſeveral Royal Acts and Deeds of doing Service to Religion and the Church of *England*: 1. A Charter granted by his Majeſty, upon Application made by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, for the Erecting a Corporation or ſtanding Society, for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts. Given 16 *June*, 1701. —2. Letters Patent for a Charitable Collection throughout all *England*, towards Rebuilding the Ruins, and Repairing the Decayed Part of the Pariſh-Church of *Rye* in *Suſſex*. Given 23 *June*, 1701. —3. Letters Patent for a Charitable Collection throughout *England*, towards Rebuilding and Repairing the Pariſh-Church of *Cheſtow*, in the County of *Monmouth*; the Tower or Steeple whereof was much damaged by the Civil Wars, and the late Fall of it had demoliſh'd a great part of the Church. Given 18. *November*, 1701. —4. A Letter from his Majeſty to *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*, ſignifying, That a Brief granted in order to the Redemption of our *Engliſh* Slaves, under the Dominion of the Emperor of *Morocco*, doth fall ſhort ſeveral Thouſand Pounds; and therefore thinking fit, that a further Collection be made for this purpoſe, within *London* and *Weſtminſter*. Given at *Hampton-Court*, 20 *Nov*. 1701. —5. Letters Patent for a Charitable Collection throughout *England*, towards Rebuilding and Repairing the Pariſh-Church of *Lutterworth*, in the County of *Leiceſter*. Given 17 *Feb*. 1701-2. —6. His Majeſty's ready Care and Conſent for the better ſettling and preſerving the *Cotton-Library* at *Weſtminſter*, for the Benefit of the Publick. —7. His Favour to the Corporation for the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy; as acknowledg'd in an Addreſs of the Governors, preſented by Captain *Theophilus Blechingdon*, at *Hampton-Court*, *Nov*. 18. 1701. —8. His ſpecial Protection of the Church and Clergy; as duly acknowledged in the Humble Addreſs of the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and reſt of the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, in Convocation aſſembled. Preſented to his Majeſty at *Kenſington*, on *Thurſday* 22 *Jan*. 1701-2. With his Majeſty's Gracious Anſwer. I have heard Archbiſhop *Tenniſon* ſay, That in one of the laſt Opportunities he had of waiting on his Majeſty, the King was leaning on the Chimney-piece for more convenient Warmth, and ſaid to him, *Come, my Lord, if you have any thing to propoſe for the Good of the Church, let me know it quickly; for I find I decay very faſt.* — Above all, and without which, all others had been void, was, His wiſe and effectual Care for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, provided for by Two ſeveral Acts of his laſt Year; and One of them, his *Bleſſed Dying Legacy*, of admirable, and, we hope, perpetual Service to this Church and Nation; and, indeed, to the Proteſtant Intereſt and Balance of all *Europe*.

See, A Form of Prayers uſed by his Majeſty King *William* III. when He received the Holy Sacrament. Said to be drawn up at his Requeſt by Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*; and publiſh'd after his Death by *John* Biſhop of *Norwich*, from the Original Papers which his Majeſty conſtantly uſed. With a Preface by the Biſhop of *London*, 1704. 8°.

The Firſt Sermon preach'd before the Queen upon her Acceſſion to the Throne, at St. *James's* Chapel in *Lent*, on the 15th Day of *March* 1701-2. was by *Gilbert* Lord Biſhop

1701. and M. *Smettau*, Envoys from the Queen of *Great Britain* and the King of *Pruſſia*, and before the Agents of the Prince of *Frieſland*, *Anhalt*, and divers others, with ſeveral Members of the Council of State, and ſome Commiſſioners appointed by the Court of Juſtice in *Holland*. The Copy of it follows:

His Majeſty's laſt Will and Teſtament.

“WE *William* by the Grace of God King of *Great Britain*, Prince of *Orange*, &c. conſidering the Infirmity and Mortality of Man, the Certainty of Death, and the Uncertainty of the Time and Hour of it, have thought fit and reſolv'd, before we leave this Earthly Vale, to diſpoſe of the Temporal Goods which it hath pleaſed God to give us, as well Feodal as Allodial, by Virtue of a Grant from the States of *Holland* and *Weſt Frieſland*, bearing Date, *June* the 15th, 1673. Recommending firſt our Immortal Soul into the merciful Hands of God, and of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; and our Mortal Body to the Earth; Revoking, Cancelling, and Annulling by theſe Preſents, all Teſtaments, Codicils, or other Diſpoſals, which we have hitherto made or executed; it being our Deſire that neither they, nor any of them ſhould be valid, or in any wiſe take Effect. But diſpoſing thus anew, we declare, That we have named and appointed, as by theſe Preſents we do name and appoint, our Couſin the Prince *Friſon* of *Naſſaw*, eldeſt Son of Prince *Caſimir* of *Naſſaw*, at preſent Stadtholder of *Frieſland*, our ſole and univerſal Heir of all our Eſtates, as well Feodal as Allodial, which we ſhall leave at the Day of our Death, reſerving to our ſelves to appoint him ſuch Guardians as we ſhall hereafter think fit.

“We farther declare, That we reſerve to our Selves the Power of Bequeathing under our Hand and private Sign Manual, ſuch Legacies and Gifts, as we ſhall hereafter think fit; Willing and Deſiring, That whether they be written by Us only, and ſign'd by Us, or written by another, and ſign'd by Us, they may have the ſame Force and Validity, as if they were particularly inſerted and expreſs'd in our Will. We declare all that is above-written, to be our Laſt Will and Teſtament; deſiring, that it may have, and take Effect, either as Teſtament, Codicil, Donation becauſe of Death, or in any other manner that may render it moſt valid and effectual, notwithſtanding any Neglects or Miſtakes that may be committed in it, which we deſire may be rectified and made good in the beſt manner that is poſſible.

“Naming and Appointing for Executors of this our Laſt Will and Teſtament, the States General of the *United Provinces*; deſiring them to accept of it, and to be pleaſed to execute this our Laſt Will and Teſtament. In *Witneſs whereof*, We have cauſed theſe Preſents to be written, and have ſigned them with our Hand and Sign Manual, and ſeal'd them with our Seal. At the *Hague*, *October* the 18th, 1695.

Sign'd,

William R.

The Seal of his Majeſty was put on the Side of it, impreſſed on Black Wax.

The Subſcription was as follows:

To Day, being the 19*th of* October, 1695. *before me* Adrian Van Stervelt, *Publick Notary with Allow-*

1701.

Biſhop of *Sarum*, and has been ſince publiſh'd by his Lordſhip, with ſome other Occaſional Sermons, 1713. 8°. He thought it proper for her Majeſty to hear this ſhort Character of her Great Predeceſſor: “We have ſeen a Perſon raiſed up, and long ſupported by very ſignal Providences, in a Courſe of Thirty Years, to be the Great Fence both of Liberty and Religion, againſt a Deluge of Conqueſt and Deſtruction, that was breaking in, and carrying All before it; till *He*, young and unexperienc'd as he was, ſtood in its way, and ſtopp'd its Fury. He reſcued his Country then, when it was almoſt quite ſwallow'd up, and from that Time he ſeem'd to be the Man, *whom God had made ſo ſtrong for Himſelf*. One Singularity of Providence with reſpect to Him, is very aſtoniſhing; That whereas he was often unſucceſsful in many Steps he made, he was yet ſucceſsful in the whole: An unſhaken Firmneſs remain'd in Himſelf; and a new Turn in Buſineſs made that what was loſt one way, was more than balanc'd by new and unlook'd-for Emergents. After he had recover'd and ſettled his own Country, he was called on to ſave us. I hope thoſe Two Great Years of 72 and 88, are not, and cannot be forgotten. We were at firſt deliver'd, and have been now, for Thirteen Years, preſerv'd by Him in ſo unaccountable a manner, that in the Progreſs of a long devouring War, one of the Greateſt and Longeſt in any Hiſtory, we have liv'd in profound Peace at Home, under a juſt and merciful Adminiſtration. His long Practice in Affairs; His Judgment, that was ſo exact, and of ſuch Penetration; the great Reputation he had gain'd all the World over; and the great Figure the Nation made in his Hands, all others centring in Him, or depending on Him; were too viſible to need any Enlargement.

The Nobleſt Part of the Character of King *William*, was, That part of Magnanimity in Him, that hated Treachery, and the Offer of any Trick, tho' to the greateſt Uſe and Service. I believe the Writer of the *Secret Hiſtory of* Europe, was furniſh'd with theſe Inſtances of it by the Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*, when he thus writes, *Part* II. *p.* 278. “How different are the Proceedings of Men truly Great, from ſuch as uſurp that Name. True Glory ſcorns all ſuch ignoble Ways of extending its Empire. That Greatneſs which does not conſiſt in the Title only, is always accompany'd with Virtue, and a virtuous Mind is incapable of conſenting to any Councils, that are not as Pure as they are Safe. Let us give ſome Inſtances of this Character in King *William*, and of the Return he made for the *French* King's Horrid Deſigns againſt his Life.

“About the Year 1682. His Majeſty, then Prince of *Orange*, receiv'd a Letter from an unknown Hand, who yet gave himſelf a Name; in which he offer'd to deliver *Europe* from all her Fears, by deſtroying the *French* King: he deſir'd only a Safe Refuge in *Holland*, and a ſmall Subſiſtence, much leſs than he ſhould leave behind him in *France*. The Anſwer to this Letter was to be left with the Poſt-maſter's Wife at *Paris*. And a Week after, he wrote another to the ſame purpoſe. The firſt Letter came to his Highneſs at Night at *Loo*, when Monſieur *Dyckvelt* happen'd to be with him. The Prince ſhew'd him the Letter, and deſir'd him to go to the *Hague* immediately, and deliver it to Monſieur *D'Avaux*, then the *French* Ambaſſador to the States. Monſieur *Dyckvelt* made ſuch haſt, that he was with the Ambaſſador next Morning, and gave him the Letter: Which he receiv'd with great Acknowment of the Prince's Generoſity, and ſent it to *Paris*; as he did the ſecond Letter alſo.

“I have read of another Tryal of his Majeſty's Generoſity, after he came to be King. An unknown Perſon writ to the Lord Biſhop of *S.* [*Sarum*] That he had a Propoſition of great Conſequence to make to his Majeſty, if he ſhould have his Promiſe that he might do it ſafely. This the King allows the Biſhop to do, and his Lordſhip writ to the Man by the ſame Method he had given. When he came to him, he told him, How long he had liv'd and ſerv'd at *Verſailles*; how well he knew that Court; and at laſt he offer'd to kill the *French* King. At this the Biſhop ſtarted up immediately, and ſaid, He thought his Majeſty was too well known for any to dare to come with ſuch a Propoſition. He hop'd alſo, he himſelf had been ſo well known, that none *ſhould have made it by him*; adding, *He was ſorry a Promiſe of Safety was given him*: And bid him *be gone out of his Sight*. When my Lord gave an Account of this next Day, the King thought he had carry'd the Matter of Promiſe too far; for *no Promiſe was to be underſtood to relate to ſuch Crimes*; and therefore he wiſh'd the Biſhop had *ſecur'd him*; ordering him, to *be ſure to do it*, if *ever he could again ſet Eye on him*.

“I will only add one Inſtance more of King *William*'s generous Carriage towards his Enemies, that would have “done

1701. *Allowance of the Court of* Holland, *and reſiding at the* Hague, *in the Preſence of the undernamed Witneſſes, Appear'd* William III. *by the Grace of God, King of* Great Britain, *Prince of* Orange, *&c. being known to me the ſaid Notary, and being in perfect Health of Body, exhibited to me the ſaid Notary, this preſent Paper, ſeal'd in Four Places with his Majeſty's Seal, and ſew'd with Black Silk, and ſaid, That in it was contain'd the Laſt Will and Teſtament of his Majeſty, and deſir'd, that it ſhould take Effect as ſuch, tho' all the Forms requiſite might not have been obſerved.*

This was done and paſſed at the *Hague*, in the Preſence of *William* Earl of *Portland*, and *William de Schuylembourg*, who were deſir'd to be Witneſſes to it, and who, together with his Majeſty and me the ſaid Notary, ſign'd, theſe Preſents, the Day and Year above-written.

It was ſign'd, *William*, KING. *Portland*, *William de Schuylembourg*. And lower, In the Preſence of me *Adrian Van Stervelt*, Notary.

It agrees with the Original, ſign'd,

P. Van Aſſendelft.

By a Codicil annex'd to this Will, the Lordſhip of *Breevort*, and 200000 *Gilders* were given as a Legacy to the Earl of *Albemarle*.

His Majeſty's Death was moſt reſpectfully condol'd by the Queen, in this Declaration made at her firſt Sitting in the Privy-Council at St. *James's*, on *March* 8.

My Lords,

The Queen condoles the Death of his late Majeſty.

I Am extremely ſenſible of the General Misfortune to theſe Kingdoms, in the unſpeakable Loſs of the King, and of the great Weight and Burden it brings in particular to my Self; which nothing would encourage me to undergo, but the great Concern I have for the Preſervation of our Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of my Country. All theſe being as dear to me, as they can be to any Perſon whatſoever, you may depend upon it, That no Pains nor Diligence ſhall be wanting on my Part to defend and ſupport them; to maintain the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line, and the Government in Church and State, as it is by Law Eſtabliſh'd.

I think it proper, upon this Occaſion of my firſt ſpeaking to you, to declare my own Opinion of the Importance of carrying on all the Preparations we are making to oppoſe the Great Power of France: *And I ſhall loſe no Time in giving our Allies all Aſſurances, That nothing ſhall be wanting on my Part, to purſue the true Intereſt of* England, *together with Theirs, for the Support of the Common Cauſe.*

In order to theſe Ends, I ſhall always be ready to ask the Advice of my Council, and of both Houſes in Parliament, and deſirous to countenance and employ all those who ſhall heartily concur and join with me in ſupporting and maintaining the preſent Eſtabliſhment and Conſtitution, againſt all Enemies and Oppoſers whatſoever. 1701.

Her Majeſty gave a farther Teſtimony of her grateful Reſpect to the Memory of King *William*, by this Letter to the States General.

High and mighty Lords, Our very good Friends, Allies and Confederates,

And pays a grateful Reſpect to his Memory.

"IT is not without a ſenſible Grief, that we "find our ſelves obliged to notifie to you, the "afflicting News of the Death of the moſt High "and moſt Mighty Prince *William* the Third, "King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, "our deareſt Brother of Glorious Memory. On "*Monday* laſt he was attack'd with a Fever, "which increas'd ſo much the Days following, "that, notwithſtanding all poſſible Remedies, "*He died on* Sunday *about Eight a Clock in the* "*Morning.* 'Tis certainly a very great Loſs to "all *Europe*, and particularly to your State, the "Intereſt of which he always maintain'd with "ſo much Valour, Prudence, Zeal and Conduct. "And ſince it hath pleaſed God, That we ſhould "ſucceed him upon the Throne of theſe King-"doms, we ſhall likewiſe ſucceed him in his In-"clinations to entertain a conſtant Union and "Friendſhip with your Lordſhips, and to main-"tain all the Alliances which have been made "with your State, by our ſaid *Moſt Dear Brother*, "and our other Predeceſſors; and alſo to con-"cur with you in all ſuch Meaſures as ſhall be "neceſſary to preſerve the Common Liberty of "*Europe*, and to reduce the Power of *France* "within due Bounds. This is what we would "pray you to reſt aſſured of, and that we ſhall "always look upon the Intereſt of *England*, and "that of your State, to be inſeparable, as being "united by ſuch Ties that cannot be broke, "without the greateſt Prejudice to both Nati-"ons. *So we conclude, praying God, High and* "*Mighty Lords, our very good Friends, Allies and* "*Confederates, to take you into his Holy and Worthy* "*Protection.*

Given at our Court at St. *James's* the Tenth Day of *March*, 1701. And of our Reign the Firſt.

Your very good Friend,

ANNE R.

And underneath,

J. Vernon.

The

" done any thing, tho' of never ſo wicked a Nature, to have " rid themſelves of Him; they being afraid of nothing ſo " much, as of his Courage, Wiſdom, and Virtue. When " King *James* was in *Ireland*, a Propoſition was made by " one, who had ſerv'd him, and lov'd him, which he " thought might put an End to the War: He ſent it to the " King by the ſame Prelate, the Biſhop of *S.* [*Sarum*] and " it was this: That a Third Rate Ship, well mann'd, and " well commanded, might be ſent to St. *George's* Channel, " and that when they ſhould come near *Dublin*, they ſhould " have Orders to declare for the late King, and ſend him " a Meſſage about it; which he who made the Propoſition, " and was to go along in the Ship, ſaid, he would himſelf " carry; not doubting but upon that Invitation, King " *James* would preſently come aboard; and then they " ſhould ſail away with him. But he added Two Things; " the one was, That they ſhould have Orders not to bring " him to *England*, or to make him a Priſoner; but to carry " him to ſome Port of *Spain* or *Italy*, and there ſet him " aſhore. The other was, That he ſhould have Ten thou-" ſand Guineas conſign'd in the Ship, to be given him in " the Place where they ſhould land the King, *that he might* " not be in too naked a Condition. When his Majeſty " heard all this, he ſaid, *It look'd very plauſible, and he ve-* "*rily believ'd it would take*; yet, without taking Time to " think of it, he ſaid, He *would not meddle with it: He ha-* "*ted Tricks, and would be in none.*

Among the many juſt and grateful Acknowledgments paid to the Memory of King *William*, none can run more agreeable, than in the good Words of Dr. *William Fleetwood* (now Biſhop of *Ely*) in his Sermon at St. *Auſtin's* in the City of *London*, in 1701. upon the Death of King *William*. —— " Though he is now no more capable or ſenſible of any " grateful Honours that may fall upon his Perſon; yet, for " our own ſake, we ſhould glorify his Noble Acts, and " ſhould purſue his Memory with all the Praiſe and Grati-" tude that it deſerves; to ſatisfy the World Abroad, how " much we value our Religion and our Liberties, and how " cloſely we will abide by them, by ſhewing how we va-" lued, lov'd and honour'd Him, Living and Dead, whom " we eſteem'd the Great Preſerver of them both. It ſhould " not,

1701.

His Memory vilified by the French.

The firſt Reflections that were publickly made on the deceaſed King, came from the *French* Court, who had moſt Reaſon to be angry with him. The Sieur *de Bane*, whom the *French* King had lately inveſted with the Title of Reſident in *Holland*, preſented a Memorial to the States; wherein he was to inſinuate, That by the Death of King *William*, "they were now to recover their Time of Liberty, and be no longer under Violence and Conſtraint: For now their Republick was reſtored to it ſelf, and their own Spirit was to govern, and their own Intereſts alone to be conſulted." The States, in their Anſwer, paid this profound Veneration to the Memory of their late Friend and Supporter.

Vindicated by the States of Holland.

"Their High and Mighty Lordſhips are very much ſurprized to ſee, that this whole Memorial ſeems founded upon this, That they are now more at Liberty to take ſuch Reſolutions as they think expedient, than formerly. Doubtleſs, this has reference to the Death of his Majeſty the late King of *Great Britain*, of Immortal Memory: But herein the ſaid Sieur Reſident has extremely deceived himſelf, for want of underſtanding the Conſtitution of their Government. That he ought to know, That their High and Mighty Lordſhips have heretofore had as much Liberty as at preſent, to debate, and to take all ſuch Reſolutions as they judged neceſſary and uſeful for the Good and Preſervation of their State. It is true, they cannot enough deplore their Misfortune, to ſee themſelves deprived of the Direction and Conduct of a Prince, whoſe Wiſdom, Moderation and Valour, will be famed as long as the World endures. A Prince, whoſe Heroick Actions, and whoſe Merits from this Republick will never be forgot: And, in a Word, whoſe Death is lamented in this Country by all Perſons whatſoever, from the Meaneſt to the Higheſt. That the Councils of his ſaid Majeſty having never had any other Aim, both in Deed and in Word, than the Preſervation of their Liberty and Religion; and their High and Mighty Lordſhips being entirely convinced of this Truth, as having found the Benefit thereof, they are reſolved to follow the ſame Principles, and not to depart from the Alliances contracted during the Life of his ſaid Majeſty, but to perſiſt in the Meaſures taken purſuant to thoſe Alliances; and, in ſhort, to make uſe at all Times of the Means God has put into their Hands, for maintaining the Liberty of *Europe*.

1701.

Slanders and idle Stories.

The little Tools of *France* were likewiſe working in *England*, to depreciate the Memory of the late King, by Libels, and Verſes, and Healths, ſo very rude and impudent, that they ſhew'd nothing but ſorry Wit and implacable Malice. But the deepeſt Fetch of Slander, was a confident Story invented by them, That the King had form'd a Plot to exclude her preſent Majeſty from her Succeſſion to the Crown, and that at his Deceaſe, there were Papers found in his Cloſet to that purpoſe. This Sham was ſo induſtriouſly obtruded upon the People, that the Houſe of Lords thought themſelves concern'd to make Enquiry into this Matter, and to vindicate the Honour of their late Royal Sovereign; which they did in this noble Reſolution, *May* 5th, 1702.

Refuted by the Lords.

"Whereas their Lordſhips have been informed, that there has been a Report ſpread abroad, That among the late King's Papers, ſome Paper or Papers have been found, tending to the Prejudice of her preſent Majeſty, or her Succeſſion to the Crown: And whereas the Lord Preſident, the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and the Earl of *Albemarle*, who were the Perſons appointed by her Majeſty to inſpect the ſaid Papers, have, at the Deſire of the Houſe, ſeverally declared, That amongſt the late King's Papers, they did not ſee or find any Paper or Papers in the leaſt tending to the Prejudice of her Majeſty, or her Succeſſion to the Crown, or to her Prejudice in any reſpect whatſoever, or which might give any Ground or Colour for ſuch Report: It is thereupon reſolved, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That the ſaid Report is Groundleſs, Falſe, Villainous, and Scandalous, to the Diſhonour of the late King's Memory, and highly tending to the Diſſervice of her preſent Majeſty.

"It is Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That the Matter of Fact aforeſaid, and the Reſolution of this Houſe thereupon, be laid before her Majeſty by his Grace the Duke of *Bolton*, the Earl Marſhal, the Earl of *Radnor*, the Earl of *Stamford*, the Earl of *Scarborough*, and the Lord *Ferrers*: And that they do humbly deſire her Majeſty from this Houſe, That her Majeſty

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"not, methinks, be ſaid, That all the World beſides ſhould know how to prize his Life better than we, who had the Uſe of it. Can all the World beſides admire that Probity, that Juſtice, and unblemiſh'd Honour, that adorn'd his Life, and we alone be inſenſible, who reap'd the Fruits of them? I challenge all our Hiſtories to produce a Prince in all reſpects his Equal: I call the differing Humours, Intereſts, and Affections, and Religions of the Rulers of the World, to witneſs, Whether they ever found a Man to centre in, like Him: With whom they could ſo unſuſpiciouſly concert their Meaſures, ſo ſafely truſt their Intereſts, and on whoſe Honour they depended ſo entirely. Could all this Confidence be built, but on the Experience of his great Diſcernment, his mighty Knowledge how to balance Powers, and moſt diſintereſted Integrity and Virtue? Where are the Bargains that he ever ſtruck for his particular Advantage? What Selfiſhneſs has yet appear'd in all his Conduct for more than Thirty Years? He might have rais'd his Seat upon his Native Country's Liberties; his very Enemies would have ſupported him in thoſe Pretences: But he affected no Honours, but what were freely offer'd him, there or elſewhere; And if the Hands that reach'd them, would have pull'd them back, his Ambition, that was only uſeful, knew how to wear, as well as to deſerve them. Can theſe, and other his great Qualities (a few of which ſerve to ennoble other Princes) immortalize his Name Abroad, make him the Standard of True Honour, and all Royal Virtues, and we at Home think meanly of them? No Infamy, I think, could fall upon our Country, equal to this Ingratitude and Blindneſs; nor more diſcourage brave Attempts, either Abroad or at Home, in our Defence, than to forget or ſlight ſuch Virtue. I would not ſeem to preſage Things ſo diſhonourable and unworthy of a ſenſible and brave People; if all Nations did not abound with poor and impotent, with dark, malicious, and malignant Spirits, that feed upon Detraction, Calumny and Lies, and are ſet on Fire of Hell; and our own as much as others, if not diſcountenanc'd by Men of Wiſdom, Virtue and Authority. I will end this Head, when I have wiſhed, That neither We at Home, nor our Allies Abroad, may ever feel this Loſs ſit heavier on us, than it does at preſent.

The ſame excellent Preacher, in a Sermon on the Queen's Acceſſion to the Throne, in 1703. told the People, That the Reign of King *William* will be as memorable and welcome to Poſterity, as any we have had. —— "Let but a Reign be memorable for true and ſolid Benefits deſign'd and done to a Nation, and it will eat out all the Teeth of Malice, and live in Praiſe, in ſpite of all Oppoſition in the World. This Day put an End to that *Great Life*, which all the World of Friends and Enemies, knew how to value, except a few poor *Engliſh Wretches*!

"will

1701. "will give Order to Mr. Attorney General, to "proſecute, with the utmoſt Severity of Law, "the Authors or Publiſhers of the above-men- "tioned, or ſuch like ſcandalous Reports.

In purſuance of this Reſolution and Proceeding, the Duke of *Bolton* acquainted the Houſe, That he and the other Lords had attended her Majeſty, and had preſented their Lordſhips Reſolution to her. In Anſwer whereunto, her Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay:

I Am very ready to do any thing of this Kind: I will give Directions to Mr. Attorney General, effectually to proſecute the Authors and Publiſhers of ſuch falſe Reports.

Libelous Pamphlet

While their Lordſhips were doing this Juſtice to the Merits of King *William*, a Complaint was made to them of an inſolent Paſſage in the Preface of a Printed Book, intituled, *The Hiſtory of the Laſt Parliament begun at* Weſtminſter *the* 10th *Day of* February, *in the* 12th *Year of King* William, *A. D.* 1700. The Paſſage was read to the Houſe, as followeth: " And, perhaps, there "was a third Thing in proſpect, of deeper Reach "than all theſe; which was, That ſhould it "have pleaſed God, for our Sins, to have ſnatch'd "from us the King on the ſudden, by Chance of "War, or other fatal Accident, during the Tumult of Arms Abroad, and the Civil Diſorders "they had raiſed amongſt us at Home, and a numerous, corrupt, licentious Party throughout "the Nation, from which the Houſe of Commons was ſometimes not free; they might entertain Hopes, from the Advantage of being at "the Helm, and the Aſſiſtance of their Rabble, "to have put in Practice their own Schemes, and "to have given us a new Model of Government "of their own Projection; and ſo to have procured to themſelves a laſting Impunity, and "to have mounted their own Beaſt the Rabble, "and driven the ſober part of the Nation, like "Cattle, before them.

" That this is no Conjecture, will readily appear to any conſidering Perſons, from the "Treatment her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of "*Denmark*, the Heireſs Apparent to the Crown, "met with all along from them and all their "Party. They were not contented to ſhew her "a conſtant Neglect and Slight themſelves, but "their whole Party were inſtructed not only to "treat her with Diſreſpect, but Spight: They "were buſy to traduce her with falſe and ſcandalous Aſperſions; and ſo far they carry'd the "Affront, as to make her at one Time almoſt "the common Subject of the Tittle-Tattle of "almoſt every Coffee-Houſe and Drawing-Room, "which they promoted with as much Zeal, Application and Venom, as if a Bill of Excluſion "had then been on the Anvil, and theſe were the "Introductory Ceremonies.

The Paſſage being thus read, it was thereupon Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That *Francis Coggan*, *Robert Gibſon*, and *Thomas Hodgſon*, for whom the ſaid Book was mentioned to be printed, ſhould, and were thereby required to attend that Houſe on the *Saturday* following, at Eleven a Clock. But their Lordſhips in the mean time being inform'd, That Dr. *Drake* own'd himſelf to be the Author of the Book, and that he deſired he might be appointed to attend at the ſame time; thereupon it was order'd, That he ſhould attend that Houſe on *Saturday* the ſame Hour: When, after reading the Order made the 6th, at the Deſire of Dr. *Drake*, for his Attendance that Day, the Houſe took into their Conſideration the above-mention'd Paragraph. After the Reading whereof, Dr. *Drake* was call'd in; and the Order being read to him, the Lord Keeper ask'd him, What he had to ſay concerning the ſaid Book? And the Book and the ſaid Paragraph being ſhew'd him, he own'd he writ the Book, and that Paragraph in particular; and he thought he had juſt Reaſon to write it, he having heard her Highneſs talk'd of diſreſpectfully in almoſt every Coffee-Houſe. Then he withdrew, and after ſome Debate, was call'd in again; and the Lord Keeper told him, The Houſe was not ſatisfy'd with what he had ſaid, but thought he trifled; and required him to acquaint the Houſe with the Grounds of his writing that Paragraph. He anſwer'd, He found it mentioned in divers Anonymous Pamphlets publiſh'd at that Time, and hop'd, it was no hurt to anſwer thoſe Pamphlets, and deſired Time to recollect what thoſe Pamphlets were: And then withdrew.

After ſome Time he was called in again, and asked the following Queſtions, *viz.*

The Author queſtioned.

If he could charge any Perſon or Perſons in the Kingdom, with the Matters aſſerted by him in that Paragraph?

To which he anſwered, That he did not know any ſuch Perſon.

Then he was asked, Whether he had heard any other Perſon ſay, That they could charge any Perſon whatſoever with the Matters contained in that Paragraph?

He ſaid, He did not know of any ſuch Perſon.

Being further ask'd, If he had any other Grounds beſides the Pamphlets? And what theſe Pamphlets were?

He ſaid, He had no other Grounds beſides the Pamphlets; and named the ſeveral Pamphlets following, as his Reaſon for writing the ſaid Paragraph, *viz.* The Two *Legion Letters*; The *Black Liſt*; The *Jura Populi Anglicani*; and *Toland*'s *Reaſons for inviting over the Princeſs of* Hanover. And being asked, If in any one of theſe Pamphlets, there was any thing ſaid about ſetting aſide the preſent Queen? he anſwered, He did not remember there was.

Then, he being withdrawn, the ſaid Paragraph was taken into Conſideration, and it was propoſed to paſs a Cenſure thereupon. And after Debate, this Queſtion was put, That a Cenſure ſhould be then put upon the ſaid Paragraph. It was reſolved in the Affirmative.

And cenſured by the Lords.

Then this Queſtion was put, That in the Preface of the Book, intituled, *The Hiſtory of the laſt Parliament begun at* Weſtminſter *the* 10th *Day of* February, *in the Twelfth Year of the Reign of King* William, Anno Domini 1700. there were ſeveral Expreſſions which were Groundleſs, Falſe, and Scandalous; tending to create Jealouſies in her Majeſty of her People, and to cauſe great Miſunderſtandings, Fears and Diſputes amongſt the Queen's Subjects, and to diſturb the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom. It was Reſolved in the Affirmative, in theſe Words: " It is Reſolved and Declared, by the Lords Spiritual and "Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That in "the Preface of a Book, intituled, *The Hiſtory* "*of the laſt Parliament begun at* Weſtminſter *the* "10th *Day of* February, *in the Twelfth Year of the* "*Reign of King* William, Anno Domini 1700. "(written by Dr. *Drake*, as he owned at the Bar) "there are ſeveral Expreſſions, which are "Groundleſs, Falſe, and Scandalous, tending to "create Jealouſies in her Majeſty of her People, "and to cauſe great Miſunderſtandings, Fears, "and Diſputes amongſt the Queen's Subjects, and "to diſturb the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom."

 After

1701. After which, they order'd her Majeſty's Attorney General forthwith effectually to proſecute the ſaid Dr. *Drake*, for having writ the ſaid Paragraph.'

State of Religion. We left the Convocation ſitting, and the Archbiſhop and Biſhops aſſerting and maintaining the ancient Rights and Uſages of the Metropolitan and his Suffragans, in ſuch Provincial Aſſemblies. The Inferior Clergy did not care to proſecute the Argument in Writing, but on *Monday* the 31ſt of *March*, firſt in a Committee, and then in a Houſe, they voted their own *Right to adjourn themſelves*; and then the Prolocutor went up with a Meſſage to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, *That they had conſidered of their Lordſhip's Reply to the Paper brought up by the Lower Houſe, which did not give them the Satiſfaction they deſired; and therefore they pray'd a* FREE CONFERENCE *with their Lordſhips, upon the Subject Matter in Debate.* Then the Prolocutor and the Members with him, withdrew, and being ſoon after called in, the Archbiſhop ſpoke to them as follows: *We receiv'd your verbal Meſſage, and took the ſame into Conſideration. And whereas we ſent you Two Queſtions in Writing, to which you anſwered in Writing; and we gave a large and diſtinct Anſwer to the ſame in Writing, in which there were ſeveral Quotations referring to Matters of Fact; We therefore expect an Anſwer in Writing to the ſame, and we ſhall then take the Matter into further Conſideration, and deſire no Time may be loſt.* The Prolocutor replying, That *their Anſwer would take up about Twenty Sheets*; his Grace took Occaſion to declare, That he *did not confine them to Length or Breadth, but expected their Anſwer in Writing.*

Proceedings in Convocation.

But in ſpite of theſe Admonitions and Canonical Commands, a Majority in the Lower Houſe were reſolved not to join Iſſue in the Merits of the Cauſe, by any Intercourſe in Writing, but to inſiſt on the Parliamentary Practice of a *Free Conference*; a Word that never appeared in the Acts of any former Convocation. And therefore they would ſend no other written Paper, but of Reaſons for not writing; which they preſented on *Saturday* the 5th of *April*.

Reaſons of the Lower-Houſe.

To the Moſt Reverend his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *and to the Right Reverend the Biſhops his Suffragans, of the Upper Houſe of Convocation.*

The Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, *aſſembled in the Lower Houſe of the ſaid Convocation, in Anſwer to the Papers ſent down by your Grace and your Lordſhips to the Lower Houſe by their Prolocutor, on* Saturday *the 22d of* March *laſt paſt, touching Adjournments and Prorogations:*

Moſt Humbly Repreſent,

"THAT your Grace and your Lordſhips "having ſent down Two Queſtions to this "Houſe by our Prolocutor, which we did appre-"hend to be of the higheſt Importance to our "Sitting and Acting according to the undoubted "Uſage of former Convocations, we conceive "it became us not to ſuffer too long, by our own "Neglect, either in the Exerciſe of our juſt "Rights, or in the Opinion of your Grace and "your Lordſhips, for want of a ſpeedy Anſwer "to thoſe Queſtions.

"In Conſideration whereof, this Houſe having "agreed to the Report of the Committee, and "thereby made it their own Act, did conceive "that the Prolocutor being ſent up to attend "your Grace and your Lordſhips therewith, "might, *verbo tenus*, ſupply the Want of any "written Form. And in order to our giving "your Grace and your Lordſhips the moſt ſpee-"dy Satisfaction herein that might be, we thought "this Method more adviſable; than to have de-"ferr'd our Anſwer longer for want of Form; "wherein nevertheleſs we did neither then deſign, "nor do for the future intend, to be wanting to "your Grace and your Lordſhips.

"And we take this Occaſion moſt humbly to "profeſs, That it is far from our Intentions, in "any reſpect, to derogate from thoſe juſt and le-"gal Rights, which belong to your Grace as Pre-"ſident of the Convocation of this Province; be-"ing as unwilling to contribute to any injurious "Diminution thereof, as we are deſirous to con-"tinue in the Poſſeſſion and Uſe of ſuch other "Rights, as we conceive do juſtly belong to us, "who conſtitute the Lower Houſe of Convocati-"on, and which we apprehend to be neceſſary to "the Preſervation of the Fundamental Conſtitu-"tion thereof.

"And as to the Subject Matter of the afore-"ſaid Papers, and the Arguments therein ob-"jected againſt our Report, whereunto the ſaid "Papers do refer; we crave Leave moſt humbly "to acquaint your Grace and your Lordſhips, "that having fully debated, and ſeriouſly conſi-"dered the Weight of the ſame amongſt our "ſelves, we conceive our ſelves upon the whole "Matter, obliged to declare, That we find not "ſufficient Reaſon to recede from our ſaid Re-"port, or any part thereof; but have been in-"duc'd to conclude, That the Lower Houſe of "Convocation has Power to Adjourn it ſelf. "Which Concluſion being the Reſult of mature "Deliberation, and neceſſary (as we conceive) "to be maintained for ſupporting the Funda-"mental Conſtitution of our *Engliſh* Convoca-"tion; we know not how to juſtifie our ſelves, "either to the Friends or Enemies of that Con-"ſtitution, ſhould we, under the Force of ſuch "Convictions, depart from the ſaid Report, and "not profeſs our ſelves upon this Occaſion, to "be ready, with all Dutifulneſs and Submiſſion, "to give ſuch farther Proof of each part thereof, "in the regular way of a Free Conference, as "may ſhew the Inſufficiency of thoſe Objections, "which have been made againſt it, and put a "ſpeedy End to the preſent Controverſie. We "do therefore now again make our humble Ap-"plication to your Grace, and your Lordſhips, to "appoint a Time for ſuch Free Conference in "order thereunto.

"In which humble Suit we are the more preſ-"ſing, on the Account of the near Approach of "the Feſtival of *Eaſter*, and that Receſs which "either Houſe may think fit to make during that "Solemnity. And the Arguments and Inſtances "in your Lordſhips Paper are ſo numerous, that "a particular Diſcuſſion thereof in Writing, "would not conſiſt with the joint and earneſt De-"ſire of both Houſes, as we humbly apprehend, "to have a Controverſie of this Nature ſpeedily "determined, in order to their proceeding upon "ſuch other Buſineſs as the World may juſtly "expect from them.

In the mean time, his Grace and the Biſhops were willing to give all poſſible Satisfaction to the Inferior Clergy, upon their Complaint of Mr. *Toland*'s Book: And, to go by Precedent, the ſafeſt Guide, they carefully enquir'd what had been formerly done in ſuch Caſes; and found in the Convocation of 1689, theſe Steps of Proceeding.

Proceedings of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops.

"*Firſt*,

1701. "*Firſt*, That there had been brought up a Meſ-" ſage from the Lower Houſe, on *December* the " 11th, 1689. in theſe Words: " *We are commanded by the Houſe humbly to repreſent to your Lordſhips, That there are ſeveral Books of very dangerous Conſequence to the Chriſtian Religion, and in particular to the Church of* England; *viz.* Notes upon *Athanaſius*'s Creed, *and* Two Letters relating to the preſent Convocation, *newly come Abroad*; *and to deſire your Lordſhips Advice, in what way, and how far ſafely, and without incurring the Penalties of the Stat. of* 25 Hen. VIII. *the Convocation may proceed towards preventing the Publiſhing the like ſcandalous Books for the future, and for the inflicting the Cenſures of the Church, according to the Canons, upon the Authors of them.*

" *Secondly*, That the Prolocutor was ordered to " bring the Books he complain'd of.

" *Thirdly*, That *Seſſ.* 12. after the Preſident and " Biſhops had conſider'd the ſaid Books, they ſent " for the Prolocutor, and declared to him, that " thoſe Books were of pernicious Conſequence; " but they could not yet find what Power they " had to proceed in this Matter.

" *Fourthly*, That in the laſt Seſſions of that " Convocation, the Preſident acquainted the " Lower Houſe, *That he and the Biſhops were ſen-" ſible of the Evil of thoſe Books; but having con-" ſulted the Learned in both the Laws, they under-" ſtood, that the particular Courts had Power to pro-" ceed againſt the Authors of ſuch Books; but that " they (as a Convocation) did not think it proper to " meddle in it*: Or to that Effect.

Committee of Biſhops to conſider of Mr. *Toland*'s Book.

After the Report of theſe former Proceedings in a like Caſe, there was a Committee of Biſhops appointed to examine *Toland*'s Book; who accordingly read it, and found therein ſeveral Poſitions, as they conceived, of moſt dangerous Conſequence; and one in particular, which they look'd on as the Foundation of all the reſt; of which the Lower Houſe had not taken notice: And therefore they made this Report.

" UPon Peruſal of the Book that was brought " up from the Lower Houſe, intituled, " *Chriſtianity not myſterious*, by *John Toland* (which " ſaid Book was of the Second Edition, printed " in the Year 1696.) we find in the Second " Chapter thereof, which is intitled, *Of the Au-" thority of Revelation*, theſe following Words, " *Page* 38, 39.

——*Revelation was not a neceſſitating Motive of Aſſent, but a Mean of Information.* ——*We ſhould not confound the way we came to the Knowledge of a thing, with the Grounds we have to believe it.* ——*A Man may inform me concerning a thouſand Matters I never heard of before, and of which I ſhould not ſo much as think, if I were not told: Yet I believe nothing purely upon his Word, without Evidence in the Things themſelves. Not the bare Authority of him that ſpeaks, but the clear Conception I form of what he ſays, is the Ground of my Perſuaſion.*

" Which Words manifeſtly importing a Denial " of the Authority of Divine Revelation, and " particularly tending to the Subverſion of the " Chriſtian Faith: And the ſame Deſign alſo " appearing in many other Places of the ſaid " Book; ſome of which are remark'd in the Pa-" per affix'd to it by the Lower Houſe of Convo-" cation: It is therefore by the Archbiſhop, with " Conſent of his Brethren, recommended to the " Biſhop in whoſe Dioceſe the Author of that " Book doth or ſhall reſide, to call him to ac-" count for that Book; and as he ſhall ſee Cauſe, " to proceed thereupon, according to the Eccle-" ſiaſtical Laws.

" And it is alſo to be conſidered, what may " further be done for the Prevention of the pub-" liſhing of the like pernicious Books for the " future. 1701.

When this Report of a Committee of Biſhops was made to the Upper-Houſe, they were all unanimouſly of Opinion, to proceed (as far as legally they could) againſt the Book and the Author. But conſidering the Reſult in Convocation 1689, founded on the Opinion of Lawyers; they alſo agreed before they went further, to adviſe with Council Learned in the Law; and to that end drew up the Two following Queries:

Queſtions in Law.

1. *Whether the Convocation giving an Opinion concerning a Book, that it is Heretical, Impious, and Immoral, is contrary to any Law?* 2. *Whether the Words in the affix'd Paper* (before-recited) *are ſuch an Opinion as is contrary to any Law?* When their Lordſhips had received the Judgment of ſome eminent Lawyers hereupon, they then drew up this *Anſwer of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, to the Repreſentation of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, concerning* Toland's, *and other Books.* " Upon " our conſulting with Council Learned in the " Law, concerning Heretical, Impious, and Im-" moral Books, and particularly concerning a " Book of *Toland*'s ſent up to us from the Lower " Houſe; We do not find, how, without a " Licence from the King, which we have not " yet received, we can have ſufficient Authority " to cenſure Judicially any ſuch Books: But, " on the contrary, we are adviſed, That by ſo " doing, both Houſes of Convocation may in-" cur the Penalties of the Statute of 25 *Hen-" ry* VIII.

Anſwer of the Archbiſhop & Biſhops to a Paper of the Lower Houſe.

On the ſame Day, *April* the 8th, another Paper was delivered to the Prolocutor and Clergy, intitled, *The Anſwer of the Archbiſhop and his Brethren the Biſhops, to the Paper brought up by the Prolocutor from the Lower Houſe, upon* Saturday, April *the* 5*th*, 1701.

" THE Archbiſhop, Preſident of the Convo-" cation of this Province, and his Brethren " the Biſhops, do declare, That they hold them-" ſelves obliged to maintain and preſerve the an-" cient fundamental Conſtitution of the Chriſtian " Church, the Government and Diſcipline of " the Church of *England*, as now by Law Eſta-" bliſhed, and all the ancient Uſages of Convo-" cation.

" And as they will always have a due Regard " to the juſt Rights of the Lower Houſe in all " Points; ſo they neither ought nor can depart " from thoſe Rights which are veſted in them by " the Conſtitution of the Catholick Church in " general, and of the Church of *England* in par-" ticular: Which they find by immemorial Cu-" ſtom and Practice, have belong'd to the Arch-" biſhop and Biſhops of this Province, and accor-" dingly have been exerciſed by them in the Up-" per Houſe.

" And therefore the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, " having carefully ſearched the Regiſters, and " followed the regular Methods and Precedents " they found therein, cannot but take notice, " That the Proceedings of the Lower Houſe have " been irregular, and without Precedent in ſundry " Particulars. Such as their appointing Commit-" tees of the whole Houſe, which we do not find " to have been ever done before: And their aſſu-" ming a Power in that Houſe, to give Leave to " their Members to be abſent, which of Right " belongs to the Preſident only.

" But the Inſtances now chiefly to be conſidered, " are thoſe in the laſt Paper brought up by the " Prolocutor.

 " Where-

1701.

“ Whereas the Archbiſhop and Biſhops had given a full and diſtinct Anſwer to every Particular contain'd in a ſhort Paper, brought up by the Prolocutor from the Lower Houſe, concerning Adjournments and Prorogations: They expected, that either they would have acquieſced in that Anſwer, or ſhew'd a Reaſon why they would not, by returning at leaſt ſome kind of Reply to the Arguments and Authorities by which that Anſwer was ſupported and confirmed.

“ The Lower Houſe did neither of theſe, but to our great Surprize, ſent up a Paper, in which they declare, That they are come to Reſolutions and Concluſions; and then ſay, That they conceive thoſe Reſolutions are neceſſary to be maintain'd, and they cannot, under the Force of theſe Convictions, depart from them; and all this without offering any Reaſon on their ſide, or anſwering any of ours.

“ This is a Method altogether new, and ſuch as can never make a fair End of any Controverſie.

“ The Way which they propoſe to put an End to the Matter, is by a Free Conference; which it ſeems ſtrange that they ſhould ask, after their having declared, that they are come to Reſolutions and Concluſions, which they cannot but conceive neceſſary to be maintained by the Force of their Convictions. This Declaration of theirs was very irregular, if the regular way is that of a Free Conference, as they call it in the ſame Paper.

“ But before they had called this the regular way, they ought to have ſhewn ſome Inſtances of it in former Convocations; where, in all the Regiſters, there does not appear ſo much as one Inſtance of any Conference deſired by the Lower Houſe: They have indeed been call'd up *ad Colloquium* upon Occaſion. And ſome here preſent cannot but remember, that they were ſo called up in the Convocation in the Year One thouſand Six hundred Eighty nine, by the Biſhop of *London*, being then Preſident in the Vacancy of the See of *Canterbury*. But the Conſequences of it were ſuch as do by no means encourage the doing of the like at this preſent Time.

“ But the greateſt Attempt of Innovating upon the Conſtitution of the Convocation, appears in the Concluſion of that Paper; wherein it is expreſſed, That either Houſe may make a Receſs during the approaching Feſtival of *Eaſter*: Which Words imply, That the Lower Houſe, if they think fit, may, by their own Authority, make ſuch a Receſs (as they word it) apart from the Upper Houſe, and without Order from the Preſident. This is a Claim ſo altogether New, that it was never heard of before, and here it ſtands without any Pretence of Law or Uſage to ſupport it. But beſides, this is ſuch a manifeſt Violation of the Preſident's Authority, as cannot be comply'd with, nor ſuffered, without deſtroying the Fundamental Conſtitution of an *Engliſh* Convocation.

When theſe Two Anſwers of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops had been read by the publick Notary to the Prolocutor and Lower Clergy call'd up to the *Jeruſalem Chamber*, and Copies of both delivered to them; then the Archbiſhop ſpoke in this manner.

Mr. Prolocutor, and you the reſt of the Clergy,

Speech of his Grace the Preſident.

“ I Have obſerved, on ſeveral Occaſions, a new Method of proceeding in the Lower Houſe, with a deep Senſe of the ill Effects it may have, if it were ſuffered to go on. We have born long with it: But ſince you have declared to us, that you have fix'd on Reſolutions, we think, contrary to that Authority, that by Law and Cuſtom, as well as by our Character, is veſted in us; we muſt now ſpeak more plainly to you.

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“ We have begun no new Practice in this Convocation; but we muſt tell you, We have found you attempting many Innovations. We do earneſtly deſire you to conſider theſe Things more maturely; and not to force us to Proceedings, that will be very uneaſie to our ſelves, as well as to you.

“ We have many Enemies on all Hands, and they wait for nothing more, than to ſee the Union and Order of this Church, which is both its Beauty and its Strength, broken by thoſe who ought to preſerve it.

“ For the maintaining the Epiſcopal Authority is ſo neceſſary to the Preſervation of the Church, that the reſt of the Clergy are no leſs concerned in it, than the Biſhops themſelves.

“ I have thought fit, with the reſt of my Brethren, to prorogue the Convocation for ſome time. It is a Seaſon of Devotion, and I pray God it may have a good Effect on all our Minds.

“ We, on our part, are willing to forget all that is paſt, and to go on with you, at our next Meeting, as well as at all Times, with all Tenderneſs and paternal Affection, in all ſuch Things as ſhall conduce to the Good of this Church. Remember the Sentence that our Bleſſed Saviour has pronounced againſt them by whom Offences come: And conſider ſeriouſly with your ſelves, what an Offence it will give, if you ſhould break the Subordination of Presbyters to their Biſhops, which has been obſerved not only in the *primitive Church*, but in all the Convocations of this Province, down to the preſent Time. Above all things, remember the great Account we muſt one Day give to the Chief Paſtor and Biſhop of our Souls.

Convocation prorogued.

This Speech being ended, the Archbiſhop continued and prorogued the Convocation to *Thurſday, May* 8th. But the Prolocutor, with ſeveral of the Lower Houſe, returned to *Henry* VIIth's Chapel (tho' divers Members refuſed to join with them, as well knowing the whole Convocation was legally prorogued, and all Things were to continue in the ſame State till the next Synodical Day) and ſate there as a Houſe for ſome time, and then adjourn'd themſelves to the next Day. An Affectation of Independence that was unknown to former Convocations, and never before attempted by any *Presbyters* in any Epiſcopal Church.

The Clergy keep intermediate Seſſions.

For this Irregularity, a calm Reproof was given on the next Synodical Day, 8 *May*, in theſe Words.

Mr. Prolocutor,

Speech of the Preſident.

“ WE are ſatisfied, that whatſoever has been done in the Lower Houſe, as a Houſe, from the Time that the whole Convocation was prorogued in this Place upon the Eighth of *April*, to this preſent Eighth of *May*, is not only Null, as being without Authority, but of very dangerous Conſequence to the Conſtitution of our Church, and to the ſacred Synod of this Province, and particularly to the Lower Clergy, whom that Houſe repreſents. We have all poſſible Tenderneſs for them, and ſhall ever join in any Methods that ſhall appear juſt

1701. "juſt and proper for maintaining their true Rights "and Liberties, and for defending them from all "Difficulties and Dangers.

"And therefore we cannot receive from you, "either by Word of Mouth, or in Writing, any "thing done by the ſaid Houſe, as a Houſe, in "the Interval aforeſaid.

"We hope you will duly conſider theſe Things, "and may God ſo direct you, that you may "never engage in any Proceeding, that may be "prejudicial to our Holy Mother the Church of "*England.*

Proceedings of the Lower Clergy.

This being done, the Prolocutor holding a Paper in his Hands, ſpoke to this Effect; *I am commanded by the Lower Houſe to bring up this Paper, and I do preſent it as the Act of the Houſe this Day:* And then he laid upon the Table a very long Paper, as an *Anſwer of the Lower Houſe to Two Papers read to them in* Jeruſalem Chamber, *upon* Tueſday, April 8. 1701. *and then deliver'd to the Prolocutor.* Wherein they tell their Lordſhips, There was no Occaſion to conſult Lawyers in the Caſe of *Toland*'s Book; and had there been Occaſion for a Licence, his Grace might eaſily have obtain'd it from his Majeſty, or elſewhere; and therefore they cannot but repeat their humble Suit, That their Lordſhips would not finally decline giving that Aſſiſtance that had been already deſir'd by the Lower Houſe: Leſt otherwiſe, what was intended for the Service of Religion, ſhould be turn'd to its Diſadvantage, and a very bad Uſe made of their Lordſhips omitting to expreſs any Mark of Diſlike to ſo ill a Book.

Then they proceed to juſtifie their own Proceedings againſt the Objections of their Lordſhips, which (they ſay) had charg'd them with many Irregularities; and conclude with recriminating in a Complaint of ſome Grievances they ſuffer'd from the Upper Houſe.

Reply of the Upper Houſe.

This Paper being left on the Table, was not thought fit to be read; yet a Reply was prepared by a Committee of the Biſhops to this Effect: "That with regard to the Proceedings about "*Toland*'s Book, they thought it not only ſafeſt "for them, but withal moſt for the Intereſt of "the Church and Religion, that in this Matter, "as well as in others of like Importance, they "ſhould govern themſelves by the Precedents "of former Convocations, and maturely conſider "how far their Authority reach'd, before they "made uſe of it: For to attempt to extend their "Power beyond the Limits which the Laws of "the Land, and the Practice of Convocations "have ſet, would be very unſafe and imprudent, "conſidering the Penalties and dangerous Con"ſequences to which ſuch an Attempt might "expoſe them and the whole Clergy. Not"withſtanding, the Archbiſhop and Biſhops be"ing unanimouſly reſolved to do all that was "in their Power againſt *Toland*'s Book, and the "wicked and dangerous Doctrines therein con"tained, had appointed a Committee to exa"mine it, who found ſeveral Poſitions of moſt "dangerous Conſequence; and one in particu"lar, which they look'd upon as the Founda"tion of all the reſt, of which the Lower Houſe "had taken no Notice. As to a Royal Licence, "ſuch have been always granted, *ex mero motu*; "not upon any Petition of the Clergy for it; "his Majeſty being the propereſt Judge when to "grant it, and when not; though conſidering "the Treatment the Licence his preſent Majeſty "and the late Bleſſed Queen granted to that "Convocation, 1689. met with, it could not "be thought adviſable to deſire another, till a "better Spirit had appear'd in thoſe of the "Lower Houſe, than either then did, or now "doth.—But as the Archbiſhop and Biſhops have "ſeveral times endeavour'd to procure the paſſing "of a Law to regulate the Preſs, and thereby to "prevent the publiſhing ſuch impious Books, "though hitherto without the deſired Succeſs; ſo "they will never be wanting in the like Endea"vours for the future. In the mean Time, the "particular Biſhop in whoſe Dioceſe *Toland*, or "any ſuch Author lives, is indeed (as the Law "now ſtands) the proper Perſon to proceed "againſt him. And he hath ſufficient Power to "do ſo; and now knowing the Senſe of all his "Brethren in this Matter, it is not to be doubt"ed, but that he will make uſe of it as becomes "him. But if he who hath ſuch Power, does "not make uſe of it, he *alone* ought to bear the "Blame of it, and not the Upper Houſe of Con"vocation, who, for ought yet appears, have no "ſuch Power. ——Then, as to the Irregularities "charg'd upon the Lower Houſe, their Lord"ſhips take notice, That in their Paper, the "Lower Clergy do ſolemnly profeſs, *That they* "*do not in the leaſt deſire, that his Grace, or their* "*Lordſhips ſhould depart from any of their juſt* "*Rights*; And the Archbiſhop and Biſhops can"not but wiſh their Actions were agreeable to "this Profeſſion: But thoſe have been quite "contrary, and carried up to higher Degrees of "Diſreſpect, and Invaſion of the Metropolitan "and Epiſcopal Rights (even ſuch Rights as "are ſupported by the Law of the Land, and "the King's Writ) than ever was attempted by "any Lower Houſe of Convocation before this "Time, or perhaps by any Body of Presbyters, "where Epiſcopacy was ſettled, and acknowledg'd "of Divine and Apoſtolical Inſtitution; unleſs "it were by ſuch Presbyters, as deſign'd to de"ſtroy that Inſtitution, which the Archbiſhop "and Biſhops are fully perſuaded the Body of "the Lower Houſe do not, though the Actions "of a part of them manifeſtly tend that way. "——And their Lordſhips give the particular "Inſtances of their exorbitant Claims and Practi"ces, in ſeparate Adjournments; in appointing "Committees of the whole Houſe; in giving "Leave, as a Houſe, to their Members to "be abſent; in not anſwering the Archbiſhop "and Biſhops in Writing, when ſo requir'd; in "demanding a *Free Conference*; in pretending a "Power of making a diſtinct Receſs, and ſome "other Practices; which, together with ſome "Reports rais'd upon 'em, have given the great"eſt Blow to this Church, that hath been given "it, ſince the Presbyterian Aſſembly that ſat at "*Weſtminſter* in the late Times of Confuſion. "——God grant theſe Reports and the pre"ſent Conduct of divers in the Lower Houſe, "may not bring on the like again.

Committee of both Houſes appointed by the Preſident.

Amidſt theſe unhappy Diſputes, the Archbiſhop and Biſhops hoped it might be one Method to compoſe them, if a Committee of both Houſes do inſpect the Books and Acts of the preſent Convocation; and therefore, on the ſame 8th of *May*, a Committee of Five Biſhops was appointed to meet another like Committee of the Lower Houſe (not exceeding Ten) to inſpect all the Acts of each Houſe in this preſent Sacred Synod or Convocation, and to report their Judgments thereupon. But in a new and unprecedented way of Contempt, the Lower Houſe anſwered, That they did not think fit to appoint ſuch a Committee: And when the Schedule of Prorogation was (as uſual) brought down to the Lower Houſe, to be intimated to them by the Prolocutor, he refuſed to intimate the Archbiſhop's Schedule, and adjourn'd the Houſe to the

Refuſed by the Lower Houſe.

next

1701. next Day; whereas the Archbiſhop's Prorogation was to *Friday* 16 *May*. So when the ſaid Synodical Day came, thoſe Members who had acted in conformity to the regular Precedents, and with due Submiſſion to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, knew not how to appear any longer in the Lower Houſe, till this Form of Addreſs was preſented in their Name to the Preſident, by the Honourable and Reverend *George Verney*, D. D. one of the Proctors for the Clergy of the Dioceſe of *Lincoln*.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

Addreſs of ſome Members. "I AM deſir'd and impower'd by ſeveral Members of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, humbly to preſent an Addreſs to your Grace, that you would be pleas'd not to interpret their Abſence this Day from their Attendance in *Hen.* VII's Chapel, as any the leaſt diſreſpect of your Grace's Prorogation of the late Convocation, to which we ſhall, as we are by Law and Conſcience bound, always pay due Obedience, and which we do apprehend was to this Day. And the Reaſon upon which we preſume to abſent our ſelves, is, becauſe your Grace's laſt Prorogation was not intimated to the Lower Houſe of Convocation by the Prolocutor: Whereupon we humbly conceive that ſhould we meet this Day, and concur in any Convocational Act, by Virtue of any other Prorogation than what iſſues from your Grace, we ſhould involve our ſelves in a Practice which we utterly diſavow, and which we apprehend would be of dangerous Conſequence to the Church of *England*, and the Rights of the Convocation of your Grace's Province of *Canterbury*. And I further humbly beſeech your Grace to permit ſuch of our Members of the Lower Houſe of Convocation as ſhall deſire it, leave to ſubſcribe their Names to this Addreſs; to which in all Humility and Sincerity I do ſubſcribe my own Name this 16th Day of *May*, 1701.

George Verney,
Proc. Diæceſ. Lincoln.

The ſame Paper was ſoon after ſubſcrib'd with theſe Names, *Will. Stanley, Sam. Freeman, C. Trimnell, William Sherlock, William Beverege, Tho. Littel, Jo. Whitefoot, Jo. Jefferys, Giles Pooley, William Hayley, Jo. Evans, Rich. Bowchier.*

Proceedings of the Lower Houſe. The Lower Houſe had employ'd themſelves in drawing up a *Repreſentation of their Senſe upon the Biſhop of* Sarum's *Expoſition of the* XXXIX *Articles of the Church of* England, which they brought up to the Lords on *May* the 30th. when the Archbiſhop read to them a Paper, drawn up by conſent of the Biſhops, and approved by them, as followeth: *If you have any Thing to offer, we cannot receive it, till the late Irregularity of refuſing to meet the Committee of Biſhops, to inſpect the Books of this Convocation, be ſet Right.* A Copy of this Paper, at the Prolocutor's Deſire, was given to him, and he and his Attendants making a ſhort Step to the Lower Houſe, came back and waited in the Chamber adjoining to *Jeruſalem Chamber*. Then *Humphry* Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*, by direction of the Archbiſhop, and with conſent of the Biſhops, went out to ask the Prolocutor this following Queſtion, *Whether the Meſſage he had now to bring in was to ſet the Irregularity complain'd of right?* His Lordſhip returning into the Houſe, did acquaint his Grace and the reſt of the Biſhops, that the Prolocutor told him once, *That it was ſomething in order to ſet that Irregularity right*; then as recollecting ſaid, *It was concerning that Irregularity.* Upon which the Prolocutor and his Attendants were called in, and his Grace ſpoke thus, *If you have any Thing to offer in order to the ſetting right the Irregularity we have complained of, we are ready to receive it.* The Prolocutor ſaid, *It was ſomething concerning it*, and ſo fell to reading a Paper in theſe Words, *The Paper that the Lower Houſe order'd the Prolocutor to preſent to your Grace, and your Lordſhips, was their Humble Repreſentation concerning a Book, entituled,* An Expoſition of the XXXIX Articles of the Church of *England, and hath no Relation to the ſuppoſed Irregularity your Grace and your Lordſhips think fit to complain of; of that we are ready to give your Lordſhips ſatisfaction, when thereunto called. And in the mean time moſt humbly repeat our Requeſt, that your Grace and your Lordſhips will be pleaſed to receive the ſaid Paper.* The Archbiſhop and Biſhops were ſurprized at the Prolocutor's way of introducing ſuch a Paper; and the Biſhop of *Bangor*, who had been very cautious in bringing in the Meſſage from the Prolocutor's Mouth, found it neceſſary to make a Complaint againſt the Prolocutor, in this Writing ſubſcribed by his own Hand. *I asked Dr.* Hooper *whether the Meſſage he had now to bring in was to ſet the Irregularity complained of right? He told me once, it was ſomething in order to ſet that Irregularity right; and then recollecting, ſaid, It was concerning that Irregularity; but that he was to deliver his Meſſage to his Grace, and muſt not drop it at the Door. When he was called in, it appeared that his Meſſage was not to ſet the Irregularity right, but concerning another Matter, which I have reaſon to complain of, that Dr.* Hooper *has prevaricated in this Matter.*

That *other Matter* was a Paper offered by the Prolocutor, thus entitled, *To the moſt Reverend Father in God* Thomas *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and to the Right Reverend the Biſhops his Suffragans. The Humble Repreſentation of the Lower Houſe of Convocation.*

"WHereas a Book hath been lately publiſhed, entituled, *An Expoſition of the* XXXIX *Articles of the Church of* England, *by* GILBERT *Lord Biſhop of* SARUM, which the Author declares to have paſſed the Peruſal of both the Archbiſhops, and ſeveral Biſhops and other Learned Divines, and ſuggeſts their Approbation of it: And whereas we think it our Duty, as much as in us lyes, to ſecure the Doctrines contained in thoſe Articles, from any Attempts that may be made againſt them: We moſt humbly offer to your Grace, and your Lordſhips, the Senſe of this Houſe, which is as follows, Repreſentation of the Lower Houſe againſt the Biſhop of *Sarum's* Expoſition, &c.

I. "That the ſaid Book tends to introduce ſuch a Latitude and Diverſity of Opinions, as the Articles were fram'd to avoid.

II. "That there are many Paſſages in the *Expoſition* of ſeveral Articles, which appear to us to be contrary to the true meaning of them, and to other receiv'd Doctrines of our Church.

III. "That there are ſome Things in the ſaid Book, which ſeem to us to be of dangerous Conſequence to the Church of *England* as by Law Eſtabliſhed, and to derogate from the Honour of its Reformation.

"All which Particulars we humbly lay before your Lordſhips, praying your Opinion herein.

After a ſhort Time of Withdrawing, the Prolocutor, and thoſe with him, were again call'd in; and his Grace told them to this effect. "That he and his Brethren could not depart from their Reſolution, Not to receive any Thing from the Lower Houſe, till the late Irregularity complain'd of were ſet right. That he and his Brethren would be always ready to ſhew their Affection and their Zeal for the Good of the

"Church;

1701. "Church; and they would have been glad to "have ſhewn it more particularly in the Caſe of "*Ireland*, but that there had been ſeveral Ob-"ſtructions and Stumbling-Blocks laid in the "way.

Then appear'd the Dean of St. *Paul's*, and ſeveral other Members of the Lower Houſe, and exhibited a Complaint in Writing, ſubſcribed with their own Hands in the following Form.

To his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *and the Reverend Biſhops his Suffragans,* May *the 30th,* 1701.

Proteſtation of ſome Members. "WE whoſe Names are under-written, do "humbly beg leave to repreſent to your "Grace, That whereas we did move in the Lower "Houſe of Convocation, that we might enter "our Proteſtation againſt all Intermediate Seſſi-"ons of the Lower Houſe, betwixt your Grace's "ordinary Prorogations: The Queſtion being "put upon the ſaid Motion, it paſſed againſt us "in the Negative. And a farther Motion being "made, and the Queſtion being put, whether "the ſaid Vote ſhould be Regiſtred, it likewiſe "paſſed againſt us, that it ſhould not be Regi-"ſtred as yet:

"Whereupon we humbly beg Leave, that we "may be admitted to enter our Proteſtations "againſt all ſuch Intermediate Seſſions.

William Sherlock, Dean of St. *Paul's*.
George Verney, Proc. Diæc. *Linc.*
J. Wichart, Dean of *Winton*.
Sa. Freeman, Dean of *Peterborough*.
Geo. Bull, Archdeacon of *Landaffe*.
Will. Stanley, Archdeacon of *London*.
Jo. Jeffery, Archdeacon of *Norwich*.
Charles Trimnel, Archdeacon of *Norfolk*.
Richard Bowchier, Archdeacon of *Lewes*.
John Evans, Proctor for the Dioceſe of *Bangor*.
John Whitefoot, Proctor for the Dioceſe of *Norwich*.
Giles Pooley, Proctor for the Dioceſe of *Bath* and *Wells*.
Thomas Little, Proctor for the Church of *Norwich*.

Archbiſhop's Speech. In the next Seſſion, *June* the 6th, the Archbiſhop ſpoke thus to the Prolocutor, "I muſt "inform you, that till the Irregularity already "complain'd of be ſet right, I cannot, accord-"ing to the Order of this Houſe, receive any "Thing from you. But it appearing from the "Paper you read upon the 30th Day of *May* laſt, "that you have ſomething to offer relating to "the Lord Biſhop of *Sarum's* Expoſition of the "XXXIX Articles, which the ſaid Lord Biſhop "of *Sarum* has earneſtly requeſted may be "brought up to this Houſe; Therefore I and "my Brethren, without prejudice to our former "Order, and at the repeated Requeſt of the Lord "Biſhop of *Sarum*, are now willing to receive the "ſaid Paper.

To which the Prolocutor anſwered, *That the Paper, which he had now to offer, was concerning the Irregularity, and that he had not brought up any Paper relating to the Biſhop of* Sarum. Whereupon his Grace order'd him to fetch up that Paper, while he left the other, which at command of the Archbiſhop was read by the Regiſter, and was as follows.

To the moſt Reverend his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *and the Right Reverend the Biſhops his Suffragans, in the Upper Houſe of Convocation,*

The Clergy of the Lower Houſe of the ſaid Convocation, in Anſwer to the Declaration made by your Lordſhips on the 30th paſt, moſt humbly repreſent, 1701.

Repreſentation of the Lower Houſe in Defence of their Proceedings. "THAT we were ſurprized to find, when "we came up that Day with Buſineſs to "your Lordſhips, that your Lordſhips had con-"ceived a Diſpleaſure againſt us for declining to "meet the Committee of Biſhops, appointed by "your Lordſhips on *May* the 8th, to inſpect the "Acts of both Houſes of this preſent Convocation "to that Time; and that your Lordſhips had "judged this an Irregularity, and thereupon "formed a Reſolution to receive nothing offer'd "by us, till it was ſet right.

"We could have wiſhed that your Lordſhips "had taken the Opportunity of your Seſſion "next enſuing the 8th, and held on *May* the "16th, to have acquainted us with that your "Diſpleaſure, and that your Lordſhips had been "then pleaſed to have demanded the Reaſons for "our ſo acting, before you had proceeded to any "Determination againſt us.

"Had your Lordſhips thought it convenient to "have taken that Method, we ſhould have offer'd "the following Reaſons, which we now do in our "Juſtification.

"That we of the Lower Houſe, being a di-"ſtinct Houſe, with a Power of Diſſenting from "the Propoſals of the Upper, conceive our "ſelves entirely at Liberty to admit or decline "the Appointment of Committees from time to "time as we ſhall ſee fit. And particularly in "this Caſe, we conceive, that the only regular "way of your Lordſhips knowing the Tranſacti-"ons of our Houſe, is by our voluntary laying "them before you; and if your Lordſhips de-"mand the View of our Journals, as of Right, "we are thereby the more obliged to inſiſt upon "this our Liberty.

"That your Lordſhips having mentioned no "particular Acts deſir'd to be inſpected, nor aſ-"ſign'd any particular Reaſon for ſuch Inſpecti-"on, we could ſee no ground for ſuch a Com-"mittee, nor give any Inſtructions for the Ma-"nagement of the Matter to be conſider'd by it.

"We might alſo have added, that it was not un-"reaſonable in us to expect, that your Lordſhips "ſhould put into our Poſſeſſion the Journals of "the Lower Houſe of Convocation, of the Years "1586, 1588, 1640, 1661, *&c.* which have "been requeſted by us, and which of Right we "conceive do belong unto us, before your Lord-"ſhips would think fit to require the Inſpection "of our preſent Proceedings.

"That notwithſtanding this, the Reſpect and "Duty we owe your Lordſhips had prevailed "with us to have comply'd with your Lordſhips "Propoſal, had it not been introduc'd by what "was very ſurprizing, and did much diſcourage "us from agreeing to any ſuch Inſpection; name-"ly, your Lordſhips declaring it to be your "Opinion, That whatſoever we had done, as an "Houſe, in any intermediate Seſſion, between "the 8th of *April* and the ſaid 8th of *May*, was "of dangerous Conſequence, not only to our "ſelves, but to the Clergy of this Province, "whom we repreſent.

"Theſe are ſome of the Reaſons which, un-"der thoſe Circumſtances, and at that Time, "mov'd us to decline the Appointment of any "ſuch Committee. And theſe Reaſons, we "preſume, had your Lordſhips given us Occa-"ſion to preſent them, had been ſufficient to "have clear'd us in your Opinion from any Irre-"gularity, and to have prevented you from pro-"ceeding immediately to any Sentence againſt

"us,

1701. " us, though your Lordſhips had conceived you " had ſuch a Power.

" But we cannot forbear to repreſent to your " Lordſhips, that had we been duly found Guilty " of any Irregularity in this Matter, yet your " Lordſhips Sentence cutting off all Intercourſe " and Correſpondence between the Two Houſes, " is not only over-ſevere, being paſſed upon ſo " ſmall an Occaſion, but deſtroys for the preſent " the whole Deſign, and the very Being of a Con- " vocation.

We therefore hope that your Lordſhips will be induced by theſe Reaſons, to lay aſide this your Reſolution, and to reſtore the Regular and Cuſtomary Communication between the two Houſes.

After the Reading this Paper, it was referr'd to a Committee of Biſhops to examine it, and report their Judgments of it; who found it to contain a higher Contempt, and repeated Indignities put upon his Grace and his Suffragans: So their Lordſhips drew up the following Anſwer.

The Archbiſhop and Biſhops in Anſwer to a Paper left by the Prolocutor in the Upper Houſe, on Friday June 6*th.*

Anſwer of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops. " THE Clergy of the Lower Houſe ought " rather to have acknowledg'd the Patience and Tenderneſs of the Preſident and Bi- " ſhops towards them, than to ſay, as they do, " They were ſurprized to find that their Lord- " ſhips ſhould at laſt take notice of the great Irre- " gularity, which they of the Lower Houſe were " guilty of, in refuſing to appoint a Committee " to meet with a Number of Biſhops for the in- " ſpecting the Books of both Houſes; as the " Preſident, with the Concurrence of his Suffra- " gans, have requir'd them to do.

" The Preſident and Biſhops did not cenſure " this Irregularity at the next Meeting, in hopes " that they of the Lower Houſe would have con- " ſider'd, and thought better of their Duty in " that Matter, and ſubmitted to the Performance " of it; and not have attempted (as they did) " to thruſt in other Buſineſs upon the Biſhops, " and ſo to fruſtrate that very neceſſary Order " and Appointment for the inſpecting of the " Books.

" And tho' the Preſident and Biſhops, when " they made this Appointment, were ſufficiently " ſatisfied, that what they did therein was agree- " able to the Practice of former Convocations; " yet, when they found that Matter was diſputed " in the Lower Houſe, they would not proceed to " do any thing thereupon, till they had firſt look'd " out Precedents for the Satisfaction of thoſe that " differ'd from them.

" For this End, they took Time to examine " the Regiſters and Proceedings of former Con- " vocations, with regard to the appointing Com- " mittees of both Houſes; there they found, that " it was the common Method in former Con- " vocations, for the Preſident, with the Con- " currence of the Biſhops, to appoint ſuch Com- " mittees, and to require the Clergy of the " Lower Houſe to ſend a certain Number of their " Body to attend them; and that the Lower " Houſe had never before refus'd to comply " with ſuch an Appointment, ſitting the Convo- " cation.

" Upon full Evidence of this, the Preſident " and Biſhops could not but judge, that they of " the Lower Houſe, by their preſent Refuſal, " had departed from the Order and Uſage of " Convocations, diſobey'd the Eſtabliſh'd Au- " thority of the Preſident and Biſhops, and there- " by broke the regular Subordination of the " Clergy to their Metropolitan and Biſhops, and " the Intercourſe between the Two Houſes of " Convocation. 1701.

" This Refuſal of theirs, the Preſident and " Biſhops might juſtly have call'd Diſobedience " and Contempt, and might alſo have proceeded " againſt them for it by Canonical Admonitions " and Cenſures. But they call'd it by the ſofteſt " Name they could, *An Irregularity*; and to give " them of the Lower Houſe Time to rectify it, " they have hitherto forborn all ſuch Proceedings " againſt them, as the Nature of their Offence " did deſerve, and the Conſequences ſeem'd to " require.

" Only this the Preſident and Biſhops have " done; they have given them of the Lower " Houſe to underſtand, That until they return " to their Duty, and the regular Methods ob- " ſerv'd by all Predeceſſors, they cannot proceed " on Buſineſs with them, nor receive any Thing " from them. But, that whenever they of the " Lower Houſe ſhall rectify theſe Irregularities, " and reſtore thereby that Subordination and In- " tercourſe which they have diſturb'd, the Preſi- " dent and Biſhops ſhall then moſt readily receive, " and duly conſider whatever they have to offer " to them.

" This the Preſident and Biſhops thought to " be the gentleſt Method they could uſe, and " withal the likelieſt way to bring them of the " Lower Houſe to conſider and rectify the Irre- " gularity they were guilty of; which was all " their Lordſhips deſired and intended.

" They of the Lower Houſe do indeed ſeem to " think, they were guilty of no Irregularity at all, " and offer ſome Reaſons for their own Juſtifica- " tion: But thoſe Reaſons are founded upon plain " Miſtakes, both of Right and Fact.

" *Firſt*, They ſeem to aſſume to themſelves, " to be ſuch an Independent Body, as can Sit " and Act by themſelves, without any Depen- " dance upon, or Conjunction with the Upper " Houſe: But this is certainly a very great Mi- " ſtake.

" For the whole Convocation is but one Body: " They meet together firſt in one Place before " the Archbiſhop as Preſident, ſitting *pro Tribunali*, as it is always expreſs'd; and tho' after- " ward the Lower Clergy have (by the Appoint- " ment of the Preſident) a particular Place aſ- " ſign'd them to treat and debate in apart; yet, " whenever the Preſident pleaſes, they are obli- " ged to return to the Upper Houſe, where they " firſt aſſembled; and both Houſes are always " continued and prorogued by one Inſtrument or " Act.

" The Subject of their Debates is often ap- " pointed by the Preſident: Matters of Form, " and Methods of Proceeding, are directed by " him, according to the Precedents of former " Convocations. The Preſident acting as the " Head of that one Body, appoints Committees " of both Houſes, as he did in the preſent Caſe: " And as ſuch Appointments were always obey'd " by former Convocations, ſo the Lower Houſe " ought at this Time, ſo far at leaſt to have " comply'd with the Order made by the Preſi- " dent, as to attend the Biſhops in the Com- " mittee appointed by him; though they might " not think themſelves thereby oblig'd to con- " cur in the Reſolutions of ſuch Committee, but " might have agreed or diſagreed, as they ſaw " Occaſion.

" The Preſident and Biſhops, if they had " deſir'd a Sight of the Act-Book of the Lower " Houſe, might have requir'd it of Right, as " they

1701. they find their Predeceſſors have done; but their Intention was to have the Books of both Houſes inſpected together by a joint Committee of both Houſes; not in order to prejudice the Lower Clergy in any Thing, or to bring any Cenſure upon them; but in order to have both Books examin'd, and all the Proceedings and Entries therein regulated in an amicable way, to prevent all Miſtakes, and to take away all Occaſion of Diſputes and Controverſies between the Upper and the Lower Houſe: And thereby not only to prevent the evil Conſequences which any irregular Proceedings or Entries upon either of the Books might bring upon the Church and Clergy hereafter, but alſo to bring all Things to a regular Method, and ſuch fair Intercourſe, as ought to be between the Biſhops and Clergy of this Province; that ſo they might have proceeded together in ſuch Matters as would have been for the Honour and Intereſt of Religion, and the Security of the Church of *England*, as now by Law Eſtabliſhed.

2. "As to the Complaint in this and the other Papers, for want of their former Journals, as if they had a Right for the keeping of them (if they knew where) the Preſident and Biſhops Anſwer, That this Complaint is very Unreaſonable and Unjuſt.

"For altho' all the Regiſters and Act-Books of Convocation, whether of the Upper or Lower Houſe, do of undoubted Right belong to the Archbiſhop, and are to be kept by his Officer in ſuch Place as he ſhall appoint; to which Place the Members of the Upper and Lower Houſe may have, and always had a free Acceſs, when, and as oft as they pleaſe: This Complaint is ſo much the more Unjuſt, becauſe they cannot but know that the Archbiſhop hath been ſo favourable, as to ſend all the Act-Books mention'd in this Complaint, and alſo the Modern Regiſter-Books of the Upper Houſe, to a Committee of the Lower Houſe, to be freely uſed by them as often as they have deſir'd it; and has given them Notice, that all the ancient Regiſters were in the Library at *Lambeth*, where they, or any of them, might have free Acceſs to them; and they had Acceſs to them, and the Uſe of them accordingly.

"They of the Lower Houſe cannot be ignorant that the Archbiſhop's Regiſter is of common Right the Regiſter of the Convocation of this Province; and altho' he as *ſuch* is to attend the Preſident and Biſhops in the Upper Houſe, yet the Clergy of the Lower Houſe pay Fees to him, not only on their firſt Appearance, but at every Prorogation by the King's Writ: And the Actuary, who attends the Lower Houſe, is but the Regiſter's Servant, and acts as ſuch; and the Regiſter may employ one to Day, and another to Morrow, as appears in the Journal of the Lower Houſe, 1588.

3. "The Preſident and Biſhops had juſt Reaſon to hope, That if that Committee had met, not only the Entries in the Books would have been rectify'd, but that the Biſhops appointed by them, would have been able to have ſatiſfy'd thoſe of the Lower Houſe, that their Adjourning themſelves by their own Authority, and Sitting and Acting as a Houſe when the Upper Houſe did not Sit, and indeed, contrary to the Prorogation made by the Preſident in the Upper Houſe, is not only Illegal, but of dangerous Conſequence.

"For the Preſident and Biſhops do upon certain Grounds judge, That all the Proceedings upon ſuch intermediate Days tranſacted by the Lower Clergy, acting as a Houſe of Convocation, are irregular, null, and void, as being done in an Aſſembly of Presbyters, not warranted by Law, and acting not only independently of their Metropolitan and Biſhops, but in Oppoſition to the Authority which the Conſtitution of the Church, and Laws of the Land have veſted in them. 1701.

"The Preſident and Biſhops having given this clear and diſtinct Anſwer to the Reaſons offer'd by them of the Lower Houſe in their own Juſtification, cannot but hope that they will conſider better of the Irregularity they are guilty of, and remove the Obſtructions, which by introducing ſeveral dangerous Innovations they have laid in the way of all Buſineſs in this Convocation, and conform themſelves to the ancient and regular Methods of Proceedings; that ſo both Houſes may go on unanimouſly and vigorouſly in the Proſecution of ſuch Things as may tend to the Glory of God, and the Good of this Church.

Farther Proceedings in Convocation.

To return to the Proceedings on this 6th of *June*. The Prolocutor at the Motion of his Grace, brought up the *Paper of Complaint againſt the Lord Biſhop of* Sarum; which being read over and conſider'd by the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, his Grace ſoon after ſpoke to the Prolocutor to this Effect; "Your Paper of Complaint againſt my Lord of *Sarum*'s Book does contain only Generals; and therefore we muſt require you to bring up the Specialties or Particulars of your Charge againſt that Book." The Prolocutor and his Company going back to the Lower Houſe, his Grace thought they were preparing ſuch a particular Charge againſt the Biſhop's Expoſition; and therefore after ſome Time of expecting, the Archbiſhop ſent the proper Meſſenger, Mr. *Tillot*, to the Lower Houſe, to enquire of the Prolocutor, *Whether they had any Thing in Readineſs to preſent to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, as to any particular Articles againſt the Lord Biſhop of* Sarum's *Book?* And ſoon after, the Meſſenger return'd with this abrupt Anſwer in Writing: *This Houſe deſires Mr.* Tillot *to return their Lordſhips their humble Thanks for their Meſſage, and to tell them, That this Houſe is preparing Buſineſs, but are not yet ready with it.* Upon which, the Archbiſhop, with Conſent of his Brethren, prorogued the Convocation to *June* 13th.

Declaration of a Committee of Biſhops.

In the mean Time, a Committee of Biſhops had come to this Declaration of their Judgment, in reference to the extraordinary Steps taken by the Lower Houſe.

Firſt, "In Relation to the Complaint and Cenſure of the Biſhop of *Sarum*'s *Expoſition of the* XXXIX *Articles*, made by the Lower Houſe, and preſented to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops on *May* 30th, 1701.

I. "It is our Opinion, That the Lower Houſe of Convocation has no manner of Power judicially to Cenſure any Book.

II. "That the Lower Houſe of Convocation ought not to have entred upon the Examination of a Book of any Biſhop of this Church, without firſt acquainting the Preſident and Biſhops with it.

III. "That the Lower Houſe of Convocation's Cenſuring the Book of the Biſhop of *Sarum* in general Terms, without mentioning the particular Paſſages on which the Cenſure is grounded, is Defamatory and Scandalous.

IV. "That the Biſhop of *Sarum*, by his Excellent *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, approved by

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"both Houſes of Parliament, and other Wri-
"tings, hath done great Service to the Church
"of *England*, and juſtly deſerves the Thanks of
"this Houſe.

V. "That tho' private Perſons may Expound
"the Articles of the Church, yet it cannot be
"proper for the Convocation at this Time to
"approve, and much leſs to condemn ſuch pri-
"vate Expoſitions.

Secondly, "In relation to the Prolocutor's Com-
"plaint againſt the Biſhop of *Bangor*, and his Be-
"haviour on that and the like Occaſions in the
"Upper Houſe.

I. "We are of Opinion, That the Biſhop of
"*Bangor* made a true and juſt Report in the
"Upper Houſe, of the Anſwer made by the
"Prolocutor, to a Queſtion propos'd unto him
"on the 30th of *May*, at the Door of this
"Houſe.

II. "We are further confirm'd in this Opinion,
"becauſe the Prolocutor gave the ſame Anſwer
"in Effect to his Grace, after he had been call'd
"in to the Houſe.

III. "We are of Opinion, That the Paper
"read by the Prolocutor after he was call'd in,
"was not concerning the Irregularity which
"this Houſe complain'd of, but principally to
"introduce a Complaint againſt the Biſhop of
"*Sarum*, which had no relation at all to that
"Irregularity.

IV. "It plainly appears, by comparing the
"Paper which the Prolocutor read after he
"was called in, with his Anſwer to the Que-
"ſtion propoſed by him, as well by his Grace as
"by the Biſhop of *Bangor*, that the ſaid Prolo-
"cutor's Anſwer was ſuch as by no means ought
"to have been given by him to his Grace, or to
"any Member of that Houſe.

Thirdly, "In relation to Dr. *Verney*, and other
"Members of the Lower Houſe, who had diſ-
"ſented from the Majority, and had proteſted
"againſt their Irregular Proceedings; their Lord-
"ſhips in a Committee were of Opinion;

I. "That Dr. *Verney*, and others of the Lower
"Houſe, who comply'd with the Prorogations
"made by the Preſident in the Upper Houſe,
"and declined to Act on the intermediate Days,
"have behaved themſelves as of Right and Duty
"they ought to do.

II. "That they have thereby maintain'd the
"juſt Rights of Convocation, and the Legal
"Authority of the Preſident and Biſhops, and
"have acted as became true Sons of the Church
"of *England*.

III. "That they deſerve the Protection of the
"Upper Houſe for their dutiful and worthy Be-
"haviour.

IV. "That the Prolocutor, and ſome others
"of the Lower Houſe, have violated the Me-
"thods of Proceedings in Convocation, and
"attempted to introduce divers Innovations and
"Irregularities, deſtructive of the Metropolitan
"and Epiſcopal Authority of the Archbiſhop
"and Biſhops of this Province, and thereby
"endangered the Conſtitution of this Church,
"and given great Advantages to the Enemies
"thereof.

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V. "That by not ſubmitting to the Proro-
"gations made by the Preſident, with Concur-
"rence of his Suffragans, and pretending to
"an Authority to adjourn themſelves, and Sit-
"ting and Acting as a Houſe, after ſuch Pro-
"rogation by the Preſident, and on Days when
"the Upper Houſe did not Sit, the Prolocutor
"and thoſe joining with him in ſuch Practices,
"are guilty of manifeſt Diſobedience and Con-
"tempt.

VI. "That by refuſing to nominate a Com-
"mittee of their Houſe, to meet with a Com-
"mittee of the Biſhops as the Preſident had ap-
"pointed, they are likewiſe guilty of a great
"Contempt and Diſobedience.

In the next Seſſion, *June* the 20th. when the Archbiſhops and Biſhops had ended their Prayers, the Prolocutor appear'd, with the greateſt part of the Lower Houſe attending him, holding in his Hands Two ſeveral Papers, and offering to deliver both of them: To whom the Preſident ſpoke to this Effect, *That he could receive no Paper from him, but that containing the Particularities of the General Charge againſt the Biſhop of* Sarum's *Expoſition of the* XXXIX *Articles, which at the Requeſt of the ſaid Biſhop, he was now ready to receive*: To which the Prolocutor replied, "That he had Two Papers in his Hand, ready "to preſent to his Grace, and the reſt of the "Biſhops then preſent, if his Grace would "pleaſe to receive them: But without Direction "of the Lower Houſe, he could not preſent "the One without the other. That therefore "he would return, and take the Opinion of the "Houſe thereupon." But he never came back with that Opinion, till the Convocation by Royal Writ directed to the Archbiſhop, was prorogued to *Auguſt* the 7th, thence to *September* the 18th, and ſo on, till the Parliament being diſſolved, the Convocation of each Province by Writs directed to the reſpective Archbiſhops were accordingly diſſolved (*a*).

Convocation diſſolved.

A new Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* being ſummon'd to meet in Concurrence with the new Parliament, was open'd in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, *London*, with ſolemn Prayers, and an Excellent *Latin* Sermon, preached by Dr. *William Sherlock*, Dean of that Church, on Epiſt. *Jude*, v. 3. In the Choice of a Prolocutor, the Competition was between the Learned Dr. *Beveridge*, Archdeacon of *Colcheſter*, and Dr. *Woodward* Dean of *Sarum*, a Civilian grown Popular by oppoſing his Dioceſan, to whom he ow'd his Preferments. He was by a Majority elected, and confirm'd by the Archbiſhop. The Firſt Synodical Act was an Addreſs to the King, preſented by the Archbiſhop, at the Head of the Biſhops and Clergy, to His Majeſty at *Kenſington*, on *January* the 22d.

New Convocation.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

"WE humbly beg leave to lay before Your "Majeſty, now we are aſſembled in "Convocation, the deep Reſentment that every

Addreſs of both Houſes.

(*a*) See, 1. "A Narrative of the Proceedings of the "Lower Houſe of Convocation, relating to Prorogations "and Adjournments, from *Monday Feb.* 10. 1700. to *Wedneſday June* 25. 1701." ſaid to be drawn up *By Order of the Houſe*. *London*, for *Tho. Bennet*, 1701. 4to. in Defence of the Claims, and Acts of the Majority of the Lower Houſe. In Anſwer to it there was a Vindication of the Rights of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, in a fuller Account, entitled, "The Hiſtory of the Convocation of the Prelates, and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, ſummoned to meet at "the Cathedral Church of St *Paul*, *London*, on *Feb.* 6. 1700. "faithfully drawn from the Journal of the Upper, and from "the Narrative and Minutes of the Lower Houſe." *London*, for *A.* and *J. Churchill*, 1701. 4to.

"One

1701.

"One of us had, at our firſt hearing of the great "Indignity which the *French* King offered to "Your Majeſty and Your People, in declaring "the pretended Prince of *Wales* to be King of "Your Majeſty's Realms and Dominions.

"We do hereupon take Occaſion to renew "our ſincere Proteſtations, of a firm and un-"ſhaken Allegiance to Your Majeſty, humbly "aſſuring Your Majeſty; That we will do our "utmoſt Endeavours, by God's Aſſiſtance, in "our reſpective Places and Stations, to defend "Your Sacred Perſon, and to maintain Your "Majeſty's Rightful Title to the Imperial "Crown of theſe Realms, and the Succeſſion "thereof in the Proteſtant Line, as now by "Law Eſtabliſhed, againſt the ſaid pretended "Prince, and all other Your Majeſty's open and "ſecret Enemies.

"We will always, according to our eſpecial "Duty, make it our earneſt Prayer to God, "That he will long continue Your Majeſty's "Happy Reign over us, that You may perfect "all thoſe great Works, in which he hath "hitherto wonderfully conducted You with ſo "much Glory and Succeſs, for the Peace and "Welfare of theſe Kingdoms, and the Support "of Your Allies, the Safety and Tranquility of "*Europe*, and the preſerving the Proteſtant Re-"ligion, both here in this Church of *England* "by Law Eſtabliſh'd, and in all other Proteſtant "Churches.

His Majeſty ſeem'd to be very well pleaſed with this venerable Appearance, and made this Gracious Anſwer.

King's Anſwer.

My Lords, and the reſt of the Clergy,

I Cannot but be very much pleaſed with theſe Expreſſions of your Affection to me, and your Concern for the Honour of the Nation; for Maintaining the Succeſſion to the Crown in the Proteſtant Line; and for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Churches. And I am glad of this Opportunity to give you freſh Aſſurances of my firm Reſolution, in an eſpecial manner, to Protect and Support the Church of England, *as by Law Eſtabliſh'd.*

On *Wedneſday January* the 28th, an unhappy Occaſion began of widening the Difference between thoſe Members who believed the Archbiſhop of this Province had the Right, and conſtant Practice of Continuing and Proroguing the whole Convocation, and thoſe *others* who thought the Lower Houſe might have a Power to Adjourn it ſelf. This difference of Opinion led into ſome Diſputes in every Seſſions; which yet were manag'd conſiſtently with Peace and Order: For whatever Notions of Independency were advanc'd by a few particular Members, the Houſe in general had hitherto ſo ordered their Entries in the *Journal*, that All unanimouſly met upon the Synodical Days and Hours, appointed by the Archbiſhop in his Schedules of Prorogation. But on this Day a Member unhappily mov'd to change the Form of Entry in the Minutes, and to aſſume the Phraſe of *Dominus Prolocutor Continuavit & Prorogavit quoad hanc Domum*, which was accordingly entred inſtead of the uſual Form, *Prolocutor intimavit hanc Convocationem eſſe continuatam*, &c.

Unhappy Diſputes.

In the next Seſſion, *Tueſday, February* the 3d, this new Phraſe in the Entry of the Minutes was excepted againſt by ſeveral Members; but there was a Majority to Reſolve, that the *Words in the Entry ſhall ſtand as they are*; and that *This Matter ſhall not be now further Debated*. When the Schedule of Prorogation came down, it was laid aſide upon the Table, while the Houſe was proceeding to other Buſineſs. Upon which a Member moved, that "He had obſerved ſome "Meſſage from above had been deliver'd to the "Prolocutor; and he thought it the Right of "this Houſe to have it communicated to 'em, "before they entred upon new Buſineſs." But this was oppoſed by the Majority, and they went on to appoint a Committee of Grievances, *&c.* After which the Prolocutor adjourn'd as by Authority of the Houſe; while the Members on the other ſide declared, "That this Houſe "had no Pretence of Right to Adjourn it ſelf, "when the Schedule interpoſes to Prorogue the "whole Convocation; and that therefore they "did verbally proteſt againſt ſuch an irregular "way of Adjourning." And before the next Meeting, they put their verbal Proteſtation into Writing to this effect.

1701.

Proteſtation of ſeveral Members.

"THAT whereas in the Lower Houſe, the "laſt Seſſion, *February* the 3d, the Pro-"locutor refuſed to read the Schedule of Proro-"gation ſent down by the Archbiſhop, when it "was called for by ſeveral Members; the Majo-"rity of the Houſe at the ſame Time interpoſing "to hinder it: And that whereas after Notice "given by the Prolocutor, of the Schedule's be-"ing received, the Majority of the Houſe made "an Order to proceed upon New Buſineſs, and "at the end of that would not ſuffer them-"ſelves to be prorogued by the Schedule, but "adjourned by their own Act, upon a Que-"ſtion propoſed to the Houſe, which was ver-"bally declared againſt by ſeveral Members "then preſent: Therefore the Parties whoſe "Names were ſubſcribed, believing it to be "the Right of the Archbiſhop to Continue "and Prorogue the whole Convocation of Pre-"lates and Clergy by Schedule; and to ſend "down ſuch other Meſſages to be communica-"ted to the Lower Houſe, as his Grace ſhall "think fit; and believing it alſo to be the Right "of every Member of the Lower Houſe to "have the Archbiſhop's Meſſages intimated, "and his juſt Orders obſerved, as they conceive "it to be the Duty of the Prolocutor to Intimate "and Obſerve them: They do hereby proteſt "againſt the forementioned Acts, as contrary to "theſe Rights.

On *Monday February* the 9th, the Dean of *Peterborough* in a very proper Speech moved, That the foreſaid Proteſtation might be admitted, and entred in Writing, as a ſtanding Evidence of their aſſerting the juſt Rights and Authority of their Metropolitan and Preſident, to Prorogue the whole Convocation or Synod, the Lower as well as the Upper Houſe, by Schedule; and of their diſowning any inherent Right or Power, this Houſe is ſaid to have in it ſelf to prorogue, or as the new Word lately taken up is, to adjourn it ſelf.

This Motion being warmly oppoſed by the Majority, drew out the Houſe into a long Debate, till for Peace ſake, Dr. *Beveridge* put this Queſtion in Writing, *Whether upon Suppoſition that the Houſe may ſit upon Synodical Buſineſs, after the coming down of the Schedule, till they think their Buſineſs over; the Houſe will agree, that the Schedule ſhall be then executed, and the Houſe prorogued to the Day and Hour there ſpecified, by virtue of the ſaid Schedule, and in Obedience to the Authority whereby the whole Convocation is prorogued?* This Queſtion was dropt by the Majority, and to evade the Anſwering of it, it was at laſt agreed, "That a Committee ſhould be appointed to "conſider of ſuch an Expedient about the Pro-

Committee appointed.

1701. " rogation of this Houſe, as may tend to the " compoſing all Diſputes in this Matter." Which Committee ſhould conſiſt of the Number of Sixteen, Eight on each ſide of the Controverſy.

Dr. *Hooper.*	Dr. *Beveridge.*
Dr. *Jane.*	Dr. *Hayley.*
Dr. *Aldrich.*	Dr. *Willis.*
Dr. *Atterbury.*	Dr. *Kennet.*
Dr. *Binckes.*	Dr. *Trimnel.*
Mr. *Needham.*	Dr. *Prideaux.*
Mr. *Moor.*	Dr. *Green.*
Dr. *Wynne.*	Mr. *Lloyd.*

Their Agreement. This Committee met on *Tueſday, February* the 30th, and by Degrees fell into theſe Three Heads of Agreement.

" I. *Agreed*, That in order to an Accommo-" dation, no Forms of Prorogation ſhall be uſed " by the Prolocutor hereafter, that were not " uſed by the Prolocutor before the laſt Convo-" cation.

" II. That the Forms of Prorogation uſed by " the Prolocutor in the Convocation of 1586, " and 1588, ſhall hereafter be uſed by the Pro-" locutor, in the Order they lye in the Books, " beginning with the Firſt, till they are all gone " through.

" III. That theſe Forms ſhall be pronounc'd " by the Prolocutor, when the Houſe agrees that " their Buſineſs is over.

It ſoon appear'd, that the Majority would interpret the Peace to be a Victory; and therefore, within few Hours after the Committee was up, ſome forward Perſons were boaſting of the Advantages gain'd on the ſide of the Lower Houſe; and that the Archbiſhop's Friends had given up his Cauſe, and had now excluded the Schedule from any concern in the Adjournment. This Story was ſo induſtriouſly ſpread, that the Members of the Committee (who knew they had receded from no Principles of Truth and Right) found themſelves inſulted by ſome, and almoſt ſuſpected by others. They deſpiſed the Rumour, and choſe rather to have been cenſur'd for going in too far, than for ſtanding too much off. But the Whiſpers had however this Effect upon ſome very conſiderable Members, who had not been preſent at the Committee, that they reſolved in the next Seſſion, to take ſome Opportunity to renounce that invidious Senſe which ſome People had thus put upon the Third Article of Agreement. And after mature Deliberation, the Reſult was to ſubſcribe a Declaratory Form to be offered to the Houſe in their next meeting, to this Effect.

That whereas by Report made from a late Committee, they found the Third Particular to be in theſe Words, *That theſe Forms* (meaning the Forms of Prorogation uſed in the Convocations of 1586, and 1588.) *ſhall be pronounc'd by the Prolocutor, when the Houſe agrees that the Buſineſs of the Houſe is over*: " They declare, That " the Meaning is underſtood by them, with an " Exception to any Caſe, when the Preſident " ſhall ſee Cauſe to ſend an Order with the " Schedule, ſignifying the expreſs Time of inti-" mating the Prorogation upon that Day: other-" wiſe, if it were pretended to mean, That the " Authority of the Archbiſhop, or any Order " ſent from the Upper Houſe, was thereby " excluded or diminiſhed; they then ſolemnly " proteſt againſt any ſuch Meaning, or pretended " Meaning.

This Paper was ſubſcribed by ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable Members, and was brought by one of them to be offered to the Houſe on *Thurſday, February* the 12th. The other Eight Members who had been of the Committee, hearing daily of many falſe Conſtructions put upon the *Agreement* they had made with their Brethren, met together, and unanimouſly reſolved to make a plain Declaration of their own Senſe in thoſe Three Particulars, which they did to this Effect. 1701.

" *That* ſome Miſrepreſentations having been " made concerning the Three *Articles*, agreed to " in a Committee of the Lower Houſe of Convo-" cation, *February* the 10th, 1701, they take " this Occaſion to declare, Declaration of ſome Members.

" *That* they came with a ſincere Deſire of Peace; " and when they came, finding that the Diſ-" pute of the Right on either ſide was not like to " end in Peace, but rather to continue the Divi-" ſion; they therefore endeavour'd to find out an " *Expedient* for the preſent Practice, that ſhould " not determine the Merits of the Queſtion be-" tween 'em.

" *That*, in order to this, they thought proper " to go by the Methods of the ancient Convo-" cations, in which theſe Controverſies had not " been moved; which was the Ground of the " *Firſt Propoſition.*

" *That* they could not eaſily pitch upon any " ſingle *Form of Prorogation*, which was not " thought to favour the Pretenſions of one ſide " or the other, though they propoſed to have " that Form that ſhould appear to be moſt uſually " upon the Books. *That* therefore, both ſides " agreeing, That the Books of 1586, and 1588, " were the moſt authentick Acts remaining of the " Lower Houſe, they agreed to take all the " Forms in order as they lay in thoſe Books, ac-" cording to the *Second Propoſition.*

" As to the *Third Propoſition*, they declare, *That* " tho' it be their Opinion, *that the whole Convo-*" cation of Prelates and Clergy is prorogued by " the Authority of the Archbiſhop, according to " the Tenor of a *Schedule* ſign'd by him to that " End; yet preſuming, that the Archbiſhop did " not expect the immediate intimating of his " Continuation, unleſs he ſent particular Order " to that purpoſe; they therefore agree to that " *Third Propoſition.*

" And as an Argument, that this was their " Senſe in that Agreement, they refuſed an *Al-*" *teration* that was offered upon the Third Arti-" cle, *viz. That the Form ſhould not be pronounced* " *by the Prolocutor, till the Houſe agree that their* " *Buſineſs was over.*

" This they *affirm* to have refus'd for this Rea-" ſon (which was then expreſs'd) becauſe tho' " they might generally preſume upon the Arch-" biſhop's Conſent for their ſitting to diſpatch all " proper Buſineſs; yet they could not agree to " any thing, that ſhould preclude the Archbi-" ſhop's Right to prorogue 'em immediately, if " he found it expedient.

" That they think it alſo proper to add, That " they uſed the Words *Pronounced by the Prolocutor*, " in order to prevent the putting any Queſtion to " the Houſe about *Adjourning themſelves*. And " that the Prorogation might be always to the " Time and Place appointed by the Schedule.

On *Thurſday, February* 12. the Prolocutor being indiſpos'd, did aſſign the Dean of *Chriſt Church* as his Deputy to act for him. The Members who diſavow'd the common Proceedings of the Majority, were content to accept of a Deputy ſo appointed by the Prolocutor, provided that Application was duly made to the Preſident to approve

and

1701. and confirm him. To this, the Majority ſeem'd to agree, and one of the Leading Members ſaid, That *there was no Deſign of making a common Referendary between the Two Houſes, without conſulting his Grace.* But it being reſolved, that no ſuch proper Application ſhould be made, his Grace ſent for the Clergy to *Jeruſalem Chamber*, and ſpoke thus; *My Brethren of the Clergy, There has happened an Incident of great moment, which I and my Brethren muſt take Time to conſider of between this and* Saturday *next; to which I have thought fit to prorogue the Convocation. I order you, Mr.* Tyllot, *to read the Schedule.*

Death of the Prolocutor.

On *Friday, February* 13. Dr. *Woodward* the Prolocutor, died in his Lodgings at *Weſtminſter*, in very unhappy Circumſtances. On the next Day, *Saturday, February* 14. his Grace on this Occaſion thus addreſs'd himſelf to the Inferior Clergy: *Brethren of the Clergy, I hear the Prolocutor is dead, and we are very much ſurprized at the News of it. We muſt conſider what is proper to be done on this Occaſion. The Dean and Chapter of* Weſtminſter *(as my Lord of* Rocheſter *tells us) will make uſe of this Place on* Monday *and* Tueſday *next:* Wedneſday *is a Day of ſolemn Devotion, being* Aſhwedneſday; *therefore, I have ordered the Prorogation to be till* Thurſday. *Mr.* Tyllot, *do you read the Schedule.*

We muſt obſerve, That juſt before the laſt Sickneſs of the Prolocutor, he had endeavour'd to recommend himſelf to a great Party, by complaining of his beſt Friend, his own Biſhop: The Grounds of the Complaint was only this; His Lordſhip held his Triennial Viſitations conſtantly in Perſon, and the Parochial Clergy, as in Duty bound, paid their Attendance, in a regular and reſpectful manner. But the Dean of *Sarum*, as Rector of *Peuſy*, declin'd his Appearance at the Time and Place of Viſitation, without making any reaſonable Excuſe; but rather aggravating his Abſence by ſuch Signs of Contempt, as made it evidently an ill Example, and oblig'd his Lordſhip to order a Citation, as in a uſual Method, before any Privilege of Convocation did obtain, or was pretended: When the Time of Privilege did afterwards commence, his Lordſhip ordered his Chancellor to put a *Stet* upon the Cauſe, and there was no farther Proceeding in it. This ſlight Matter was to be improv'd into a Grievance, and a Remonſtrance upon it. So on *February* 9th, this Form of Complaint was preſented to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops.

Complaint of Breach of Privilege.

“WHereas it is the ancient undoubted Right of every Perſon ſummon'd to the Convocation of this Province by his Majeſty's Writ, and your Grace's *Mandate* thereupon, to be privileged from all Suits, except for Breach of the Peace, during the Time of its Aſſembling. And whereas it appears to us, That the Reverend Dr. *Robert Woodward*, Dean of *Sarum*, a known Member of this Houſe, and alſo Prolocutor of it, is at this Time (or has lately been) proſecuted, by the Order of the Right Reverend *Gilbert* Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*, in a certain Cauſe of pretended Contempt and Diſobedience; and that *George Frome*, lately the Proctor of the ſaid Dean in this Cauſe, was on *Tueſday* the 27th, or *Wedneſday* the 28th of *January* laſt, admoniſh'd in the ſaid Lord Biſhop's Conſiſtory, to appear and anſwer in it on the *Tueſday* following; which Days are within the Time of the Sitting of this preſent Convocation: We the Clergy of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, being aggrieved in this Fact, not only by the unlawful Moleſtation of a Member of our Houſe, but by the Injury offer'd to the whole Body of the Convocation, in the Perſon of the Referendary between the Two Houſes of it, do humbly beſeech your Grace and your Lordſhips, ſo effectually to deal with the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*, that the ſaid Prolocutor may be freed from this unlawful Viſitation; and that the Rights of the particular Members of Convocation, and the Honour of the whole Body, ſo publickly violated by ſo eminent a Member of it, may not ſuffer by the ill Example, but may have ſome proper Reparation made; ſuch as your Lordſhips in your Wiſdom and Juſtice ſhall think fit.

This Complaint, however ſingular, was not rejected by his Grace and the Biſhops; they received it, and conſidered it, and return'd this Anſwer to it.

Anſwer of the Archbiſhop & Biſhops.

“THE Archbiſhop, as Preſident of the Convocation, together with his Brethren and Suffragans, will always take care to maintain the juſt Rights of the Lower Houſe, and particularly their Privilege of Exemption from Suits.

“And therefore having upon Occaſion of this Addreſs, inquired into the Matter of Complaint againſt the Lord Biſhop of *Sarum* contained therein, they have received this Account of the Matter of Fact, from the ſaid Biſhop of *Sarum*: That the Proceedings againſt Dr. *Woodward*, as Rector of *Peuſy* (now the Referendary of the Lower Houſe) were begun at a Time when there was no Privilege: And that upon the Opening of this preſent Convocation, his Lordſhip did order his Chancellor to put a *Stet* upon the Cauſe; by whom he is aſſured, That notwithſtanding no Privilege was pleaded, nor ſo much as any Motion made to ſuſpend further Proceedings, he did nevertheleſs put a *Stet* upon it. Nor was there any Citation or Proceſs decreed againſt the ſaid Doctor, ſince the Opening of this Convocation. This being the State of the Caſe;

“The Archbiſhop and his Brethren cannot ſee what Ground there was for Complaint; and think you had done well to have been better aſſured, that the Matter was ſuch as it was repreſented to you; before you had charged it with the hard Terms of an *unlawful Moleſtation* and *Vexation*, and demanded *Reparation* upon it. Whereas by this Miſrepreſentation of the Biſhop's Proceedings in this Caſe, it plainly appears to whom *Reparation* ought to be made.

There was, indeed, ſo much of Partiality and Prejudice in the beginning and proſecuting of this Complaint, that had the Author of it liv'd, many good Chriſtians did hope he would have repented of it. In the mean time, this unhappy Subject may conclude with what is modeſtly ſaid by the Writer of the *Preſent State of this Convocation, correcting the Miſtakes and Slanders of the pretended* Faithful Accounts, *4to. p.* 40.

“It would be too large a Story to give you the Riſe and Proſecution of this warm Complaint, and the ſeveral Debates upon it in the Lower Houſe. I am the more tender in the Matter, becauſe the plaineſt Relation of it would affect the Veracity of a Perſon now deceaſed, who has thereby a Title to have many Parts of this Cauſe to be kept in Silence.

After the Prolocutor's Death, there being no Buſineſs depending, and nothing in Debate but the Clergy's Pretenſions of Exemption from the

1701. Synodical Authority and Rights of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops; his Grace, with Advice of his Brethren, on *Thurſday, Feb.* 19th, diſmiſs'd the Clergy with this tender Speech.

Brethren of the Clergy,

The Speech of the Preſident.

" WHen you brought up your laſt Addreſs, " complaining of a Breach of Privilege " by the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, we readily received " it, and no one of us was more ready to do it, " than the Biſhop himſelf. We then promiſed " you ſhould have an Anſwer to it on the next " Day of our Meeting. The Anſwer was ac- " cordingly prepared, being founded upon the " Acts of the Biſhop's Court at *Saliſbury*, and " the Account given by the Judge of that " Court; which Anſwer you may ſee enter'd in " our *Journal*.

" The late *Prolocutor*'s Illneſs, and an Incident " that happen'd upon it, were the Cauſe that " this Anſwer was not communicated that Day. " We hope, when you have read that Anſwer, " you will not ſuffer your ſelves for the future " to be ſurpriz'd into Complaints of this Na- " ture, but will ſtay till you are fully aſſur'd " that they are well grounded both in *Fact* and " *Right*; I ſay *Right*, as well as *Fact*. For your " Aſſertion, That we are privileg'd from all " Suits, except for *Breach of the Peace*, was not " well conſider'd; ſince there are *Matters* of a " *higher Nature*, wherein *Privilege* cannot be " pleaded. I might add, That if I miſtake not " the Senſe of the late *Act*, it ſuffers the Cauſe " to go on, provided that the Perſon remains " unmoleſted. But of this enough, eſpecially " conſidering that the Perſon particularly con- " cerned, is lately *dead*.

" By his *Death* the *Prolocutor*'s Chair becoming " void, you may juſtly expect I ſhould ſay ſome- " thing concerning the filling of it. That is a " Matter, which as the State of our Affairs at " preſent ſtands, needs much Deliberation: I " have had many Thoughts upon that Subject, " and I will freely communicate ſuch of them as " I judge to be proper at this Time.

" The *Choice* of a *Prolocutor*, or Referendary, " is equally the Right and Concern of the " whole Lower Houſe. Many of the Members " (ſeveral of which deſired earneſtly to be diſ- " miſs'd) are now abſent in the Country, and " divers of them at a great diſtance from *Lon-* " *don*. They are (I believe) gone down, as for " other Reaſons, ſo chiefly that they may attend " their reſpective *Cures* in this ſolemn Time of " *Lent*, and beſtow a conſiderable part of it in " *Catechiſing*, and preparing Perſons for the Bleſ- " ſed *Sacrament* at *Eaſter*.

" It will not, I think, be fair to exclude them " from a ſhare in a new Election: And to ſend " for them up, when they are ſo well employ'd, " *meerly for the Choice of a Prolocutor, without* " *other neceſſary Buſineſs here*, will be a Hardſhip " to them, and a Prejudice to their *Cures*. No " *Synodical* Buſineſs is yet, by Royal Authority, " laid before the Convocation. If there were, " yet till the *Formulary* be better ſettled, the Bu- " ſineſs would, at every turn, be interrupted by " Debates about Methods of *Proceeding*.

" During a Receſs, good Progreſs may, I " hope, be made in that matter. Many Mate- " rials are brought together in order to the " preparing of a Draught for compoſing a *Mo-* " *dus tenendi Convocationem*. I have communica- " ted one *Authentick Book*, which came lately to " my hands, and am in hopes of recovering ano- " ther, together with ſeveral Papers which " may be uſeful to this purpoſe. And I doubt " not but the *Members of both Houſes* will contri- " bute their Endeavours towards the ſame good " Work. 1701.

" For the abovesaid Reaſons, as alſo becauſe " a War ſeems to be breaking out, which will " in ſome Meaſure divert Men's Thoughts from " Buſineſs of this Nature; and there are like- " wiſe Appearances of a ſpeedy winding up of " publick Affairs, I purpoſe further to *deliberate* " about appointing the Choice of a *Prolocutor*, " and at preſent to proceed to a *Prorogation*: But " I ſhall do it by ſuch Intervals, during this Seſ- " ſions of *Parliament*, as may upon any *emergent* " *Occaſions*, leave room for the Choice of a *Pro-* " *locutor*, and the Sitting of the Convocation. " And for thoſe who look upon Me, or any of " my Suffragans, as deſigning to bring *Convoca-* " *tions* and the *Prolocutors* thereof into diſuſe, or " to put any *unreaſonable Reſtraints upon the Lower* " *Houſe*, they are greatly miſtaken; and I hope " a little time will ſhew them their Error, and " put an end to all ſuch groundleſs Suſpicions, " as well as allay the Heats which they have " occaſion'd. Such Heats have given great " Scandal and Offence, even to thoſe who un- " derſtand not the Nature of the Controverſy, " but are much concern'd, that there ſhould be " any Differences among Men, who are by Pro- " feſſion the *Miniſters of the Goſpel of Peace*. " And I am ſorry to find, that in a *Paper* which " came to my Hands laſt Night, mark'd Num- " ber 1. (ſhewing a Deſign of the Continuance " of it, in caſe the Convocation ſhould alſo " continue to ſit) a *ſtrange Method* is laid for " giving *publick Intelligence* from Time to Time, " of any Differences that might hereafter ariſe. " The Title of it is, *A faithful Account of ſome* " *Tranſactions in the Three laſt Seſſions of the preſent* " *Convocation*. But, as I am told this Morning, " it will ſpeedily be ſhewn in ſeveral Particulars, " how far it is from anſwering that *Title*, eſpe- " cially in the Relation of what paſs'd in a late " Committee. When the *Explications* then di- " rectly *inſiſted* on ſhall be more publickly under- " ſtood, the Partiality of the Writer of this Paper " will be no leſs publick.

" I beſeech you, *Brethren*, to look forward to " *the Things that make for Peace, and whereby we* " *may edify one another*, and the Eſtabliſhed " Church, of which, by the ſingular Goodneſs " of God, we are Members: That ſo thoſe " Differences which have continued too long al- " ready, may be ſpeedily and happily compos'd. " To which end, I heartily commend my ſelf " and you, to the *God of Peace and Unity, through* " *Jeſus Chriſt our Lord*.

Proceedings of the Lower Clergy.

A great part of the Clergy were entirely ſatiſ- fied with theſe Reaſons; and thought it a ſeaſon- able Juncture to have the Liberty of returning to their Churches and Families; and there to expect a Call upon ſuch emergent Occaſion, as ſhould re- quire the Choice of a Prolocutor, and the Sitting of the Convocation. But what is much to be pity'd, other *Some* took up the Pretence of greater Diſcontent, and would meet in *Henry*'s VII's Cha- pel Two Days after, and would reſolve them- ſelves into a ſort of Aſſembly, and choſe a Mode- rator or Chair-Man to that purpoſe. And when the Day came, to which the Archbiſhop had pro- rogued the Convocation, they came up as a Houſe, without a Prolocutor, to the Chamber adjoining to the *Jeruſalem Chamber*, and there meeting the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who as his Grace's Commiſſary had now prorogued the Convoca- tion to a further Day, they deſired his Lordſhip to carry a Meſſage to his Grace, of their de- ſire to proceed to the Choice of a Prolocutor. His Lordſhip with great Kindneſs told them,

That

1701. That he was unwilling to carry any Meſſage by Word of Mouth, for fear he might miſtake in the Delivery of it: but if they pleaſed to dictate to him, he would take their Senſe in Writing, and ſo lay it before his Grace: Upon which they began to expreſs themſelves to this Effect; *That it was the unanimous Deſire of the Lower Houſe of Convocation,* &c. Upon which another Member of different Opinion, who had that Morning waited on his Lordſhip, and was his ordinary Chaplain, did modeſtly interpoſe, and ſay, "That he hop'd "no ſuch Meſſage would be worded in the Name "of the whole Lower Houſe: For as they were "not a *Houſe*, and did not act in that Capacity, "without a Prolocutor; ſo, many of the Mem- "bers (of which himſelf was one) had not aſ- "ſented to any ſuch Meſſage; and therefore, "he preſum'd, it would be more true and pro- "per, to let the Meſſage run in the Name of "*Several Members of the Lower Houſe:*" And the Biſhop, in his writing down their Senſe, did ſo accordingly expreſs it. But this raiſed a new Clamour, and thoſe who aſſumed the Name of a *Houſe* (eſpecially Dr. *F——ch*) fell ſeverely on the Member who propoſed the Alteration of their Phraſe, as a Betrayer of their Rights and Liberties; tho' no one had taken more pains to underſtand, or had better Reſolutions to aſſert, all manner of Rights and Powers, that were agreeable to the Practice of former Convocations, and to the Eſtabliſhed Conſtitution of this Church and State.

Queſtion, Whether the Convocation was diſſolved with the *King's* Death.

Within a Day or two after, the King's Death, which ſhould have put an End to theſe Diſputes, did raiſe another Queſtion, *Whether the Convocation did expire with him?* His Grace and the Biſhops were rightly ſenſible, that the Convocation being aſſembled by the Archbiſhop's Mandate, in Obedience to the King's Writ, could no longer ſubſiſt, than while that Royal Writ remain'd in Force and Virtue: And therefore the Writ of Summons abating by the King's Death, the Convocation was virtually diſſolved. But on the other Hand, that part of the Lower Houſe who had entred upon new Claims, were taught to call themſelves a Parliamentary Body, and at leaſt to attend upon the Parliament, by virtue of the *Præmunientes* Clauſe, which they had lately got executed in ſeveral Dioceſes. And therefore, there having been a late Act to continue this Parliament after the Demiſe of the King, theſe Members would imagine, that the Convocation was ſuch a part of the Parliament, as could not be ſeparated from it. And therefore, if they were no longer a provincial Synod, they were, however, a part of the National Clergy, ſummon'd by the *Præmunientes* Clauſe, to meet in Parliament. And, indeed, had their Parliamentary Notions been true, this had been a juſt Inference from them. But when they came to conſult with Men learned in the Laws, they ſoon found, that the Act for continuing the Parliament, did by no means include the Convocation; which being called by a different Writ, had a different Conſtitution, and muſt needs determine with the King's Death. When they were under this Diſappointment, they ſollicited ſome Friends in the Houſe of Lords, to bring in an extraordinary Clauſe, to revive the dead Convocation, and to declare it to be ſtill in Being, notwithſtanding that it was otherwiſe by the King's Death actually diſſolved. This Clauſe of giving Reſurrection, was thought ſo extraordinary, that the greater Number of Peers could not be reconciled to it, and the Attorney-General declaring it was againſt the Queen's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, it was at laſt dropt. And happy had it been, if all other Diſputes of this Nature could have dropt with it.

FINIS.

AN

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